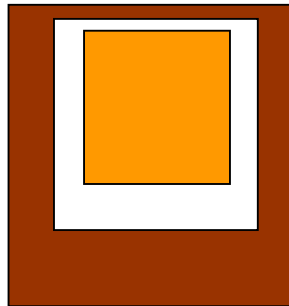


HOUSING STRATEGIES IN INNER CITY AREAS

The Case of Low-Income housing in Inner City Addis Ababa

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Abstract

The question of shelter has become more crucial with the rapid urbanization we see today. Developing countries such as Ethiopia have paid too little attention to the shelter problem and how deeply rooted it is in matters of urbanization. The existing housing stock plays the major role in housing provision in these developing countries. Consequently what is to be done with this existing housing stock is an overriding concern of urban renewal efforts.

Various urban renewal approaches exist that have different effects on low income housing, such as slum clearance and resettlement, rehabilitation and conservation, slum and squatter upgrading. A study into the very nature of low income housing points in the direction of the roots of the problem. There are various concepts as to the nature of the inner city such as the idea of the compact city, diversity of use and equity.

By taking a case study area within the city of Addis Ababa the thesis explores the nature and prospect of inner city low income housing in the context of the city. There has been significant population growth; internal as well as external in Addis Ababa. There have been changes of an economic, social and political nature that have affected the nature of inner city low income housing. Various aspects affect the condition of low income housing within the inner city such as the housing policy, forms of land ownership, availability of financing, land values, regulations, poverty and rapid urbanization.

The thesis concludes that for a more effective and sustainable urban renewal approach, the potentials of low income settlements must become an integral part of local development plans. Our choice for the location of local plans should be based on inner city wide assessment of needs and potentials. At a more detailed level, the condition of the dwelling units has made improvements difficult for these settlements. The lack of security of tenure has limited the improvement drives of the people. There is a serious problem of poverty and there is a lack of secure employment. This has led to the inability for most of these settlers to get loans from banks. However, even with the evident dilapidated condition of the settlement, the residents prefer to stay. Cooperating with community based organizations will have far reaching effects in areas such as providing security for housing finance and community participation.

Terminology

Birr: local currency

Chika: a local building material that is a composition of wood and mud

Idir: local traditional social organizations involved in mutual aid in times of hardship

Equb: a local money saving method by which total monthly contributions of members are given to each member by draw

Derg: military regime that overthrew the imperial regime of Haile Selassie I

Sefer: a common Amharic name for neighborhoods or settlements

Kebele: the smallest administrative body

1. Introduction

1. Introduction

Fast urbanization has become a common phenomenon in developing countries. With projections showing even faster rates of growth, the pressure on existing urban areas will be enormous in the future. Moreover majority of the future global urban growth will be absorbed by developing countries that lack the resources to cope with the challenges of rapid urbanization. The state of housing will be, especially needing much attention.

Ethiopia is urbanizing at an ever faster rate. This growth is going to continue for the coming years especially in the capital Addis Ababa. Among the most pressing problems is and will continue to be the issue of housing; its quality and quantity. Its inner city areas have largely remained undeveloped and spontaneous. It is a city with some relatively developed street fronts with decayed backyards. These backyards are in many of the places settlements for the poor. On the other hand, Addis Ababa is a city with a “mixity” that is the envy of many. This mixed nature is social and economic as well as physical. The very presence of housing in the inner city is a great asset to the city. Without it, the city would have been much less vibrant.

Recently it has become common practice in Addis Ababa to prepare local development plans that in most cases aim to clear seemingly low income settlement areas to give way to new and “imageable” projects. However the implementation of these new projects has been dragging its feet. The result has been a creation of even worse physical conditions where blighted waste lands have been created. The original residents and businesses on the other hand suffered the inconvenience of displacement.

Through my years of study and work, I have come to realize that urban development is not as simple as clearing a part or all of a town and rebuilding a new one. This is especially true in cities where the existing fabric has been in place for a long time. Urban change itself is a time taking process. The number of stake-holders and actors

involved in that process are too many for any urban planner or designer to think that it can be as simple as the act of drawing a plan.

For these reasons we have to find first ways to improve our inner city without so much inconvenience to the residents. Second, these back street areas must be made more strongly connected to the main spaces of the city. They must be gradually transformed to areas that are conducive for living and able to withstand change.



Figure 1.1 The disjunction between back streets and main streets is common in many locations

1.1 organization of the research

With the case study being the main body of the paper, various aspects of housing, especially inner city low income housing will be discussed. The first part presents the research method used and various background information to the inception of the research. In the theoretical part of the study various concepts of urban renewal and the nature and causes of slums have been discussed. Other supporting ideas such as the compact city and sustainability, diversity, social justice, and the rationale for having housing within the inner city have been included in this part.

The contextual background gives a general picture of urban growth with particular emphasis on the growth of the city of Addis Ababa. This part further gives a general sketch of the condition of housing within the city. The core issues that have influenced the condition of housing have also been discussed to give an overview of the situation of other connected aspects. These are among others, housing policy, land ownership, land values, the financing of housing, urban planning and building regulations, institutional setups etc.

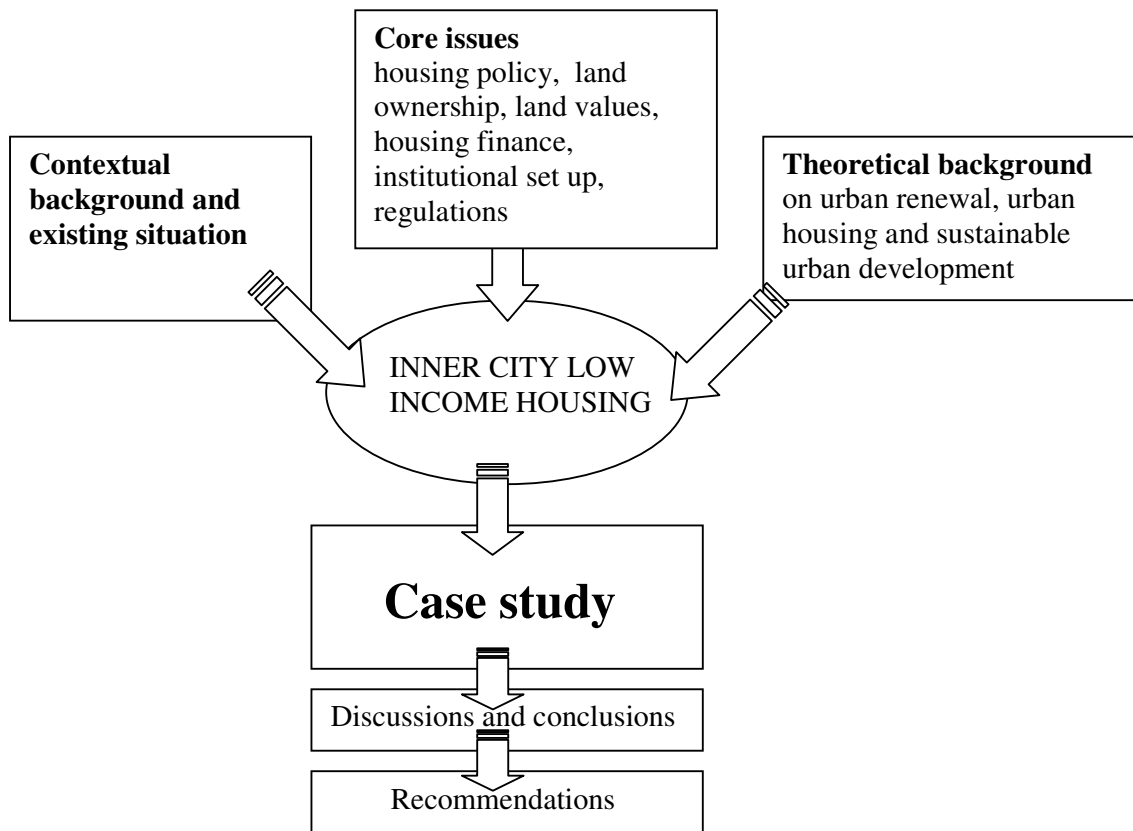


Figure 1.2 Organization of the research

The case study part presents the neighborhood studied which is located in the area right behind the main post office, Arada sub-city, kebele 02. The data gathered on the case study area is analyzed and the results of the data analysis discussed. This is followed by concluding remarks on research findings and recommendations.

1.2 Problem Statement

The present practice of preparing local development plans leaves much to be desired in its addressing of the needs of the various stakeholders that exist in the inner city. Most LDP's adopt a method that gives consideration mainly to the advantages of the private developer. In most cases they promote "a clear and build" approach to urban renewal. In this situation original settlements, which house the majority of the low income population, have no place. In most of these plans the consequence of urban renewal on low income housing in the inner city is seldom discussed. The potential of the inner

city to be for everybody is often ignored. Besides there are no comprehensive development strategies that show concern with the residents.

Currently the common approaches to providing housing are limited. Condominium housing projects by the city government are the most wide spread and ambitious targets have been set for them. Site and service programs that require a blocked account in a bank in order to secure land on which to build own house also address the demands of mostly new families. Real estate housing, such as Ayat real estate, is predominantly targeted at a higher income group. All these require some kind of down payment as a precondition to own one of the units or be able to secure land. All of the programs concentrate on the provision or construction of new housing and do not address the problem of low income communities within the inner city areas. With the current economic and land lease policy giving priority to the demands of those who can pay more for land, it is only the higher income people who have the upper hand in the command of land in the inner city. Low income people stand to lose the advantages of location. In an area with good potential for various small and medium sized business activities, big businesses have started to expand and displace smaller ones.

The current practice does not promote the mixed nature of the city of Addis Ababa. The mixed nature is reflected in the differences in income as well in housing, commerce and other appropriate functions existing side by side. Inner city residential neighborhoods are slowly being eroded away by the quest for prime land.

The common practice of using outlying areas for new settlements has incurred huge costs on the government, as well as the owners of the houses in these new settlements. Infrastructure provision costs and transport costs can be mentioned as examples.

Slum clearance schemes often lead to the creation of slums in other areas in the vicinity. Inner city residents are most likely to look for alternative housing and

business opportunities near their original locations as they do not want to lose the advantages of being located in the inner city.¹

1.3 Research Question

Low income settlements face various problems in the process of urban renewal. On the one hand the people in these settlements do not want to lose the advantages of the inner city. In these areas low income residents have a matured social mixture and through the years they have maintained a level of social interdependence.

On the other hand, in their present condition most inner city residential areas lack the proper physical structure to be integrated into the overall city structure. City designers' and planners' efforts so far are limited to street side development or in and around major public spaces and centers. As a result the only solution that public officials and some planners think viable for inner city low income settlements is clearance and rebuilding, which has been reflected in projects such as ECA surrounding and Kazanchis area.

Urban development theory and practice shows that urban renewal gives rise to two opposing poles. There is a need to modernize the inner city on the one hand, and on the other, the residents' needs should be properly addressed. The main research question is therefore, to investigate how to create a situation where both can be achieved.

¹ The case of piazza slum replacement by condominium housing can be cited as an example. This area is found on the street leading down from the EEPCO building adjacent the historic Addis Ababa style house of Musie Minas. The deterioration and crowding of adjacent areas after the displacement of original residents by the new construction of some units was immediate.



Figure 1.3 Addis Ababa with a huge amount of underdeveloped back street areas with predominantly low income residential settlements. This particular location is behind the Emigration office.

Some of the related questions include:

- What should be done to ensure that low income people can continue to live in inner city areas and reap the benefits of location?
- Many of these inner city locations have a rich social fabric. What should be done to protect and preserve this positive asset of these old settlements?
- What ways exist for improving our inner city without so much inconvenience to the residents?
- What strategies can be used for the successful coexistence of low income housing with other functions in inner city areas?
- Who should be the main actors in our improvement efforts?

1.4 Objectives of the study

The main objective of the research is to investigate the best strategies for improving low income housing in inner city areas. The research examines the potentials of low income settlements economically, socially and physically. It recommends workable and sustainable inner city renewal approach that causes as little inconvenience to the settlements as possible.

1.5 Scope and Limitations of the Study

By taking the case of Addis Ababa the study concentrates on inner city low income housing. In most cases low income people and their housing choices are the most neglected in urban development efforts. Low income residents are by far the largest portion of the population occupying a significant part of the inner city. The study focuses on strategies for improving low income housing in inner city neighborhoods where conflicts of interest are seemingly very high.

I have faced some limitations during my work on the research paper. There is an acute lack of references locally; especially recent relevant reference books are rare in local libraries. Some difficulties exist in accessing information from other establishments.

1.6 Research Method

The research made explorations first into approaches to urban renewal and urban housing with emphasis on low income housing. This part of the study involves studies supported with reference books, periodicals and the internet.

The second part reviews contextual information on urban Ethiopia and the city of Addis Ababa. It is supported by primary and secondary data from the concerned organizations such as the municipality and previous studies made on housing in Ethiopia.

1.6.1 Selection of the case study area

For any research process that tries to give alternatives to local situations, the crucial first step is to understand the existing local situation. In order to understand the characters of a location and the people who live in the area, the case study method is the most commendable. It allows a closer contact with the actual situation.

For the present study a case study area was chosen based on several criteria. The preliminary decision on the choice of the area was based on visual observation. The case study area has to be in the city center of Addis Ababa. The city center is defined as the area that is found between the four main centers of Addis Ababa. These centers

are the National Theatre area which is also the central business district, Arat Kilo, Piazza and Mercato.²

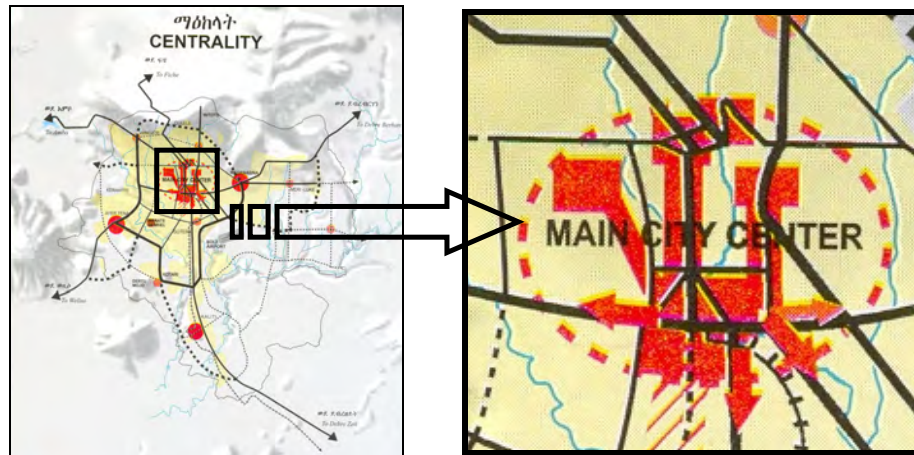


Figure 1.4 City center studies in the revised master plan of Addis Ababa.

Currently the Addis Ababa city center is the location that is under pressure from urban renewal projects. It is also the oldest part of Addis Ababa with predominantly deteriorating structures and places. The city center is also characterized by a concentration of low income single story settlements arranged organically.

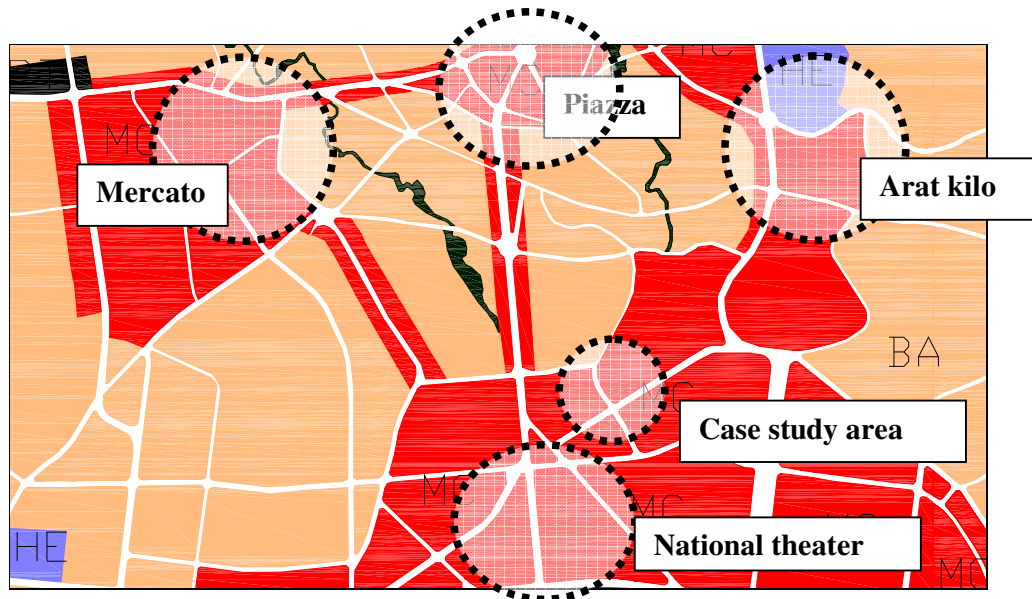


Figure 1.5 City center location of the case study area /Arada sub-city, Kebele 02/

² Centrality, /2001/ the Addis Ababa City Government Urban Development and Works Bureau, Office for the Revision of Addis Ababa Master Plan.

The case study area behind the post office building and in front of the Ambassador Cinema and park is an essential part of the inner city. It has been targeted for redevelopment as part of the Sheraton Surrounding Urban Renewal Project /SSURP/.

Moreover the area chosen for the case study is physically as well as socially well defined neighborhood. There are major roads bounding it with a river on one side. There is a kindergarten within the area. As the research focuses on low income groups, it was necessary to identify a “poor” neighborhood.



Figure 1.6 A well defined neighborhood with manageable size chosen for case study

1.6.2 Sampling technique

The area chosen for the case study has 250 households. The amount of rent paid by those households that live in houses owned by the Kebele were identified and the amount of rent ascertained. This was done by the help of the Kebele administration. From among these, 95 households were chosen whose rent was below 40 birr per month. This was the technique that was used to identify the lowest income people within the area. A house hold survey was done on these 95 households.

1.6.3 Development of questionnaire

In the development of the questionnaire a number of discussions were held with my advisor. Initially references were made to questionnaires adopted by other studies such as those for the housing study by PADCO and the National Urban Planning Institute. In the process of the development of the questionnaire areas of focus were identified. The content of the questionnaire is such that it can assist in finding answers

to the research question and meet the objectives of the research. These include the condition of the housing unit, the nature of the neighborhood, the opinion that residents themselves have about their neighborhood and the ability and willingness of the residents to undertake and participate in improvement efforts.

1.6.4 Data collection technique

Data collectors were employed to gather information through the structured questionnaire. They were selected based on their previous similar experiences.

The data collected was processed by the SPSS computer software which is a highly useful tool in analyzing data. I have further made use of informants whom I interviewed on the history and other physical aspects of the area.

The other technique is the documentation of the area's physical characteristics with photographs. I made various visits to the site to make preliminary assessments. This initial observation was followed by a more focused survey to identify the main characteristics of the area.

I have also made use of supporting plans and maps of Addis Ababa. I have used a GIS map of the kebele to identify the number of households and their house numbers during the initial stages. I have made use of Nortech maps to show an accurate two dimensional depiction of the existing settlements.

2. Theoretical Background

2. Theoretical Background

2.1 Urban Renewal

2.1.1 Concepts and Definitions

Traditionally the practice of urban renewal had been characterized by the displacement of an existing low income population. This is in most case with a view to provide space for more profitable office, commercial and luxury residential development or the provision of transport facilities.

However the term urban renewal has varied definitions.

“In some places renewal meant erecting a civic monument in downtown plaza; in others, rehabilitating sound but decaying homes; in others, getting undesirables out of desirable neighborhoods by spot clearance; in others, stabilizing blighted neighborhoods and encouraging residents to improve their properties; in others,

developing land that will attract new business into the community; and in still others, assembling tracts on which subsidized low or middle income housing might be built.”³

It was at the first international seminar on urban renewal held in the Hague in 1958 that experts came up with a plausible definition for urban renewal.

“It can no longer be the same as slum clearance or traffic improvements or repair of deteriorated areas; it is a comprehensive activity designed to counteract functional obsolescence of the urban structure as a whole and the parts and elements of it, and to revitalize continually all elements and parts of the urban area.”⁴

Due to the failure of local government to regulate the balance between residential and commercial activities that prevailed in most city centers, urban renewal efforts have resulted in displacement of inner city residents and development of predominantly commercial centers. “The prevailing trend towards increasing commercialization, therefore, appears to be in most cases the predominant threat to particularly inner city residents resulting in uprooting people and dwellings, destroying the micro-business and the informal economy established in these areas.”⁵

There are two major types of intervention; *private and public sector renewal*. In *private sector urban renewal*, urban transformation is a market led process. The urban environment is constantly adapting to the changing needs and demands of capital. There is more competition for best locations. This results in a higher price for centrally located land, higher intensity of land use, the domination by commercial and uses, threatened inner city residential neighborhoods and a growing demand for efficiency in movement.

The main motive of private sector renewal is profit making. A site is worth developing if its capital value after redevelopment is more than the present value.⁶ Private sector renewal efforts are mostly in the inner city or the CBD and other fast transforming

³ Wilson in Ashenafi Gossaye/Dr. ing /, /2001/ **Inner-city renewal in Addis Ababa**, pp79

⁴ ibid

⁵ ibid

⁶ There are other factors which should not be overlooked such as age of buildings, return from existing use, neighborhood character, present and speculated land value and government regulations.

areas. Dilapidated areas without profit making capacity are excluded from renewal programs.⁷

Public sector urban renewal is an alternative to market system led renewal. Its main goal is achieving social objectives. The events of the mid 19th century in Europe and America were the most significant starting points for such an effort. It was a period when the industrial revolution led to city center growth and congestion. There was a deteriorating condition of housing with a redevelopment of infrastructure and services.⁸ Two modes of involvement by the state in urban renewal can be cited. One is where the state becomes an agent of all aspects of development. In the other, it becomes a mediator to bring about development responsive to popular demand.⁹

Urban renewal projects may bring about extensive changes in the whole pattern of urban living activities. They bring about change in human environmental interactions. The urban architecture undergoes transformations because of urban renewal efforts. The poor sections of the population are under pressure in the situation created by urban renewal.

Residential redevelopment plays a central role in the urban renewal program. This will have some advantages. The first one is, it is a convenient point of reference for less extreme and less homogenous modifications. Secondly it is easier to analyze than other aspects of redevelopment as benefits are partially explicable through welfare economic theory. Finally residential redevelopment is well connected to other aspects of renewal.¹⁰

⁷ Dr Ashenafi in his thesis points out a paradox in private sector urban renewal. He points out an advantage in its ability to make use of private capital. But points out a disadvantage where the capitalist system is unable to bring about socially acceptable outcomes. There is a disjunction between individual benefits and benefits of the society.

⁸ The most famous example of such change was that brought about to Paris by Haussmann in the 19th century.

⁹ In Sweden and Denmark, it is not recommended that the government is involved in public housing programs. There are no projects built and operated by public agencies. Non profit or limited profit housing associations and cooperatives receive low cost government loans and financial advantages and in exchange reserve a portion of their dwelling units for families/low income or other/ the city refers/sends/ to them. Low income families receive allowance to pay rent and remain unanimous to avoid social and income segregation.

¹⁰ The purposes of urban renewal can be many. Elimination of blight and slums, mitigation of poverty, provision of safe, decent and sanitary housing in a suitable environment for all, revival of downtown business areas of the central cities, maintenance and/or expansion of universities and hospitals, achievement and /or maintenance of adequate middle income housing in the inner city, attraction of additional clean industry into the city, enhancement of the financial strength of the central city government; all these can be the goals of urban renewal.

2.1.2 Approaches to urban renewal

There are three common approaches to urban renewal. These are slum clearance and resettlement, rehabilitation and conservation and slum and squatter upgrading.

Slum clearance and resettlement

In slum clearance and resettlement schemes existing structures are removed and the cleared land is reused for new projects. There are three common reasons for adopting this approach. The first one is city beautification or improvement. It is largely driven by the politicians' belief that only new and modern housing is worth while. The second reason is reduction of crime and health problems. In the opinion of this group slum areas are considered as breeding grounds for social and health problems and these problems of low income settlements could be solved by merely changing the physical environment. The final reason is the effective use of land and provision of public facilities. Following a physical and economic growth in inner city areas there is commonly a rise in land values. This in turn exerts pressure to redevelop with projects of a higher return.

Practical experiences throughout the world show that slum clearance and resettlement has largely turned out to be ineffective as resettlement areas are often poor providers of employment, incur additional travel expenses on residents and these areas often suffer from poor infrastructure. Hence its effect on low income settlements has been adverse. It has destroyed social systems and small businesses. The provision of replacement shelter has become an economic burden to cities.

Slum clearance and resettlement has in many cases worsened the situation of the cities because those evicted have crowded into untouched areas leading to a further deterioration of the urban environment. The rich social fabrics of old settlements have been destroyed. Low income people have always tended to return to the inner city and find alternative ways for shelter since the inner city is where they can find employment. It has led to the destruction of cultural heritage.¹¹ The general trend around the world is a rejection of this approach.

¹¹ The same phenomenon has been noticed in clearance efforts in the city of Addis Ababa. In recent efforts to replace existing old settlement with condominium housing many listed old buildings have been destroyed.

Rehabilitation and conservation

The approach of rehabilitation and conservation came about as a result of the ineffectiveness of slum clearance schemes. The strategy was to retain the existing settlements and make improvements. The problems of the inner city should be tackled on site according to this approach. Many efforts to better the situation of housing during the industrial revolution especially in England are important precedents. The 1960s saw significant emphasis being given to this approach.¹²

According to Kirby rehabilitation and conservation is about; “residential rebuilding to eliminate the environmental and structural deficiencies which cause a dwelling to be regarded as obsolete or sufficiently obsolescent to be unsuitable for continual occupation.”¹³ It is however unclear how the structural improvement of individual units could result in the improvement of the total urban environment.¹⁴

A memo on urban development terms issued by UNESCO /1996/ at the Habitat II conference in Istanbul shortly describes the main concern of rehabilitation and conservation.

“bringing back to a certain level of efficiency and or returning to a state of functionality; put back in function; make the fabric or ensemble to perform its function /usually associated with current standards and not necessarily traditional building techniques or materials/”¹⁵

The weakness of this definition is that it makes no reference to social rehabilitation. Socio economic situations facilitate the rate of urban deterioration and need to be addressed. Opponents of the habitat II definition call for a comprehensive social and physical rehabilitation. This will enable the improvement of the overall living conditions of those living in urban areas. Steinberg’s /1996/ definition is worth quoting here.

“...it means the creative use and reuse of older quarters of the city, taken as a whole. Where possible, old buildings are repaired and modernized, to facilitate their continued use, especially as housing. This often includes upgrading of

¹² Ashenafi Gossaye/Dr. ing /, /2001/ **Inner-city renewal in Addis Ababa**, pp98

¹³ Kirby /1979/ cited in Ashenafi Gossaye/Dr. ing /, /2001/ **Inner-city renewal in Addis Ababa**, pp99

¹⁴ *ibid*

¹⁵ UNESCO /1996/ cited in Ashenafi Gossaye/Dr. ing /, /2001/ **Inner-city renewal in Addis Ababa**, pp99

infrastructure services on a modest scale, allowing the preservation of the existing urban pattern and fabric. Where necessary, some change of use may be incorporated but on a small scale. Demolition should be normally reserved for structurally unsound buildings, but may also sometimes be needed in order to provide space for essential social services, infrastructure or open space. An overriding objective is to minimize the displacement of existing residents because of demolition or repair and upgrading. The intention is to provide enough modernization of the physical fabric to allow the life of the community to go on with scope for both building and social systems to evolve and adapt to new conditions.”¹⁶

Some very important issues have been raised in the above definition. The first one is on social concerns. Changing land uses and land values are constantly posing problems for the maintaining of low income housing in these areas. This is commonly known as the threat of gentrification. The second one is citizen participation and political support. Use must be made of the residents’ capacity to improve their situation. The government’s role should be to give political support. This can be a way to economize on resources. The third important issue is concerned with the economic aspects of housing. In many situations where there is a lack of funds for new developments, the demolition of existing housing stock becomes a waste of scarce resources. In terms of time and cost rehabilitation is a reasonable approach to neighborhood regeneration. The final significant issue is urban identity. The approach gives emphasis to existing urban patterns and features and recommends their conservation and continued use.

Rehabilitation requires high degree of social organization and responsibility. It could result in relocation /temporary or permanent/. The relocation can be temporary until rehabilitation work is done. It can be permanent if there is a rise in property value, a rise in rent, a better situation in makeshift accommodation or a decrease in number of units.

¹⁶Steinberg /1996/ cited in Ashenafi Gossaye/Dr. ing /, /2001/ **Inner-city renewal in Addis Ababa**, pp101

There are two types of residential rehabilitation. The households may be moved to a temporary accommodation and return when the renovation work is finished or they may remain and invest in improving housing, the environment and social conditions.

Slum and squatter upgrading

“This is a comprehensive developmental approach where the original population stays on site and incrementally upgrades with or without public or NGO assistance.”¹⁷ Such an approach has the capacity to empower, add pride in area of residence and maintain social links of the community. It can transform the neighborhood by the installation or improvement of infrastructure, rearrangement of layout, extension of social services, legislation of tenure and provision of financial and building assistance. There are two components to slum and squatter upgrading. Squatter settlements are legalized and there is improvement in infrastructure.

Perlman /1981/ has outlined the advantages of this approach. From an economic perspective legalization conserves investments in the housing stock and infrastructure. It is also considerably cheaper per unit than demolition and new construction. It allows full use of human resources as proximity to job and information markets ensures employment opportunity. It enables residents to avoid job losses that are associated with relocation.

From a social perspective it assists in the preservation of kinship. It can facilitate the transformation of squatter settlements into mature integrated communities and promote economical and political stability. From a political perspective relocation raises the risk of discontent towards the political system.

Current situations in developing countries make it impractical to expect inner city areas to be free of slums. For this reason macro economic policies and institutional reforms are an indispensable part. The promotion of long term economic growth, the creation of employment opportunities and the reduction of poverty and inequality are significant contributors to the situation of housing. Urban renewal is moving slowly towards more socially, economically, culturally and environmentally sustainable approaches.¹⁸

2.2 The roots of the need for housing in inner city areas

¹⁷ Ashenafi Gossaye/Dr. ing /, /2001/ **Inner-city renewal in Addis Ababa,**

¹⁸ *ibid*

2.2.1 The compact city and sustainability

Sprawl has become a common phenomenon in most cities of the world. With an ever increasing population and a faster rate of urbanization in developing countries a sustainable approach to cities is a necessity.

Anthony Downs /1999/ in his article “**Some Realities about Sprawl and Urban Decline**” outlined ten traits of urban sprawl. The ten traits can be summarized as follows: (1) unlimited outward extension of development, (2) low-density residential and commercial settlements, (3) leapfrog development, (4) fragmentation of powers over land use among many small localities, (5) dominance of transportation by private automotive vehicles, (6) no centralized planning or control of land- uses, (7) widespread strip commercial development, (8) great fiscal disparities among localities, (9) segregation of types of land uses in different zones, and (10) reliance mainly on the trickle-down or filtering process to provide housing to low-income households.

Various norms exist about the compact city. “Urban density over decentralization, open space protection over completely built up areas, mixed land use over Euclidian zoning, vital downtowns and central business districts combining high percentage of residential uses over strictly commercial spaces and high use of public transit over individual transportation.”¹⁹

Compact city strategies promote city structures or comprehensive plans giving clear priority to compactness. In such a situation, large blocks or open space or green wages come close to urban neighborhoods. Strong emphasis is put on *infill development* and *intensification*. A more efficient use of abandoned or underutilized land within the urban core is encouraged. There has to be a high level of mixing and integration of functions. Transit oriented transportation systems limiting automobile use and a reduction in travel times are necessary components of a compact city.

“Sustainable compact cities could, I contend, reinstate the city as the ideal habitat for a community based society. It is an established type of urban structure that can be interpreted in all manner of ways in response to all manner of cultures.

¹⁹ Marcotullio, Peter J, /2001/ The compact city, Environmental Transition Theory and Asia Pacific Urban Sustainable Development. Pp 3

Cities should be about the people they shelter, about face to face contact, about condensing the ferment of human activity, about generating and expressing local culture. Whether in a temperate or an extreme climate, in a rich or poor society, the long term aim of sustainable development is to create a flexible structure for a vigorous community within a healthy and non polluting environment. ²⁰

The kind of policy a town or a region or country follows has crucial bearing on the desired outcome of the compact city. Compact city strategies, national transportation and location policies are necessary for a compact city ideal.

The most exemplary compactness can be found in Europe. The most notable among European countries are Germany, Denmark and the Netherlands. In the Netherlands only 13 % of total land area is devoted to towns.²¹ This is despite the country being a physically small one. Europe has a long history of support for compactness supported by a culture and environmental need for planning on a regional scale. In the United States on the other hand little attention has been given to compact city strategies until recently. The growing incompatibility of sprawl with sustainable development has forced them to pay attention to the compact city.

There are many doubts however as to the plausibility of the compact city idea. Some question whether it is a practical solution in today's world²². Others express their concern over whether the imposition of a single policy to reduce the impact of urban areas on the environment is difficult to implement.²³ The approach to city planning practiced in the city of Curitiba, Brazil is worth mentioning here. The integration of other aspects of the environment such as waste recycling with transport planning have resulted in an exemplary sustainable city. The critics of the compact city are a small group and the success it has in European cities has shown that it is a viable solution to city living. It should be remembered however that on its own it can not succeed in bringing about sustainability to the towns of today.

The compact city model promotes the integration of various functions within a limited area of a city. The proximity from places of residence to work and leisure facilities is

²⁰ Rogers, Richard and Gumuchdjan, Philip /1997/. **Cities for a Small Planet**, Faber and Faber, London.

²¹ Opcit

²² Marcotullio

²³ ibid

one of the most central issues in the compact city ideal. It is against the increasing segregation of housing from other functions such as commercial ones. It is also against the pushing out of residential functions away from the city center.

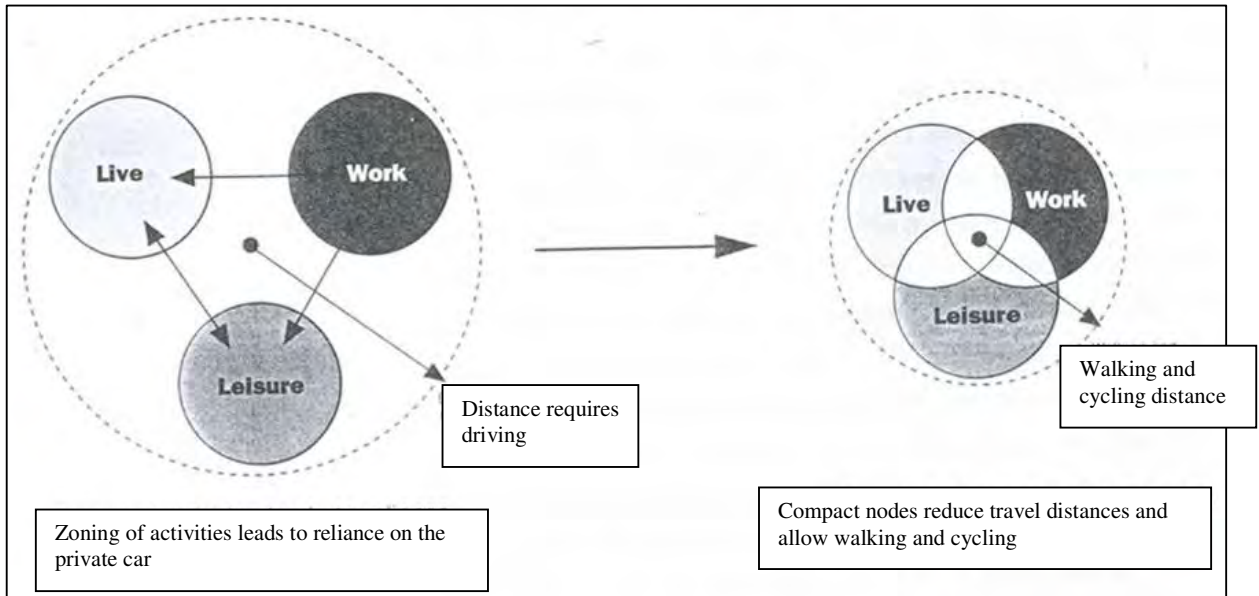


Figure 2.1 compact mixed use nodes reduce journey requirements and create lively sustainable neighborhoods. Source Richard Rogers, Cities for a Small Planet

2.2.2 Diversity of use and the inner city

In the quest to find the skeleton of the city, the favorites are expressways and boulevards. However the most important aspect of city structure is the mixture of its uses. The roots for the existence of cities are found where we find the conditions that generate diversity.²⁴

“Dull inert cities do contain the seeds of their own destruction and little else. But lively, diverse and intense cities contain the seeds of their own regeneration; with energy enough to carry over for problems and needs outside themselves.”²⁵

It is a common practice for most urban designers and architects to understand the city in terms of separate uses. However the city cannot be understood in such terms as it involves much more complex relationships that arise from the combinations of its various uses.²⁶ Issues of safety in the urban environment are very much related to the

²⁴ Jane Jacobs /1956/, The Death and Life of Great American Cities, pp 144

²⁵ ibid, pp 144

²⁶ Gratz and Mintz /1998/in “New Life for Downtown, Cities Back from the Edge” called this mixture and layering of uses “A complex, multi dimensional urban fabric”

diversity of uses that a city has. The lack of diversity in inner city areas can result in two possible scenarios. A lack of commercial and business land uses can result in environments that are too dangerous during working hours. A lack of residential land uses can result in urban environments that are too dangerous during night hours.

Big cities are natural generators of diversity.²⁷ They are natural economic homes for lots of small enterprises. This diversity is in part an outcome of closeness in the city. Small businesses exist because there are demands at short, convenient intervals.

Jane Jacobs in her book "The Death and life of American cities" described what the city of diverse land uses has provided us. She said; ".....when distance inconvenience sets in, the small, the various and the personal wither away."²⁸

According to Jacobs /1956/ there are conditions for generating city diversity. She calls these conditions 'tangible economic relationships'. These conditions are as follows;

1. A district and its internal parts must serve more than one /preferably two/ functions /primary land uses/. The rationale for this concept is, within the complete city there are people with different schedules and purposes.

2. City blocks should be short so that the possibility of making shortcuts to get to one's destination is open. Such a strategy will make more social contacts possible.

3. The city must comprise of buildings of varying ages with varying economic yields. There must be a close grained mix of both types of buildings.

- 4 There must be a dense concentration of people. This suggests the necessary existence of residential functions in the city.

Jacobs further elaborates that the above four conditions together can create 'effective economic pools of use.'

"Intricate mingling of different uses are not a form of chaos; they represent a complex and highly developed sense of order."²⁹ True physical variety comes from differences that are rooted in use. It comes from differences of content.

²⁷ This diversity depends on whether cities are in possession of "efficient economic pools of use".

²⁸ Jane Jacobs /1956/, The Death and Life of Great American Cities

²⁹ Jacobs, The death and life of great American cities, pp 222

“The interweaving of human patterns, they are full of people, doing different things, with different reasons and different ends in view, and the architecture reflects and expresses this difference which is one of content rather than form alone. Being human, human beings are what interest us most. In architecture as in literature and drama, it is the richness of human variations that gives vitality and color to the human setting.”³⁰

The most important aesthetic problem of cities is how to accommodate city diversity well in visual terms, how to respect its freedom while showing visually it is a form of order.³¹

It is not always the push for renewal that is the cause for the deterioration of an area. A gain in popularity could be a catalyst to deterioration. Popular places will encourage a competition for space. This will usher in a rise in land value with a gradual displacement of small businesses and residents. Single uses begin to dominate and the inevitable outcome is a loss of vitality. To avoid the self destruction of diversity the best strategy is to limit the excess duplication of one kind of land use in one place.

In this regard there are three means for protecting diversity,³²

a/ Zoning for Diversity

Zoning must be strictly controlled so that changes and replacements can not be overwhelmingly of one kind. Such an effort should not be to preserve urban environments as they are but to control unhealthy growth and change. The variety in types of accommodations will be reflected in the variety of uses and populations.

An example from ‘the death and life of great American cities’ is a park surrounded by intensive repetitions of tall offices and apartments that could be zoned for lower buildings along its south side. This has two useful purposes. The first one is protecting the parks supply of sun. The second one is protecting diversity of uses indirectly. It is advantageous to mix different uses and building sizes in the urban environment.

³⁰ Eugene Raskin cited in Jacobs, pp229

³¹ As a strategy to overcome the danger of one kind of land use dominating an area Jacobs suggests a control on the size of street frontages permitted for each land use.

³² Jacobs, pp 252

To be successful such zoning must be accompanied by tax adjustments. The mixing of land uses and income groups will ensure a larger tax base than single use urban environments. The best strategy to raise the tax base of a city is not to concentrate on the short term tax potential of every site, which undermines the long term tax potential of whole neighborhoods, but expand the city's territorial quantity of successful areas.

b/ Public buildings that are of strong character and situated at strategic locations can assist in protecting and promoting diversity.

c/ The third aspect is what Jacobs calls competitive diversion. We must develop more urban areas with diversity so that the protection of the remaining ones is possible.

A similar approach has been formulated by Gratz and Mintz who advocate **urban husbandry** rather than ambitious projects. They call for modest public investments and the exploitation of the '**catalytic efforts of creative citizens.**' There are no excessive visions and there is an organic cycle that encourages the spread of new life to adjacent areas and the renewal of the urban fabric. The development of local economies, enlivening downtowns, stimulating diversity, sidewalk bustle, place, economic diversity and growth are all aspects that can be achieved through the use of urban husbandry. "Urban husbanders" believe that "assets are already in place to be invigorated and built onto in order to stimulate a place based rejuvenation that adds to the long evolving, existing strengths instead of replacing them" The point is to introduce change incrementally and involve entrepreneurs of various sizes not just one big developer.

Urban husbanders further stress the importance of small businesses/especially locally owned ones/ as starting points for rejuvenation. Old or long time residents do not often recognize the potentials of their location. Younger and new entrepreneurs from within or outside the area are the most likely choice for new efforts. Small manufacturing and retailing on location of production also has advantages. It can provide jobs and street side activity. Local loan pools and government sponsored loan programs can be created in order to assist rejuvenation. This is commonly provided for historic preservation, façade improvement, urban design plans, new construction programs/sidewalk improvement, tree plantings, street furniture, signage upgrades/ it

should also include marketing and tenant identification, investing in people and developing the local economy. We should encourage entrepreneurs not just create jobs.

2.2.3 Housing as an essential ingredient of inner city growth

The famous housing expert Charles Abrams /1964/ questioned whether public housing failed completely or not. His answer was that it did not.

“It proved many things. It proved that large blighted areas are *assemblable, replannable and rebuildable*. It won public acceptance of large scale urban improvement and established the legal base for it. It proved that housing investments are profitable investments, that the public provision of shelter is a government duty, that the housing authority mechanism can at least operate without graft. All this is no small achievement.”³³

Widespread poverty has made housing unaffordable to a large part of the urban population. Subsidies for some portion of the urban population are a necessity. There are methods for administering subsidies for people who can not afford to pay for the whole of housing provision. Shelter can be provided by private individuals and landlords and the government can provide subsidies to assist the process of shelter provision.

In the past public housing, as a lofty ideal of creating ideal housing areas, failed in the majority of cases. One reason for this was the difficulty created in the managing of large government owned housing estates by the government itself. Such public housing schemes also assisted in the destruction of the city as an organism. “The city became a static collection of sites for planting statistics.”³⁴ The segregation of people by income in such projects lead to social problems. Its good side was, it enabled some experimentation with physical and social planning theories.

Jane Jacobs /1956/ has made various suggestions on shelter provision in the inner city. Her suggestions are formulated such that new construction can be introduced “gradually instead of cataclysmically.” New construction is an ingredient of neighborhood diversity instead of a form of standardization. We can provide shelter

³³ cited in Jacobs /1956/ pp 322

³⁴ *ibid*

and address other problems of city growth at the same time. In her formulations, physical units to be inserted into existing urban areas are buildings instead of projects. They are to be inserted into areas with buildings of various ages and uses. The government must guarantee financing in this scenario. The amount of rent should be fixed depending on income. Constructions will be required to be built on a specified spot and neighborhood. Who ever undertakes the construction activities has to take tenants from within a specified area or group. From among these tenants the government will make a selection as to who is most in need of a subsidy on rent. Depending on changes in income, the subsidies will be decreased or stopped.

By building in specified locations and selecting tenants from within a specified area various aspects will be positively affected. It will stimulate new constructions. It will ensure that there will be an increase in the net number of dwellings. It will provide the possibility of retaining neighborhood people whose dwellings must be demolished. The introduction of residential as a primary land use will have a positive effect on the vitality of the city neighborhood. They can help in filling up left over spaces that are a result of the introduction of major streets. They can bring down densities and promote the mixing of various income levels.

One method for the protection of inner city housing is to put charges on all interests and stakes in the location. Such a method will protect low income settlements from the threat of eminent domain. In the case of Addis Ababa for example, residents are compensated only for the property on the land. The value of their location is ignored. This has meant it is more likely that their displacement will incur limited costs on the government and the investor. This in turn will increase the threat from new development.

2.2.4 Social Justice

“Cities have the capability of providing something for everybody, only because and only when they are created by everybody.”³⁵

³⁵Jacobs /1956/ pp 238

Spatial and territorial allocation of resources must be based on the principles of social justice. The most beneficial method will be to explore efficiency and distribution jointly for the following reasons. The first is when social cost is ignored in favor of efficiency the affected individuals will be a source of long term inefficiency. There could be a decline in social values and anti social behavior. These will require some extra cost for the correction of social ills. The second case is where efficiency is ignored in favor of social cost. This can be counter productive in the long run because it may lead to an inefficient use of scarce resources.

A just distribution

There is a need for a basis for distribution. Why would individuals have a claim over the products of society? There is the concept of *inherent equality* whereby every body is entitled to a share of the products of society. In another scenario, the claims on scarce resources could depend on ones' *command* of those resources. There could also be unequal allocation according to more *need*. There are those who have control of resources because of *inherited rights*. *Merit* which is based on the degree of difficulty to be overcome in *contributing to production* is a factor for a claim on resources of the society. Those whose activities benefit most people deserve more because of their *contribution to the common good*. There are some with more *output* and have more rights over scarce resources. Finally there are those because of their *efforts and sacrifices* are entitled to more than others³⁶.

Principles of social justice in geographical situations (territorial social justice)

- 1/ Spatial distribution and pattern of regional investment must be able to satisfy the needs of the population.
- 2/ The best form of spatial organization provides extra benefits and increased aggregate output. Such a spatial organization can ensure an increased contribution by each citizen to the local economy. This contribution can be enhanced by among other things, advantageous location.
- 3/ The only situation where deviations in the pattern of territorial investment can be tolerated is when they are designed to overcome environmental difficulties that may prevent the success of the system. The system in this case is expected to enable the

³⁶ Harvey, David /1973/, **Social Justice and the City**, Basil Blackwell Ltd. Oxford, UK, pp 101-108

meeting of the demands of the people or enhance the contribution of the general population to the common good.

The key for a just distribution lies in a socially just means for it.³⁷ According to the Marxian way of thought socially just mechanisms will inevitably result in social justice. It is foolish to expect socially just ends to be achieved by socially unjust means. We have also to consider the initial place that one has in society that affects his or her prospects. This is the fundamental problem of distributive justice. The basic structure of a social system can be called just only if the advantage of the more fortunate encourages the well being of the less fortunate.

According to the Marxists social justice can only be achieved when the least fortunate have the final say. This is what is known as dictatorship of the proletariat. A different solution for a just distribution would be when law and government are effective in keeping markets competitive, resources well exploited, property and wealth widely distributed over time and maintain a social minimum. An equal level of opportunity is provided for all citizens.

Geographically the aim of social justice would be to bring about a spatial organization that maximizes the advantages of the least fortunate. Two elements of this spatial organization are boundaries that demarcate territories and allocation of resources among them. Boundaries must be devised in order to benefit the less fortunate. The weakness of disadvantaged areas politically makes them unable to promote their interests.

Criteria for Achieving Territorial Social Justice

- a/ Distribution of resources so that
 - i. Populations' needs are met
 - ii. Allocation of resources so that inter-territorial multiplier effects are maximized.
 - iii. Extra resources to overcome natural and manmade difficulties from the environment.
- b/ Mechanisms that promote the prospects of the least advantaged

³⁷ It is worth remembering the master plan proposed for Addis Ababa by Guidi and Valle during the short occupation of Ethiopia by the Italians. This master plan proposed a segregation of Italians for native Ethiopians. A troubling thought we did not have to face as the Italians were evicted by the help of the British before implementing the plan. Segregation by race or income is not a sign of a healthy society.

Low income groups are displaced to the outskirts of the city. This may be for reasons of unaffordability of inner city areas or urban redevelopment where people or groups with low financial capacity are pushed out of their original surroundings. They lose the location advantages of the inner city. The inner city becomes a privilege for the well off. The lower income groups suffer from inefficiency in the form of transport cost, segregation, destruction of their social fabric, distance from facilities and undeveloped infrastructure. The current state of affairs in Addis Ababa will have it that those with the means will be in control of the most prime locations. Long term inefficiency will be one of the negative outcomes as segregation could lead to resentment.³⁸

2.3 Low income housing in the inner city

“Rapid urban growth has been accompanied by increasing commodification of housing. Choice, in terms of selecting a neighborhood in which to live, is increasingly becoming a function of income. The result is that the urban poor end up having very little choice at all in terms of where to live. Most cities in both industrial and developing countries are thus experiencing an increasing spatial segregation of their inhabitants. Inner-city slums and sprawling informal settlements on the urban fringes or on marginal plots of land, steep slopes, flood-prone areas, and areas close to major roads, railway lines or to polluting industries, etc. are the only options available to the poor when the higher income groups have made their choice.”³⁹

Present urban renewal laws attempt to bring about dramatic change by wiping away slums and their populations and replacing them with projects that have higher tax yields. They hope to attract other residents with less demand. This conventional planning approach to slums is “paternalistic”. It is trying to bring about big changes through superficial means.

The better strategy for overcoming slums is to regard slum dwellers as people, with self interests and able to act on them. We need to understand and build upon forces for

³⁸ In discussions with a unanimous person who used to live in the ECA surrounding area, I have been able to find out that the effect that the relocation has on those residents has been quite painful. More number of deaths have been reported since the relocation. Most of the relocated population has become so poor that sending children to school has become an impossibility. All this people used to rely on their inner city locations to get small jobs such as in security and house hold work.

³⁹ Basic Facts on Urbanization /2001/, UNCHS /habitat/ Information Communication and Advocacy Section. Pp 5

regeneration within the slums themselves.⁴⁰ The most crucial point in the “unslumming of slums”⁴¹ is to find ways so that too many people do not move out at once.

Unslumming slums show vital signs. The first one is the attachment that residents have to the area. There will be a developed form of informal social control. There will be improvements made to the interiors of houses. The economic status of an “unslumming slum” is not considerable. However it provides living space and business opportunity for people with a modest income.

Conventional education for planners, architects and government officials is often opposed to the characteristics of an unslumming slum. Layout, use, ground coverage, mixture and activities are aspects of the urban environment that educated individuals have quite differing ideas from what actually exists. For many the only way to approach the city is by lofty planning ideals such as ‘radiant garden city.’ City planning does not respect spontaneous self diversification among the city population; it does not try to provide a situation for this self diversification; it does not concern itself with the aesthetic problems of expressing it.

The nature of blight and slums

A slum is characterized as a settlement in which dwellings predominate, which by reason of dilapidation, overcrowding, faulty arrangement or design, lack of ventilation or light, or sanitation facilities or any combination of these factors, are detrimental to safety, health and morals.⁴²

Low income families demand low income settlements as they can find affordable housing and goods in such a situation. In most developing countries, an inferior housing for the poor is an equilibrium situation representing optimal resource use. In such a situation, slum eradication policies have no benefits.

⁴⁰ “If there were no slum dwellers to poor migrants to inherit city failures, the problem of low vitality neighborhoods abandoned by those with choice would still remain and perhaps would be even more troubling” Jane Jacobs ,pp 274

⁴¹ The unslumming of slums signifies the revitalization of a neighborhood from within itself by the slow improvement of each house by the resident himself or herself. Small improvements to the interiors of houses are signs a positive change.

⁴² Rothenberg, Jerome, /1967/, **Economic Evaluation of Urban Renewal**, The Brookings Institute, Washington

The presence of poverty will be manifested in the physical characteristics of settlements. Most urban slums are occupied by first generation immigrant families for whom the conditions of the slum are much better than their original places. A long lasting solution to the problem of slums can only be found if the problems of poverty and standards of living can be solved.

The supply of housing depends upon various factors. The replacement by new housing, however minimal the effect might be; will enable retirement at the lower end of the housing stock. New housing is in most cases targeted for middle and high income people. This is commonly termed as *filtering*. This is often a result of middle and high income households give up their dwellings and switch to newer and better accommodation.⁴³

A third factor is what happens when a stock of typically old, worn housing is cut up in the process of *downward conversion*. This is the supply of housing for lower income groups by converting higher income households in bad condition. This is a typical housing solution for the poor.⁴⁴

Slums may not be an optimum response to normal market forces for the following reasons.⁴⁵

1/ neighborhood effects

Housing is not only dwelling unit but its location and the location of the neighborhood. The neighborhood consists of other units, commercial and industrial establishments, public services like schools, street lighting, police protection, recreational and cultural amenities and *people*. The quality of a unit and the likelihood of maintenance may depend on the original state or improvement efforts or character and choices made by other households in the vicinity.

2/ private response to externalities

- a. By voluntary agreements among property owners
- b. Integration of resource decisions by large scale private assembly of land.

⁴³ ibid

⁴⁴ The common phenomenon of 'kitiya' that we notice in most of Addis Ababa has similar characteristics. The details of this process in our context can be found in Essayas Ababu Tarekegn /Dr. ing /, /2000/ **KITIYA, Transformation of low income housing in Addis Ababa**

⁴⁵ Rothenberg, Jerome, /1967/, **Economic Evaluation of Urban Renewal**, The Brookings Institute, Washington

Both a and b are difficult in implementation considering the large number of actors that can lead to longer and more complicated bargaining. However organized action will give residents more power be it financial or political or in the command of resources.

Slums and blight are different things. Slums are characterized by their physical attributes, while blight is a process of sub optimal land use. Slums may not exhibit blight and may reflect optimal resource use. The eradication of slums that are not blighted produces no benefits in terms of aggregate national product.

3/ social action and slums

Codes enacted to control the quality of the urban environment are less effective for low quality areas than high quality ones for two reasons.

- a. Slum dwellers have low incomes, are less able to carry out maintenance, loans are difficult to get and interest rates are high.
- b. Tenants are unaware of the necessary discipline of urban living as most are from rural areas and culturally different societies. They may quicken the rate of deterioration of units. Landlords are also likely to ignore maintenance for this reason and because of unavailability of loans.

Biases in the profitability of slum creation exist. Slums do not simply happen; they represent a pattern of resource use that is man made. They are produced because they are profitable. They satisfy the housing needs of the low income sector of the population. Slums are produced intensively and extensively. Intensively when converting property to lower and lower use, and lower and lower quality level of services. It is extensive when extending the spatial boundaries of slum concentrations. These two often go together. The most common intensive production of slums is to convert dwellings to increasingly overcrowded occupancy. Profitable situations are created by producing low income settlements as there is a demand for inferior housing. Tax rates that increase with improvements have a negative effect on slums.

The characters of a slum can be either physical deterioration or socio-economic problems/ unemployment, marginal household income, delinquency, bad health, gloomy prospects/. A number of causes were pointed out by Arthur D. Little \1966/ in his book Community Renewal Programming. These are low income, age of structures, high percentage of renter households, high cost of housing, residential segregation,

limited concern for housing quality, taxation policies, high cost of investment capital in declining areas, reluctance of property owners to act individually, lack of knowledge and experience regarding home improvements and environmental deficiencies. All of these causes can be noticed in the situation of the housing in the inner city of Addis Ababa and can be a good pointer to the main causes in our own situation.

Slums should be understood on an objective as well as an ideological level. On an objective level the emphasis will be on spatial expressions of social and economic inequality through market driven processes or socio-political processes. Ideologically slum residents are stigmatized and certain places /slums/ attract stigmatized populations.⁴⁶ All these observations must be seen in light of regional differences.

Various conceptual models have been elaborated by several people as to the nature of slums. These are formulated based on various situations and reflect the state and cause of slums in various localities. One conceptual model was that drawn out by **Burgess** /1925/ which stated that slums developed in areas surrounding the central business district. He points out the common phenomenon in the cities of the developed world where there was an escape from the inner city by upper class people and replacement by low income population. Lower income people are less economical ability to take care of their environments and eventual deterioration occurs. His ideas however may not be applicable in all regions. In Addis Ababa for example the inner city is where all economic classes live.

Another model was put forward by **Stokes** /1962/. His concepts of the slum were based on socio economic analysis and the slum dwellers' attitudes towards moving up the social scale. The following table summarizes the observed mix of residents in any slum housing proposed by Stokes.

Table 2.1 Stokes' conceptual model of slums

| classes | slums | |
|---------------|-------|---------|
| | hope | despair |
| escalator | A | B |
| Non escalator | C | D |

A= those with ambition to better themselves and could succeed
 B= those who lack intention and ability

⁴⁶ Ashenafi Gossaye/Dr. ing /, /2001/ **Inner-city renewal in Addis Ababa**, pp69

C= those who can not progress because of skin color or religion

D= those with no abilities and are not allowed to progress

Source ; Ashenafi Gossaye /Dr. ing /, /2001/, **Inner-city renewal in Addis Ababa, pp 72-73**

Stokes ideas have questionable applicability in various situations. He has overlooked those people who chose a low income settlement for the economic and social opportunities it offers. The fact that higher income residents can coexist with low income ones has also been ignored.⁴⁷

A third model is that by **Seeley /1971/**. Seeley sees slums as providers of goods and services: not just dumping grounds for the uncared for. He says slums fulfill necessities for some and provide opportunity for others. They are considered permanent abodes by some and temporary places by others. The following table summarized Seeley's concepts about the slum.

Table 2.2 Seeley's conceptual model of slums

| relation | | |
|-----------|-----------|-------------|
| time | necessity | opportunity |
| permanent | 1 | 3 |
| temporary | 2 | 4 |

1= those who can't leave and have no alternative

2= those with outside associations and higher class life styles

3= those who are in the slums for the opportunities it offers

4= those who are in the slums until they can afford better locations

Source ; Ashenafi Gossaye/Dr. ing /, /2001/ , **Inner-city renewal in Addis Ababa, pp 74-75**

Marries /1981/ proposed another model that is based on neighborhood characteristics. The inner city is a point of entry for those trying to establish themselves in developing countries. The inner city gives access to unskilled employment. The situation in developing countries is characterized by a drain of most economic activity from the inner city. There is a high level of unemployment for both developed and underdeveloped nations. The special character of these places is a result of the forms of tenure and livelihood and the nature of social relationships. There are three typical combinations of factors;

1/ A small neighborhood with poorly built houses in the inner city or illegally situated on public space. People live by small trade, crafts, casual labor and manual work. There is strong internal organization for support and control.

⁴⁷ The situation in Addis Ababa is a good example of the coexistence of different income groups and landuses side by side.

2/ Tenement housing neighborhood with absentee landlords. The people remain poor because the ones with the opportunity move away and are replaced by new migrants. There is not much social solidarity because of the poverty and transitory nature.

3/ Tenement housing neighborhood with a declining inner city. There is a high level of unemployment and public welfare dependency. There is no longer overcrowding but the vacancy rate is high. There is a disintegration of social control and this makes the settlement unsafe.

According to Marris the most hopeful model is the first one where gradual improvements are possible. But there is vulnerability because there are pressures from prestigious and profitable land-uses that tend to displace the existing settlements.⁴⁸

2.4 Approaches to low income housing

The conditions in housing provision have been worsening in developing countries. Population growth is one of the causes for this. There is a fast rate of urbanization and inadequate provision of new housing. An increase in rural-urban migration has been a common occurrence in many cities of the developing world. Existing housing stock has become obsolete and lacking maintenance. Attempts to provide new housing have been hampered by soaring land values, rising building material cost and inadequate financial resources.

In Addis Ababa for example, there have been a shortage in supply of 4500 units per year between the years 1994 and 2000. This situation has further worsened within last five years. The price of the most basic of building materials, cement, has more than doubled in the last two years. Existing inner city low income housing has come under increasing pressure with an ever rising land lease value of inner city land.

Charles Abrams is one of the most influential figures of our time. Abrams, a town planner by profession forwarded the idea that shanty towns were in an intermediate

⁴⁸ The situation in Addis Ababa is similar to this concept..

stage to hope.⁴⁹ In his book 'Man's Struggle for Shelter in an Urbanizing World', he pointed out that one of the most challenging issues caused by the population explosion and the urbanization process was shelter.⁵⁰

Charles Abrams /1964/ was the first person to question the feasibility of public housing programs for the production of completely finished new houses in the cities of the developing world. His proposal was the use of low cost, extendable core houses and roof loan schemes for those with small resources. He also proposed the provision of serviced plots to squatters.

Abrams' ideas were further developed by others. John Turner said that with secure tenure and advantageous location gradual improvements are a likely outcome. One of the most influential ideas forwarded by him is the concept of *housing as a process* rather than shelter provision.

The debate that took place with the background of the ideas of Turner drew the attention of the politicians to the shelter problems of the poor. Many eradication programs were stopped because of it. The housing rights of the poor were acknowledged internationally.

John F.C Turner and his idea of self help

According to Turner the value of housing is in "what it does for people rather than what it actually is."⁵¹ Houses have exchange value as well as use value /human and social values/ The question of who has authority over housing decisions is a central issue in the process of housing. This led him to call for the involvement of the concerned community in the decisions that touch on all aspects of the housing process as it is the only way to insure success. Housing may not necessarily be about house building but the decision making process.

⁴⁹ It needs to be noted that many theories and policies by people such as Turner and Abrams owe a lot to the ideas of Jane Jacobs who in her book 'The death and life of great American cities' touched on many of the ideas used to this day.

⁵⁰ Cited in Ashenafi Gossaye/Dr. ing /, /2001/ opcit, p 51

⁵¹ cited in Ashenafi Gossaye/Dr. ing /, /2001/ **Inner-city renewal in Addis Ababa**, the impact of resettlement on the socio-economic and housing situation of low income residents, pp52

In elaborating on the production and economy of housing he brought in the ideas of heteronomous and autonomous settlements.⁵² Heteronomous settlements are fruits of a process where a large and centralized authority controls major decisions. Autonomous settlements on the other hand are results of the occupants themselves having authority over decisions concerning their settlement. Heteronomous settlements are bureaucratic and are based on hierarchical structures. They are characterized by centralization and their use of large scale technology. They produce objects of high quality at great cost.

The objects that heteronomous settlements produce are however of low use value. They can not accommodate the complexity and variability of housing needs. They have limited long term productivity as they consume considerable capital resources. Their common character of high standards could be a disadvantage as they are likely to end up in the hands of the untargeted group.

Autonomous settlements on the other hand are locally self governing. They produce objects of varying standards but at low cost and have a high use value. They are adjusted to the needs of users and are not socially alienating. They have better long term productivity because they encourage the investment of household income. This is the starting point for the ideas of self help.

In contrast to “mono functional mass housing estates” self help residents are more likely to better their financial and economic situation. This is because they have received training during construction. They are also well located for income earning activities. They have the opportunity to combine living and working space in one location.

⁵² Another classification was forwarded by Graciela Landaeta in her doctoral thesis /Landaeta, Graciela, /1994/, *Strategies for Low Income Housing, a Comparative Study on Nicaragua, Mexico, Guatemala, Cuba, Panama, Costa Rica and El Salvador/*. Housing can either be a commodity or it can be a social service. These two aspects are to be seen in light of financing policies, institutional and legal framework and the development of the building sector. The level of success for both approaches is contentious and depends upon political will, the establishment of institutional, legal and financial framework, the development of the building materials industry, political and economic stability, and a high level of development in grass roots organizations. One of the most important questions in the housing issue is how to address the qualitative problems of low income settlements. Landaeta's suggestion is that our approach has to be a consolidated, holistic one because low income housing is well connected to other aspects.

All housing acts within a larger system and the role of the system should be to facilitate the process. This could be done by providing land, tools, construction materials, skilled labor, management expertise, exchange systems and other assistance.

For the above reasons Turner concludes that autonomous settlements are the only solution for solving the shelter problems of low income groups.

Concerning housing policies Turner made the following recommendations:

a/ A viable policy will be based on self government. Small scale technological and managerial tools should be used. Turner proposes “prospective planning legislation” rather than prescriptive laws.

b/ On the issue of squatters he says they must be given control over design decisions. They should be allowed to build and manage their shelter ideas. They should be enabled to use their own financial resources and imagination in solving problems. They have for example the capacity to use irregular sites effectively. They should be allowed to use local materials and tools.

c/ Security of tenure must be provided and the control of major decisions must be given to the settlers themselves. These decisions are in the areas of building standards, location and tenure status.

Within such an atmosphere the process and the result of housing activities can be economical. It can stimulate individual well being and is conducive to the growth of the urban environment.

Turner further emphasizes the ideas of self help housing by stressing the advantages in house building and self organized settlements. He stands in opposition to the governmental view that low income settlements are an urbanization problem. This point of view became a major influence on 1976 UN Habitat Conference in Vancouver, Canada.

Turner had many critics who had opposing views on many of his concepts.⁵³ I will mention the criticisms of Rod Burgess /1982/, and John Habraken because they are the most relevant for this study.

According to Burgess, Turner has overlooked the commodity status of any shelter even if it is a product of self help. He also says that Turner has ignored the political face of the housing question. Burgess says Turner has falsely polarized self help housing and public housing. Turner's policy recommendations are an additional point of disagreement because according to Burgess they are not fully applicable.

Another opposing stance is taken by Habraken. He emphasized the role of architecture in housing. He said there should be emphasis on built form rather than the institutions that govern issues of shelter. The well known approaches to housing such as sites and services, core housing and slum upgrading are all manifestations of the ideas of Turner and his critics.

The enabling strategy

Another influential approach to housing is the enabling strategy. Its central idea is that the most important aspect in the housing problem is the removal of obstacles.

“...the full potential and resources of all the actors in the shelter production and improvement process are mobilized. For the most part the government's role will be to establish legislative, institutional and financial frameworks....”⁵⁴

People should be enabled to improve their housing conditions within their own definitions of their needs and priorities. In order to ensure that shelter development programs are connected to social, physical and economic needs and the potential of low income communities the enabling strategy has been put forward as the only viable solution. It is, according to the main proponents of the approach, the only sustainable and affordable shelter development process. Participation is a main component of the approach.

⁵³ Cited in Ashenafi Gossaye/Dr. ing /, /2001/ **Inner-city renewal in Addis Ababa**, the impact of resettlement on the socio-economic and housing situation of low income residents

⁵⁴ Habitat /1990/ Shelter for All, UNCHS Nairobi cited in Ashenafi Gossaye/Dr. ing /, /2001/ **Inner-city renewal in Addis Ababa**, the impact of resettlement on the socio-economic and housing situation of low income residents

The basic guiding principles of the enabling strategy are as follows.⁵⁵

a/ Encourage the informal sector and the efforts of the low income families in shelter provision.

b/ Encourage the private sector to take part in the shelter provision process and discourage the provision of shelter by the government.

c/ The role of the public sector will be to provide serviced land and housing finance. It will also facilitate the process through standards, laws and procedures, training and institutional development.

d/ It is more advantageous to formulate sustainable shelter delivery system rather than undertaking shelter projects.

Nabil Hamdi /1995/ has famously revised the overall ideas of the enabling strategy by saying we should move ahead with a “support paradigm” rather than a “provider paradigm.”

Hamdi has further outlined three ideas for enablement planning geared toward tapping the ingenuity of ordinary people and community organizations and to build on local capabilities. These are *spontaneity* that enables dealing with random problems and opportunities, *improvisation* that ensures finding ways to deal with problems in a situation where there is an abundance of problems and a lack of resources, and *incrementalism* that ensures there is gradual growth for houses communities, settlements and small businesses.

There are three components of the enabling strategy. These are *market* enablement, *political* enablement and *community* enablement.

A number of criteria can be cited that are essential for the success of housing provision.⁵⁶ The first one is that the users should become an indispensable part in the planning and production of housing. The government has been, in many of the cases, unsuccessful in fulfilling the shelter needs of the poor by direct provision. The third observation is that the deficits in housing are constantly growing. The final observation is that housing is only one part of the shelter development process. In order to solve

⁵⁵ Huyck /1987/ in Ashenafi Gossaye

⁵⁶ *ibid*

the problem of shelter we have to adopt a comprehensive approach that can lead to income and employment generation.

Affordable and adequate housing is not only about reducing building costs but maintenance and repair costs. High maintenance and repair costs could become a burden resulting in evacuation or renting part of the house and deterioration.

“The absence of inclusive urban management strategies that adequately address the needs of low-income and informal settlements is particularly alarming given current demographic trends. As mentioned earlier, people living (and often working) in informal settlements constitute the majority of the urban population in developing countries. This proportion is likely to increase in the future. Simply put, urban managers are pursuing strategies that cater to a smaller and smaller portion of the city.”⁵⁷

Strategies that have a more global impact are more advantageous than isolated efforts. Local situations must always be kept in mind. Policies that provide alternatives to address the housing demands of different income groups with differing requirements must be put in place. Improvements in housing can not be seen separated from improvements in overall living conditions. What is needed is long term sustainable solutions. The recent common approach of decentralization will be harmful for the housing sector and even more for low income housing if it does not involve the decentralization of resources.

Urban India with its similarities to the economic and housing situation to urban Ethiopia can be used as an input for our situation. Their experience can be highly relevant as they have faced the serious problem of urban population growth.

⁵⁷ **Shelter for All: The Potential of housing policy in the implementation of the habitat agenda, /2001/,** UNCHS /habitat/, Information, Communication and Advocacy Section.

Box 2.1 Approaches to shelter provision in India

Source; Lal, A. K, /1995/, Hand Book of Low Cost Housing

Approaches to housing provision in India

A. Move to decongest large cities by providing competitive additional towns or improve facilities of other small towns.

B. Government sponsored programs for slum upgradation,

i. slum clearance and relocation failed for the following reasons.

- resettlement colonies were on the outskirts far from the original places of residence and work. This disturbed the social fabric. It threatened the source of income since employment is more important than shelter.

- new settlements are far from working places. The location of the settlements far from job locations raised transport costs. It reduced working hours and depleted incomes. Many sold their new dwellings and moved back or closer to work places.

- a general shortage in housing forced middle income groups to acquire housing meant for the urban poor. Some registered as poor. Others offered money to the poor in exchange for dwellings.

ii, environmental improvement of urban slum settlements, ameliorating the living conditions of urban slum dwellers by the provision of drinking water, drainage, community baths, latrines, widening and paving of existing lanes, street lighting and others.

iii, sites and services schemes. Small plots are provided with appropriate infrastructure whose cost is covered by the government. Construction of houses depends on affordability.

iv, urban basic service program for the poor. This involves the education of prospective clients and preparing them to participate in community work. There can be substantial reduction in cost. An efficient operation and maintenance of newly created facilities. The commitment of the beneficiaries enhanced cost recovery efforts. It was based on the preceding findings that the "urban community development scheme" was to come into practice. This was formed by integrating urban community development program, UNICEF aided small and medium towns development and low cost sanitation. The emphasis was put on social inputs, /such as health, nutrition, hygiene, civic responsibility, education, school facilities, vocational training for women/ together with physical improvements.

v, scheme for housing and shelter upgradation. This involves the provision of assistance to the economically weaker sections and provide opportunity for wage employment and an improvement in construction skills.

Loans are made available.

41

C. national housing policy. The policy promotes the avoidance of forcible relocation or rehousing of slum dwellers. It encourages insitu upgradation, slum renovation and progressive housing development with occupancy rights and undertake selective relocation with community involvement only for the clearance of priority sites in the

I. Improvement of inner city slums. Formal housing in the city falls into two categories. The first one is housing by conversion and subdivision of structures originally intended for non residential purposes or for high income groups. The second one is building types originally intended for low income groups. Planning strategies reflect pressures from interest groups and the poor become vulnerable in the inner city. The main threat is an increasing commercialization. Gentrification also poses a threat by encouraging the replacement of low income settlements by higher income ones. Rent control in developing countries is the best method for protecting low income groups by maintaining rents at affordable levels. Its' negative consequences are that those who do not deserve such advantages may benefit from it. Businesses and commercial enterprises may get undeserved assistance. It discourages voluntary improvements and new investors from investing in rental houses for low income groups. In India the rent control act was effected in 1939 and rent freeze in 1947; a system of protected tenancy assuring the survival of the poor in central Bombay.

A good example exists in Colombo, Sri Lanka. There is a public sector legislative intervention followed by subsequent upgrading programs aimed at stabilizing the low income population of the inner city. The number of houses an individual can own are limited by law. Policy changes have been made such that all tenants paying RS 25 /\$1.5/ or less would receive their housing units free of charge from the government.

J. Night shelters/ sanitation facility to pavement dwellers in urban areas. This approach targets those involved in petty jobs /laborers, shoe shine boys, hawkers, vendors etc/

The problem of housing of the urban poor should be tackled in a holistic manner. Housing must become part of an overall development strategy. Solutions to rural poverty will affect urban poverty as there are always population movements. The norms of land reform should be enforced and more efficiency in land management is crucial. Community involvement should be encouraged. A more realistic set of standards are necessary.

3. Contextual Background

3. Contextual Background

Historic town life in Ethiopia goes as far back as 4th century AD during the Axumite kingdom. Large scale urbanization was noticed however in 16th and 17th centuries. The city of Gondar had 7,000 inhabitants by the 17th century. Cities such as Adwa, Chelicut and others had 5,000-10,000 inhabitants. Another notable and fairly recent historical town was Ankober found near Debre Berhan town. Ankober had a population of 10,000 in the 1830's.⁵⁸ There was limited urbanization generally in Ethiopia. This is due to frequent wars, limited trade, constant change of location of military headquarters by kings and nobility.⁵⁹ With its 15% urbanization Ethiopia is one of the least urbanized countries in sub Saharan Africa /2000/. It is however one of the countries showing the highest rate of urbanization /4.8%/⁶⁰

Table 3.1 Rate of urbanization /1940-2020/ for Ethiopia

| year | 1940 | 1967 | 1970 | 1984 | 1994 | 2000 | 2020 |
|-------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Urbanization rate | 3.0 | 8.5 | 9.7 | 11.4 | 15.7 | 17.6 | 29.1 |

⁵⁸ Essayas Ababu Tarekegn /Dr. ing /, /2000/ KITIYA, Transformation of low income housing in Addis Ababa

⁵⁹ ibid

⁶⁰ ibid

Source, MWUD /1996/, human resource development and utilization /housing component/, document prepared for a workshop on 'sanitary environment, sound and affordable housing' Addis Ababa in Ashinafi Gossaye

As can be seen from the above table the rate of urbanization will grow in the coming years. There will be much more demand for housing, especially low income because the level of poverty is on the rise.

Urban housing is generally known for its crowded situation. The national average occupancy rate is 2.2 persons per room. We can commonly find more than one household in one housing unit. The average household size is 4.6 persons for urban Ethiopia.⁶¹ With the limitations of government programs, the prospect for the housing situation in urban Ethiopia is gloomy. With the currency devalued and the current cost recovery principle of the market oriented economy, the situation is likely to worsen. Low income people are being increasingly marginalized in the housing market.⁶² The neglect that low income people have suffered has given rise to the increasing threat of informal settlements on illegally occupied land at the fringes of towns. The common trait of the urban centers of Ethiopia is their unplanned development.

In terms of infrastructure coverage there is unsatisfactory coverage in all of the urban centers of Ethiopia. The most acute problems can be found in areas of water supply, drainage, standard access and solid waste collection.

| Table 3.2 infrastructure coverage of urban Ethiopia | coverage |
|--|-----------------|
| facility | |
| Toilets | 75 % |
| Kitchen | 80% |
| Water access to unit or compound | 60 % |
| Drainage | 33 % |
| Car access | 60 % |
| Private waste water | 66 % |
| Solid waste collection | 50 % |

Source. Housing Conditions and Demand for Housing in Urban Ethiopia, 2001, Gebeyehu Abelti, Marco Brazzoduro, Behailu Gebremedhin, AA, CSA

Addis Ababa

⁶¹ CSA, 1999

⁶² Wubshet Berhanu, doctor eng. /2001/

Addis Ababa was founded in 1886. The palace of the emperor dates from the year 1891. Land allocation to high ranking officials, foreign bodies and traders was to follow soon. The ranking officials built their own dwellings surrounded by soldiers quarters. These later became “sefers”. Land tenure was introduced in 1907 and the insecure status of many properties was changed to private.⁶³

A grouped form of settlement was to develop gradually with the palace, the market and the church as the focal points. These nodes were the palace of Minelik which was the political center of the nation, the St George church which was the religious center and Arada which was the commercial and cultural center.

Other factors contributed to the growth of the city. The Addis-Djibouti railway line was built in 1917. The development of transportation and communication were to follow soon. Construction industries and factories created employment opportunities.

A significant development was the Italian occupation /1937-41/. Large scale urbanization was brought about by the situation created during this period. A more loosened social structure and an exodus to urban centers were ensuing outcomes of the war and occupation. After the departure of the Italians in 1941, there were modernizations in administration, tax reform and an unprecedented economic growth.



Figure 3.1. One of the earliest centers of Addis Ababa, Arada./1940's/ Most of the inner city settlements and their physical structure date from this time or earlier.

Source; Gazette of the Addis Ababa city council, /1941/

⁶³ ibid

3.1 Basic factors in the growth of Addis Ababa

3.1.1 Changes In population

Ethiopia has seen considerable population increase in the last 30 years. Urban centers have been growing at an unprecedented rate within the past years. This is especially true in the capital which has absorbed the majority of rural urban migrants in addition to the growth in the original population. Such growth within a general shortage of housing supply has encouraged a physical growth of a unique nature.⁶⁴

From a population that was 2000 in 1886, it now has reached a size of over 3 million. It is recorded that it reached 65,000, 100,000 and then 318,000 in the years 1912, 1935 and 1952, respectively. Some of the highest growth rates, 7.5 and 7.8%, were noticed in the 1960's and 70's. The rate during 1984-1990 was 4.8%. It is 4.8% at present.⁶⁵

3.1.2 Economic and social changes

Within the last years the buying power of the population has suffered a great deal. In a situation where affording the basic necessities of food and clothing has become a challenge for the majority of Ethiopians and urban dwellers shelter has become an even more remote basic good. Ethiopia is in possession of one of the lowest per capita incomes in the world.

When we look at the land delivery system for example 96 percent of the city population can not afford the down payment /20% of the value of the house/ that is required by the city government to secure land for building a house. Financing from banks is accessible by the very few who can afford to pay a minimum of 557 birr per month. This amount has to be paid monthly in order to cover payments for a total loan of 40,000 birr. This can only be afforded by people earning a monthly income of 2,226 birr, who are only 4 percent of the city population. This means more than 90% of the city population has limited or no options to fulfill their shelter need.

3.1.3 Changes in land ownership

In the period of the reign of the "Derg" /1975-1991 G.C/, ownership of most land and property had been transferred to the government. This proclamation (number 47/75) is

⁶⁴ Squatter settlements and additions to original dwellings /with an expected outcome of increasing congestion/ are common in Addis Ababa.

⁶⁵ Essayas Ababu Tarekegn /Dr. ing /, /2000/ KITIYA, Transformation of low income housing in Addis Ababa

known as 'government ownership of urban lands and extra houses proclamation'. This proclamation resulted in a massive amount of land and property resources being controlled by a few governmental bodies. The capacity of administrative bodies seldom enabled them to manage resources effectively. This lack of capacity has led to close to two decades of neglect in the upkeep of the majority of the housing stock within Addis Ababa.

3.1.4 The situation of housing in the city

Developments in housing, infrastructure and services have not been able to cope with the high rate of urbanization. There is poor housing and living conditions, and overcrowding. A low priority is given to health aspects of settlements and for the provision of land for new housing.

At the theoretical level there are two conditions for the improvement of housing conditions. The housing problem is rooted in poverty which must be addressed at the national level. Human settlements and their development policies have to play a vital role in the creation and distribution of societal wealth.⁶⁶

The situation of urban housing leaves much to be desired. Of the total housing stock in Addis Ababa, 34% is in need of major structural repair and the other 6% are beyond repair and have to be demolished.⁶⁷ The urban environment becomes obsolete without the renewing process. Without the necessary attention given to the dilapidated housing stock, the urban environment will continue to deteriorate.

The amount of income is so low that fulfilling basic necessities, food and water, has become difficult for most of the urban population. It has been estimated that food and water take up 46-79% of a household's monthly income. The cost of housing compared to income is very high and the possibility of saving for it is very slim. The shelter need for the years between 1996 and 2000 was estimated to be 261,295 houses. Out of this, 39 percent is due to overcrowded situation, 31 percent is due to population increase and 30 percent is to replace obsolete houses. With the existing land delivery system and the impossibility of getting financing for the majority of the city

⁶⁶ Agenda 21 /UN conference on environment and development in 1992/ stressed shelter strategies should include a more efficient approach toward sustainable environment. During the habitat II conference in 1996 in Istanbul, Turkey, the issue of sustainable human settlement and the notion of an enabling role for the government in support of settlement activities were put forward.

⁶⁷ Baker et al, 1997

population, only 4 percent of the city population is in a position to fulfill its needs for housing.⁶⁸ This can be looked at in conjunction with the situation of poverty. / refer to section 3.4.1/

There is a general low coverage of infrastructure. The most common construction material is mud and wood with corrugated iron sheet roofing. Other practical low cost housing construction strategies have not been developed, nor have the potentials of the most common wall material, mud, been exploited.

The following table summarizes the availability of infrastructure.

Table 3.3 infrastructure coverage of Addis Ababa

| facility | coverage |
|--------------------------------|-----------------|
| Water distribution | 62 % |
| Solid waste collection | 65 % |
| Electricity with private meter | 60 % |
| Modern sewage removal | 0.3 % |
| toilets | 76 % |

Source: An overview of urban poverty in Addis Ababa /2000/, UNCHS /habitat

3.2 Core Issues

3.2.1 Housing policy in Addis Ababa

Recent history shows that the housing sector has been given little attention in the national economic scenario. A limited proportion of 2.4 percent of Ethiopia's GDP was geared towards national housing development.⁶⁹ In urban areas the figure is even lower at 0.6 percent. The role of housing as a significant contributor to the national economic and social development has been ignored.⁷⁰

The housing sector and related policies can be revised in three sections. There is the pre 1974 revolution period, during the imperial rule of Haileselassie I. A second one that stretches from 1974 until 1991 was under the 'derg' regime. A final one is from 1991 until now and the reign of the EPRDF /Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Democratic Front/. During the imperial rule of Haileselassie I there was limited attention given to urban housing especially for low income people. The political system

⁶⁸ An overview of urban poverty in Addis Ababa /2000/, UNCHS /habitat

⁶⁹ MWUD /1996/, /The National Human Settlement Situation Assessment and Plan of Action, prepared for Habitat II/ in Ashenafi Gossaye

⁷⁰ Ashenafi Gossaye, /2001/ pp 133

of this period was a feudal one and this system was reflected in the predominantly landlord controlled /60 %/⁷¹ urban rental housing. There were limited shelter choices for the urban poor as land was in the control of a few landlords. The only choice they had was to rent dwelling units from the landlords.

The revolution of 1974 and the subsequent proclamation that ordered the nationalization of all urban lands and extra houses brought about many changes. After this period the government became the only provider of rental housing. About 90 percent of landlord controlled housing went to the newly established kebele administrations and the rest fell under the control of the AARHA /Addis Ababa Rental Houses Authority/. There was a rent reduction especially made to benefit low income portions of the society. The government established the housing construction corporation to carry out the construction of buildings. The government began to produce and distribute building materials.⁷² The Housing and Saving Bank /HSB/ was established during this period and provided financing for housing.

Many housing schemes have been experimented with during the time of the derg. There have been some low cost housing projects which have by and large fell in the hands middle and high income people. Co-operative housing has also been practiced during this period. It had a significant contribution to the housing shortage of the time. Preferential loans with 4.5% interest rate were provided for co-operatives. The normal interest at the time was 10%. There have also been sites and services projects such as the one at Nefas Silk that was funded by the world bank.

After the change of government in 1991 to the EPRDF, many changes were introduced in the housing delivery system.⁷³ The economic policy introduced at the time allowed ownership of property including housing without limits. Effort to liberalize the housing market led to many advantages such as in financing being removed /preferential interest rates practiced by the previous regime were fixed at market prices./ The former Housing and Savings Bank was replaced by the Construction and Business Bank. It performed other functions in addition to those related to housing finance.

⁷¹ Ashenafi Gossaye /2001/ pp134

⁷² ibid

⁷³ ashenafi gossaye /2001/, pp144

After the take over of power by the EPRDF building materials are sold at market prices and are no longer subsidized.⁷⁴

The situation of housing policy in Ethiopia leaves much to be desired. There is no consistent policy that can be applied at the national level. There are various administrative and institutional problems that hamper the proper management of resources and planning decisions. The practice of providing housing loans has become quite limited in its scope. The loaning institutions do not have the strength, be it financial or institutional, to handle the huge demand for financing. There is a shortage of technical expertise in the areas of housing and housing finance.

Other policies related to the housing policy are a deterrent to the proper functioning of the housing sector. One policy worth mentioning is the land policy which has become a barrier to modest efforts towards the provision of shelter. The land lease policy favors those with the financial means to compete for land. The policy especially favors people who are willing to pay the highest lease value for inner city land. Modest efforts have no place in this scenario.

The housing policy has relinquished the control of many aspects of shelter provision to the market. There are no fiscal or financial incentives for operating in the housing sector. Financial institutions are not encouraged to make loans to the housing sector as there are no measures or guarantees by the government. The market is supposed to provide financing for housing in this situation. As has been seen in practice, housing, especially low income, is severely handicapped without financing. A lack of attention to these issues will further limit the success of our shelter provision efforts.

The following box shows how essential a sustained and widespread approach to housing and renewal is for the continued upkeep of settlements.

Box 3.1 Housing Policy recommendations according to Arthur D Little

⁷⁴ ibid

Some key elements have been proposed in a long range policy for housing and renewal;

1/ Maintaining and upgrading existing housing stock.

The major portion of housing provision comes from the existing housing stock and not from new construction. As a result any policy must encourage the conservation of what is in good condition and repairs to what can be brought to present day standards. It should encourage the elimination of the obsolete and the non repairable. The approach should include not only those areas that are severely dilapidated but also must include efforts to stop decline in others by treating those with moderate dilapidation. An alternative policy for residential renewal can be “rebuilding, rehabilitation and restoring areas for the present residents if they wish to remain after renewal.”¹

The benefits of such a policy are many. It minimizes relocation; especially for those of older age, low income and ethnic groups and large families. It helps to stabilize neighborhoods. It eases the pressure on the limited supply of low cost housing. It minimizes the public resources required for clearance and construction. Viable social structures in neighborhoods can be maintained. The coordination of physical and human renewal are made possible.

2/ Linking physical renewal planning with human resources development.

The focus is to build a bridge between social and physical planning. This is most significant in housing and urban renewal decisions that directly affect community living patterns. The neighborhood becomes a logical focus for linking the two. New administrative tools are needed to facilitate the process and community action is crucial.

3/ The need for renewal treatment in every neighborhood /a city wide approach/

The aim of renewal policies should be first to take advantage of the neighborhoods assets and second to remove obstacles that block neighborhood improvements. For these policies to be achieved the city must take various actions. It must be able to enforce housing and related codes while encouraging voluntary home modernization. It must provide adequate credit for home improvement and financial assistance for low income people. There must be a constant updating and revising of zoning ordinances. The government must improve traffic patterns and municipal services. It assists neighborhood organizations in self improvement activities and to adjust to change in racial and income population composition. It eliminates dilapidated structures and inappropriate land uses. It provides new and improved community facilities where necessary. It provides other neighborhood amenities through sign controls, burial of overhead utility wires and provision of street trees and other landscaping.

Source; Little, Arthur D, Community Renewal Programming,
A San Francisco Case Study, Frederick A. Praeger publishers, New York

3.2.2 Housing ownership and security of tenure

The ownership of land is one of the most deciding factors in the situation of housing in Addis Ababa. The majority of households live in rented dwelling units. Almost 38 percent of Addis Ababa residents live in houses rented from kebele administrations. Others rent their dwellings either from the public housing agency, other organizations or from private households. Only 34.42 percent own their dwellings.

Income constraints and a lack of proper policies that encourage low and middle income residents to construct their own houses are the major causes for the dominance of rented housing in Addis Ababa. For these reasons low and middle income households are the major market for rental housing. This means rental housing at the low income

end and the changes imposed on it will have the most significant effect of the housing situation in general.

Table 3.4 Tenure types in Addis Ababa

| Tenure type | Number of houses | Percent of houses |
|-----------------------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| Owner occupied | 128,997 | 34.42 |
| Rented from kebele | 142,095 | 37.92 |
| Rented from public housing agency | 9,277 | 2.48 |
| Rented from other organizations | 1,272 | 0.34 |
| Rented from private households | 61,256 | 6.35 |
| Paying difference rent | 957 | 0.26 |
| Rent free | 29,464 | 7.86 |
| Not stated | 1,424 | 0.38 |

Source: An overview of urban poverty in Addis Ababa /2000/, UNCHS /habitat/

3.2.3 Land value

Land values in Addis Ababa especially its inner parts have shown a constant rise in recent years. This trend encourages the domination of inner city land by those who pay the highest price for it. The poorest sections of the society are constantly pushed out. Most poor households live in houses owned by the kebele and are constantly under threat from high paying investors. They may be forced out of their present locations without being provided with alternative accommodation. However it should be remembered that Addis Ababa and its inner city is under utilized in terms of commercial and residential densities.

There are four major kinds of acquiring land in the city. These are by lease from the government, government to private free of charge, through purchases from other holders of title deeds, and banks and other institutions to private of mortgage land with property on it. The most threatening from among these is land transferred to individuals through land lease auctions.

3.2.4 The financing of housing

There is a paradox in the situation of housing finance within the country as a whole. There is a lack of housing finance on the one hand and an excess of liquidity in financial institutions on the other. There is a limited demand for loans in spite of the

growing housing shortage and extensive overcrowding. These inconsistencies are results of institutional restructuring brought about by a change in government.

At present there is no bank giving loans specifically for housing. All banks generally give loans giving preference for commercial or business related activities. There is only one financial institution that used to provide mortgage loans for housing. This is the present day Construction and Business Bank and its activity is very much limited. It had the name Housing and Saving Bank and previously provided housing loan on subsidized rates of 4.5 per cent for cooperatives and 7.5 for individuals. The removal of subsidies from the housing sector has however resulted in an increase in the interest rate. This has a negative impact on poor residents who do not have any financial means to construct houses.⁷⁵ In addition to this the requirements of providing guarantees to get loans from banks has further made it difficult to get loans for low income people.

Saving and credit cooperatives perform some services by supplying loans for small and medium terms for home improvement. There are sources from the international community for specific project purposes such as the International Development Association and the United Nations Capital Development Fund.

The role of housing and housing finance in the Ethiopian economy is very limited. In the 1994 fiscal year the contribution of housing to the GDP was 1.8%. Housing finance has a very small portion of the total savings in the Ethiopian banking system at 4.8%/1994/. The Construction and Business Bank did only 7.1% lending related to housing out of its total amount of loans. 53% of this amount was loaned to owner occupiers / including cooperatives/.⁷⁶ With better foresight in planning, this untapped drive by the people to fulfill their shelter needs can be a great asset to the local economy.

3.2.5 Planning and building regulations and housing

The existing building regulations in the city do not give any consideration to the capacities of the residents. Various aspects of the regulations lack any recognition of

⁷⁵ Population and housing survey, An overview of urban poverty in Addis Ababa /2000/, UNCHS /habitat

⁷⁶ *ibid*

the recent situation in land availability. The application of these regulations in an ever densifying urban environment will create various problems of a physical nature. The requirements on the kind of building materials that can be used, is another major deterrent for improvements in the shelter conditions of many residents of the city. Such high expectations on the permitted kind of building materials for constructions have made the possibility of improving shelters a remote possibility.

3.2.6 institutional setups

The Addis Ababa city government has bodies operating under it in areas of housing. The first one is the *Housing Development Agency*, which is also handling the low cost housing schemes of recent times. The other one is *Land Development Agency*. This section is mainly concerned with providing land for those with investment capacity. . Studies and designs for projects such as condominiums are done at the city government level.

At the sub-city level there is the Infrastructure and Housing Section. There is also *Housing Development Project* operating under sub-city level. This section handles all issues connected to housing administration including condominiums. Sub-cities also have the task of insuring the implementation of projects such as eco-city projects.

The proclamation of 1975 that transferred all lands and extra houses into the hands of the government ordered that all houses having a rent below 100 birr were to be controlled by kebele administrations. All other houses were to be under the control of the Addis Ababa Rental Houses Authority /AARHA/. The number of houses under the control of kebele administrations is immense, however because of the lack of institutional capacities of these kebele's, they have suffered the most neglect among urban housing.

3.3 Current approaches to housing within the city

Compounds

It was common practice during the Imperial regime and later during the Derg regime to provide separate plots to individuals for building residences. The growth of the city in the past years has been considerable and many of the previously suburban areas have now become very busy and much in demand. High rise developments exist side by

side with residences in big plots. This approach has proved unsustainable, especially in city center areas as residences on plots are not a most appropriate kind of urban /city center/ housing. The mixed nature of the city is commendable, however the kind of housing previously practiced in the inner city is not appropriate.



Figure 3.2 compounds as a common housing type, with the growth of the city, previously suburban areas have become very busy central locations.

Table 3.5 Plot size and floor area standards for housing in different years

| | Plot size (m ²) | | Floor area (m ²) | |
|-----------|-----------------------------|---------|------------------------------|---------|
| | Minimum | Maximum | Minimum | Maximum |
| Pre 1986 | 500 | - | 22 | 180 |
| 1986-1989 | 108 | 250 | 17 | 70 |
| 1990-1991 | 144 | 650 | 14 | 180 |
| Current | 73 | 175 | 56 | 175 |

Source: An overview of urban poverty in Addis Ababa /2000/

As can be seen from the table the size of plots provided has been steadily decreasing. This shows that the approach has not been sustainable in the urban location in the first place.

medium and high rise apartments

There have been many efforts in providing medium and high rise apartments within well developed areas of the city. There have been many privately owned apartment buildings built during the Imperial regime. Other efforts have been made to provide apartment housing during the Derg regime as well. The apartments along the Bole road are famous examples. However, most of these efforts addressed the needs of the well to do and the middle income people. They have also proved incompatible with the life style and economic status of the average Ethiopian



Figure 3.3 medium and high rise housing in Bole area

Squatters

The informal sector in housing has become one of the main providers of housing for the low income in a situation where the formal sector has proved inadequate. Squatters illegally occupy land and informal developments of housing are formed on peripheral areas. These are locally known as *yecheraka bets*. A growing number of squatters can be found within the inner city and outside of it.

This pattern has been encouraged by the lack of economic capacity for those living in temporary shacks within the city. A lag in the supply of housing has forced others to take matters into their own hands and invade empty land on the out skirts of the city to build semi permanent and permanent buildings. Squatters usually build one or two rooms of temporary construction which are later to be extended. There are no services or infrastructure provided for these until much later through the residents efforts. The number of squatter households in 1988 was estimated at 1.6 percent of the total housing stock. Some of these settlements have become so common place that they have already been given legal status. A good example for this is *worku sefer*.

Kityas

A common phenomenon in many compounds, extensions (KITYA) have been affecting the physical structure of the city for the last years. Many of the original households have made additions; legal or not; for additional income from rent or to accommodate a bigger household. These can also be termed as *downward conversions*. It either involves subdividing a bigger house or compound into smaller units or adding buildings within one compound. This system has absorbed a significant proportion of the

housing requirements within the city. It has also given rise to more over-crowding within the city. The demand for inner city locations that offer small rooms at affordable prices is high in a situation where there is an increasing urban population. There is a demand for these downward conversions because the city population has been growing. The majority can not afford to own houses and desire the advantages of the inner city.⁷⁷

There are lessons to be learned from such type of housing. First, it shows a spontaneous response to the need for more space and more income generating opportunities. The fact that it is most concentrated in inner city locations is evidence for the growing demand for affordable inner city rental housing. Finally, with most of these subdivisions and additions being undertaken without construction permits, it shows a lack of capacity to enforce building and planning regulations by the city administration.

3.3.1 Condominiums

Condominiums are recent phenomena in Addis Ababa. They came about as a response to a growing shortage of land and housing. Condominium is “an individual ownership of a unit in a multi unit structure /as an apartment building/ also a unit so owned”⁷⁸ The construction of these units is being carried out by the government. The construction technique that is being used is claimed to be low cost. Technical and management assistance is being provided by the GTZ.⁷⁹ The provision of housing through condominiums is an ongoing project. Its success or lack will be proved in the years to come.

The approach however can be criticized from the outset for a number of reasons. One is direct provision by the government is seldom a sustainable solution for the shelter problem. The failure of public housing as a viable solution for housing especially the poor has been a bitter lesson in many other developing countries. The other is the choice of locations for these units which disregards the future aspect of the city. These condominium units, most of which are targeted for low income groups, are in many cases, built on main street fronts. This is against the principles of hierarchy as it is

⁷⁷ Essayas Ababu Tarekegn /Dr. ing /, /2000/ KITIYA, Transformation of low income housing in Addis Ababa

⁷⁸ Webster's English dictionary

⁷⁹ GTZ / German Technical Cooperation/ is one of the NGO's that are actively participating in urban development efforts in Addis Ababa.

more conducive to leave major street fronts for more commercial and public oriented functions and give the quieter spots for housing. The third and most crucial negative aspect is that there have been incidents in many of the pilot projects where untargeted income groups are benefiting.

3.3.2 Real estate

Housing provided by the real estate sector aims at fulfilling the demands of a certain upper class market. All of the current real estate housing is affordable by an affluent few. Although real estate may have a minor effect on housing provision at middle and low income levels through filtering, it does little to improve the situation of low income housing in the inner city. Various real estate housing schemes can be mentioned such as Ayat real estate, Ropack international, Berta, Sunshine /in the CMC area/ and others in the inner city that have began construction of apartments for high income groups. These efforts however will have minimal effect on the housing conditions in the city, when compared to the magnitude of the housing shortage faced especially by the poor.

3.3.3 Sites and services

There have been experiments with this kind of housing in the 1980's during the Derg regime. Their success has been limited because of many weaknesses. Among these, the fact that most of the housing has ended up in the hands of the untargeted group is worth mentioning.

More recently, it has become the major approach by which most of the middle income people can get housing. The problem so far has been the difficulty the city government has faced and is facing in order to provide the necessary infrastructure. In many of the locations such as Bole Bulbula, some of the house construction was completed three or more years before any provision of infrastructure services was effected. A large portion of this new housing remained idle for a number of years while the shortage of housing has been one of the most crucial among the problems of the city. The fact that such huge amount of assets have to remain unused for a number of years is a waste of scarce resources.

3.3.4 Co-operative housing

Co-operative housing was one of the most practiced forms of housing between the years 1975 and 1991. Co-operatives were given land free of charge and infrastructure

services were provided. These co-operatives purchased building materials at subsidized rates, with a reduction in prices of up to 35 percent. Financing was provided at subsidized rates of 4.5 percent. They were also provided with technical assistance in areas of the construction process and the organization of co-operatives.⁸⁰

This system of housing provision had its pros and cons. It was successful in promoting planned housing development. It encouraged the mobilization of resources. The participation of the community was encouraged in the housing production process.⁸¹ However, low income people did not benefit much from it. For one the minimum salary /200 birr/ that was eligible for subsidized loans made financing inaccessible for 80 percent of the population. The requirement for formal and stable employment further limited the contribution the system could make to low income people and their housing needs. The above aspects together with institutional inefficiencies, incompatibility between local knowledge and capacities, and professional expectations and standards, poor planning in locating these settlements, have limited the success of these efforts.

3.3.5 Upgrading and the effort of NGO's

Many NGO's are involved in upgrading projects. Their efforts have been effective in alleviating infrastructure problems such as local roads and drainage facilities. The work of CARE is worth mentioning here. Care has undertaken an admirable urban infrastructure improvement work in various locations within the city. It is especially known for road paving projects it has undertaken. The holistic approach of IHA/UDP⁸² is an exemplary effort in integration of social, economic, and physical aspects of low income settlements. They have carried out and are still undertaking many upgrading projects in the city.

3.3.6 Private efforts for own housing

A small proportion of city dwellers buy land on lease basis from the government or from individual owners to build their own houses. Such approaches are affordable by a limited number of city dwellers. This is not widely spread within the inner city as the inner city is in the majority targeted for commercial projects or high and medium rise

⁸⁰ Ashenafi Gossaye, /2001/ pp 140

⁸¹ ibid

⁸² IHA/UDP /integrated holistic approach / urban development project/ is a local non governmental organization that has carried out various urban improvement schemes in areas such as Teklehaimanot and Kirkos.

real estate housing. However it has some effect on supply at the lower end of the market through filtering.

3.4 Main causes for the current situation of housing

Various issues have been raised in the section dealing with the core issues affecting the plight of low income housing within the inner city. These are land and housing policies, financing of housing, Planning/ building regulations, and institutional setups. In addition to these, the current housing situation has been influenced by *poverty* and *rapid urbanization*.

3.4.1 Lack of appropriate land and housing policy

In recent times, the practice of leasing land to the highest bidder has resulted in an increasing threat to low income settlers especially within the inner city. The fact that the majority of low income housing is owned by the government means settlers are less likely to see their houses as an investment. On the other hand there is no consistent housing policy that encourages house ownership, especially for low income people. There are no subsidies on basic ingredients of the housing process, such as in building materials and bank loans. Without a concrete housing policy with clear goals, the situation of shelter and its provision are likely to worsen.

3.4.2 Lack of financing

The inadequacy of financing takes two forms. First, all subsidies on housing have been removed because of the change to a market oriented economy. Subsidies have been previously practiced /before 1992/ but were stopped after the change of government and a new economic policy. Secondly low income people are the least likely to have either the secure jobs needed or a collateral to access financing from loaning institutions. In practice, it has been proved that without financing, shelter strategies are doomed to fail.

3.4.3 Building regulations

Existing building regulations deter any small efforts to improve dwellings. Regulations on aspects such as required setbacks have made it more and more difficult to improve existing situations. The high expectation on the construction materials that can be used for building has stopped the majority of the low income population from making any kind

of improvements to their dwellings. Affordable alternatives have not been provided to replace the use of accepted construction materials such as hollow concrete blocks. This means the majority of the housing stock has not seen any repairs for quite some time.

3.4.4 Inefficient Institutional setup

As has been discussed earlier much of the low income housing is under the control of the kebele administrations working under the sub cities and the city government. The kebele administrations have been unable to carry out constant repairs to the houses under their control. Hence the neglect that such housing has endured is evident. Most repairs, if there are any have been done by residents. The recent introduction of sub-cities, working between the city government and kebele administration, that are supposed to have the powers of the city government has been hampered by the limited granting of decision making powers and lack of educated manpower.

3.4.5 Poverty

Poverty is an aspect that is closely connected to various aspects. The level of employment, the state of infrastructure and the shelter situation all affect the level of poverty. Income is however the most significant indicator of poverty levels. Based on the Ethiopian urban socioeconomic survey for Addis Ababa and other towns /1994/ Bigsten and Negatu (1999) estimated total household income, income per capita and income per consumption unit. They found out that 45.5% of the households they surveyed were earning less than 300 birr per month. Their survey further revealed that 33% earned between 300 and 800 birr per month. The rest 21.7% earned more than 800 birr per month.

An income of 244 birr per month for a family living in an urban area has been estimated to be the poverty line by a World Bank study /1992/. As indicated in Table 3.5, 58.61 birr and 96.08 birr per month are the food and total poverty lines respectively. For a family of five a monthly income of birr 293.05 and birr 480.4 are the food and total poverty lines. From the above statistics we can further say that up to 45% of the Addis population is living in food poverty and up to 60% is living in total poverty.

Table 3.6 Percentage distribution of total household income by income group in Addis Ababa,

| Monthly income (birr) | % household | Cumulative % |
|-----------------------|-------------|--------------|
| 10-49 | 8.2 | 8.2 |

| | | |
|--------------------------|-------|-------|
| 50-99 | 8.3 | 16.5 |
| 100-199 | 15.1 | 31.6 |
| 200-299 | 13.9 | 45.5 |
| 300-449 | 15.1 | 60.6 |
| 450-599 | 8.8 | 69.4 |
| 600-799 | 8.9 | 78.3 |
| 800-1499 | 13.4 | 91.7 |
| 1500+ | 8.3 | 100.0 |
| Total | 100.0 | |
| Average household income | 635 | |

source, An overview of urban poverty in Addis Ababa /2000/, UNCHS /habitat

In 1997 the incidence of poverty indicated that 49.5% of the city population was below the food poverty line. The percentage of the population that lives below the total poverty line was 51.4% in the year that the census was undertaken.⁸³ With such a large proportion of the population living in poverty, the attention given to shelter strategies will be as much about poverty reduction as housing provision and improvement.

Table 3.7 Food and total poverty lines for Addis Ababa

| | Food poverty | Total poverty/ birr per adult per month/ |
|------|--------------|--|
| 1994 | 67.30 | 90.95 |
| 1995 | 70.61 | 112.08 |
| 1997 | 58.61 | 96.08 |

Source: An overview of urban poverty in Addis Ababa /2000/

In talking about employment, an increase in the urban population has increased the labor force without any growth in the employment capacity of the city. An unemployment rate that was 9.6% in 1976 has grown to 10.5% and 34.7% in the years 1986 and 1994 respectively. In both of these years the unemployment rate was higher for women than men.⁸⁴ Employment generation, especially for women, as a poverty reduction approach will have a subsequent positive effect on the shelter situation.

3.4.6 Rapid urbanization

Rapid urbanization is a global phenomenon. This is especially true in developing countries where the major portion of the growth will be happening. Although Ethiopia is one of the least urbanized countries in the world, this situation is projected to change drastically within the coming years. In population surveys done in Addis Ababa in the years 1961, 1967 and 1978, the population size during these years was 0.4, 0.7 and

⁸³ The *food poverty* line indicates an income level below which people have a difficulty to afford the basic necessity of food to a sufficient level. The *total poverty* line indicates an income level below which people can not afford food and other basic necessities to a sufficient level.

⁸⁴ Population and housing survey, An overview of urban poverty in Addis Ababa /2000/, UNCHS /habitat

1.2 million respectively. The figure reached 2.1 million in 1994.⁸⁵

Migration has been the main cause for this considerable growth. The proportion of the migrant population was estimated to be around 46 percent in 1994. The same figure has been confirmed in a more recent survey in the year 1999. The cause for a high rate of migration to the capital is the relatively higher concentration of facilities, infrastructure and industries. People migrate to the capital city in search of job opportunities or better education. With the level of housing provision at inadequate levels for the last few years, the detrimental effect that such rapid urbanization has on existing low income settlements is evident.

4. Case Study /Main Post Office/

⁸⁵ *ibid*

4.1 Location

The case study area is one of the oldest settlements in the city. It has a typical inner city character in that it is in possession of a community that has stayed in the area for a long time. Many of the inner city residential neighborhoods within Addis Ababa have similar characters as most of them date from the imperial period. The area is commonly known as Ambassador from the name of a famous cinema in the vicinity. It is found within the Arada sub-city, kebele 02.

It is in close proximity to basic social services such as schools, hospitals and shopping areas. Major cultural and entertainment centers can be found within walking distance from this location. In terms of transportation a one to five minutes walk can give access to bus and taxi stops where one can catch a means of transport to any of the major centers. One bus or taxi trip from a nearby stop can get a resident to most of the commercial or service centers within the city./figure 4.1/

It is a well defined settlement on all of its sides. There is the main post office building with an adjoining street on one side. The narrower side of the case study site is bounded by the street that leads to the Sheraton Addis. Another street on an opposite side goes to the Arat kilo area. All these roads are asphalted. The final boundary is a river on the eastern side of the settlement.

The case study area lies within the center of the city of Addis Ababa. It is one of the areas that have been targeted for redevelopment. It is part of the Sheraton and surrounding urban renewal project.

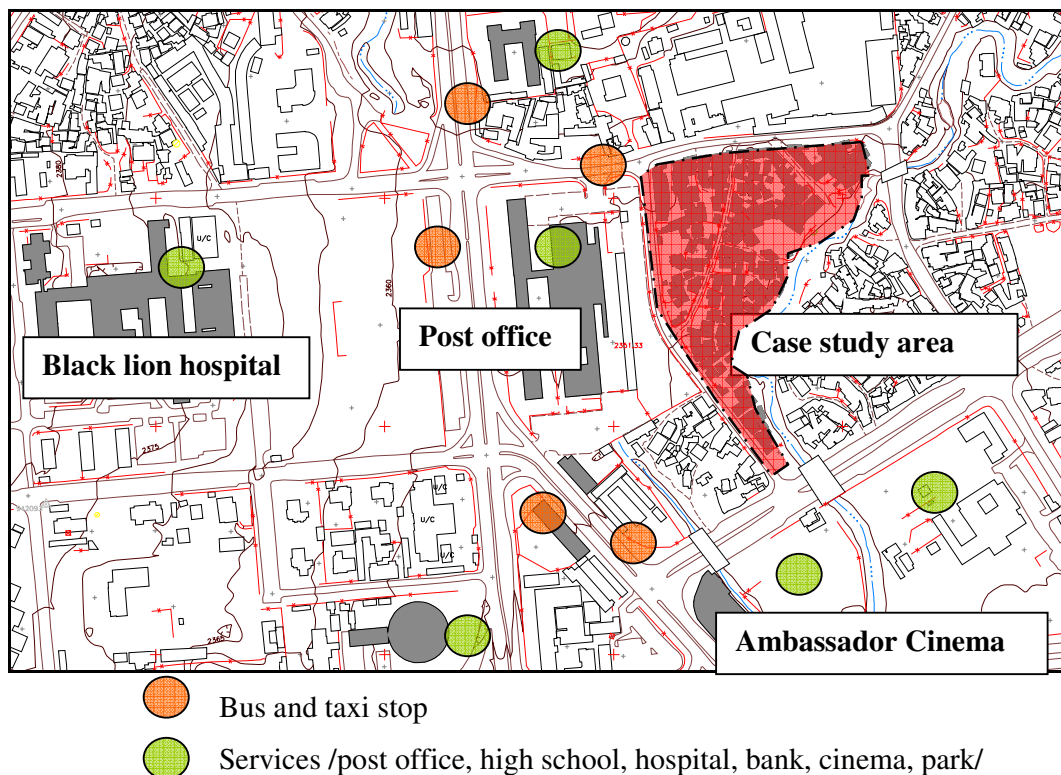


Figure 4.1 Location of the case study area

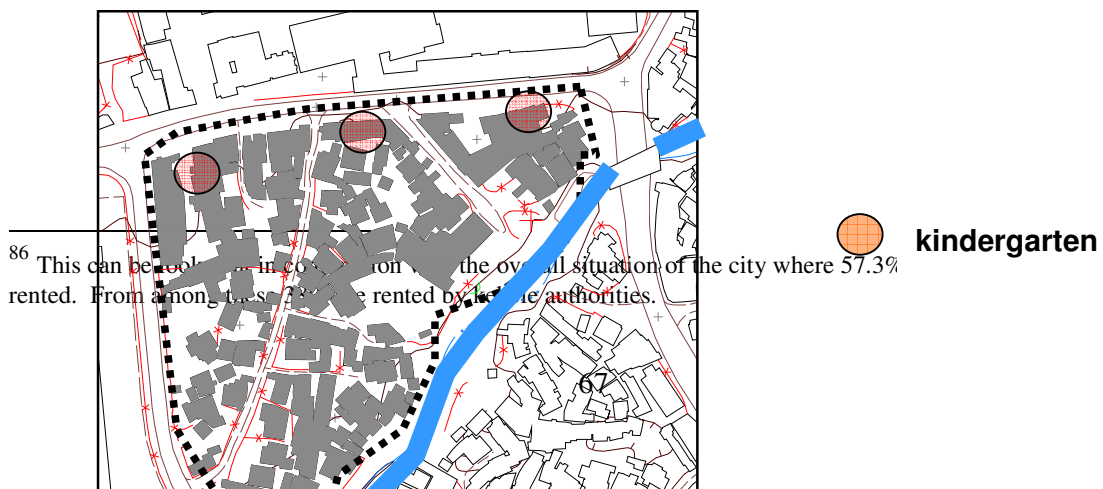


Figure 4.2 The case study area, a socially cohesive and physically defined settlement right in the middle of Addis Ababa.

4.2 General characteristics of the case study area

A typical organic growth can be noticed in the physical layout of the case study area. As in most inner city settlements it has the traits of congestion in much of its area. This is a result of years of unplanned additions to original structures. It can be seen from the field survey as well as the Nortech map that many of the locations are not accessible for fire appliances. There is also a grave danger of destruction by fire because most of the houses are attached to each other. In addition to the inaccessibility by fire vehicles it is impossible for many of the houses to be accessed for the purpose of funerals.

An overwhelming majority of the houses are owned by the kebele.⁸⁶ From the 256 households within the area, 172 dwelling units are owned by the kebele.



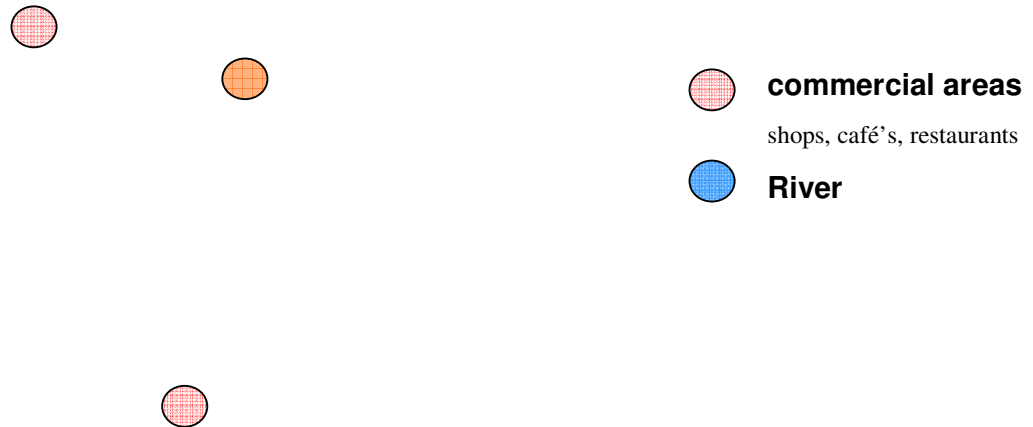


Figure 4.3 Main characteristics of the case study area

In looking at the whole of the settlement there is a tangible presence of small businesses in the area. These are to be found straddling the more accessible and well developed parts of the settlement along the asphalted side of the case study area. There are souvenir shops as the area is known for this kind of merchandize. There are also other businesses such as restaurants, cafes, stationeries, goods shops and a small car maintenance garage. A kindergarten is situated on the river side of this neighborhood. There is also a small printing press in the area.

Visible physical improvement efforts can be observed in the area. One significant improvement effort is the construction of common toilets, which are spread in many locations. They are constructed of hollow concrete blocks. The other improvement effort is the upgrading of roads with stone pavement. These improvement efforts were carried out by CARE.⁸⁷ It is an interesting aspect of this area that the residents have informal open spaces that are giving a welcome relief from the general character of the area.

⁸⁷ CARE is an NGO that has carried out various road upgrading projects in various locations in Addis Ababa. It is an NGO with one of the most exemplary contribution to the improvement of many low income settlements within the city.

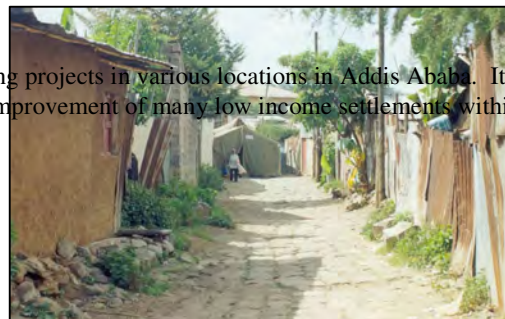




Figure 4.4a One of the toilet and shower facilities built by CARE

Figure 4.4b Stone road paving by CARE

In informal interviews with some of the residents I have been able to find out that the area has problems with petty crime. This problem, according to my informants, is mainly from outsiders exploiting the city center location of the area. They use the area as a refuge.

The residents pointed out a number of problems. One of the most common was the deterioration of the physical condition of the majority of the housing units. There are also drainage problems.

The youth do not have a place to spend their leisure time. There are a lot of unemployed people in the area.

4.3 Neighborhood characteristics

4.3.1 Facilities within and in close proximity to the area

one of the most prized aspects of the settlement is the convenient availability of facilities such as schools, entertainment and hospitals. One can refer to the location map in section 4, figure 4.2. There can be found all facilities whether it is commercial or educational or health or entertainment within walking distance of all these households. The Main Post Office, the Black Lion Hospital, the National Theatre, the Ambassador Park, the Black Lion High School are all less than two kilometers away from the case study area. This is evidence for the fact that this location and its environs are in accordance with one of the basic concepts of the compact city which promotes a closeness between residential, leisure and work activities.

4.3.2 Modes of transportation and costs to access major amenities

The cost of transportation is one of the household expenditures that can consume a great deal of a household's monthly income. For this reason the modes of transportation that a household uses and the amount it spends on them have an effect on its ability to save for shelter improvements.

In research carried out in the capital, it has been found out that 7.6% of the population use private cars, 10% use taxis, 11.9% use city buses and 70.5% walk.⁸⁸ With the majority of the population walking we can safely say that it is the low income portion that is using the cheapest means of transport.

Work place

It has been found out that a significant portion /25.6%/ of the respondents walk to get to their work places. Another 27.8% use the city bus as a means of transport to get to work. Those using taxi's to get to work stand at 27.8% and 18.9% use other means of transport. According to some studies 70 percent of the city's population use walking as a means of transport.⁸⁹ This means, in the case study area, the proportion of people walking to get to workplaces is much lower than the city average.

Table 4.1 mode of transportation to work place

| mode of transportation | Percent |
|------------------------|---------|
| walk | 25.6 |
| city bus | 27.8 |
| taxi | 27.8 |
| other | 18.9 |
| Total | 100.0 |

Shopping area

The major portion of the respondents /46.7%/ use taxis to go to major shopping areas. A smaller proportion, 35.6%, walk to shopping areas. A percentage of 15.6 use the city bus. I mention all this in conjunction with the fact that access to all means of transport can be found within walking distance of the case study area. Even when residents of the case study area are using a means of transport, it will be for one trip only.

Table 4.2 mode of transportation to shopping area

⁸⁸ NUPI cited in Mekete, 1997

⁸⁹ An overview of urban poverty in Addis Ababa /2000/, UNCHS /habitat

| mode of transportation | Percent |
|------------------------|---------|
| walk | 35.6 |
| city bus | 15.6 |
| taxi | 46.7 |
| other | 2.2 |
| Total | 100.0 |

Hospital or Clinic

There are the Black Lion, the Zewditu and the Gandhi hospitals very close to the area. The proximity of these hospitals can be referred to in section 4. For this reason it is no surprise that 40% of the respondents walk to get to a hospital. Another 33.3% and 24.4% use bus and taxi, respectively.

Table 4.3 mode of transportation to hospital or clinic

| mode of transportation | Percent |
|------------------------|---------|
| walk | 40.0 |
| city bus | 33.3 |
| taxi | 24.4 |
| other | 2.2 |
| Total | 100.0 |

School

The majority of school age children, more than 55%, walk to get to school. A small portion of 6.7% use the city bus. A further 12.2% make use of taxis. The remaining 25.6% use other means of transport. As has been pointed out in section 4, a kindergarten is found within the case study area. A primary and secondary school are within walking distance of the case study area.

Table 4.4 mode of transportation to school

| mode of transportation | Percent |
|------------------------|---------|
| walk | 55.6 |
| city bus | 6.7 |
| taxi | 12.2 |
| other | 25.6 |
| Total | 100.0 |

The inner city location of the case study area allows some savings to be made as the cost of transport is low for most of the residents. The cost of transport compared to the total income of low income residents can be quite significant if they resided in other outlying areas. Their advantageous location, as a result, holds great value to these residents.

4.3.3 Housing related activities

When asked what kind of housing related activities they performed, 75.6% of the respondents said they maintain drainage, roads or other infrastructure. The remaining 5.6% and 6.7% have been involved in community credit systems for housing and

helping in the building of houses of community members respectively. The last 12.2% said they performed no housing related activities.

Table 4.5 housing related activity

| activity | Percent |
|--|---------|
| maintain drainage, roads, other infrastructure | 75.6 |
| community credit system for housing | 5.6 |
| help build houses of community members | 6.7 |
| no housing related activities | 12.2 |
| Total | 100.0 |

4.3.4 Most liked and disliked features of the neighborhood

When asked about the features that they like about their neighborhood most, 35.6% stressed the proximity to their work places while another 20% appreciated the easy access to utilities. The familiarity they have to the area was pointed out by 26.7% of the respondents as the best feature of the neighborhood. From among the respondents 15.6% said the character of the neighborhood was the most liked aspect for them. With the reminder that the case study area is found very close to the Sheraton Addis, I have found out through informal discussions that the hotel has become a point of pride for the residents. The two most liked features of the neighborhood are its proximity to work places and the familiarity the people have to the area. This shows the attachment people have developed to the area because of its locational advantages on the one hand and an appreciation of the place because of their long stay in the area on the other.

Table 4.6 Best feature of neighborhood

| best feature | Percent |
|-----------------------------------|---------|
| proximity to work | 35.6 |
| access to utilities | 20.0 |
| familiarity to area | 26.7 |
| proximity to social services | 2.2 |
| general character of neighborhood | 15.6 |
| Total | 100.0 |

When asked as to what they liked least about their neighborhood 32.2% pointed the problems with drainage. The lack of infrastructure was singled out by the highest proportion, 47.8%, of the respondents. The remaining households did not like the fact that this is a poor neighborhood, poor access to jobs and social services, and the crime level. The fact that a lack of infrastructure was pointed out as the worst feature of the neighborhood is a surprising finding as this is an inner city location where the level of infrastructure is supposed to be at its best. A significant percentage have pointed out

the poor level of drainage facilities, which again shows the neglect that is endured by inner city low income settlements.

Table 4.7 Worst feature of neighborhood

| worst feature | Percent |
|--------------------------------------|---------|
| poor drainage | 32.2 |
| poor infrastructure | 47.8 |
| poor neighborhood | 1.1 |
| poor access to jobs, social services | 7.8 |
| high crime level | 2.2 |
| other | 8.9 |
| Total | 100.0 |

4.3.5 Preferences on improvement

One of the aims of asking residents about what they want to be prioritized in terms of neighborhood improvements is to identify areas that need attention. In many cases what residents prioritize may be quite different from a professional's point of view. Problems with drainage were pointed out as needing most attention by 42.2% of the respondents. This is followed by 38.9% citing solid waste disposal facilities as an aspect needing most attention. The remaining households prefer to have roads improved /11.1%/, or improvements in communal toilets /6.7%/. The findings of this section lead us to the deduction that improvements in drainage and solid waste disposal are the most needed in the case study area. This means these two aspects have to be integrated with other physical improvement efforts such as the upgrading of roads. The visually most obvious aspect of the lack of proper roads is considered to be of less importance by the residents.

Table 4.8 preference on improvements

| preference on improvements | Percent |
|---------------------------------|---------|
| drainage | 42.2 |
| solid waste disposal facilities | 38.9 |
| roads | 11.1 |
| communal toilets | 6.7 |
| other | 1.1 |
| Total | 100.0 |

4.3.6 Contributions to and preconditions for taking part in neighborhood improvements

In our queries concerning what kinds of contribution the residents would be willing to make, 45.6% expressed their willingness to assist with free labor. Some 35.6% said they would be willing to contribute both money and labor. The rest 18.9% are willing to contribute money for improvement efforts. With the high level of poverty in the area it is

to be expected that a minor percentage said they would be willing to contribute money for improvement efforts. The most significant finding is that people are willing to make contributions in one way or another as long as they benefit through these improvement efforts.

Table 4.9 what kind of contribution in improvement efforts

| contribution | Percent |
|-----------------|---------|
| money | 18.9 |
| labor | 45.6 |
| money and labor | 35.6 |
| Total | 100.0 |

We further asked the respondents if they have any preconditions in order to participate in improvement efforts. The majority, 53.3%, said as long as their staying in the area is assured they would be willing to be involved in improvements. Another 31.1% expressed their preferences towards a change of ownership to private. This also shows a lack of guarantee for continued residence will ultimately limit the initiatives of residents to be involved in improvement efforts. Issues related to ownership and tenure security are areas needing much attention for many inner city households. With no change in the current approaches to these areas the prospect for them is gloomy.

Table 4.10 Preconditions to participate in improvement efforts

| precondition | Percent |
|---------------------|---------|
| change in ownership | 31.1 |
| guarantee to stay | 53.3 |
| other | 15.6 |
| Total | 100.0 |

4.3.7 Social organization

“Idir” is a most common form of social organization in the whole of Ethiopia. Its status has been strengthened during the Derg regime as it was made part of the kebele organization that was first introduced at the time. In my case study area it was found out that all of the residents were members of one community based organization or other. From among the residents 83.3% were involved in “Idir”. Another 2.2% had an “Equb.”⁹⁰ Community based organizations have a wide membership in the case study area as well as the whole of the city. They can become mediums for various efforts, be it in participation and security for financing among others.

Table 4.11 Social organizations

⁹⁰ The Equb is a form of saving money where a number of people reach an agreement to contribute an equal amount every month or week and this collection goes to one of the contributors after the casting of ballots. Each member gets the amount that all the members contribute at one time or another.

| social organization | Percent |
|---------------------|---------|
| CBOs/idir | 83.3 |
| equb | 2.2 |
| other | 14.4 |
| Total | 100.0 |

4.3.8 Economic attachment

We have found out that an overwhelming majority of the households have no business activities attached with their places of residence. Form among the 90 respondents only three households were found to be running small scale commercial activities. This findings show that the attachment the households have is not related to the business potential of the area. They have actually been unable to exploit this potential.

Table 4.12 Economic attachment

| | Percent |
|-------|---------|
| yes | 5.6 |
| no | 94.4 |
| Total | 100.0 |

4.3.9 Psychological attachment

We carried out informal discussions with some of the residents and found out that most of the residents have lived in this area for more than 30 years. They have been through many changes while in the same location. The general impression that we were given was they have a significant psychological attachment to their place of residence.

4.4 Characteristics of Dwelling Units

4.4.1 Area of plot, area of unit and building type

In most of the dwellings the size of the plot is nearly the same as the size of the unit, which shows that many of the houses are accessed directly from the street. Almost all of the dwellings in the case study area are non storied. Of the ninety households that responded there was only one dwelling with one story.

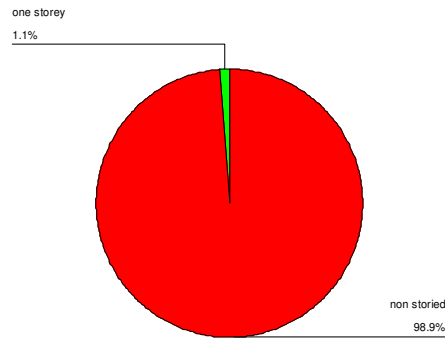


Figure 4.5 type of building

4.4.2 Number of rooms

One indicator of housing quality is the space within the housing units. This can be determined by counting the number of rooms in a housing unit. In 1990, it was estimated that 17 per cent of the world's stock of housing was one-room units, of which some three quarters were in developing countries. In Kenya for example, 59.3 per cent of all urban dwellings in the eight largest cities/towns were single-roomed in 1993.⁹¹

The general figure for the city of Addis Ababa is 30.9% for households with only one room. Within the city 28.7% of the households have two rooms. This means more than 60% of the households have one or two rooms.⁹²

A significant number of the dwellings in my case study area have either one or two rooms. Of the households surveyed 30% have only one room. The percentage of households with two rooms is 48.9. A diminishing percentage (less than 20%) have more than two rooms. Compared to the city average, there are more households with only two roomed units in the case study area. The problem of congestion is more acute here.

Table 4.13 number of rooms in dwelling

| No of rooms | Percent |
|-------------|---------|
| 1 | 30.0 |
| 2 | 48.9 |
| 3 | 17.8 |
| 4 | 1.1 |
| 5 | 1.1 |
| 8 | 1.1 |
| Total | 100.0 |

⁹¹ Essayas Ababu Tarekegn /Dr. ing /, /2000/ KITIYA, Transformation of low income housing in Addis Ababa

⁹² An overview of urban poverty in Addis Ababa /2000/, UNCHS /habitat/

The mean number of families in the case study area is 4.83. With more than 95% of the houses having 3 or less number of rooms, we can say that there is significant congestion in this area.

4.4.3 materials for construction

Roof materials

All of the houses in the area are roofed with corrugated iron sheets. A not surprising finding as this is a common phenomenon for much of the city. This is especially true for the inner city which is famous for its' rusted roof scape.



Figure 4.6 Corrugated iron sheet is the dominant roofing material

Wall materials

The most common wall building material for the majority of low income housing in the city is chika /wood and mud/. It is no different for this particular site. Our findings from the survey show that 88.9% of the households have walls made of this material. Again a further 7.8% have rendered their chika houses with cement. This is a common method for improving chika houses in Ethiopia. Only 3.3% have walls made of either concrete, brick or cement blocks. The kinds of materials that are permitted by city and sub-city administration are permanent materials such as bricks and cement blocks. Taking this into consideration, settlements like these in the case study area are considered sub standard. However what the residents think about their houses can be quite different. It is worth comparing the figures in this section to the ones in 4.2.13 where the residents were divided half way as condition of their houses. More than 50% said condition of their houses are either fair or good.

Table 4.14 wall material

| Wall material | frequency |
|-----------------------------------|-----------|
| concrete, bricks or cement blocks | 3 |
| chika with cement rendering | 7 |



to the
that the

| | |
|--------------|----|
| mud and wood | 80 |
| Total | 90 |

Figure 4.7 The predominant wall material (chika)

Floor materials

The survey shows that the majority of the houses have floors of cement. The figure for this is 64.4%. A further 17.8% of the housing units have either plastic, clay or wood tiles. A smaller proportion, 15.6%, have floors of earth. This shows that a majority of the households have much better conditions in their interiors than exteriors. This can be looked at in conjunction the fact that people are more inclined to make improvements to their interiors than exteriors.⁹³ Compared to the city average /which is 6.3 % for cement screed and 51.4 % for earth or mud/ this area is much better in the condition of flooring materials.

Table 4.15 floor material

| Floor material | Percent |
|-----------------------------|---------|
| earth mud | 15.6 |
| cement | 64.4 |
| plastic, clay or wood tiles | 17.8 |
| marble tiles | 2.2 |
| Total | 100.0 |

4.4.4 Unit condition

In deciding whether a dwelling unit is in good or bad condition the researchers' perception of what is good, fair or bad will have an effect on his/her conclusions. To make this query more complete, we have also asked the residents about what they think about the condition of their dwellings. This can be referred to in upcoming paragraphs.

From our survey we have found out that more than half of the houses are in a relatively good or fair condition. Based on our survey 31.1% of the houses are in good condition

⁹³ Ashenafi Gossaye, /2001/, pp197

and 32.2% are in fair condition. A further 35.6% are in a poor condition with 1% or one house, from the 90 responses we had, fit only for demolishing.

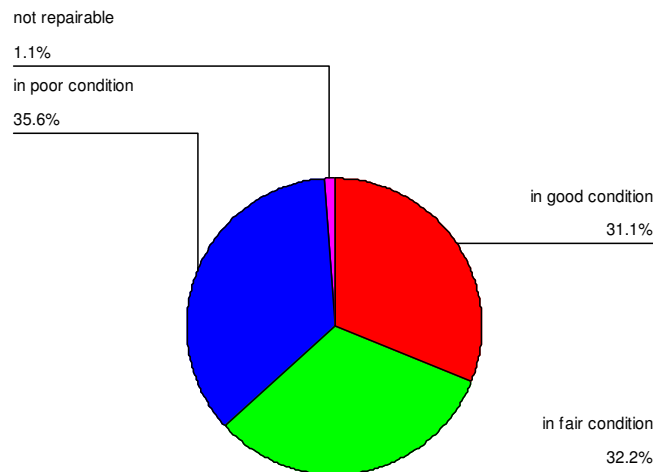


Figure 4.8 Condition of dwelling units

Condition of dwelling units according to the residents

The impression of the interviewer has been elaborated in section 4.2.8. It is common however that the owner of a dwelling may have a different opinion as to the condition of his unit. In order to ascertain this difference of opinion the residents were asked what they think about the condition of their units. A large proportion, 46.7%, think their units are in poor condition. An equal proportion of the respondents /25.6%/ think their units are in either good condition or fair condition.

The opinions of the researcher and the residents are similar in issues concerning the condition of the dwelling units. A larger proportion of the dwelling units are judged to be in poor condition by both parties. Close to 50 percent of the housing units are deemed to be in poor condition by the respondents, which is unacceptable for a city center location. This is in light of the fact that the city is undertaking many efforts at improving the city, especially the city center, while the majority of the housing stock is in a deplorable state. This has to be seen together with the fact that there is a general lack of knowledge because of the rural backgrounds of most of the residents and the low expectation from urban living that this will create.

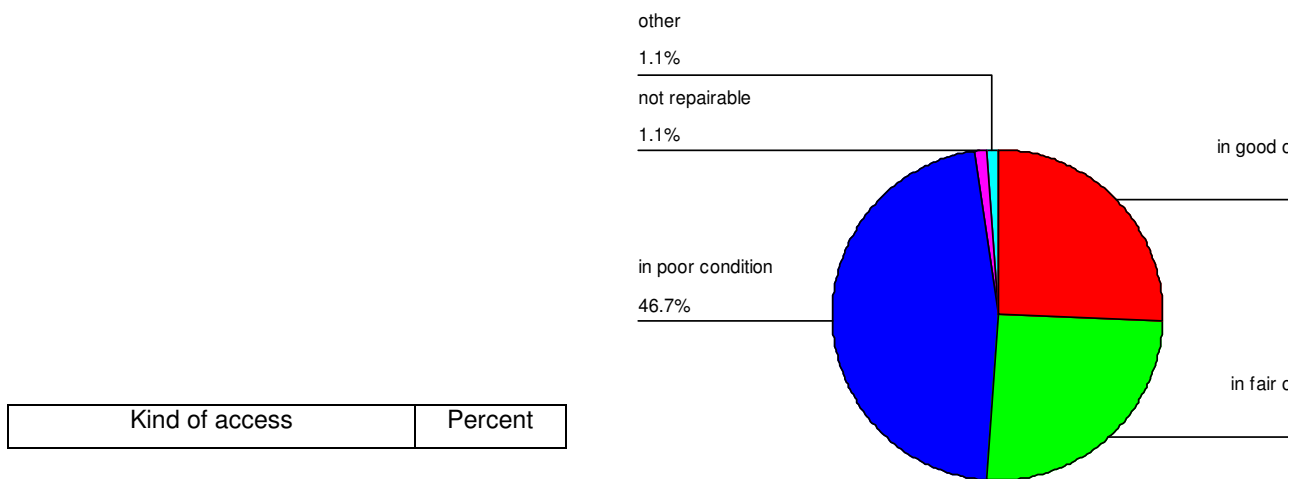


Figure 4.9 Condition of dwelling units in the eyes of the resident

4.4.5 Access

Lack of standard access to units is a problem of many inner city low income settlements. The congestion is a result of years of unplanned additions and conversions that have in many cases encroached on outdoor spaces. One of the most threatening hazards is fire and it continues to pose problems. Lack of space for funeral processions and for tents that are commonly used during funerals is a pervasive problem.

I have noted in section 4.1 that the case study area is bounded by asphalt roads on three sides. The houses facing these roads are 25.6% and exist side by side with small businesses. However the majority of the houses can only be accessed by pedestrians. This means 68.9% are not accessible by car and are in danger of being wiped out if there is a fire. Added to the fact that most of them are attached to each other, the problem becomes even more serious. A small portion of the roads (4.4%) is paved with either stone or gravel and is accessible by car.

Table 4.16 access to units

| | |
|---|------|
| asphalt road | 25.6 |
| vehicle accessible stone, gravel or sand road | 4.4 |
| dry weather road | 1.1 |



| | |
|---------------------------------|-------|
| pedestrian only accessible road | 68.9 |
| Total | 100.0 |

Figure 4.10 A pedestrian street in the case study area, inaccessible by fire appliances

4.4.6 Flood threat and prevention mechanisms

The poor can not make choices on location of residence. In many cases they have been living in flood prone areas for lack of shelter choices. With Addis Ababa lacking basic services in many areas, the poor suffer as they live in some of the most disadvantageous locations.

There have been problems with flood in this area because it lies very close to a river. There have been repeated efforts to protect the people from this threat by building appropriate retaining walls. However, there have been incidents as recently as during our field survey of the area.

Table 4.17 threat from flood

| Threat exists | frequency | Percent |
|---------------|-----------|---------|
| yes | 26 | 28.9 |
| no | 64 | 71.1 |
| Total | 90 | 100.0 |



Figure 4.11 flood prevention retaining wall

There is limited drainage facility and there is no flood prevention infrastructure for 38.9% of the surveyed units. The rest have drainage facilities like open ditches or sewerage facilities such as covered pipes or embankment structure. These make 13.3%. 32.2% and 10% of the households respectively.

Table 4.18 flood prevention infrastructure

| Kind of mechanism | Percent |
|---|---------|
| drainage facilities such as open ditches | 13.3 |
| sewerage facilities such as covered pipes | 32.2 |
| embankment structure | 10.0 |
| none | 38.9 |
| other | 5.6 |
| Total | 100.0 |



Figure 4.12 flood prevention retaining wall

4.4.7 Frequency of maintenance

The general consensus is that the administration seldom carries out any repair work at all. The nationalization of extra houses brought about by the taking over of power by the Derg in 1975 /G.C/ led to a huge amount of dwelling units being owned by the government.⁹⁴ . The government nor the city administration however had, neither the financial capacity nor the institutional make up, to take good care of such large amount of resources. This has led to the years of neglect and subsequent deterioration that these old settlements suffered.

This particular site however has seen some repairs because of the ever present danger of flooding that has drawn the attention of the authorities many times. Looking at the response of the residents 26.7% said there have been no repairs at all. Another 22.2% said there have been one or two repairs since they moved into their present dwellings. Considering many of the households have lived in this location for more than 30 years, this figure is very small. The rest 27.8% and 16.7% said that there have been repairs every three to five years and every year respectively.

Table 4.19 frequency of maintenance

| Frequency of maintenance | Number |
|--------------------------------|--------|
| never | 24 |
| once or twice since i moved in | 20 |
| every three to five years | 25 |
| every year | 15 |
| other | 6 |
| Total | 90 |

4.4.8 The problems of the dwelling unit

⁹⁴ This was brought about by the proclamation number 47/75 enacted in 1975 G.C

In identifying the problems of the unit, 34.4% pointed at the poor state of repair of their unit. The unsatisfactory nature of utilities was pointed by 35.6% of the respondents. A further 11.1% identified the level of infrastructure in the neighborhood as unsatisfactory. A much smaller portion of 3.3% said the poor location of the unit is the major problem. Only 13.3% said there are no problems with the unit. Taking into consideration the city center location of the case study area, it is surprising that there is such a low level of service and infrastructure coverage. When we look at the number of houses that have pointed out the condition of utilities as the major problem with the units, they are the highest proportion. This goes to show that improvements in utilities may be of more value to most residents than in infrastructure. From another view point, improvements in utilities are as much valued as improvements in the state of the housing unit itself.

Table 4.20 main problems of unit

| Unit problem | No of houses |
|---|--------------|
| unit is in poor state of repair | 31 |
| utilities are unsatisfactory | 32 |
| level of infrastructure in neighborhood is unsatisfactory | 10 |
| poor location | 3 |
| other reason | 2 |
| no problems | 12 |
| Total | 90 |

4.4.9 Interest in owning the unit

It has been pointed out by many theoreticians and planners that the issue of tenure security has a major role to play in the deplorable state of low income settlements. The issue of tenure security can be the deciding factor in the residents' desire to improve their dwellings and their neighborhood. The state of ownership within the city as a whole can be referred to in chapter 3. An overwhelming percentage of the population in my case study area /96.7%/ said they wanted to own their units.

Table 4.21 Interest in owning the unit

| Interested? | Percent |
|-------------|---------|
| yes | 96.7 |
| no | 3.3 |
| Total | 100.0 |

This overwhelming interest in becoming owners of their units comes from the advantage that such a city center location offers. It is also indicative of the kind of improvement that may be initiated by a change in ownership.

4.4.10 Utility Services

Water Supply

The convenient availability of water has considerable effect on the economic situation of the poor. Women are the most affected by its near availability as they are the ones performing much of the household work. The price poor households have to pay to street vendors is much higher than the price of piped water.

In this neighborhood, a large proportion of the households (36.7%) use stand pipes as a source of water supply. Only 34.4% of the households have water supply within their own dwellings and 17.8% have water pipes within their compounds. The biggest role here is being played by the level of poverty in the area. The level and quality of water supply is unacceptable for the kind of standard one would expect from living in a city center location of a capital city.

Table 4.22 main source of drinking water

| Source of water | Frequency | Percent |
|--|-----------|---------|
| pipied into dwelling unit | 31 | 34.4 |
| pipied to compound | 16 | 17.8 |
| public stand pipe within 10 minute walk | 7 | 7.8 |
| public stand pipe more than 10 minute walk | 3 | 3.3 |
| stand pipe in neighbors compound | 33 | 36.7 |
| Total | 90 | 100.0 |

Electricity

A majority of the houses have access to electricity. The survey shows that 87.8% of the households that have been questioned have electricity with private meters. A further 11.1% have access to electricity but with shared meter. Only 1.1% had no access to electricity. This relatively better provision of a major utility is one of the better aspects of the city. Compared to the city average /45%with private meter/⁹⁵, this area is in much better condition in terms of access to electricity.

Table 4.23 main source of electricity

| Electricity source | Percent |
|---------------------------|---------|
| electricity/private meter | 87.8 |
| electricity/shared meter | 11.1 |

⁹⁵ Ashenafi Gossaye, /2001/

| | |
|-------|-------|
| none | 1.1 |
| Total | 100.0 |

Bathing Facility

In terms of bathing facilities it was found out that an overwhelming percent (94.4%) of the surveyed homes do not have a separate bathing facility. A small percentage of the population (only 4.4%) have a bath tub or a shower that is for their own use.

Table 4.24 bathing facility

| Bathing facility | Percent |
|-------------------------------|---------|
| none | 94.4 |
| bath tub or shower, private | 4.4 |
| facility with non piped water | 1.1 |
| Total | 100.0 |

Toilets

Talking about toilet facilities, a significant portion of the households we surveyed used dry pit latrines within compounds and shared by more than one resident. These are 57.8% of the total households surveyed. A much smaller proportion of the households are in possession of flush toilets but shared between a number of other users. The dwellings that have private flush toilets are only 5.6% of the total. Some of the figures from this particular aspect of housing are good evidences to show the low level of access to basic services that this particular location has though it is in the city center. There are however a number of common toilets that have been added to the settlements to alleviate the problems of the lack of toilet facilities./figure 4.4a/

Table 4.25 toilet facility

| Toilet facility | Percent |
|--------------------------------------|---------|
| none | 7.8 |
| flush private | 5.6 |
| flush shared | 26.7 |
| dry pit latrine in compound/private/ | 2.2 |
| dry pit latrine in compound/shared/ | 57.8 |
| Total | 100.0 |

Kitchen

The majority of the households surveyed share a traditional kitchen with neighbors (56.7%). Another, 13.3%, have private traditional kitchens. A significant portion; 28.6% have no kitchen facility. This means many of the households are at one time or another using their living or bedrooms as kitchens. This poses a significant threat in terms of health for the inhabitants as well as a grave danger from domestic fires. With

the houses having an attached nature, a fire would have a devastating effect on the residents.

Table 4.26 kitchen facility

| kitchen facility | Percent |
|------------------------------|---------|
| no kitchen | 28.9 |
| traditional kitchen, private | 13.3 |
| traditional kitchen, shared | 56.7 |
| modern kitchen | 1.1 |
| Total | 100.0 |

Solid waste disposal

The findings of this study show that a large amount of waste is being collected by private establishments which collect waste from each house for a small fee. The proportion of waste that is being collected by these establishments is 76.7%. The municipality takes a minimal role in waste collection and disposal and its share is only 3.1%, a surprising finding as this location is one of the most accessible because of its location right in the middle of the city. Of the households surveyed 9.4% dump their waste in the nearby river. This is a common phenomenon in the city of Addis Ababa where a large number of the population uses the rivers as dumping sites with many households going as far as connecting sewer lines to these rivers. A further 3.1% dump their waste in the streets.

When we look at all of the basic services provision shown above, we can say that they are at a low level with the exception of electricity. Close to 65 percent do not have water piped into their dwellings. Almost 95 percent of the residents do not have any bathing facility. Close to 8 percent do not have toilets of any kind. This is to be understood in light of the fact that this is a city center location and very accessible.

Table 4.27 waste disposal

| Type of collection | Percent |
|--|---------|
| collected by municipality or other government agency | 3.3 |
| collected by private establishment | 76.7 |
| collected by other | 6.7 |
| dumped in nearby ditch | 10.0 |
| dumped in street | 3.3 |
| Total | 100.0 |

4.4.11 Use of units

The majority of the dwellings are used only for residential purposes with possible dependents living with owners. The percentage for this is 93.3%. A limited proportion

3.3% used their dwellings as living quarters as well as for small business activities. The residents in the case study area have not been able to exploit the advantages of their location fully with small business activities. Our case study concentrates on housing in the area, however there are businesses on the more accessible and more developed sides of the neighborhood that have rented their units from the kebele or from private owners.

Table 4.28 use of the unit

| use of the unit | Percent |
|--|---------|
| residential only; family and non paying others | 93.3 |
| residential only; household/family and tenants | 3.3 |
| residential and commercial/sales, food vending, etc/ | 3.3 |
| Total | 100.0 |

4.4.12 Most liked and disliked aspects of the unit

One of the inception points of this paper is location and its significance in the urban context especially for low income groups. This was further investigated in the study and from among the interviewed households 86.7% said that the best quality of their unit is its location. About 5.6% expressed their complete dissatisfaction on the condition of their units. As is to be expected from inner city low income settlements, the most liked aspect is the location. All the other aspects are pointed out by a very small proportion as satisfactory.

Table 4.29 what residents like most about their dwelling units

| Most liked aspect | Frequency | Percent |
|---|-----------|---------|
| quality of unit | 3 | 3.3 |
| location | 78 | 86.7 |
| utilities, availability of water, electricity etc | 3 | 3.3 |
| fact that I own it | 1 | 1.1 |
| nothing completely dissatisfied | 5 | 5.6 |
| Total | 90 | 100.0 |

In discussing what residents like least about their dwellings, it is worth referring to the physical condition of the units such as the number of rooms in each dwelling which is presented in section 4.2.2 /page 67/. The most dissatisfying aspect of their dwellings for 38.9% of the respondents is the inadequacy of rooms and space in the household. The poor quality of the units is pointed out as the most dissatisfying aspect of their dwellings by 13.3% of the respondents. A further 21.1% indicated their dissatisfaction with the limited availability of utilities such as water and electricity. Poor drainage is another aspect of discontent for 11.1% of the residents. A final 8.9% are dissatisfied

with all aspects of their units. As can be seen from the data a majority of the respondents pointed out one or another aspect as unsatisfactory.

Table 4.30 what residents like least about their dwelling units

| Least liked aspect | Percent |
|---|---------|
| not enough space or rooms for household | 38.9 |
| poor quality of unit | 13.3 |
| utilities, water, electricity etc not available | 21.1 |
| poor drainage | 11.1 |
| location | 1.1 |
| other | 5.6 |
| nothing, everything is satisfactory | 8.9 |
| Total | 100.0 |

4.4.13 Barriers to improve the dwelling units

In formal and informal interviews with the residents some major barriers to make improvements or additions have been identified. These among other factors include the unavailability of loans, the difficulty in getting building permits from kebele authorities, the congested nature of the settlement not allowing improvements and lack of know how to make small improvements.

The most repeated aspect of their inability to make improvements in shelter has been the lack of financial capacity and the impossibility of getting loans from banks. We have found out that close to 40 percent of the households we surveyed earn less than 300 birr per month. In addition to this, only 40 percent are employed by the government. This means they have no access to financial assistance as financial institutions require government employment as a prerequisite to be eligible for loans. Low income residents do not have the collateral that is usually required by banks to provide loans. They are unable to make improvements on their own because the amount of income that they earn is too low to make any savings for shelter.

The present practices by the city and local administrations do not encourage the repair or addition of units by residents. On the one hand the requirement on building materials is too high for the majority of the population. It is required that all construction be carried out with permanent materials such as concrete blocks, bricks or stone masonry. On the other the form of ownership does not encourage the residents to make improvements. Out of the total 256 units in the area, 172 are owned by the kebele administration. Making improvements may actually lead to a rise in rents. I

have come across an incident in another location within the city where an initiative by the tenant was cut short as he was informed by the authorities that he would have to pay an increased rate in accordance with the amount of floor area he was going to add. This may end up making the dwelling unaffordable by the very resident who undertook the improvement efforts. The kebele authorities that own these dwelling units should carry out the necessary repair work. However they have been proved inadequate for this task.

The third barrier is the congestion in the area. Most of the houses in the area are attached to each other /figure 4.3, page 65/. The general situation in terms of number of rooms can be referred to in section 4.2.2 on page 67. The idea of expanding in such a situation is impossible as the units are already the maximum size that they can be on such a site. The addition of a kitchen facility for example for those who do not have it is impossible for many of the households.

4.5 Socio-economic situation

4.5.1 Age of household head

We investigated the ages of households to be able to ascertain what proportion of the settlement is capable of taking part in improvement efforts. We have also been able to clarify the size of the population that is at the height of its working and earning capacity. According to our survey 58.9% of the households have heads between the ages of 25 and 60. The rest are 61 years old or above. It can be seen from the data that close to 60 percent of the respondents are within a productive age range. A significant portion of the household heads are above the age of 61. This means for many of the households, the next generation will be the source of improvement potential. It also needs to be pointed out that inner city low income housing is in possession of an aging population that has seen limited change in the condition of inner city low income housing.

Table 4.31 Age of household head

| Age range | Frequency | Percent |
|--------------|-----------|---------|
| 25-60 | 53 | 58.9 |
| 61 and above | 37 | 41.1 |
| Total | 90 | 100.0 |

4.5.2 Gender composition

Women should receive due attention because they tend to be neglected within much of development scenario. A larger proportion of the urban poor are women as the jobs they have, if they have any, are paying much less than men. They often have temporary jobs and lack security as a result. In addition to these aspects in most cases they are discriminated against within the household. They are less likely to be in control of a household's assets while carrying the brunt of the household chores and responsibilities.

Women in Addis Ababa, especially those with less education, have more difficulty in accessing formal sector employment than men. More women are illiterate than men. According to some studies, the male illiteracy in the capital Addis Ababa is 10.7 percent, while it is 23.48 percent for women.⁹⁶ These and other cultural factors have resulted in a higher proportion of women having less employment opportunities than men. The majority of those employed are in the informal sector such as petty commodity production, domestic services, prostitution and fuel wood collecting.

In our case study area we have found out that the proportion of women to that of men is slightly higher. This means the female portion of the society is a significant force that should not be overlooked. As the female sex is disadvantaged in terms of employment opportunities, education, discrimination, and household chores, they will be needing particular attention. Housing being more than the simple provision of dwellings, the necessary improvement in the condition of housing can be integrated with an improvement in the condition of the female members of society.

Table 4.32 Paired Samples Statistics

| | Mean |
|-----------------------|------|
| female family members | 2.42 |
| male family members | 2.40 |

4.5.3 Household Size

One of the most common problems in Addis Ababa has been overcrowding. The issue of family planning has been repeatedly pointed out as one of the most crucial elements for alleviating poverty. In my case study area the majority of families have a household size of 6 family members or more.

⁹⁶ An overview of urban poverty in Addis Ababa /2000/, UNCHS /habitat

Table 4.33 Household size

| Number of family members | Frequency | Percent |
|--------------------------|-----------|---------|
| 1 | 7 | 7.8 |
| 2 | 7 | 7.8 |
| 3 | 12 | 13.3 |
| 4-6 | 38 | 42.2 |
| 6-10 | 26 | 28.9 |
| Total | 90 | 100.0 |

Mean household size = 4.83

4.5.4 Employment status

Unemployment has been increasing in the past years in the city of Addis Ababa. According to a study done in 2001 an employment rate that stood at 9.6% in 1976 has risen to over 34% in 1994.⁹⁷ This unemployment rate has always been higher for females than males. When we look at the age groups suffering most from unemployment, it has been those between the ages of 19 and 24 years. The unemployment rate for those between these ages is more than 50%. It has also been pointed out that the majority of the unemployed are educated at least upto grade 12.

In our case study area a significant portion of the respondents /68.9%/ are employed. A smaller proportion of 18.9% are unemployed and 12.2% are pensioners. This means there is a higher level of employment in the case study area than the city in general. This is a positive aspect. However it should not be forgotten that poverty is a problem in this area. The kind of employment which affects issues such as eligibility for bank loans has other detrimental effects and can be referred to in the next section.

Table 4.34 Employment status

| status | Percent |
|------------|---------|
| employed | 68.9 |
| unemployed | 18.9 |
| pensioner | 12.2 |
| Total | 100.0 |

4.5.5 Employment type

One of the crucial aspects of poor households is their inability to access financial resources to carry out repairs or to make additions to their original houses. Financing often addresses the needs of those with regular income and secure employment. With

⁹⁷ An Overview of Urban Poverty in Addis Ababa, /2001/ Study to be presented to the Addis Ababa Working Team For the City Consultation on Urban Poverty, Poverty Reduction and the Development of a sustainable living environment in Addis Ababa, United Nations Centre for Human Settlements UNCHS (Habitat)

a growing level of poverty and lack of access to credit the poor are left with limited choices for improving their shelter situation.

In our case study area we have found out that 42.2% of the household heads of the units questioned are employed by the government. A further 20% are employed by the private sector. A further 23.3% are self employed. We can see from the data that more than half of the respondents do not have any access to credit through official channels as they either can not provide security or are not eligible for loans from banks. Housing, especially low income housing is of very limited scope without financing being available

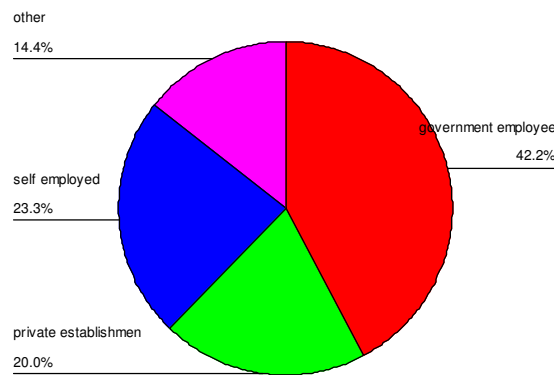


Figure 4.13 Employment type

4.5.6 Workers in household

From among the respondents 73.3% have the household heads as the main income earners in the household. A further 6.7% are households in which spouses are the principal income earners. A small portion of 2.2% are supported by income from an offspring of working age. From among the households, those without employment are likely to suffer most for lack of financial capacity to better their shelter conditions. Households that are female headed are also in need of special assistance as they are carrying the burden of earning household income in addition to the household chores they have to undertake.

Table 4.35 Workers in household

| worker | Percent |
|-------------|---------|
| family head | 73.3 |
| spouse | 6.7 |
| worker 3 | 2.2 |

| | |
|-------|-------|
| none | 17.8 |
| Total | 100.0 |

4.5.7 Income

Based on a survey made on 900 houses in Addis Ababa /1999/, it is estimated that 45.5% of households earn less than 300 birr per month. Those who earn between 300 and 800 birr per month account for 33% of the households. The rest 21.7% have an income of more than 800 birr. this shows that the majority of the households are earning low incomes.⁹⁸

Looking at the situation in our case study area we have found out that 38.9% of the households we surveyed have incomes of less than 300 birr per month. Those who earned between 300 and 800 birr account for 47.8% of the households. A small proportion, 7.8%, said they earn more than 800 birr per month.

Table 4.36 Monthly income in birr

| Income range | Percent |
|----------------|---------|
| below 300 birr | 38.9 |
| 300-800 birr | 47.8 |
| above 800 birr | 7.8 |
| not known | 5.6 |
| Total | 100.0 |

In investigating the source of their income 44.4% confirmed that wages and pensions are their source. Some 21.1% have their own informal businesses. A further 18.9% have their own businesses but of a formal nature. Transfers or gifts from others were cited as a source of income by 13.3% of the respondents. This shows that less than 50 percent of the residents have regular incomes. The majority have limited capacity to provide security for loans.

Table 4.37 Main sources of income

| Income source | Percent |
|--------------------------------|---------|
| wages including pensions | 44.4 |
| own business/informal | 21.1 |
| own business/ formal | 18.9 |
| transfers or gifts from others | 13.3 |
| other | 2.2 |
| Total | 100.0 |

4.6 Relocation

4.6.1 Willingness to move with government relocation program

⁹⁸ Bigsten and Negatu (1999) in AN OVERVIEW OF URBAN POVERTY IN ADDIS ABABA, Study to be presented to the Addis Ababa Working Team For the City Consultation on Urban Poverty, Poverty Reduction and the Development of a sustainable living environment in Addis Ababa, United Nations Centre for Human Settlements/ UNCHS (Habitat)

The issue of relocation has become quite common in recent years. The city government however has not been doing any assessment as to the needs of the residents. Some reactions from selected relocation sites and inner city settlements can be found in “**Inner-city renewal in Addis Ababa**” / Ashenafi Gossaye/Dr. ing /, /2001/

We have made assessments for this particular location and found out that the majority /53.3%/ are not willing to move with government relocation program. The rest have expressed their willingness to move if such a move is necessary. This means there is a significant portion of the society that is against the current renewal approach of mass demolition of low income inner city housing to make way for other more profitable projects. It is also to be pointed out that relocating people without their consent can be a source of long term problems such as loss of political support.

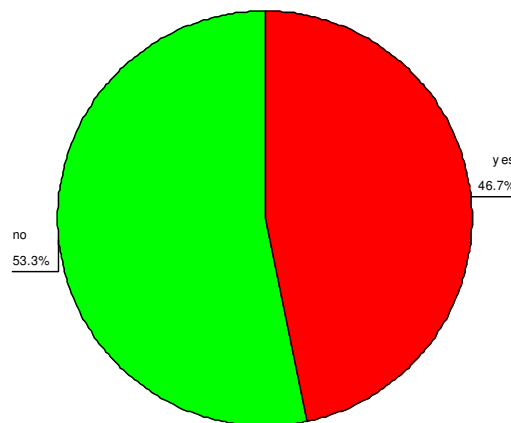


Figure 4.14 Willingness of residents to move with government program

4.6.2 Conditions for moving

In an urban renewal scenario, if the choice of putting down conditions were to be given to them residents within any part of the city would have varying requirements. In order to investigate this aspect we came up with possible choices that residents could be given. Replacement housing with no locational specifics came at the top of the list with 55.6% preferring to have it. A further 28.9% expressed their preferences for another site in the inner city with secure tenure. A small proportion of 4.4% said it would be better to have another rented housing within the inner city. The majority of the respondents prefer to have either land or replacement housing rather than be given money to find accommodation on their own. The first priority for the respondents is that they have some kind of replacement shelter. On closer inspection however, the fact

that a significant portion put down the condition of being provided with alternative accommodation within the inner city is evident ;35 percent either want alternative rental accommodation or a site with secure tenure, within the inner city.

Table 4.38 Conditions for moving

| condition | Percent |
|---|---------|
| replacement housing | 55.6 |
| funds to look for alternative accommodation | 1.1 |
| another site in the inner city with secure tenure | 28.9 |
| rental housing in the inner city | 4.4 |
| other | 10.0 |
| Total | 100.0 |

4.6.3 Preferences on moving

Being asked what kind of arrangement would most suit them their preferences were surprising. The proportion of respondents that preferred to live in another location nearby even if there were no improvements in the area were larger than those who preferred to be moved to the outskirts and be provided with better accommodation. An overwhelming majority, 80%, would prefer to stay in the inner city and be provided with better accommodation.

Table 4.39 preferences on location and quality of new dwelling

| preference | Percent |
|--|---------|
| out skirts with better accommodation | 6.7 |
| another location nearby with better accommodation | 80.0 |
| another location nearby with no improvement in accommodation | 11.1 |
| other | 2.2 |
| Total | 100.0 |

The first crucial finding is that more than 90 percent of the respondents do not want to be moved out of the inner city. The second one is that better dwelling unit conditions are considered a minor advantage when compared to the advantages that the inner city offers because of its superior location. Many in the case study area prefer to stay in the inner city, even when there are no improvements in existing dwelling conditions.

It needs to be noted here that the settlements have limited economic attachment to the area /section 4.4.8/. This together with the fact that the proportion that preferred to have better accommodation in another location in close proximity to the case study area are such a high proportion, shows that on site relocation, within the inner city, will limit the detrimental effects of urban renewal efforts.

Discussion, Conclusion and recommendation

5 Discussion and Conclusion

5.1 The possibility of enacting all encompassing urban renewal practices

Currently the very practice of Local Development Plans fails in its scope of considerations, be it in the form of the right of all classes of people to live in the inner city or the capacity of the inner city to accommodate all sorts of people from all levels of economic status. There has to be a midway through which all sectors, especially low income inner city populations can benefit. Globally there is a move towards more socially, economically, culturally and environmentally sustainable approaches to urban renewal. Here in Addis Ababa, we are following a system that has been proved ineffective decades ago.

There will be more efficiency in municipal functions if there is cooperation with neighborhood organizations. The success of municipal planning can be assured by working together with settlements and their initiatives. Such collaborations are a tool for better city wide plans and the likelihood of their success in implementation.

Our current approach to urban renewal is not comprehensive enough. There should be city wide, or at least inner city wide considerations in deciding on the location of renewal projects. There must be an integrated effort to address the needs of the low income portion of the society as well as the need to modernize. There is a lack of foresight in the decisions made by the municipality concerning its renewal efforts. The possibility of having a number of successful areas for living and commerce is not very remote. Urban renewal efforts must be integrated with settlement upgrading. This will enable the fulfilling of both poles, which are the need to modernize and the preferences of the low income settlers to stay within the inner city. This is the only sustainable renewal approach that will stop the continuing destruction of inner city low income housing.

5.2 Neighborhood positive aspects and the threat of change

The most crucial aspect of good location is the closeness to workplaces. In my case study area, a typical inner city convenience of closeness to work places allows residents either to walk to work places, markets and schools or take a bus or taxi from a nearby location. Walking is the most common mode of transport to access major amenities. This has cut down on the cost of transport, making savings a likelihood. Depriving these settlers one of the few advantages they have /i.e location/ will impose an additional burden on their economic situation. .

The most liked aspects of the case study area are its proximity to work, access to utilities and the familiarity that the residents have to the area /section 4.3.4/. The most disliked aspects of the case study area are problems of drainage, infrastructure, poverty, unemployment, lack of social services and crime. These are all city wide problems that are especially true for inner city areas. However it is surprising to see such major problems in the inner city as it is the most accessible. The direction that needs to be taken is one where improvements in infrastructure and facilities can be integrated with employment generation opportunities within the community. This will in

turn assist in the reduction of poverty. Business opportunities must be provided by gradually making the residents themselves joint owners of service giving small establishments.

In investigating the existence of social organizations we found out that the majority of the respondents are members of “idirs”. Inner city intervention programs may have a detrimental effect on community based organizations such as the idir. They can destroy long standing alliances between neighbors. On the other hand community based organizations such as the “idir” can become a tool for communicating with the community and agents of participation. They can also become mediators between the population and the financial institutions in matters of security for housing finance.

The case study area is mostly composed of residential land uses. The attachment that the residents have is to any city center location: rather than this particular location. As long as they can stay within the inner city, they can still have the benefits that a city center location provides. This means a reorganization of existing settlements within the inner city is possible. This implies that low income settlements can be moved, with little effect on their prospects, to other inner city locations.

Improvements in drainage and solid waste collection are considered the most crucial by the residents. A planner or other professionals may consider other aspects of the housing situation as the most crucial. In order to come up with appropriate responses, professionals must listen closely to the residents or the end users themselves. Improvement efforts must integrate the betterment of drainage facilities and waste collection with improvement in dwelling unit conditions and road infrastructure conditions.

5.3 The condition of the dwelling units and difficulties in making improvements and additions

The condition of the dwelling units is generally poor. Most of the units are accessed directly from the streets, with no hierarchy between streets and house interiors. There is a prevalence of one or two roomed units and an average of 5 persons per family has been found out from the data we gathered. This means there is overcrowding in the

case study area. This requires significant effort to improve existing situations. One of the first efforts to be undertaken will be to alleviate the overcrowding in the area.

The most common building materials are corrugated iron sheet roofing, chika walls and cement screed floors /refer to section 4.2.3/. There is a prevalent use of sub standard materials according to existing building regulations for the construction of the houses. The unacceptability is contentious however as the building regulations do not take into consideration neither the economic status of the people nor the general thinking as to the standards of materials such as chika. /see recommendations on page 103/

Some of the dwelling units don't even have basic infrastructure facilities. There is a lack of standard access. The road infrastructure is substandard in many places. The road widths as well as the materials used are below what is required for any housing area to function well. However in much of the area and in close proximity to the whole settlement, a well developed road infrastructure exists. This means with small efforts improvements to the road infrastructure are possible.

The majority of the housing units are considered substandard according to the building regulations of the city administration. The impressions of the residents are quite different from the administration's outlook however. As shown in section 4.2.13 /page 78/, more than 60 percent of the houses are considered in good or fair condition by the residents. Two reasons account for this situation. The first one is that the residents look at their shelter situation in comparison with the general situation of housing in the whole country and the city which is much worse than the condition of their settlements. The second reason is that, they consider the fact that they are in possession of one of the best locations in the city as the greatest asset to the situation or their settlements.

Rules and regulations that guide all aspects related to house building are too restricting for most of the residents. The requirements on accepted building material are too expensive for most low income households. Building regulations such as requirements on setbacks make it difficult to improve with modest efforts. The congestion in the settlements has created major difficulties in any possible plans to expand. The residents lack the knowledge about simple construction techniques to carry out any

construction related activity. All the above shortcomings have handicapped the improvement drives of the people.

Most of the units suffer from a lack of maintenance. As a result there is severe dilapidation. The survey has confirmed that 50 percent of the houses have seen little or no repairs /see table 4.7 on page 73/. There is a lack of capacity on the part of the city government to take care of all the housing units under its control. Dissatisfactions with the units are in areas such as in the lack of repairs, low level of availability of utilities and infrastructure.

There is an overwhelming interest among the residents in becoming owners of their units. Such a change will lead to more pride in the dwelling unit. It will be a catalyst to making improvements. It will encourage a more dynamic land market within the inner city. This in turn can lead to a voluntary reorganization of the whole town.

These residents face various problems in fulfilling their shelter needs or improving their shelter situation. There is limited availability of financing for low income groups. This has been confirmed by the respondents in our case study area. Looking at the mode of employment, we have found out that more than 50 percent of the respondents are employed by the informal sector or have their own small businesses. As a result they have no access to the financing that is offered by the government.

Utility services

The level of provision of utilities has been relatively low with the exception of electricity. The most acute problem is the lack of bathing facilities. There is congestion in this area with many households having one or two rooms and an average household size of 5 persons. Coupled with the attached nature of the houses, making improvements in terms of facilities is going to be difficult.

The role of the municipality has been limited in many areas of service provision. On the positive side this has initiated the voluntary efforts of private individuals and groups. However the incompetence on the side of the city administration needs much improvement. In the case study area as well as many areas of the city the initiatives of

private enterprises have effectively replaced the role of the municipality in areas such as waste collection. One of the most important aspects of development efforts will be the role that can be played by small and large private enterprises.

5.4 The problem of poverty, employment and capacities of the residents

The poverty level in this area is high. As a result contributions in labor have been the most preferred for improvement efforts. There is a tangible initiative to be involved in improvement efforts. The young population can play a major role in this.

The majority of the respondents put ownership and guarantees to stay in the area as preconditions for taking part in improvement efforts. This implies that tenure security will lead to more pride in becoming owners of the dwelling unit. When tenure security is provided, improvements are more likely to be considered as good investment. Tenure security and/or occupancy rights will further encourage community participation.

There is an unemployment problem in the case study area. This is especially true for women and the youth who should be targeted for new employment opportunities. Close to 45 percent of the respondents are not employed by the government. This means close to fifty percent of the residents are not eligible for bank loans. Alternatives must be found so that low income residents with no secure employment can get financial help; be it in the form of loans or grants. This situation is prevalent in the city as a whole. This means, to find an all reaching solution, efforts must go as far as the institutional setup and working methods of lending institutions. Those who have no access to loans should be assisted through community based organizations.

In the case study area 40 percent of the residents live under food poverty and even more live in total poverty /refer to sections 3.4.1 and 4.4.6/. This means there are more hard pressing problems than shelter. Poverty limits the residents capacity to make improvements in their shelter situation. Outside help is certainly needed either from the government or non governmental organizations.

A significant portion of the household heads is within a productive age range. /see table 4.29 on page 86/. This means that there is a potent force within that can play a role in improvement efforts. Effort in improvement with the participation of the residents is a viable direction.

5.5 Preferences of the residents

The dilapidated condition of the units and the neighborhood has minimal effect on the attachment the residents have to the area which comes by and large from the location. This leads me to the conclusion that low income people generally prefer good location over better unit conditions. Most people prefer to stay in the inner city even if there is no improvement in the living environment. People prefer to stay in the inner city as there are few other areas that can provide its conveniences, such as its closeness to facilities, workplaces and schools, and the familiarity that the residents have to the area.

Location is the most significant priority in shelter provision. In my case study area, 87 percent of the residents pointed out that the best side of their housing situation is its advantageous location /table 4.24/. The most disliked aspect was the lack of sufficient living space within the units. On the one hand the location has considerable meaning to them. On the other a meaningful improvement seems impossible with the level of physical congestion in this area.

5.6 Shelter policy

One of the major problems for housing in general and low income housing in particular has been the gradual erosion of shelter provision strategies and policies through years of political and economic changes. The political system has gone through various changes within the last thirty years. This has affected various economic policies that had varying effect on the situation of housing provision. The market oriented economic policy for example that was introduced with the coming to power of the EPRDF had the effect of removing all kinds of subsidies and advantages that had previously been given to housing. The change of power from the imperial regime of Haileselassie I to the military government in 1975 brought about the control of a vast amount of shelter resources under a few governmental organizations. This in itself has proved unsustainable with much of the housing stock suffering neglect.

Nowadays there is no comprehensive policy aiming at the sustainable provision of housing. This is especially true for low income housing as its status has continually deteriorated. There are no policy approaches by which low income people can get access to land and housing and stay the sole users. This is especially true for the inner city where low income housing is under constant pressure from commercial development. The adoption of a shelter policy whereby low income people in the inner city can stay if they desire to stay or the possibility of providing advantages that can rival the advantages of the inner city is crucial.

The upkeep of the inner city is not a one time effort; it must be practiced constantly. Shelter policy that concerns itself with inner city housing must include sustainable methods by which the *constant upkeep* of low income housing within the inner city is possible.

Without financing the plight of housing provision is not very bright. Subsidies on bank loans are a necessity for housing, especially the low income section of shelter provision. Many of the subsidies that have been stripped from housing finance must be reinstated giving special attention to low income sectors within the inner city.

6 Recommendations

There is an undeniable disjunction between the western influenced shiny image of what a modern city should look like, and the realities of a poor country with limited financial resources. We should not expect that Addis Ababa can become Johannesburg overnight. We should not lose the limited supply of housing by mass demolition, especially at the lower end of supply. Long term sustainable solutions should be encouraged instead of rushed, ambitious and impractical projects.

The government is currently supplying housing to the population. However public housing has long been proved impractical for shelter provision. Authorities are better at facilitating the process of housing provision than becoming the providers themselves. We need to remember the ideas of the “support paradigm” that have been discussed in

the theoretical part of this thesis. The city government can further strengthen its role in financing, providing practical regulations and technical support. The most important role of the government is to put in place a sustainable shelter delivery system rather than undertaking shelter projects. / refer to page 39 in the theoretical section of this thesis/

When we compare the magnitude of inner city low income settlements to the well developed part of the city, we can see that there is a huge difference. An efficient use of land will enable us to address the needs of all levels of economic capacities. Inner city Addis Ababa without all sections of society will not be an interesting place to live in.

6.1 Sustainable renewal approaches

Infill with spot clearance rather than mass demolitions

The city government's present approach to urban renewal follows a clear and build method. Such a method has ushered in a cycle of destruction of housing areas within the inner city with limited replacement provided, especially for low income people. An incremental approach of infilling strategically chosen areas would save, the resident as well as the city government, a significant amount of human, material and financial resources.

Cooperation between the city government, local businesses and residents

In issues concerning land, the government can play a crucial role. Local businesses are eager to exploit the profitable potential of inner city locations. These areas are advantageous locations for investments in real estate as well as other functions that need prime locations to do good business. On the other hand the low income residents have an equal right to use these prime areas. A provision of land by the government for on site improvements by local businesses with restrictions on the inclusion of a housing scheme to house low income residents will prove advantageous. The city administration can subsidize on land lease so that the developer can focus some funds on providing housing and spaces for small businesses. In my case study area for example there are many souvenir shops which individually or in cooperatives will be able to invest in these efforts.

Such partnerships will guarantee that low income settlements can stay within the inner city while having improved conditions in their dwelling units. There will also be improved value of the dwelling units.

Participation

Low income settlements are to a large extent occupied by low income people. This part of the population is in possession of the least bargaining power. This is both in economical terms as well as in terms of political representation. Planners and politicians fall prey to a mentality that they know best for these parts of society. Most efforts at involving low income settlers fail because they do not go all the way granting decision making powers.

We must make the voices of the low income population be heard concerning the plight of their neighborhood. They must be allowed to influence planning decisions that concern their settlements. They must be given the negotiating power to be able to change the direction of various aspects of the inner city urban renewal process. For complete success in participation, genuine representation is needed.

6.2 Neighborhood level interventions

A grid of integration

One major problem that these inner city settlements have is the lack of integration with the main spaces of the city. This can take two forms. The first one is the status of the infrastructure. Main streets have a relatively well developed standard of infrastructure with the necessary servicing. However areas that lie beyond these streets have neither the acceptable standard of infrastructure nor the basic services that one would expect from such advantageous locations. The second one is the fact that in terms of their physical content these areas have very little in common with the main streets. They are generally difficult to integrate with main busy streets.

A viable direction is to create major spaces within these settlements. On the one hand these spaces will ease the congestion that is so common in these areas. On the other they will assist in the integration of the low income settlements to the main spaces of the city. The provision of these spaces requires strict regulations and municipal commitment for their upkeep.

Another possibility for physical improvement is to insert constructions of symbolic, economical and social status to improve the physical legibility and set standards for future constructions. These constructions can be markets, education centers and/or physically appropriate housing. Education centers teaching construction techniques can be sparks that will usher in a cycle of improvement efforts and gradual rise in the value of places.

Conservation of social fabric

The social mix in cities in terms of race, income, and background is crucial for its diversity and is the root for city character. The city should be an inclusive entity. One of the most important aspects of existing low income housing is its social cohesion. In any effort to improve the situation of low income housing within the inner city, a crucial aspect is the preservation of the social qualities of these locations. In my case study area I have found out that the economic attachment to the place is much less than its social benefits. The main aspect of these social benefits being through mutual interdependence such as in the form of "idirs". The economic benefits of the place are in terms of its proximity to all facilities and most importantly, the work place.

From my findings it is possible to deduct that the social benefits as well as the advantage of living within the inner city are the most important aspects of these settlements. It is most crucial to conserve the social qualities of these places. This means a level of reorganization within the inner city /with minimal effect on settlers/ is possible, such as on site relocation. However the foresight to come up with sustainable solutions is of great significance.

The development of low income housing within the inner city or close to it is commendable. The mobilization of whole neighborhoods into newly formed housing areas can then become possible. Such steps will be successful if they are done in phases.

6.3 Approaches to be adopted at the level of the household unit

The provision of security for loans

Low income people have problems with providing guarantees to get loans from banks. Community based organizations can play a major role in providing these guarantees so that low income people can benefit from the financing that the government can provide.

Tenure security

One deterrent to improvement and participation drives of the people is the lack of security of tenure. A secure tenure can lead to voluntary relocation. It may also lead to an improvement of the existing housing stock. Residents with secure tenure can then organize themselves and either bargain with investors to get financial benefits or physical improvement opportunities.

Building materials

The most affordable wall construction material is chika. Innovative research must be made into the potentials of this material. The construction of residential buildings with this material, or the more durable adobe blocks, should be allowed. Major improvements to the inner city would not come because all improvement activity with materials such as chika has been frozen. Long term solutions lie elsewhere, such as in granting tenure security.

6.4 Shelter policy

The inability of existing institutional structures to give due attention to low income settlements is quite evident. One of the problems low income inner city dwellers face is their lack of economic capacity. The development of small businesses can be encouraged so that there can be a gradual improvement in the economic status of the settlers.

On issues of housing policy and its sustainability

Existing housing approaches do not include any sustainable methods for dealing with low income settlements within the inner city. The housing policy is geared towards providing new housing mostly in the outskirts. This has two negative effects. It has

negligible contribution to the improvement of the existing dilapidated housing stock. Secondly those housing schemes intended for the low income portion of the population have in most cases ended up in the hands of a higher income class. Low income people have been forced to compete with the relatively well to do for these so called low cost housing schemes. Proper controls and protection mechanisms have not been put in place so that those targeted benefit.

There is at present no policy that encourages the low income population to own a dwelling and to have better quality in the living environment. This is especially true in the area of the availability of loans. The low income inner city population should be assisted through preferential interest rates from banks.

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Appendix /questionnaire

Questionnaire for thesis on housing strategies in inner city areas

Location - Ambassador area surrounding /Arada kk, kebele 02/

Renter households

Name of household head.....

Name of respondent if other than the head

Kifle ketema.....kebele.....house no.....

Section 1 household information

Q 1 fill in for all household members /HOUSEHOLD/

| Number of family members | male | female | Age of head |
|--------------------------|------|--------|-------------|
| | | | |

Q 2 Number of workers in the household?

fill in for upto 4 workers in household; start with household head and spouse if they are employed
/WORKERS/

| Economic activity | | | |
|-------------------|-------------------|----------------------|--------------------|
| | Employment status | Income birr/month | Employment type |
| A | Head/ wk. 1 | | |
| B | Spouse/ wk 2 | | |
| C | Worker 3 | | |
| D | Worker 4 | | |

Employment status 1 employed
2 unemployed
3 pensioner

Employment type – 1 government employee
2 private establishment employee
3 self employed
4 other

Q 3 list the household's main sources and amount of income /INCOME/
(number 1,2,...in order of importance; list upto 3)

- 1 wages / including pensions/
- 2 own business; informal
- 3 own business; formal
- 4 rental of structure for residential, commercial or other use
- 5 rental of vehicles, equipment, or other
- 6 other investments or interests
- 7 transfers or gifts from others
- 8 other *specify*

Q 4 list the amount and kind of the household's main expenditure /EXPEND/

- 1 house rent
- 2 food
- 3 transportation
- 4 bills for electricity, water, telephone.
- 5 other *specify*

Section 2 The housing unit

Interviewer; Now I would like ask you about your dwelling unit

Section 2a unit condition and use

Q 5 number of rooms in dwelling unit / NO R/
See definitions of "room" in manual; exclude all bathrooms, toilets, lobbies, and corridors

Q 6 how much was your rent when you moved in? /RENTOLD/
.....birr
 not applicable

Q 7 how much is your monthly rent now? /RENTNOW/
.....birr
 not applicable

Q 8 how often does the AARH, or kebele or other landlord do repairs and
maintainance? /MAINTENANCE/

- 1 never
- 2 once or twice since I moved in
- 3 every three to five years
- 4 every year
- 5 other

Q 9 what is your best estimate of total costs of maintainance over the last few years?
/MENTCOST/

Q 10 what are the main problems with this unit? /UNITPROB/
Tick up to 2 in order of importance

- 1 unit is in poor state of repair
- 2 utilities are unsatisfactory
- 3 level of infrastructure in neighborhood in unsatisfactory
- 4 poor location
- 5 other reason
- 6 no problems

Q 11 would you be interested in owning this unit? /OWNINTEREST/

- 1 yes
- 2 no
- 3 other

Q 12 size of unitsquare meters /AREA/

Q 13 main source of drinking water /DRINKW/

- 1 piped into dwelling unit
- 2 piped to compound
- 3 public stand pipe within 10 minute walk
- 4 public stand pipe more than 10 minute away
- 5 stand pipe in neighbors compound
- 6 stand pipe provided by coop or other
- 7 non piped source (potable water)
- 8 non piped source (non potable water)

Q 14 main source of electricity /ELES/

- 1 electricity/private meter/
- 2 electricity/shared meter/
- 3 gas, kerosene, masho, lantern, candles
- 4 none
- 5 other

Q 15 type of separate bathing facility /BATHF/

- 1 none
- 2 bath tub or shower, private
- 3 bath tub or shower, shared
- 4 facility with non-piped water
- 5 other

Q 16 type of toilet facility /TOILETF/

- 1 none
- 2 flush, private
- 3 flush, shared
- 4 dry pit latrine in compound/ private/
- 5 dry pit latrine in compound/ shared/
- 6 hole in ground
- 7 public or neighbor's facility/ specify...../
- 8 other spacity

Q 17 type of kitchen /KITT/

- 1 no kitchen

- 2 traditional kitchen, private
- 3 traditional kitchen, shared
- 4 modern kitchen
- 5 other specify

Q 18 waste disposal /WASTEDIS/

- 1 collected by municipality or other govt. agency
- 2 collected by private establishment
- 3 collected by other
- 4 dumped in nearby ditch
- 5 dumped in street
- 6 other

Q 19 what is the use of the unit /UNITUSE/

- 1 residential only; family and/ or non-paying others
- 2 residential only; household/ family and tenants
- 3 residential and commercial (sales, food vending, etc)
- 4 residential and workshop (auto, welding, carpentry, etc)
- 5 other

Section 2b Tenure and shelter history

Now I would like to get some information on your housing arrangements

Q 20 what do you like **most** about this unit /LIKEMOST/

- 1 amount of space number of rooms
- 2 quality of unit
- 3 location
- 4 utilities –availability of water, electricity etc
- 5 fact that I own it
- 6 other
- 7 nothing, completely dissatisfied

Q 21 what do you like **least** about this unit /LIKELEAST/

- 1 not enough space or rooms for household
- 2 poor quality of unit
- 3 utilities- water, electricity etc not available
- 4 poor drainage
- 5 location
- 6 other
- 7 nothing, everything is satisfactory

Q 22 what do you think about the condition of your unit /UNITCOND/

- 1 in good condition
- 2 in fair condition, minor /non structural/ repairs needed
- 3 in poor condition, major /structural/ repairs needed
- 4 not repairable, should be demolished
- 7 other

Section 3 Plot and unit development

Plot is defined as that territory around the dwelling unit that households consider theirs; fenced or not.

Section 3a Extensions and improvements

Q 23 what improvements or other works have been completed since you occupied the unit?

/IMPROVE/

| | Y/N |
|----------------------------|-----|
| A. built another structure | |
| B. built service quarters | |
| C. extended unit | |

| | |
|-----------------------------|--|
| D. subdivided original unit | |
| E. improved construction | |
| F other | |

If no additional works, skip to next question

Section 3b barriers to housing

What are the 3 main barriers you face in acquiring and/or developing your plot, and in erecting a dwelling unit? /BARRIERS/

- Q 24
- Q 25
- Q 26

Section 4 neighborhood

Now I would like to ask your opinion about the neighborhood in general

Section 4a location and access

Q 27 which amenities does the household use, how long does it take to get there, how much does it cost? /AMENITIES/

| | Mode of transportation | time | Cost/birr/ | |
|------------------------|------------------------|-------|------------|------|
| | | /min/ | week | year |
| A Work/household head/ | | | | |
| B shopping | | | | |
| C school | | | | |
| D Hospital or clinic | | | | |
| E Other | | | | |

| Mode of transportation codes | |
|------------------------------|--------------------|
| 1 walk | 5 taxi |
| 2 cart | 6 private vehicle |
| 3 bicycle | 7 official vehicle |
| 4 city bus | 8 other |

Section 5b neighborhood characteristics

Q 28 what kind of housing or related activities do people in this community do? /EXTRACTIVITY/

Tick the 2 most important

- 1 maintain drainage, roads, other infrastructure
- 2 community credit system for housing
- 3 help build houses of community members
- 4 other activities.....
- 5 no housing related activity

Q 29 what feature do you like most about this neighborhood? /BESTFEATURE/

tick one

- 1 proximity to work
- 2 access to utilities
- 3 familiarity to area
- 4 proximity to social services
- 5 general character of neighborhood
- 6 other

Q 30 what feature do you like least about this neighborhood? /WORSTFEATURE/

tick one

- 1 poor drainage
- 2 poor infrastructure
- 3 poor neighborhood
- 4 poor access to jobs, social services
- 5 high crime level
- 6 other

Q 31 are you a member of any of the following social organizations that exist in this area? /SOORG/

- 1 CBOs / idir
- 2 equb
- 3 other specify

Q 32 do you have any economic attachment to your place of residence? /ECONATTACH/

tick one

- 1 yes
- 2 no

Q 33 if yes what kind of attachment do you have? /KINDATTACH/

tick one

- 1 attached bussiness
- 2 rented space
- 3 other specify

Q 34 have you stayed in this neighborhood for more than 15 years? /PSYATTACH/

tick one

- 1 yes
- 2 no

Q 35 if there can be improvements on your neighborhood what would you like to be improved? /IMPRPREFER/

Indicate with numbers from 1 to 5 in order of importance

- 1 drainage
- 2 solid waste disposal
- 3 playgrounds
- 4 roads
- 5 communal toilets
- 6 solid waste disposal facilities
- 7 other

Q 36 if there are efforts to improve your neighborhood are you willing to take part? If yes what kind of contribution can you make /CONTRIBUTE/

tick one

- 1 money
- 2 labour
- 3 both

Q 37 what preconditions do you have in order to participate in improvement efforts? /PRECONDPART/

tick one

- 1 change in ownership
- 2 guarantee to stay
- 3 other

Q 38 how would you finance neighborhood improvement programs? /OPTIONSIMP/

tick one

- 1 cooperatives
- 2 individuals with investment capacity

- 3 small businesses
- 4 government subsidies
- 5 other specify.....

Section 5 future plans

Q 39 if there is relocation with government program would you be willing to move? /MOVEWILL/

tick one

- 1 yes
- 2 no

Q 40 what would be your condition for moving? /MOVECOND/

tick one

- 1 replacement housing
- 2 funds to look for alternative accomodation
- 3 another site in the inner city with secure tenure
- 4 rental housing in the inner city
- 5 other specify.....

Q 41 if moving were a necessity where would you like to move and why? /MOVEPREF/

tick one

- 1 outskirts with better accomodation
- 2 another location nearby with better accomodation
- 3 another location nearby even if no improvement in accomodation
- 4 other specify.....

Section 6 information through observation

Obtain the following information by observation or by asking respondent. Ask the respondent's permission to measure plot size.

Q 42 size of plotsquare meters /PLOT/

Q 43 type of building /BLDTYPE/

- 1 non storied
- 2 one story
- 3 two stories
- 4 three or more stories

Q 44 number of dwelling units in structure /DWELLINGUNITS/

- 1 1 unit /detached/
- 2 2 units /semi detached/
- 3 3 to 5 units /attached/
- 4 more that 5 units / row housing/
- 5 multiple structures in compound
- 6 other

Q 45 principal walling material /WALLMAT/

- 1 concrete, bricks or cement blocks
- 2 stone and cement
- 3 chika with cement rendering
- 4 stone and mud
- 5 mud with wood
- 6 mud with bamboo or reed
- 7 corrugated iron sheet
- 8 other

- Q 46 principal floor material /FLOORMAT/
- 1 earth mud
 - 2 stone
 - 3 cement
 - 4 stone and mud
 - 5 plastic, clay or wood tiles
 - 6 marble tiles
 - 7 other

- Q 47 principal roofing material /ROOFMAT/
- 1 metal sheets
 - 2 concrete or cement
 - 3 thatch with reed or bamboo; wood or thatch with mud
 - 4 other

- Q 48 access to unit /ACCESS/
- 1 asphalt road
 - 2 vehicle accessible stone, gravel or sand road
 - 3 dry weather road
 - 4 pedestrian only accessible road
 - 5 through another unit
 - 7 other

- Q 49 Is compound or area prone to flooding? /FLOOD/
- 1 yes
 - 2 no

- Q 50 what infrastructure for prevention are there? /FLOODPREVENT/
- 1 drainage facilities such as open ditches
 - 2 sewerage facilities such as covered pipes
 - 3 embankment structure
 - 4 none
 - 5 other

- Q 51 unit condition /UNITCOND/
- 1 in good condition
 - 2 in fair condition, minor /non structural/ repairs needed
 - 3 in poor condition, major /structural/ repairs needed
 - 4 not repairable, should be demolished
 - 7 other

Declaration

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

.....
Signature of researcher

.....
Signature of advisor