

City Expansion, Squatter Settlements and Policy Implications in Addis Ababa: The Case of The Kolfe Keranio Sub-City¹

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Abstract

The current physical expansion trend of Addis Ababa discloses that it is expanding rapidly. And the horizontal expansion is the major form of development that the city has been undergoing throughout its history. The degree of the physical expansion of the built-up area of the city has outpaced the infrastructure and basic urban services provision capacity of the city government. The physical expansion of the city has occurred through legal landowners, real estate developers, and squatter settlements. In Addis Ababa squatter settlements are mainly located in the peripheral areas of the city.

This study focuses on squatter settlements that are found in the Kolfe Keranio sub-city. The principal objective of the study is to assess the causes and consequences of squatter settlements in the light of unplanned expansion of the built-up area of the city. And in order to achieve the objective of the study, a questionnaire survey covering a total of 230 sample household heads was carried out in kebele 04 and kebele 05 of the Kolfe Keranio sub-city.

Major findings of the study indicate that emergence of squatter settlements in the study area is the recent phenomenon that occurred after 1994. High building standards of the legal houses, belated response and procedural problems of the legal land provision, and high rent of houses in the city center were identified by respondents as causes of squatting in the study area. In addition to these causes, less government control of open spaces, limited capacity of the code enforcement service to control illegal house construction, lack of a comprehensive legal response towards the problem of squatting, and the practice of land sale as a means of profit making by land speculators are some other factors that have contributed to the emergence and proliferation of squatter settlements in the study area. In comparing to the plot sizes of the legal land provision, squatter settlements in the study area have large plot sizes and there are underdeveloped vacant fenced plots in between squatter housing units. Thus, land in the area is inefficiently exploited and the situation has greatly contributed to the unplanned and rapid horizontal expansion of the built-up area of the city.

¹ This paper is taken from my dissertation submitted to the School of Graduate Studies of Addis Ababa University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Geography and Environmental Studies. The fieldwork was partially funded by a grant from NUFU Research Project in Addis Ababa. I would therefore like to express my sincere gratitude for this support. I would also like to thank the Department of Geography and Environmental Studies, Addis Ababa University, for facilitating the funding.

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1. Introduction

It is widely and increasingly being accepted that urbanization is an inevitable phenomenon. In the developed countries of Europe and North America, urbanization was a consequence of industrialization and has been associated with economic development. In the developing countries of Latin America, Africa, and Asia urbanization has occurred as a result of high natural urban population increase and massive rural to urban migration (Brunn and Williams 1983:4).

Urbanization is often associated with economies of agglomeration and cities are essential to development. They are centers of production, employment, and innovation. In a number of countries, urban centers containing only one third of the total population generate up to 60 per cent of the national out put. In developing countries, cities are making vital contributions to economic growth. Thus, the economic importance of cities is rapidly increasing and the future economic growth is becoming dependent on the ability of urban centers to perform crucial service and production functions (Cheema 1993:3).

Despite its economic benefits, rapid rate of urbanization and unplanned expansion of cities particularly in developing countries, have led to several negative consequences. Most cities in developing countries are expanding horizontally and the population is moving to unplanned settlements in the peripheries at the expense of agricultural lands and areas of natural beauty (Lowton 1997:5). Unplanned and uncontrolled expansion of city's built-up area usually leads to problems of soil erosion, segregation of low-income groups in ecologically sensitive areas and increased costs of infrastructure provision. In most cities of developing countries the case for rapid physical expansion is not lack of vacant land but it is lack of appropriate policy and strategy to guide new development because one can see extreme overcrowding in particular areas and yet large amounts of land left vacant or only partially developed in other areas (Hardoy et al 2001:175).

As one of the cities in the developing countries, Addis Ababa has experienced rapid rate of physical expansion. The physical expansion trend of the city is largely influenced by spontaneous growth. This spontaneous growth has resulted in the emergence and development of squatter settlements. As new houses are being built in the already existing squatter settlements, the number and size of squatter settlements in Addis Ababa has

been increasing through time. This situation has aggravated the unplanned and rapid horizontal expansion of the built-up area of the city, which in turn led to increasing cost of infrastructure and basic urban services provision. The purpose of this study is, therefore, to assess trends of squatter settlements, causes for the emergence of squatter settlements and their consequences in the light of unplanned city expansion and to overview the legal position of the government towards squatter settlements.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Ethiopia is one of the least urbanized countries in the world. The level of urbanization is low even by African standards. According to the *Population Reference Bureau World Population Data Sheet* (2002), while the average level of urbanization for Africa in general was 33 percent, Ethiopia had only 15 percent of its population living in urban areas. Although urbanization level is low in Ethiopia and the country predominantly rural, there is rapid rate of urban growth, which is currently estimated at 5.1 percent per year.

The urban population of Ethiopia is concentrated in few urban centers and the urban system of the country is dominated by the primate status of Addis Ababa. Using Ginsburg's Index of Primacy (IP), the indices of primacy of Addis Ababa for four points in time were found to be 67.2 for 1938; 67.4 for 1966; 75.9 for 1984; and 78.9 projected for the year 2000 (Mekete 1990:65).

Emperor Menelik and his wife Empress Taitu founded Addis Ababa in 1886 and starting from 1889 the city has been serving as the seat of the government and capital of Ethiopia. Addis Ababa has experienced a highly accelerated population growth from 443,728 in 1961 to 1,423,111 in 1984 and 2,112,737 in 1994. Currently the total population of the city is estimated to be 2,805,000 (CSA 1999:265). Addis Ababa has also experienced rapid physical expansion. The rapid physical expansion of the city is not properly guided by appropriate planning intervention. Almost all plans prepared at different times by different planners were not effective and not implemented for better resolution (ORAAMP 1999:51). This unsuccessful planning history of the city shows that its development has largely been influenced by spontaneous growth.

As a result of rapid horizontal expansion and spontaneous growth, Addis Ababa is now confronted with different types of problems. Emergence and development of squatter settlements is one of those

problems facing the city. In this paper squatter settlement refers to those residential housing units built on public owned land without the legal claims, authorization, and permit from the concerned authorities. According to the study conducted by Urban Development and Works Bureau (2002), in the year 2000 the total area covered by squatter settlements in Addis Ababa was about 2,000 hectares and about 300,000 people were living in 60,000 squatter housing units (UDWB 2002:2). In Addis Ababa, major squatter settlements are found in the peripheral areas of the city. Squatter settlements in the peripheral areas are characterized by irregular shape and large plot sizes and have significantly contributed to the unplanned and rapid horizontal expansion of the built-up area of the city. This study focuses on the squatter settlements that are found in the Kolfe Keranio sub-city area

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The general objective of the study is to assess the causes and consequences of squatter settlements and the policy implications in light of the unplanned expansion of the city. The specific objectives are:

1. to find out the extent of the expansion of the city;
2. to describe the emergence and development of squatter settlements and causes of squatting in the study area;
3. to examine the nature of land acquisition process in the study area;
4. to investigate the demographic characteristics and the economic status of the squatters and their housing conditions;
5. to discuss the government policy regarding squatter settlements in the city in general and the local government's action in the study area in particular;
6. to arrive at some recommendations that would help to alleviate the problem of squatting and its negative consequences;

1.4 Research Questions

On the basis of the above stated specific objectives the following research questions are raised to be assessed in the study:

1. What is the expansion trend of the city?
2. What is the magnitude of squatter settlements and what are the factors contributing to the emergence and development of squatter settlements in the study area and who are the actors?
3. What is the land acquisition process and the pattern of squatting in the study area?
4. What relationships exist between the housing conditions and the economic status of the Squatters?
5. What is the legal position of the city government and the local government's action towards squatter settlements in the study area?
6. What would be the possible solutions to minimize the problem of squatter settlements and their negative consequences in the study area?

1.5 Research Methodology

In Addis Ababa, squatter settlements are mainly located in the peripheral areas of Southern, Eastern, and Western parts of the city. First, the Kolfe Keranio³ sub-city was selected for this study because it is one of the major expansion areas of the city, it is also the sub-city where the problem of expansion of squatter settlements is prevalent. Second, from the total of 16 Kebeles⁴ in the Kolfe Keranio sub-city, Kebele 04 and Kebele 05 were selected on the basis of the magnitude of the problem of squatting and its contribution to unplanned city expansion. Thirdly, as data obtained from the offices of the above-mentioned two kebeles shows, a total of 2300 squatter housing units were found in the two kebeles. Out of the total squatter housing units, a 10 percent sample was selected using a systematic random

³ Kolfe Keranio is one of the ten sub-cities of Addis Ababa-found in the western part of the city.

⁴ Kebele is the lowest administrative unit in Addis Ababa.

sampling technique. Thus, a total of 230 household heads of the squatter housing units were selected for interview and household heads in every tenth move were approached during the field survey.

In order to achieve the objectives of the study, both primary and secondary data were collected and used. The primary data were collected from sample household heads using structured interviews and secondary data were collected from the review of the literature including books, legal documents, published reports, and unpublished sources. After the collection of the necessary information, the data processing was performed with SPSS and the data were analyzed using different statistical methods and techniques. The unplanned expansion of the built-up area of the city as a result of squatter settlements in the study area was analyzed using GIS (Geographical Information System) techniques on the basis of the 1994 and 2002 Aerial photo of the study area.

2. City Expansion and Development of Squatter Settlements

2.1 City Expansion: Conceptual Framework

Historically cities have grown as a center of trade. They are also centers of culture and education and birthplaces of most artistic and technological innovations. They provide agglomeration and economies of scale. By and large, cities are stimulators of development (Devas and Rakodi 1993:25). In developing countries, cities are making vital contributions to economic growth by performing crucial service and production functions, many countries cities account for about two thirds of the national output (Cheema 1993:3). Thus, the overwhelming problem in developing countries is not urban growth in itself but the rapid rate of growth and unplanned expansion of cities, which outstrips the financial capacity of the municipal governments to provide infrastructure and basic urban services (Hall et al 2000:14).

One of the problems facing developing countries is the increasing size of their large cities. Big cities cause problems because as the size of the cities increases cost of urbanization may outweigh benefit. Outward expansion of cities demands the construction of many miles of roads over a large area, which requires considerably huge resources in the short term and increase maintenance cost in the future (Lowton 1997:5).

In describing the size of cities, Oberai (1993) stated that cities keep growing and growing. Most studies show that initially economies of scale increase rapidly as a city expands but beyond a certain size the additional gains diminish rapidly. However, none of the studies has yet been able to locate the optimum city size at which the losses created by congestion and environmental deteriorations are equal or exceed the benefits of agglomeration (Oberai 1993:35). But there are two major arguments regarding the way that cities should be developed in the future and the impact that the shape and size of cities can have on resource depletion, economic cost of growth, and environmental degradation. At one extreme of the arguments, there are those who believe that compact cities are important components of sustainable urban development. Hillman (1996), for instance, stated that compacting the city by encouraging higher density development, infill and redevelopment is one way of reducing the demand for more space, power and transport costs and also reduces pressure on the country side and makes the most effective use of urban land (Hillman 1996:37).

At the other extreme there are those who believe that a compact city may result in overcrowding and suffer a loss of urban quality with less open space, more congestion and pollution and may lead to more cost. According to Stretton (1996), any substantial increase of density will require some demolition and replacement, which costs more than suburban expansion, and transportation system can be improved by increasing taxation rather than restructuring cities compactly (Stretton 1996:51).

Nevertheless, currently compact city development strategy is being followed and is getting increasing recognition. Controlling city expansion by encouraging higher density development, infill, and redevelopment and keeping urban areas compact is better than unplanned low density sprawling development. Compact development reduces urban footprint on rural landscape, preserves wildlife habitat and resource lands, and save money on infrastructure and public facilities. Sprawling development was found to use more capital costs for roads and utilities whereas well planned compact development consumed about 45 percent less land and cost 25 percent less for roads, 20 percent less for utilities, and 5 percent less for schools (Fodor 1999:82).

2.2 City Expansion and Its Challenges: Overview of Developing Countries

The rapid rate of urban growth in developing countries does not correspond to economic development, social change and technical advancement. And the unplanned and uncontrolled physical expansion of cities greatly exceeds the resources available and has posed economic, social, and environmental challenges to the government of these countries (Hardoy et al. 2001: 175). Most municipal governments of developing countries lack financial and administrative resources to provide newly expanded areas with infrastructure and basic urban services. As a result, there is inadequate provision and the existing services are not sufficiently maintained (Cheema 1993: 5).

Many cities of developing countries usually expand to highly fertile areas. Therefore, loss of agricultural land and forestland with valuable ecological function is another negative consequence of uncontrolled city expansion. Land is a finite resource with no substitute and so comprehensive land use planning is an essential tool for wise land use. A wise land use plan recognizes that rural land is not merely 'Future unrealizable land'. A plan to permanently protect farmland, forest, and open space should be included (Fodor 1999:149). In most cities of developing countries the problem of city expansion towards agricultural land is not due to lack of vacant land but it is due to lack of appropriate government policy and strategy to guide new developments on land other than the best farm land and ensures vacant and urbanized land is fully used. In Egypt more than 10 percent of the nation's most productive land has been lost to city expansion, much of it through squatter settlements, while at the same time prime sites within cities remain undeveloped (Hardoy et al 2001:176).

2.3 Policies to Contain Rapid Urban Growth and Horizontal Expansion of Cities

The rapid rate of urban growth and expansion of large cities in developing countries greatly exceed the resources available for infrastructure and urban service provision. Thus, many governments have adopted specific policies and strategies to control further expansion of their large cities. Some countries have attempted administrative decentralization in order to reduce

population pressure. Establishment of green belts around major urban areas has been also used to restrict city expansion and to preserve open land for agriculture and recreational use. In the Republic of Korea, a green belt of 166.8 square kilometers was established in 1971 to restrict further expansion of Seoul city. In Egypt, a law has been enacted to prohibit construction on agricultural land (Oberai 1993:45). Capital city relocation to relieve the pressures of growth in a primate city is another strategy followed by some countries. However, in most developing countries, due to lack of resource and inability to control land uses, metropolitan policy makers have not performed this important task very well (Richardson 1993:63).

2.4 Emergence and Development of Squatter Settlements in Developing Countries

Most cities in developing countries are expanding haphazardly. This haphazard expansion of cities has occurred through legal landowners, real estate developers, and squatter settlements (Hardoy et al 2001:174). The major focus of this study is to assess the contribution of squatter settlements to the rapid and unplanned horizontal expansion of cities and therefore in this review emphasis is placed on emergence and development of squatter settlements in developing countries.

In developing countries, the emergence of squatter settlements dates back to the 1940's. Squatter settlements in Turkey first appeared in Istanbul in the late 1940's. The term '*Gecerkodus*' is a local name for squatter settlements in Turkey and it refers to 'landed by night' from the fact that housing units with roof had to be completed over night and inhabited before government forces arrived in order to prevent demolition (Yonder 1998:61).

Government investments and formal housing construction largely serve the middle and high- income groups leaving lower income population to address their housing needs through informal means. As a result, the urban poor in most cities of developing countries have occupied land illegally and built their houses with their own resources without following the building codes and other governmental regulations. This has led to the proliferation of squatter settlements (Cheema 1993:5). On the other hand Fernandes (1998) has stated that urban researchers should not forget that the phenomenon of illegality is not restricted to the urban poor. Many more

privileged groups of the society are also observed in squatter settlements (Femandes and Varley 1998: 15).

Squatter settlements are mostly concentrated in the peripheral areas of large cities on steep hillsides, river gorges, and flood plains. For example in Rio de Janeiro, Lapaz and Caracas large concentration of squatter settlements can be seen on hills prone to landslide. In Monrovia, Lagos and Port Harcourt squatter settlements are concentrated on land prone to flooding or tidal inundation. The main reason for the expansion of squatter settlements on these fragile slopes and hazardous areas is that land in these areas is very cheap or can be occupied without payment and the possibility of eviction from such sites is lesser (Hardoy et al 2001:74).

In describing the characteristics and features of squatter settlements, Mittulab (1998) has stated that poor location, low income of residents, high population density, temporary housing construction materials, poor sanitary condition, minimal or non-existence of urban services and quasi-legal tenure are unique characteristics of squatter settlements. Squatter settlements are largely located in poor areas and most housing units are built of temporary materials. In squatter settlements, provision of water is inadequate. Most rely on water vendors and commercial water and purchase water at a higher price than those paid to the legal supply. Squatter settlements also lack other basic services such as schools, health services, and recreational facilities (Mittulab 1998: 203).

2.5 Policy Responses to Squatter Settlements in Developing Countries

Until the 1970s, the usual policy of the authorities towards squatter settlements in developing countries was to clear the land by demolishing the structures and resettling the residents in low cost housing schemes or in rural areas (Hardoy and Satterthwaite 1993:119). The effect of demolition and resettlement policy was negative because families resettled in low-cost housing schemes could not afford the cost of the new houses and abandon their dwellings. In addition, families resettled in the rural areas returned to cities where they can make a living (UNCHS 1995).

In the early 1970's the awareness grew among governments of developing countries and international development agencies like the World Bank that squatter settlements should not be looked at as a mere symptom of the housing problem of the urban poor but rather as their contribution to its

solution (Yonder 1998:59). Thus, starting from the 1970s onwards, squatter settlements upgrading and site-and-service scheme were major policy options followed by many governments of developing countries. However, this policy led to limited success because as indicated by Oberai (1993), in the case of squatter settlements upgrading, the financial capacity of governments was limited and has been inadequate to provide infrastructure and basic urban services for squatter settlements and to improve their living conditions. The site-and-services schemes have also suffered from faulty location and high costs. "The locations preferred by the poor are generally in the vicinity of the city center, close to employment opportunities. In these areas either vacant land is simply not available or, if it is available, not in large enough plots to make a site-and-services project feasible" (Oberai 1993:122).

3. Emergence and Development of Squatter Settlements in Addis Ababa and their Contribution to the Unplanned Expansion of the City

3.1 Historical Origin of Addis Ababa

Emperor Menelik II and his wife Empress Taitu had established Addis Ababa in 1886 as capital of Shewa and widespread building programs were undertaken starting from March 1887. After the coronation of Emperor Menelik II as king of kings of Ethiopia in 1889, Addis Ababa became the political, administrative, and religious hub of the country (Garretson 2000:11). Currently the city is not only capital of Ethiopia but also the diplomatic capital of Africa. It houses numerous embassies and international organizations including the United Nation Economic Commission for Africa (UN-ECA), the African union (AU), and many others.

3.2 Population Growth in Addis Ababa

The urban population of Ethiopia is concentrated in few urban centers and urbanization is highly dominated by the primate city of Addis Ababa. The 1994 Population and Housing Census results show that 28.4 percent of the national urban population resided in Addis Ababa. Hence, as indicated in Table 1 below, Addis Ababa as a primate city of the country has

experienced highly accelerated population growth. The rapid population increase of the city was attributable mainly to natural urban population increase and internal migration. Addis Ababa has most of the country's services, commercial and industrial establishments and hence attracts a large number of migrants from rural and other urban areas of the country.

According to the 1994 Population and Housing Census of the country, out of the total population of the city in the year 1994, about 46.7 percent were migrants from rural and other urban areas of the country (CSA 1999:161). Thus, migration has significantly contributed to the growth of Addis Ababa as a primate city. As stated by Mekete (1990), "urban primacy has its own inherent problems. It leads to: increasing concentration of lumped urbanities; the mushrooming of slum and squatter settlements; and the accompanying social and economic problems that result from unplanned spontaneous development of urban areas" (Mekete 1990:70).

Table 1. Size and Average Annual Population Growth Rate of Addis Ababa (1961-2004)

Year	Population size	Average annual growth rate (Percent)
1961	443,328	-
1967	683,530	7.6
1978	1,167,301	4.9
1984	1,423,111	3.5
1994	2,112,737	4.0
2000	2,495,000	2.9
2004	2,805,000	3.0

Source: CSA, the 1994 Population and Housing Census of Ethiopia, Result for Addis Ababa, Volume II, Analytical Report, Addis Ababa, 1999.

3.3 Physical Expansion Trend of Addis Ababa

The rapid growth of population of the city put great pressure on demand for urban space. In responding to this demand, efforts are being made by the city government to incorporate the peripheral areas of the city, which hastens the sprawl of the built-up area of the city. Thus Addis Ababa has experienced a rapid physical expansion.

Table 2. Physical Growth of Addis Ababa City Built-up Area (1886-2000)

Year/Period	Area covered in hectare	Total built-up area in hectare	Annual growth rate (%)
1886-1936	1863.13	1863.13	-
1937-1975	4186.87	6050.0	3.1
1976-1985	4788.0	10838.0	6.0
1986-1995	2925.3	13763.3	2.4
1996-2000	909.4	14672.7	1.6

Source: Computed from data obtained from ORAAMP, 2001. Land use and City Structure Studies of Addis Ababa and the Metropolitan Areas, pp. 17-18.

The early development of the city, starting from 1886 to 1936, was characterized by fragmented settlements. After the Italian occupation in 1937 the process of physical development of Addis Ababa was characterized by infill development and consolidation of the former fragmented settlements (ORAAMP 1999:6). Thus, the physical expansion of the built-up area of the city during 1937 to 1975 period was characterized by compact type of development. During the period from 1976 to 1985, which lasted for about nine years, the built-up area of the city had increased by 4788.0 hectares and this raised the total built-up area of the city to 10838.0 hectares.

The next period for physical expansion of the city was the period from 1986 to 1995. As shown in Table 2, during this period the built-up area of the city had expanded by 2925.3 hectares and raised the total built-up area of the city to 13763.3 hectares. During this period horizontal expansion of the city took place in all peripheral areas of the city. Regarding the type of settlements, both legal and squatter settlements were observed. Out of the total 94135 housing units built in the city between 1984 and 1994, close to 15.7 percent (14794 housing units) were built by squatters (ORAAMP 2002:6).

The recent period of physical expansion of the city was the period between 1996 and 2000. During this period, the physical built-up area of the city had increased by 909.4 hectares and reached a total of 14672.7 hectares. Expansion of the city was characterized by development of scattered and

fragmented settlements in the peripheral areas of the city caused both by legal residents and squatter settlements. In 2000, Addis Ababa had an estimated 60,000 housing units with squatter settlements. This figure accounted for 20 percent of the total housing stock of the city and the total area occupied by squatter settlements was estimated at 13.6 percent of the total built-up area.

3.4 Emergence and Development of Squatter Settlements in Addis Ababa

Like in other cities in developing countries, in Addis Ababa the development of squatter settlements has become one of the major urban planning and management impediments in the city today. In Addis Ababa there is currently inner city decay and at the same time there is rapid expansion of the built-up area of the city. Rapid expansion of the built-up area of the city has occurred through legal landowners, real estate developers, and squatter settlements. For the purpose of this study, emphasis is placed on squatter settlements and their contribution to unplanned and rapid expansion of the built-up area of the city. In Addis Ababa squatter settlements are commonly known in Amharic as '*Yechereca Betch*'⁵.

It is stated by some writers that squatting in Addis Ababa began after the nationalization of urban land and extra houses in July 1975. In this case, Solomon (1985) has stated that the private land holding system was strong enough to control illegal land occupation and squatting was almost impossible in the pre 1975 periods (Solomon 1985:41).

Squatter settlements are located both in the city center and in the peripheral areas. In this study, however, due attention is given to squatter settlements that are found in the peripheral areas of the city. Squatter settlements in the peripheral areas are many in number, irregular in shapes with large plot size and hence their impact on planned development and their contribution to unplanned and rapid horizontal expansion of the built-up area of the city is enormous.

⁵'*Yechereca Betch*' is a local name for squatter housing units in Addis Ababa, the meaning of which is 'moon light houses' indicating an overnight construction of the structures.

4. Development of Squatter Settlements in Kolfe Keranio Sub-City and Demographic and Socio-Economic Characteristics of the Squatters

4.1 Description of the Study Area

Kolfe Keranio sub-city, which is the focus of this study, is one of the newly established ten sub-cities of Addis Ababa. Kolfe Keranio Sub-City is located in the western part of the city between 8° 57' 00" North and 9° 05' 24" North latitude and between 38° 39' 36" East and 38° 43' 12" East longitude. It is about 9.6 kms away from the center of the city and the total area of the Kolfe Keranio sub-city is estimated to be about 6400 hectares.

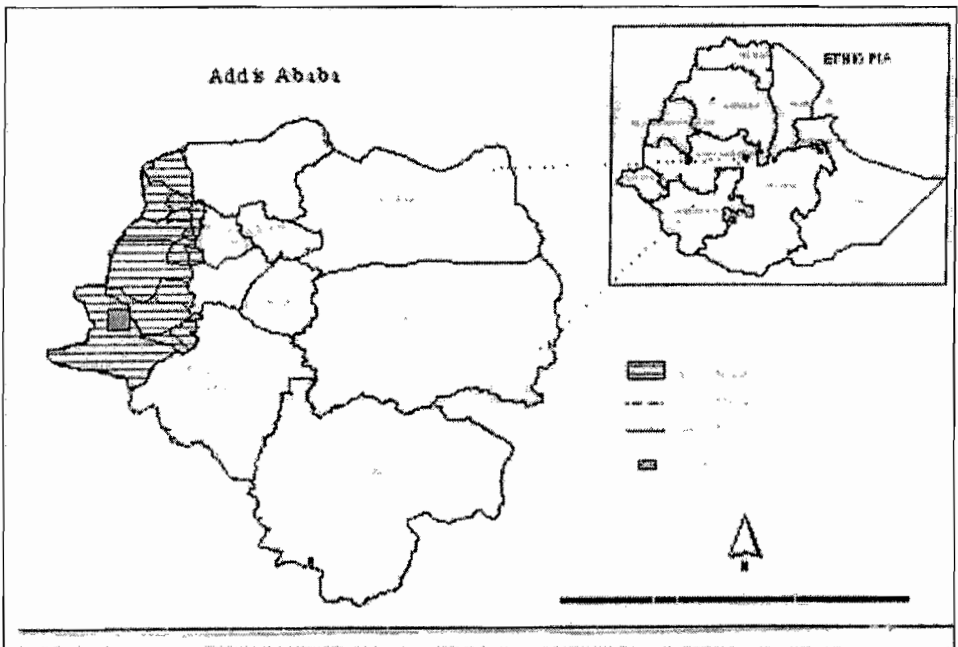


Fig 1. Location Map of the study Area

4.2 Emergence and Development of Squatter Settlements in Kolfe Keranio Sub-city Area

In Kolfe Keranio sub-city area emergence of squatter settlements is a recent phenomenon. In the years before 1994, the area had predominantly been agricultural land and some areas close to the river gorges were covered with natural vegetation. After 1994 squatters have begun to settle in the area by changing agricultural lands and areas covered with natural vegetation to urban use.

Table 3. Distribution of Household Heads by Time of Construction of their Houses

Time of Construction	Sample household heads by kebele				Total	
	04		05		Count	%
	Count	%	Count	%		
Pre-1991	7	4.7	-	-	7	3.1
1991-1994	8	5.3	2	2.5	10	4.3
1995-1998	55	36.7	22	27.5	77	33.5
1999-2002	72	48.0	46	57.5	118	51.3
2003	8	5.3	10	12.5	18	7.8
Total	150	100.0	80	100.0	230	100.0

Source: Own Survey, 2004

As shown in Table 3, the majority (92.6 percent) of the housing units were built after 1994. In comparing the two kebeles of the study area, squatter settlements in kebele 05 are more recently emerged than squatter settlements in kebele 04. The growth of squatter settlements increased until 1998 and the highest growth rate occurred during the period between 1995 and 1998.

4.2 Demographic Characteristics of the Squatters

The majority (82.3 percent) of the household heads are male. About 88.8 percent are between 20 to 40 years of age, and about 83.6 percent of them are married. About 7.8 percent of the household heads are illiterate while 92.2 percent are literate. Almost half (49.6 percent) of the squatter household heads are Muslims; about 43.0 percent are Orthodox Christians followed by Protestants and Catholics which constituted 4.8 percent and 2.6 percent respectively.

4.4 Origin of the Household Heads

Table 4. Percentage Distribution of Household Heads by Place of Birth

Place of Birth	Kebele				Total	
	04		05		Count	%
	Count	%	Count	%		
Addis Ababa	26	17.3	16	20.0	42	18.3
Outside Ababa	Addis124	82.7	64	80.0	188	81.7
Total	150	100	80	100	230	100

Source: Own Survey, 2004

As presented in Table 4 above, the of place origin of the majority (81.7 percent) of the sample squatter household heads was outside Addis Ababa while those household heads whose birthplace was Addis Ababa accounted only for 18.3 percent. Thus, it can be observed that squatter settlements in the study area are the foci of migration.

During the field survey sample squatter household heads were asked about the reasons why they leave their place of origin. The majority (68.1 percent) have replied that they came to Addis Ababa to look for employment; about 18.1 percent have replied that they came to the city for better education while other reasons like job transfer, marriage, and displacement together constituted about 13.9%. Thus, looking for job is the major reason that makes squatters in the study area leave their origin and come to Addis Ababa.

4.5 Economic Status of the Household Heads

Table 5. Percentage Distribution of Household Heads by Occupation Type

Occupation type	Kebele				Total	
	04		05		Count	%
	Count	%	Count	%		
Self-employed	116	77.3	44	55.0	160	69.6
Government employees	10	6.7	16	20.0	26	11.3
Private institution employees	10	6.7	9	11.2	19	8.3
Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) employees	-	-	3	3.8	3	1.3
Unemployed	14	9.3	8	10.0	22	9.6
Total	150	100	80	100	230	100

Source: Own Survey, 2004

As shown in Table 5 above, self-employed household heads, engaged in commerce and daily activities, are major actors (69.6 percent) of squatting in the study area followed by government employees (11.3 percent), private institution employees (8.3 percent), and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) employees (1.3 percent), and those unemployed sample squatter household heads constituted 9.6 percent.

About 17.4 percent of the household heads earn monthly incomes of less than birr 200. The majority (58.7 percent) of the household heads earn monthly incomes of birr 200 to 500, while 16.3 percent of the household heads earn birr 501 to 900 per month. And those household heads with monthly incomes of birr 901 or more constituted 7.4 percent. In comparing the two kebeles, household heads in kebele 05 (recently emerged squatter settlements) have better monthly income than those household heads in kebele 04 (relatively old squatter settlements of the area).

In comparing monthly incomes of squatter household heads in the study area and that of monthly incomes of the residents of the city as a whole, squatter settlements in the study area are not inhabited only by the low income groups or the urban poor. Economically strong or more income earner household heads are also observed in the squatter settlements of the

study area. Hence, squatting in the study area, especially in the recently emerged squatter settlements, is not necessarily poverty driven. Thus, in the next section of this study an attempt will be made to discuss the causes of squatting.

5. Causes of Squatting, Methods of Land Acquisition and Housing Conditions of the Squatters in the Study Area

5.1 Causes of Squatting

High building standards of the legal houses, belated responses and procedural problems of the legal land provision, and high rent of houses in the city were identified by respondents as major causes of squatting. The low income groups of the society in Addis Ababa have been marginalized by the legal provision of housing. As presented in Table 6 below, more than half (59.1 percent) of the sample household heads in the study area were forced to squat because of the high standard of the legal houses in the city. The city government is unable to provide plots for the needy and to keep pace with the growing demand for housing. As a result, belated responses and procedural problems of the legal houses constituted 62.5 percent of the household heads in kebele 05. In addition to these, less government control of open spaces, limited capacity of the code enforcement service to control illegal construction of houses, lack of comprehensive and clearly defined legal response to control emergence and development of squatter settlements, and the practice of land sale as a means of profit making by land speculators are also found to be causes for the emergence and proliferation of squatter settlements.

Table 6. Distribution of Household Heads by Reasons for Squatting

Reason for Squatting	Kebele				Total	
	04		05		Count	%
	Count	%	Count	%		
High building standard of the legal houses	113	75.3	23	28.8	136	59.1
Delayed response and procedural problems of the legal houses	17	11.3	50	62.5	67	29.1
High rent of houses in the city	20	13.4	7	8.7	27	11.8
Total	150	100.0	80	100.0	230	100.0

Source: Own Survey, 2004

5.2 Methods of Land Acquisition

The sites occupied by squatter settlements in the study area vary from deep river gorges reserved for greenery on the master plan to plane areas reserved for legal residential use. In these squatter settlements, the major ways by which squatters obtained land for housing include land bought from surrounding peasants, or from land speculators, and supplied from relatives. About 60 percent of the sample household heads had obtained land for housing through purchasing from the surrounding peasants; about 33.0 percent had obtained through purchasing from land speculators. Thus, illegal land purchase from the surrounding peasants has been the major way of obtaining land for housing.

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Table 7. Distributions of Household Heads by Method of Land Acquisition

Method of land acquisition	Kebele				Total	
	04		05		Count	%
	Count	%	Count	%		
Bought from surrounding peasants	127	4.7	12	15.0	139	60.4
Bought from land speculators	16	0.7	60	75.0	76	33.0
Supplied from relative	7	4.6	6	7.5	13	5.7
Other	-	-	2	2.5	2	0.9
Total	150	100.0	80	100.0	230	100.0

Source: Own Survey, 2004

As a result of the illegal land market, agricultural lands of the area were taken over by squatters and converted into urban use and peasants in the area have been moving to the hilly and mountainous areas. This resulted in loss of agricultural lands, deforestation, and consequently flooding has become a problem in the squatter settlements of the area especially in kebele 04.

5.3 Land Holdings of the Squatters in the Study Area

As presented in Table 8 below, about 61.3 percent of the household heads have plot sizes of 176 square meters or more. And there are also underdeveloped vacant plots in between squatter housing units of the area. Thus, as compared to the legal land subdivision and plot provision, land in the study area has been inefficiently utilized and the problem has significantly contributed to the unplanned and rapid horizontal expansion of the built-up area of the city.

Table 8. Distribution of Household Heads by Total Area of Holding

Total area of the compound (In meter square)	Number of household heads by kebele				Total	
	04		05		Count	%
	Count	%	Count	%		
Less than 176	36	24.0	53	66.3	89	38.7
176-200	37	24.7	9	11.2	46	20.1
201-300	50	33.3	6	7.5	56	24.3
301-400	12	8.0	11	13.8	23	10.0
401-500	14	9.3	1	1.2	15	6.5
501 and above	1	0.7	-	-	1	0.4
Total	150	100.0	80	100.0	230	100.0

Source: Own Survey, 20

5.4 Housing Conditions and Amenities in the Squatter Settlements

Housing conditions of the squatter settlements seem generally poor as the majority (84.8 percent) of the squatter housing units are made of wood and mud walls (temporary materials). However, in the recently emerged squatter settlements about 36.3 percent of the housing units are made of blocket walls (durable materials).

Table 9. Distribution of Housing Units by Construction Material of Wall

Construction material of wall	Kebele				Total	
	04		05		Count	%
	Count	%	Count	%		
Wood & mud	146	97.4	49	61.3	195	84.8
Hollow blocks	2	1.3	29	36.3	31	13.5
Stone and cement	2	1.3	1	1.2	3	1.3
Stone & mud	-	-	1	1.2	1	0.4
Total	150	100	80	100	230	100

Source: Own Survey, 2004

The majority (82.2 percent) of the household heads used electricity for lighting. About 17.8 percent of the sample household heads used lantern as

source of lighting for their housing units. About 48.3 percent of the housing units had private traditional kitchen, only 0.4 percent of the housing units had shared kitchen while more than half (51.3 percent) of the housing units had no kitchen facility at all. About 36.5 percent of the housing units had private toilets. About 1.3 percent of the housing units had shared toilets while the majority (63.2 percent) of the housing units did not have toilets at all.

The majority (64.8 percent) of the sample household heads obtained water from the supply of water vendors while 33.0 percent of the household heads obtained water both from water vendors and from unprotected rivers. Only 2.2 percent of sample household heads obtained water from piped water supply. In comparison to the city as a whole, housing amenities in the study area are in poor condition. Squatter settlements are inadequately provided with infrastructure and basic urban services. The squatter settlements in the study area are inadequately provided with roads. The existing roads are poorly built by the squatters themselves and are hardly accessible for vehicles.

6. Legal Response of the City Government Towards the Problem of Development of Squatter Settlements in Addis Ababa

Emergence of squatter settlements in Addis Ababa dates back to the 1970's particularly after the nationalization of urban land and extra houses in July 1975 by proclamation No.47/1975. As it is revealed in different documents, currently new squatter housing units are being constructed in the existing squatter settlements and new squatter settlements are also emerging and the number and size of squatter settlements in Addis Ababa in general and in the study area in particular have been increasing from time to time. The legal responses of the city government towards the problem of emergence and development of squatter settlements in Addis Ababa can be described from two stand points as indicated below.

6.1 Demolishing Approach

In Addis Ababa, the city government has been responding to the problem of emergence and development of squatter settlements through demolition. Though compiled and well organized data about the total number of

demolished squatter housing units are lacking, periodic demolition of squatter housing units without legal provision of land for housing has been a common practice of responding to the problem of expansion of squatter settlements. Recent information obtained from *Addis Admas* (weekly shows that, about 1000 (one thousand) squatter housing units in Nefas Silk Lafto sub-city in the neighborhood called *Furi* were demolished by the order of the sub-city administration. Due to this demolishing activity, squatter household heads have been deprived of shelters and they are complaining about the absence of compensation for their demolished dwellings (*Addis Admas*, 2004:1). Similarly, in the Kolfe Keranio sub-city area the administration demolished about 58 squatter housing units in kebele 05 in 2003.

Despite all these previous and recent demolishing of squatter settlements done by the city government, the number and size of squatter settlements in Addis Ababa have been increasing from time to time and thus the measure of demolition as a means of curtailing squatter settlements has not been effective.

6.2 Application of Regulation Number 1

The other response of the city government to solve the problem of the development of squatter settlements in Addis Ababa was the introduction of regulation number 1. Regulation number 1 was issued in December 1998 by the city government of Addis Ababa. According to this regulation, a housing plot, illegally occupied after the issuance of proclamation No.47/1975 up to May 1996, will get a legal status if it is within the master plan and not exceeding an area of 175 square meters (Regulation Number 1, 1998:15). According to the same regulation, housing units constructed in contradiction to the master plan and those constructed after May 1996 will not get a legal status.

As it is revealed in different documents and also mentioned by government officials, the intention of regulation number 1 was misunderstood and misinterpreted by the public just to mean that all squatter housing units are going to get legal status and recognition by the city government. Thus, the issuance of the regulation has contributed to the emergence of new squatter housing units and thus to the proliferation of squatter settlements. For instance, about 400 squatter housing units were

constructed around Bole Secondary School in a very short period of time following the issuance of regulation number 1 (ORAAMP 2001:48).

In the study area, more than half (59.1 percent) of the sample household heads had built their houses after the issuance of regulation number 1. Owing to the regularization attempt made by the city government in 1998, squatters hope that the same measure will be applied in the future and hence they were encouraged to construct their houses illegally.

As mentioned by government officials working at sub-city and kebele levels of the study area, in January 2003 the city government held a meeting with the public and agreed not to demolish squatter housing units which were built before the meeting. This situation had encouraged squatters to construct their houses even using durable materials. About 36.0 percent of the squatter household heads in the study area had built their houses using durable materials or blocket walls. Thus, in addition to demand pressure and supply constraints, lack of comprehensive and clearly defined legal response towards the problem of squatting has also contributed to the emergence and further development of squatter settlements in the city in general and in the study area in particular. Consequently, the problem has contributed to the unplanned and rapid horizontal expansion of the built-up area of the city that resulted in increased costs of infrastructure and basic urban services provision.

7. Conclusion

In Addis Ababa the degree of physical expansion of the built-up area of the city has outpaced the infrastructure and basic urban services provision capacity of the city government. As a result, there is inadequate provision of infrastructure and basic urban services in the city. The rapid expansion of the built-up area of the city has occurred through legal landowners, real estate developers, and squatter settlements. Squatter settlements are mainly located in the peripheral areas of the city. Squatter settlements in the peripheral area are many in number, and irregular in shapes. In most cases they are characterized by large plot sizes and have greatly contributed to the unplanned and rapid horizontal expansion of the built-up area of the city.

In the study area, the emergence of squatter settlement is a recent phenomenon that occurred after 1994. High building standards of the legal houses, belated response and procedural problems of the legal land

provision and high rent of houses in the city center are major factors identified by respondents as reasons for squatting. In addition to the aforementioned factors, less government control of open spaces, limited capacity of the code enforcement service to control illegal house construction, lack of comprehensive and consistent legal response towards the problem of squatting, and practice of land sale as a means of profit making by land speculators are some other factors that have contributed to the emergence and proliferation of squatter settlements.

The city government has been responding to the emergence and development of squatter settlements mainly through periodic demolition and partial regularization. However, periodic demolition and partial regularization attempts made by the city government so far have aggravated the problem of squatting instead of alleviating it. Thus, in addition to the demand pressure and supply constraints lack of comprehensive legal response towards the problem of squatting has also contributed to the emergence and development of squatter settlements in the city in general and in the study area in particular. Consequently, the problem has contributed to the unplanned and rapid horizontal expansion of the built-up area of the city.

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