

## **HUMAN INDUCED DISASTER AND THE SOCIOECONOMIC CAPITALS OF SQUATTER SETTLERS: THE CASE OF THE KORE COMMUNITY IN ADDIS ABABA, ETHIOPIA.**

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### **ABSTRACT**

This research paper presents the result of the study made among Kore squatters in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. The relevant data were collected through triangulation approach using the techniques of questionnaire survey, in-depth interview, focus group discussion and personal observation. The lack of basic infrastructure services, the occurrence of recurrent land tenure conflict, prevalence of environmental pollution, and low level of income characterizes the socioeconomic capitals of the community. It appears that 92.3% of the sampled respondents predominantly depend on low income generating informal sources of livelihood. In the absence of options, young females and widowhood engaged in prostitution, while elderly people beg to earn their living. In spite of these challenges, the repatriates of Kore benefited from their squatter settlement in accessing shelter and various sources of informal income. The lack of open discussion between the representatives of the government and repatriates and the delay of appropriate measures adversely hindered the rehabilitation process of the returnees. Moreover, the gap of interest between government agencies and the demand of the community also resulted in frequent land tenure conflict. Thus, the rehabilitation measures should have been developed through adequate participation of the community representatives and government agencies. The discussion would help to efficiently respond to the needs of the community and to, ultimately, resolve potential conflicts and come up with sustainable solutions.

**Keywords:** Displacement; Returnees; Livelihood; Rehabilitation; Squatter Settlement

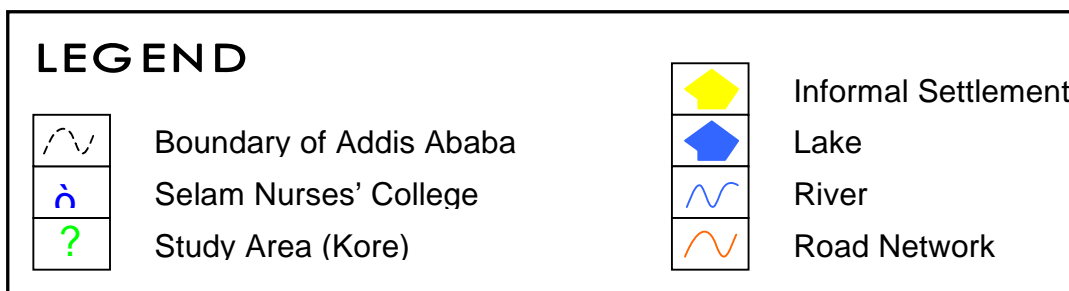
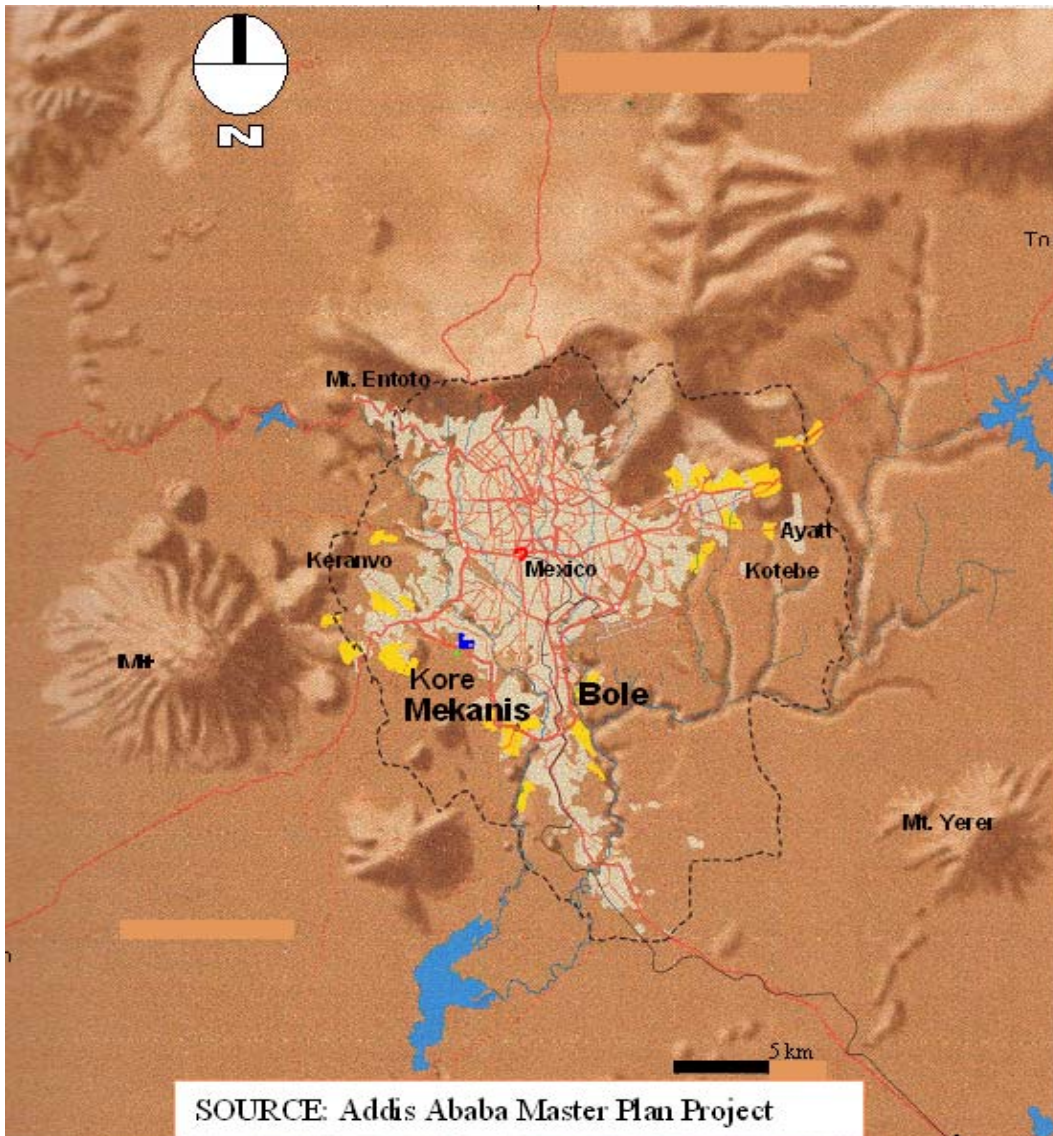
### **INTRODUCTION**

The provision of conventional housing is one of the serious challenges in urban areas of developing countries. As Lugalla (1995) stated, high urban population growth, poverty, and the low capacity of Third World governments are the main factors that mainly aggravate the problem. Like wise, UNDP (1998) noted the problem of housing as one of the severe social impediment of the people in Addis Ababa, the national capital of Ethiopia. The shortage of housing and its rising demand, thus, led to the expansion of squatter settlements basically on the outskirts of the city (Fig. 1).

In the cities of developing countries, squatter settlements are established usually following a large rural-urban influx of people and financial and policy limitations of national and municipal government agencies to effectively and efficiently react to the housing and other basic constraints of the population. In most cases, the numbers of planned shelters and basic services are insufficient to satisfy the demand of most urban people. Some governments build low-cost houses to address the challenges. However, these legal low-cost houses are unaffordable for the majority of urban poor squatters. Therefore, the majority of the Third World urban inhabitants address the constraints of housing through the construction of squatter settlements (Carter, 1972; Herbert and Thomas, 1990; Nordberg and Winblad, 1994).

However, as explained by Payne (1989) and Lugalla (1995), technocrats, town planners, and government officials are hostile towards squatters. They perceive squatter areas as dangerous manifestations of social disease, chaos, and immoral social behaviors. Drakakis-Smith (1987) also indicated that squatter residents are considered as 'flotsam and jetsam' of poor urban society who contributed nothing to the urban economy rather than increasing pressure on the provision of services. Such negative thinking of planners finally leads to the eradication of the squatter settlements of urban areas. Though squatters pose many problems as stated above, the low cost squatter settlements often serve as "the base camp" and enable large mass of urban poor to survive with minimum demands (UNCHS, 1987).

Fig.1. The Location of Squatter Settlements in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.



The earlier studies carried on informal settlements in Addis Ababa did not link the relationship between war displacement and squatting. Therefore, this research, attempts to analyse the impact of war displacement and establishment of squatter settlements in the Kore area of Addis Ababa. Moreover, the research tries to investigate the socio-economic capitals and

legal land tenure challenges of squatters. The results of the study can contribute practical experience in the formulation of urban land and housing policy and the management of urban squatter settlements.

## **THEORETICAL & CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK**

The political economy of marginalization and the theory of structuration have been used as a guiding framework and to comprehend the influence of politics and social organization on the land rights of the urban poor.

### **Political Economy of Marginalization**

The theory of political economy has been used to understand the value of government policy and the various roles of the state (Johnston, Gregory and Smith, 1994). This theory highlights that the state has a propensity, through the actions of the land tenure policy and the allocation of resources, lend its power to dominant groups and classes to accumulate wealth at the marginalization of the losers (Blaikie & Brookfield, 1987). The current urban land lease policy of Ethiopia provides wider land access to the rich people through its policy of market economy, but at the expense of the majority of urban poor, who couldn't afford the competition. However, to create an equitable and efficient land and housing market, the urban land policy has to consider the voice of the urban poor (Payne, 2000). The theory portrays that the access to land for housing has been influenced by the existing political structure out of which the urban land policy emanates.

### **Structuration Theory**

The structuration theory analyzes the interplay between knowledgeable human agencies and social structures on the access of the legal land title deed (Johnston, *et al* 1994). In Giddens' theory (1984), structure refers to social rules and resources for action. According to Giddens (1984), the rules are either *informal*, as social norms, or *formal*, as laws or bureaucratic regulations. Giddens distinguished resources as 'allocative' material wealth/economic resources and 'authoritative' resources which encompass the decision making power of people (Holt-Jenson 1999 citing Giddens 1984).

Structuration theory counters Marxist structural determinism that considers knowledgeable people as passive, puppets, and ignorant agents who are always controlled by the social structures. In the Giddens' structuration model, organizational features of societies enable or constrain people's capacities to effect change. Equally, human agents are not puppets; rather they interpret and transform or challenge the prevailing social relations or structures (Chouinard, 1996; Holt-Jensen, 1999).

Hence, it follows that social structures can marginalize the legal land and/or conventional housing right access of the urban poor through their policies. As a coping mechanism, poor human agents challenge the state/structure by building informal houses. The structuration theory certifies the mutual influence of social systems and knowledgeable human agencies.

The synthesis of structuration theory, therefore, reveals that development goals should compromise between the rules and regulation of social structures and the demand of knowledgeable people rather than forcing them to accept issues decided by the authorities. Furthermore, the government land and urban policies have to consider the legal land, housing request, and financial capacity of the urban poor. The mutual interaction of structures and agencies can bring understanding between

authorities and citizens, compromise development activities between people's need and government capacity, and finally contribute to resolve conflicts.

### **METHODOLOGY & SOURCE OF DATA**

The research was conducted in the summer of 2002 among Kore community who were living in Kebele 02 of Nifassilk-Lafto, a sub-city in Addis Ababa (Fig. 1). The triangulation approach (which encompassed survey questionnaire, in depth-interview, focus group discussion, and personal observation) was used to generate and enhance the reliability and validity of the data (Jick, 1983; Denscombe, 1998). Attempt was made to build up the trust of the community by explaining the academic purpose of the research.

Out of 400 household heads of the community, about 25% of the sample respondents were selected for the questionnaire survey using age and sex stratified random sampling. The samples of 32 respondents were equally but disproportionately drawn from the three stratified age intervals ranging from 30-39, 40-49 and 50-59 years old in the community. The questionnaire survey was translated into *Amharic*, the national language of the country. The structured interview mostly incorporated close ended questions related to the socio-economic conditions, and the land tenure conflict between the Kore squatters and government agents.

The key informants with better knowledge and experience of the researched issues were purposely selected to generate wide array of qualitative data. A one-to-one in-depth interview was carried with twelve local informants, two community leaders, and two higher government officials of Ministry of Works & Urban Development (MWUD) and Foreign Relations and Development Co-operation Bureau (FRDCB) of Addis Ababa City Government (AACG). Females versus males focused groups were established to discuss the socio-economic capitals of the community. The males' focus group, composed of the local people and community leaders, was separated from the females' group to avoid the constraints of cultural influence up on females. Personal observation was also carried before, during, and after the structured and semi-structured surveys to investigate the lifestyles and environmental problems of the Kore community. Information generated through photographs was incorporated in the analytical explanation of the paper. Secondary sources, organized from the libraries of research and higher governmental institutions, have been used for the study.

### **HISTORY OF SQUATTING & ESTABLISHMENT OF KORE SETTLEMENT**

Urban housing has been a hot issue in almost all major towns of Ethiopia in different regimes. During Haile Selassie's regime, the problem was relatively low in the urban areas of the country. However, Solomon (1997 citing Pankhurst 1987) noted the temporary shortage of urban shelter as the number of troops increased during the war time when a substantial number of rural inhabitants fled to the urban areas for safety. Addis Ababa faced the first serious housing constraint immediately after it fell into the hands of Italians and following the destruction of many buildings of Addis Ababa by the patriotic forces. Upon arrival in the city, Italians also forbade the maintenance of the existing and erection of new houses until the sanction was lifted. Later, the problem was worsened by the growth of the city's population.

The nationalization of urban land and extra houses by the Derge regime, a military junta ruled Ethiopia from 1974-1991 under the leadership of Mengistu Hailemariam, did not solve the housing problem of the majority of urban dwellers. The establishment of informal settlement became the highest in the history of the city (Wubshet 2002). During the current government, housing is still a chronic problem to many residents of Addis Ababa (Mesfin, 2001).

As else where in different parts of the world, the shortage of housing, inefficiency of formal land provision, reservation of open land without proper monitoring, absence of clear urban-rural boundary, inability of controlling illegal house construction, and ‘unaffordability’ of standardized houses construction by the urban poor are the major factors contributing in the establishment and expansion of squatter settlements in the city (ORAAMP, 1999; ORAAMP, 2002).

In Addis Ababa, the majority of informal settlements are located on the peripheral areas along the southern, southeastern, southwestern, and northeastern corners of the city (Fig. 1). However, due to the physical barrier of *Entoto* mountain range, the expansion informal housing development is insignificant in the northern part of the city (ORAAMP, 1999; ORAAMP, 2002). These settlements cover more than 1,654 hectares of land, which accounted 3.21% of the total city area and 15% of the built up area. ORAAMP (1999), citing NUPI, out of the total 94,135 housing units built between 1984 and 1994 in the city, about 15.7% of the housing units were constructed by the informal housing sector. At the same time, there were about 60,000 informal housing units in the city with an estimated number of 300,000 occupants (ORAAMP, 1999).

As the focus group participants clarified, after the defeat of the *Derge* national army in 1991 by the coalition forces of Eritrean People’s Liberation Front (EPLF) and Tigrian People’s Liberation Front (TPLF), Ethiopians were seen as foreigners in Eritrea. The participants noted that such segregations forced Ethiopians to migrate into Ethiopia, Sudan, Djibouti, or the Middle East countries leaving most of their possession behind. Out of 60,000 displaced Ethiopians from Eritrea to Addis, on average, 30,000 of them were allowed, by the Transitional Government of Ethiopia, to settle in different Kebeles of various districts in the city (Goal International, 1996). However, the settlement processes encountered huge challenges.

The lack of government capacity and shift of the responsibility of rehabilitating the returnees from the Relief and Rehabilitation Commission (RRC) to Foreign Relation and Co-operation Bureau of Addis Ababa City Government (AACG) prolonged the process and resulted in the continuity of Kore community in the area. The top-down nature of the rehabilitation schemes as well and, later, the outbreak of the Ethio-Eritrea war in 1998 at Badime had delayed the repatriation process and facilitated the establishments of war displacement induced Kore squatting in Addis Ababa.

## **RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

### **Displacement, the quest for land rights and housing**

In this study, attempts have been made to investigate the impact of war displacement and the failure of the rehabilitation program in contributing to the establishment of Kore squatting and the associated socio-economic constraints.

### **The Processes of Kore Squatting**

After the fall of *Derge* regime, the Transitional Government of Ethiopia (TGE) repatriated Ethiopian refugees from Sudan. Some returnees, however, directly repatriated from Eritrea to Ethiopia. As testified by the male focus group respondents, Ethiopian refugees in Sudan were repatriated on their willingness and the agreement reached among the personnel's of the United Nations Higher Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), the Governments of Sudan and Ethiopia.

After repatriation, the returnees in a petition to the Transitional Government/the Prime Minister's office elucidated the tribulation and injustice they went through in the hand of *shabia*, the military force of Eritrean People Liberation Front (EPLF), *during* displacement, and latter in refugee camps. As a result they appealed shelter and the provision of other support from the government. With a letter dated on *Tir 2*, 1984 E.C (10 January, 1992 G.C) and referenced as m56/850/1/84, the Transitional Government responded their quest and temporarily endorsed the repatriates to settle in various districts of Addis Ababa. The male focus group participants also noted that approximately from 624 to 936 households were settled, in the summer of 1992, in Kore area. The Kore repatriates sheltered in 156 government installed tents. On average from 4 to 6 households were accommodated per tent.

Later, with the support of international NGOs and the government, some repatriates returned to their place of birth to rehabilitate permanent life. Some individuals also personally left to other parts of Addis Ababa where better basic services and infrastructures were available. The majority of the returnees continued to live in the tents until the end of 1997. The worn out of the tents through time and the failure of the government rehabilitation program eventually led the returnees to construct their own illegal shacks in the Kore area. Although the repatriates were allowed to temporarily settle in the occupied land, they did not have a permanent legal title deed for the land.

### **Land tenure, the State actors and Kore Community**

Squatting starts as a response to the inability of public allocation systems or commercial markets to provide land access for the urban poor (Payne, 2000). This became the reality of Kore community. Hence, the worn out of the tents triggered the Kore community to built shacks over the preoccupied land. Cheap & non-permanent materials were used to construct most of the initial houses. After the built up of the shacks, the question of land tenure became the major cause of recurrent conflict between the community members and the government actors.

The absence of legal land tenure refrained the members of the community in improving the quality of their shelters and establishing traditional and informal welfare system locally known as *idir*. The land tenure conflict, instability of responsible rehabilitating government institutions, and marginalization of the land request of the community would ultimately lead to the dismantling of the Kore settlement. The provision of secure land tenure and property rights is crucial in enabling urban poor to reduce the land tenure conflicts, poverty, health risks, promote good environmental management, access to services, and invest in improving homes and livelihoods (UN-Habitat, 2008; Durand-Lasserve & Selod, 2007). Therefore, sound land policies should protect people, particularly low income groups, from forced removals and evictions (UN-Habitat, 2008).

As Blaikie and Brookfield (1987) indicated about the role of politics, the current government of Ethiopia marginalized the land requests of the Kore and other urban poor through the land lease and market economic policy administration of urban land. Payne (2000), as well, confirmed the influence of the free market approaches of economic development of a country on the commercialization of urban land and astronomical price of plots, mainly in the formal economy. To the contrary, the study made among factory workers, by Solomon (1999), on the impact of public ownership of urban land and on low income home ownership during the *Derge* regime proved that 20.5% of the 200 respondents became homeowners. In the same study, 92% of the respondents reported as they would have remained tenants had it not been the supply of building lots free of charge. Therefore, the government can play an important role in providing land, basic services, & security of tenure and avoid risk of relocation in tackling the housing problem of the urban poor families (Vaa, 1998; Rodell & Skinner, 1983; Mathey 1997).

### **The challenge of housing and response of the poor**

The Kore community dominantly lived in a very low standard and debilitated shack for many years. The lack of income and uncertainty of land tenure forced most squatters to construct their shelters commonly from semi permanent and cheap materials. As discovered through field observation and questionnaire survey, the Kore community used to live either in mud houses with plastic roofing or mud houses with corrugated iron roofing.

The worn out of the tents powered the community to construct rudimentary houses from simple cardboard and cheap rush matting materials. The shack walls were not plastered due to the failure of the walls to carry the huge load of mud. The roofs were mostly covered by plastic sheets, pieces of rags, and rush matting. During the survey period, after more than ten years of stay in the area, some residents were living in such initial types of shacks.

Later, the people used hollow plant stem locally referred *shembeko* to build the walls of the dominant plastic roof houses of the community. The rush mats and *shembeko* houses were windowless and very small where the floor size of the houses commonly range from 4m<sup>2</sup> to 9m<sup>2</sup>. *Shembeko*, the main building material, is highly susceptible to rot fungi and has a short lifespan ranging only from two to three years (Murison, 1979). The delicacy of *shembeko* also precludes the use of nail fixing while constructing the shacks (Murison, 1979). These houses sheltered 55.2% of the total sampled respondents (Table 1). The plastering mud of most of these houses was either partially or totally damaged by rain [locally referred as *wushinfir* in Amharic]. The leakage of rain water through the plastic roofs is the common constraint during the rainy season. The poor quality of houses exposed the residents to the change of temperature, dampening of the floor, and impact of occasional strong winds that lead to health hazards of residents and damage of the houses.

Instability of the shared walls occasionally leads to conflict between neighboring households. However, such conflicts were resolved through the arbitration of active and knowledgeable elders. Furthermore, to give permanent solutions to the problems, some neighbors independently separated their shared walls from the walls of neighbouring houses at an average distance of 50 cm.



Addis Ababa has a higher percentage of mud houses with corrugated iron than any other big urban agglomeration in Ethiopia (CSO, 1972). Similarly, in the study area, about 44.8% of the sample population was living in mud houses with corrugated iron roofing. The walls of the houses were made of wood and relatively better plastered with mud than *shembeko* houses. As proved in Kore squatting and other spontaneous housing areas, squatters tended to improve their shelter by constructing outside walls, extra rooms, and a solid roof (Gilbert & Gugler, 1992). The use of indigenous building material is suitable because it demands little skill and assistance, minimum equipment, mainly human energy, little cost and relatively easier for extension (Murison, 1979). The wooden houses were covered by corrugated iron sheet roofing and had small windows with a floor size that commonly range from 9m<sup>2</sup> to 20m<sup>2</sup>. Since nails have been used to fix the corrugated iron sheet, the roofs were stronger than plastic sheet and rag roof and *shembeko* houses. The corrugated roof houses have relatively good quality and better protection from the effects of rain, wind, and chilling against residents.

Most members of the community usually build their houses during weekends to generate labour support of friends and neighbours for which they are served with food and drink by the house owner. All the houses of the community were owner-occupied. Out of the total of 96 respondents, 71.9% of them were living in a single room shacks while the remaining 28% households, who had large family size, used to live either in two or three room houses (Table 1). However, the construction of three room houses were rare and beyond the income capacity of most residents though there were some trend.

Table 1. Types and number of rooms in the houses of the Kore community, Addis Ababa in percent (N in brackets), 2002.

Types of Houses	One Room	Two Rooms	Three Rooms	Total
Mud house with iron roofing	67.4	27.9	4.7	100 (43)
Mud house with plastic roofing	75.5	22.6	1.9	100 (53)
Total	71.9	25.0	3.1	100 (96)

Source: Field Survey, July 2002.

The houses and doors were small and forced the residents to bend their neck and head down while entering in and out of the house. The people used short and cheap building materials to minimize house construction costs. While asked about the type and quality of houses in which they were living in, the inhabitants compared their houses with a cage [which is equivalent to *yew of gojo* in Amharic]. The community used the term ‘cage’ to indicate the small size and low quality their houses that exposed the to the absence of privacy, high risk of diseases, overcrowding, and neighborhood conflict.

### **Human and financial capital of Kore community**

**Social capital** Human capital depends on the experience, level of education, and culture of people. As the 0.88 sex ratio of the sample respondents indicate and also confirmed via observation and interview, the community is characterized by a large number of female headed households. About 40% of the sample population was married, while widow households constituted 45.7% of the total respondents. Widowhood was one of the social problems of many female headed households in the area due to the death of their husbands during the long internal conflicts between the *Derge* and TPLF-EPLF military

forces. The households of the community ranged from one to ten people with a 4.7 average family size per household (Table 2). About 44% of the sampled population and more than 45% of the households had a family size ranging from 4 to 5 individuals who lived in the small and dominantly single-room crowded shacks (Table 2). Among Kore squatters, as Schlyter's (1995) explained, crowdedness of households in small and low quality houses expose the people to high risk of health.

Amhara, Oromo, and Tigrie, accounting for 99% of the sample respondents, were the major ethnic groups of the community. However, Tigrie alone accounted for 51.6% of the total respondents. This was the severe repercussion of the war on the massive exodus of Tigrie people from Eritrea than other ethnic groups. This is because of the geographical proxy of Tigray region to Eritrea and presence of a large number of Tigris in Eritrea. Amharas and Oromos, accounting 29.5% of the sample population and one-third of Tigris, respectively, stood at the second and third dominant ethnic groups, while Gurage and Welayita ethnic groups were insignificant in the community.

Table 2. Household size of the Kore squatter community, Addis Ababa, 2002.

No of persons/household		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Total
Households	No (F)*	3	3	19	24	20	12	11	1	2	1	96
	(%)	3.	3.1	19.	25.		12.	11.	1.0	2.1	1.0	100
		1		8	0	20.8	5	5				
Population **	No (F)	3	6	57	96	100	72	77	8	18	10	447
	(%)	0.	1.3	12.	21.		16.	17.	1.8	4.0	2.2	100
		7		8	5	22.4	1	2				
Av. house hold size		4.7										

Source: Field survey, July 2002. \* F-refers to the frequencies of the household members.

\*\* Population refers to the summed number of the household members of the sampled respondents of the Kore squatter community.

The different ethnic groups of Kore had strong social harmony in defending external attacks, building houses, and sharing social burdens. This was partly the reflection of their common social background as the ex-soldiers families of the *Derge* regime and similar challenges came across during displacement, refugee, repatriation, and squatting. However, according to the respondents, the temporary nature of their settlement constrained the establishment of *idir* within the community.

As the survey data indicated, 95.8% of the total household heads were Orthodox Christians, while the remaining 4% were Muslims. About 38.6% of the respondents had little or no education. However, the level of illiteracy was relatively highest among women than men. The low educational level of the urban poor identified by Lewis (2000) in Puerto Rico and Mexico was similar to that of Kore squatters. The majority of the females had low junior education, while many males completed both junior and secondary education.

**Financial capital.** Insecure daily wage labor and informal activities were the meager source of livelihood for 92.3% of the sampled households. Cotton spinning, straw plating, cloth washing, hair dressing, traditional birth attendants, pruning, local brewery, and food preparation served as sources of income to the majority of women. Few young females, employed as waitresses or cleaners in private hotels, networked them to other sources of revenue.

However, unskilled or semi-skilled men largely generated low income from guarding, weaving, basketry, sewing, driving, and/or wage labor in constructional activities. Shoe shining and street vending used to fetch income for some young males. Permanent employment such as guarding, teaching, and nursing, served as the engine of income only to some residents of the community. As a last means of survival, young bachelors and widows practiced prostitution while elderly people practiced in begging.

In line with the finding of Degefa (2008), lack of job opportunities and the low level of income eroded the financial capital of slum/squatter residents. Hence, the average monthly income of 60% of the respondents was below 121 *birr*. It was only an insignificant sampled population (7.7%) who earned income above 121 *birr* per month. As Hesselberg (1996) explained, the poor people, like the Kore community, live in abject state. Among such people, the future is measured by the daily search of jobs for survival. Every day they face the risk of disease, injury, and starvation in a harsh and merciless city environment.

The life of the Kore people was miserable for many reasons. First, the value of their labor was so cheap compared to the tiresome work they have to carry out. Second, they were challenged by the lack of market for the foodstuffs and local handcrafts they produce. Third, the frequent land tenure conflict of the community with the government actors adversely influences their living standard.

#### **Access to basic services and urban amenities**

**Water supply.** The mismatch between demand and supply of basic services are common among the residents of Addis Ababa, in general, and the Kore community in particular. In the city, approximately 36% of the household heads use private tap, while 61% depend on the public water tap supply [*Bono wuha* in Amharic] (Tegegne 2002 citing CSA 1999b). The problem of urban water supply is more severe in the poorer areas of the city such as the Kore settlement.

As revealed in interview, the public water tap of the community, which was installed by the Adventist Development and Relief Agency (ADRA) in July 1992, served the Kore dwellers for about one year with only one pipe supply. However, after June 1993, Goal International established an upgraded public water tap with eight different pipes. As confirmed by the multiple responses, the public tap was the main source of water for 93.8% of the sample households. The service delivery of the tap was very poor and opened daily between 6 and 9 A.M. The residences had to make a long queue to fetch water. The shortage of private water supply and the long queue of the public water supply occasionally led people to minor conflicts and waste of time

The inefficient and inadequate service delivery of the public water tap triggers some residents to buy water from private tap owners. First, elderly people were unable to wake up early in the morning and wait the daily long queue. Second, community members, who failed to contribute money for the maintenance of the water pipe, were prohibited to use the public water supply. Third, the community members were sometimes forced to buy water from private taps when they faced shortages until the opening of the public water supply. Hence, the above factors, exposed the exploitation of the poor by the owners of private water taps and who were in a better social position. The residents used to pay 10 Ethiopian cents per 25 liters of water. Nevertheless, the water cost became more expensive following the continuous interruption of public and private water supplies. This prolonged interruptions of water supplies force some residents (9.4% of the total valid sample cases) to fetch river water for domestic uses. The interruption and insufficient water supply of Kore, as it is common in poor areas elsewhere in the city of developing countries, affects the hygiene of the people and promotes the transmission of diseases (Cairncross, 1990).

**Electricity.** During the ILO conference, which was held on 2 June, 1976 at Geneva, Switzerland, the participants underlined that the supply of electricity is as important as the supply of safe drinking water, sanitation, public transport, health, educational, and other basic facilities (Friedmann 1992). Because access to electricity is crucial for various domestic and non-domestic activities. In this regard, though the Kore residents did not have legal permission to access to electric service, the researcher observed that they illegally connected their houses with electric cables to get light and sources of energy for radios and tape recorders. Nevertheless, the residents did not use the electric power for cooking food due to the inability of the residents to pay electric bills and buy cooking utensils. Similar studies undertaken in Latin American cities also indicated that urban poor, like the Kore community, established illegal links to electric supplies, since they often have to wait for several years to get legal electric supplies (Gilbert & Gugler, 1992). As Giddens stated, the rules and regulations of the structure do not always determine the action of agents (in Chouinard, 1996). Rather, people can also challenge the existing social relations to meet their needs (Holt-Jensen, 1999). The poor use whatever means they can to cope with an unequal system of resource distribution. The entire informal sector, with its illegal and semi-illegal living and working environments, constitutes a form of political protest (Drakakis-Smith, 1987).

**Toilet access.** As certified with the interview, from 1992 until 1994 the community did not have any toilet access. They were simply defecating in open fields and nearby up the slope of the small Akaki River. The feces carried down the slope, by erosion, and resulted in the pollution of the river water. Ultimately, the absence of the toilet had severely contributed to the ill health of the community and pollution of the environment. To alleviate this problem, Goal International built three public pit latrines at the beginning of 1995. The toilets were built from local wood products and corrugated iron roofs attached with an external vent used in reducing an unpleasant smell. However, due to poor management of the toilets, air pollution, environmental contamination, and transmission of diseases continued to be serious problems of the community. First, the toilets were exposed to improper handling and poor sanitation practices of the large number of users. Second, the toilet waste was not dislodged by a suction truck of NACID at the appropriate time (NACID, 1999). These constraints led to the periodic overflow of human excreta into the surrounding environment. Third, the rise of the underground water table during the wet summer season aggravated the over flooding of feces, pollution of the environment, and, as a consequence, the spreading of

coughs and asthma. As the researcher observed during the field survey, the lack of maintenance brought a partial damage of two toilets of the community, while one toilet was completely destructed.

**Waste disposal.** The need of solid waste management cannot be overlooked since wastes harbor health risk disease-bearing pests and facilitates their spreading. Hence, it is crucial to ensure that streets are clean and the waste disposal should be managed for the productive use of the area (Saini, 1979). Similarly, in order to upgrade the quality of basic sanitation and prevent the spread of disease, the local NGO-NACID installed one waste collection bin for Kore community in 1995 (NACID, 1998). However, the dumping of domestic wastes near the shelters seriously affected the sanitation of the community. The delay of indulgence also aggravated the heap of solid wastes in the area. In consequence, the solid waste had an offensive smell to the residents, mainly during the wet season. Moreover, children were commonly contaminated with the solid wastes while playing in the open fields around the dumping site.

## **CONCLUSION AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS**

This study attempts to investigate the links among displacement, institutional instability, and establishment of squatting. The research explored the poor socioeconomic capitals of Kore squatters' in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. As the study showed, recurrent land tenure conflict, lack of basic amenities, insufficient income, poor environmental hygiene, and high risk of health are characterizing the Kore squatters. The top-down approach of planning, designing, and implementing the rehabilitation scheme brought a huge gap between the requests of the community and capacity of the government actors. This ultimately, but partially, contributes to the failure of the rehabilitation scheme. Hence, the participation of local community has to be considered in designing and implementing sustainable development projects. Besides, the shift of the responsibility of rehabilitation scheme from Relief and Rehabilitation Commission (RRC) to the Foreign Relation and Development Cooperation Bureau (FRDCB) of Addis City Administration adversely affected the rehabilitation program and eventually led to failure and establishment of Kore squatter settlement. Therefore, institutional instability should be avoided while planning, designing, and implementing projects. The land lease policy and market economy of the current government, as well marginalized the community from the legal and free access of the occupied land. However, to improve their living standard, quality of housing, and proper management of the environment, the land policy of the government should consider and compromise the land tenure request of the urban poor, like the Kore community.

As stated in Durand-Lasserve and Selod (2007), in many developed and developing countries, the private house construction real states target their land and housing development activities at high and middle income groups with regular incomes. The urban poor like the Kore community have no other options than to live in an informal settlement. Thus, as identified by this research and certified by Drakakis-Smith (1987) and Short (1984), the access of conventional housing through private housing companies and individual efforts is beyond the financial assets of the urban poor. Therefore, to minimize the housing problems of the urban poor and control the ramification of squatter settlement, the government actors and NGOs should adjust their urban land and housing policies in concordance with the requests of the urban poor. If this is not the case, the expansion of squatter settlement will be a generation assignment and improving the living standard of squatters will be unimaginable.

Lack of permanent job opportunity, the marginalization of the land tenure voice of the community, insufficient income, and absence of *idir* weaken the socio economic capitals of the community and made the Kore squatters to be an example of slum of despairs. To minimize these problems, government agents and NGOs have to avail technical training opportunities and loan grant support to urban poor people like the Kore squatters. Finally, the timely maintenance of toilets and management of solid wastes can minimize the environmental contamination and transmission of communicable disease among the community members.

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