RESEARCH ARTICLE

AN EMPIRICAL REVIEW OF INFORMAL (SQUATTER) SETTLEMENTS IN ADDIS ABABA CITY, ETHIOPIA

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ARTICLE INFO	ABSTRACT
	Informal settlement is usually referred to residential areas where a group of housing units have been constructed on land to which the occupants have no legal claim, or which they occupy illegally. The causes of such squatting activities are population growth, inefficient land provision, high cost of urban living standard, and illegal land grabbing by urban speculators. These settlements create challenges for planners and urban politicians. The relationship between informality and urban land use planning is complicated. On the one hand, informal spaces have been perceived as undesirable and illegal on the other hand, there has been attempts to improve and integrate such spaces. The study aims to examine the trends and challenges of informal settlements in Addis Ababa. The study is presented in a descriptive manner. The study is based on secondary data collected from different sources. The findings confirmed that the prevalence of informal settlement and land invasion scenarios in Addis Ababa. The primary causes range from increasing rural-urban migration coupled with a high rate of urbanization beyond the current capacity of the city administration to provide affordable housing;; shortage of land supply as compared to its demand; the prevalence of land speculators; inefficiency of the city administrations' land administration and management are among others. Therefore, it is strongly suggested that there is a need to strengthen the institutional capacity of various institutions working on land management and its administration; taking strong measure to crackdown on already mushrooming illegal land sell and speculative network, and come up with innovative solutions (modality) for affordable housing scheme.

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INTRODUCTION

In Ethiopia, the ever-increasing number of people who live in squatter settlements and slums indicate the existence of a mismatch between the demand and supply of housing to the booming urban population that emanates from urban natural growth and rural-urban migration. Addis Ababa, the primate capital city of Ethiopia, has been growing since its foundation in 1886. It took the city 90 years to reach the 1 million-population mark, but only 30 years to triple and pass the 3 million mark. This rapid growth in population and the corresponding demand [or land has resulted in fast physical expansion of the city. The built-up area exhibited a marked expansion between 1975 and 1985, fully consuming 21,000 hectares of land (except the North Entoto Mountain) within the then Municipal administrative boundary (Mathewos, 2005: 2). According to the study compiled by ORAAMP (2002), the squatter settlement has occupied a portion of the land in Addis Ababa. In 1988 there were only about 4,394 squatter/informal housing units in the areas like Akaki, Kotebe, Lideta and

Nifas-Silik that accounts for 1.6 percent of the total housing stock in the city (ORAAMP, 2002). The rate of the squatter/informal settlement as a percentage of the total houses constructed between 1984 and 1994 was 15.7 percent. Out of the 94,135 houses developed in the city during this period, about 14,794 were informal houses (PADCO, 1997). According to ORAAMP (2000), the area of land under the informal holdings varies between 200 sq.m. and 2000 sq. m. per household. An estimated 3.4 million inhabitants of Addis Ababa live in some 527,800 housing units with an average density of approximately 6 person's per-household. According to Mathewos (2005: 2), 30% of the households live in informal (squatter) settlements and 5% are homeless sleeping on the streets. 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. The expansion of squatter settlement leads to wastage of resources in various ways. Often, it is not in line with the master plan of urban areas.

The development of infrastructure and provision of basic services for such a settlement is also difficult, if not impossible. A review of literature shows that countries follow a combination of multiple approaches in addressing informal settlement challenges. Prevention and ensuring proper land management before construction is still the most preferred approach. Regularizing and upgrading are also the most frequent approaches practices by several countries. Yet they are not without multiple limitations. The objective of this study is to assess the trends and challenges of the informal settlements in Addis Ababa.

Methods of the Study: This study is descriptive in nature. Secondary data sources from various sources are collected and analyzed. The sources were obtained from Addis Ababa City Administration and various published and unpublished documents.

Literature review

The Definitions of informal settlements: A clear definition of informal settlement is hardly available. Various words have been used in literature to refer to squatter settlements. These include spontaneous, irregular, unplanned, marginal and informal settlements. The terms have been used to refer to unregulated, illegal and unauthorized construction, arising from the conditions and regulations indifferent countries. From this one can say that these settlements refer to:

- residential areas where housing units have been built on land to which the occupants have no legal claim, or which they occupy illegally;

- unplanned settlements where housing is not in compliance with current planning and building regulations.

Daniel, (2013) defined, informal settlements as dense settlements comprising communities housed in self-constructed shelters under conditions of informal land tenure. Furthermore, in Vienna Declaration (2004) cited in Bogdan (2013), informal settlements are defined as: human settlements, which for a variety of reasons do not meet requirements for legal recognition (and have been constructed without respecting formal procedures of legal ownership, transfer of ownership, as well as construction and urban planning regulations), exist in their respective countries. While there is significant diversity in terms of their manifestation, these settlements are mainly characterized by informal or insecure land tenure, inadequate access to basic services, both social and physical infrastructure and housing finance. The term squatter settlement, if not defined precisely, can lead to a misunderstanding of the term slum. In fact, many writers often use the terms interchangeably. Slums however, are often considered legally allowed settlements of an urban area but are also overcrowded, with poor living conditions and older houses compared to other parts of the city, and inadequate services (UNCHS, Habitat: 1982). A building or area that is deteriorated, hazardous, unsanitary or lacking in standard conveniences; also the squalid, crowded, or unsanitary condition, under which people live, irrespective of the physical state of the building or the area; a residential area in which the housing is deteriorated, substandard, or so unwholesome as to be a menace to the health, safety, morality or welfare. The definitions have illustrated that whereas squatter settlements involve legal problems, slums pertain to a socio-economic physical condition.

Characteristics of Squatter Settlements: From the definition, the characteristics of informal settlements are evident. Sirgut Gezahengn (2013) argued that squatter settlements are characterized by the following three interrelated and essential traits. The characteristics include:

Physical aspects: Squatter settlements have infrastructure and service below minimum level. They may not be connected to water supply, electricity, road, and drainage and sewerage fatalities. In secured because of lack of security services like police service, fire protection service. Some squatter settlements are also built in marginal lands at peripheries, riversides and dumpsites. The key characteristic that delineates a squatter settlement is its lack of ownership of the land parcel on which the settlers have built their houses. These could be vacant government or public land, or marginal land parcels like railway setbacks or "undesirable" marshylands.

Social aspects: Squatter settlements belong to low income groups or informal workers. On average most residents earn a very low income and many of them are part-time workers/daily laborers. Most squatters are predominantly migrants from rural to urban or urban to rural and they may be also second or third generations of squatters.

Legal aspects: Squatter settlements are inherently illegal because the squatters occupy public land without any legal permission. They do not have authorized permits, ownership certificate and hence not backed by legal provisions. Moreover, the study conducted in Kenya identified that the common characteristics shared by all informal settlements are (1) insecurity of tenure, (2) lack of planning, (3) lack of infrastructure (e.g. roads, water pipes, drainage systems, toilets, waste collection, electricity), (4) poor environmental condition, (5) lack of public facilities (schools, dispensaries), and (6) unemployment and poverty (Pellikka, P., J. Ylhäisi& B. Clark (eds.2004).

Consequences of Squatter Settlements: From a broader perspective, the combined burdens of informal settlement have been fundamentally harmful to cities, to the overall urban population, and to the residents of informal settlements themselves. The implications of the phenomenon are serious and manifold in numerous ways: legal, social, environmental, political, and economic. Informal settlements in a city are causes for health problems, environmental deterioration, social distress, and urban violence. In this regard, different authors have identified different consequences of squatter settlements in different part of the world (Mostafa, 2000). It causes social, physical, hygienic, political, security and economical harms like spread of crime and murder, drug addiction e, the spread of prostitution, the spread of alcoholic drinks. Physical harms include irregular residential structure, unorganized facade of buildings and its undesirable effects on the appearance and the image of the cities. In developing countries squatter settlements are located at potential expansion areas of cities; hinder planned development, results in the misuse of land resource and infrastructure.

Approaches of managing squatter settlements: This section explores government attitudes, responses and policies towards squatter settlements and slums since 1950s.

According to Collins Adjei Mensah (2010), there are five major chronological categories: laissez-faire attitudes in the 1950s and 1960s; site and service programs in the 1970s, slum upgrading in the 1980s, enabling strategies and security of tenure in the 1990s, and Cities without slums action plan in the 2000s. There are also two opposing actions taken in the intervention of squatter settlements namely; regularization and demolition at various times and places. For the purpose of this study the Laissez-Faire Attitudes in the 1950s, Site and Service Programs in the 1970s and Cities Without Slums action plan in the2000s, Regularization, Demolition and Upgrading are briefly discussed. In all the approaches, squatter settlements are often conceived and portrayed as institutional failures in housing policy, population pressure due to rural-urban migration and the gap between demand and supply. Thus, measures to address their existence and appearance have evolved around such thinking. As a result, various strategies were implemented to mitigate the socio-economic, physical and health wellbeing of slums and their residents.

Laissez-faire Attitude:1950s-1960s: During the tolerance period in the 1950s and 1960s, urban authorities in Developing Countries turned a 'blind eye' to slum houses (Rakodi, 2001). Negligence dominated until the early 1970s when it was replaced by public housing. Informal settlements were regarded as temporary unavoidable phenomena that would pass with economic development. During this time informal settlements were not depicted on land use maps, instead there was a blank for undeveloped land (UN-HABITAT 2003). Slums were considered 'relics of traditional villages' and in the process of being absorbed by the new urban planning scheme inherited from Western societies— with little consideration of local and cultural realities (Gaskell, 1990; Njoh, 2003). The alternative was public housing schemes, where local governments provide public housing in collaboration with national governments and other stakeholders in developing countries. However, these projects were implemented in a discriminatory fashion, largely because the 'indigenous' political rulers, who replaced the colonial power, perpetuated the existing social and class divisions as the previous 'master' (Fanon, 1963). In fact, the main beneficiaries of formal public and planned housing schemes were civil servants and middle and upper-income earners (Fekade, 2000). Moreover, nepotism, corrupt practices, poor governance and incompetence significantly and rapidly contributed to the expansion of slums, and widened the gap between those who were in positions of power or had some sort of 'connections' and the rest of the urban population. For example, Hope (1999) reports that public housing schemes across Africa as a whole provided less than 5% of housing needs. Thus, such public housing schemes were unable to supply sufficient dwellings. Instead, the approach marginalized the majority of urban dwellers and ignored low-income urban dwellers and rural urban migrants who settled there generating more slums. Furthermore, it is now clear that urban effort and resources directed towards providing public housing have ended up serving a small portion of urban dwellers and usually those that were largely better resourced than the majority (Ali, M.H. and Sulaiman, M.S. (2006).

Site and Service Scheme:1970s: In the 1970's, the World Bank initiated the Sites and Services and Squatter Upgrading (SSU) Programme in many countries in Asia, Latin America and Africa. The strategy was adopted to provide planned and serviced housing land to low income people in urban areas and improve basic community infrastructure services, such as water, sanitation, roads and market facilities in informal settlements. The move emerged out of a consensus arrived at during the Habitat I conference in 1976 which included: site and services and self-help housing projects; core housing; slum and squatter settlement upgrading; the stimulation of small-scale enterprises and informal sector activities in project areas; and an attempt to expand the provision of public services (Burgess, 1997). Site and service schemes are credited with enabling shared responsibilities between slum dwellers and government. On the one hand, the program emphasized the participation and the contribution of the beneficiaries to the resettlement process. Similarly, the programs acknowledged and capitalized on the ability of low-income dwellers to mobilize informal resources. On the other hand, local governments were no longer acting as 'providers' but as 'facilitators', which saved them some resources (Pugh, 2001). Shortfalls of the scheme included the relatively low number of beneficiaries, the lack of understanding and clarity around the role of the private sector, the lack of planning around the location of new serviced plots, low or non-existent standards, and the failure to achieve cost recovery (Pugh, 2001). For instance, when assessing the number beneficiaries, Hope (1999) found that less than 6% of intended beneficiaries in Kenya, Zambia and Zimbabwe actually benefited from the scheme for the paradoxical reason of affordability. This was so because the transitional period between the demolition and the new establishment was not always well-negotiated (lack of slum dwellers' participation). Moreover, several evicted slum dwellers had difficulties accessing or being qualified for new serviced parcels due to lack of land titles and rights (the majority could not legally claim and prove their tenure right).
According to Peattie (1982) and Van der Linden (1992) notwithstanding the popularity of sites-and-services schemes with the World Bank and other donor agencies, the schemes have increasingly come under critical scrutiny.).

Cities Without Slums Action Plan: Post-2000s

The new century has called for new strategies and plan for slum. In 1999, the World Bank and the UN-Habitat initiated the Cities Without Slums (CWS) action plan, which constitutes a part of the United Nations Millennium Declaration Goals and Targets. Specifically, the action plan aims at improving the living condition of at least 100 million slum dwellers by the year 2020 (UN-Habitat, 2003). The main innovation in this policy is to move from the physical eradication or upgrading of slums adopted by past policies, to start to address one of the fundamental reasons why slums exist in the first place: poverty. The action plan recognizes that slums are largely a physical manifestation of urban poverty, and to deal with them effectively, future actions and policies should also associate urban and slum stakeholders in the poverty reduction or eradication campaign. This extended approach of Cities Without Slums (CWS) action plan is encouraging, but raises four important concerns. Firstly, poverty is just one of the components of the incidence of slum (Shatkin, 2004). The CWS is not comprehensive enough to determine other variables that also account for slum incidence. Such variables could include (at the macro and cross-country levels) debt burden, health issues, social and political instabilities and natural disasters. Secondly, the number targeted is far too modest to significantly change the number of slum dwellers by the year 2020. In 2000, it was estimated that 850 million people live in slums and it is projected that by 2020 the

number will reach 1.8 billion (UN-Habitat, 2003). Thirdly, there is no clearly defined variable to measure the 'improvement of living conditions' of 100 million slum dwellers. One can reasonably query how it will be possible to differentiate between 'improved living conditions' driven by CWS –in different cities, realities and contexts– and other city development strategies. Such uncertainty suggests that the operational and methodological components of the CWS action plan are yet to be defined or fine-tuned. Finally, the CWS action plan does not articulate what measures should be taken or formulated to curb the emergence of new slum. Similarly, there is no provision or indication as to what actions various urban 'stakeholders' at all levels (local, national and international) should undertake to reduce, if not stop, the mushrooming of new slums. Unless these concerns are properly taken on board, the ambitious 'City Without Slums' action plan remains a slogan. Apart from those discussed above, there were also other approaches which were implemented by the authorities of urban centres at various times and places as the reactions to the proliferation of informal settlements namely; demolition and regularization.

Demolition: Countries may enforce land-use policies and plans by adopting strict police measures, demolitions, and an increase of penalties for illegal occupations (United Nations, 2015). There were also other arguers on the necessity of eviction or demolishing of informal settlements. They argue that the regularization of informal settlement encourages the expansion of informality; hence, eviction is the best alternative (Hardoy and Satterthwaite, 1995; cited in Tilahun, 2002). Governments according to UNCHS (1996) usually justify eviction in one of the following three ways. The first is the necessity of the improvement of the beauty of cites. The second is that evection is necessary because, slum and informal settlement areas are were criminals and professional squatters are hiding themselves. The final type of justification by the government as per the finding in UN Habitat is the requirement for the redevelopment the area, for new public works. Those scholars who advocate of the necessity of squatter forceful eviction/ demolition emphasize that even though the informal settlement provides shelter for the settlers, its impact on the overall urban development is many folds. First, the spontaneous growth of unplanned urban settlement results in difficulty of integrating them with the existing city structure. Secondly, settlements are susceptible to hazards like, floods, fire, sanitation problem and environmental degradation. Thirdly, by encourage unlawful act the process also decreases the municipal income (revenue) from land and building tax. Finally, the informal expansion induces inefficient utilization of land and infrastructure and the difficulty of providing the necessary services and infrastructure (ORAAMP, 2002). Hence, demolishing indecent settlements took place in different countries. In Africa and elsewhere the implementation of the policy was the result of the then dominant design and planning paradigm of modernism whereby the master plan was the only means used to plan the city. Thus, the problem of slum growth was conceived as the lack of rationality provided by the master plan. These resolutions came in the early years of independence in most African countries and so they were embraced by politicians as one of the nation-building strategies. They were also embraced as governments' opportunity to give the city back to its people after their long elimination and isolation from urban life during the colonial times (Hamdi (1995).

According to UN Habitat (2003), demolition did not solve the problems of slums, but instead it shifted them to the periphery of cities, to rural urban fringes, where access to land was easier and planning control non-existent. The continuing spatial growth of cities brought about an endless cycle of new evictions and the creation of new slums on theperipheryofcities,outsidemunicipalboundaries,oritaccelerate dtheovercrowdingof dilapidated buildings within cities. Similarly, the unpromising results of demolition strategies started to open up new ways for handling the perception of slums.

Regularization: Formalization is frequently referred to as ‖legalization of informal settlements‖. Formalization measures may aim to address the lack of a legal ownership title for those squatting on state-owned lands (United Nations, 2015). This is usually achieved through legalization of the informal settlement or by correcting existing planning, zoning and construction irregularities in non-permitted construction or those with violated permits. These illegalities are usually addressed through:

- A revision of zoning and planning procedures, regulations and standards;
- a regularization and upgrade of informal settlements;
- applying controls and upgrading individual constructions in order to meet certain environment, health and safety;

Formalization projects vary according to policies adopted and priorities given by governments. For example, some countries legalize informal constructions built before a certain date, (excluding those that are built in environmentally sensitive areas) and some accompany the process with a legal reform of existing zoning and planning systems, the adoption of development monitoring procedures, or with provisions for affordable or social housing. A shift to regularization was based on the diversity of local situations, the legal and regulatory framework, and the failure of responses based mainly on repressive options and the direct and highly subsidized provision of land and housing by the public sector for the poorest segment of the urban population. Recognition of squatter settlements also fostered increased awareness at international level of the right to housing and protection from forced eviction, and the definition of new national and local political agendas in the context of an emerging civil society, as well asthe. Kombe (2006) argues that the move to regularize, formalize and improve the property rights of the poor in informal settlements is a welcome idea. However, considering the magnitude of the problem of informal settlements and their high rate of growth and consolidation, huge financial outlays would be required to regularize them. Sliuzas (2004)as quoted by Kombe (2006: 5) sounds a warning, adding that given the extent of the informal housing sector in many cities of sub-Saharan Africa and the weak public sector, the adoption and implementation of a comprehensive upgrading approach such as regularization has also been criticized as being anti-urban, dualist and an oversimplification of the complex urban systems that exist and continually evolve. It does not seem to address the root causes of the informal urban problem i.e. forces underpinning informal urbanization. The interventions seem not to offer solutions that can give rise to sustainable and functional urban growth, instead informal urbanization is growing day after day especially in the peri-urbanareas.

Upgrading: Upgrading programs involve employing locality-based improvement strategies designed to replace the various degrees of obsolescence and decay in settlement areas through the provision or improvement of basic services and physical infrastructure; for example, water reticulation, sanitation, garbage collection, storm drainage, street lighting, and paved footpaths and streets. Upgrading also entails the provision of community services such as playgrounds, schools, markets, shopping centers, and clinics. Upgrading slums does not entail housing construction, but certain residents might be provided with subsidized loans to improve their dwellings (Arimah, 2010). Although upgrading programs have produced some impressive results, they have been criticized on several grounds. These include the low levels of investment that have been incapable of rectifying decades of neglect and deterioration; the adoption of a project-oriented approach that has failed to ensure the necessary follow-up maintenance; hasty planning that allowed for little or no input from beneficiary communities, thereby resulting in lack of ownership and reluctance to pay for improved services; inability to address the more fundamental supply constraints of land, finance, and building materials; weak institutional and financial mechanism; and the absence of any clear focus on poverty reduction. Academics, researchers and developers hold conflicting views as to whether or not regulation is necessary. The ones against regulation argue that the bulk of urban development already is unregulated and is likely to remain so that regulation slows down development and adds to the cost. Besides, there are unwritten and social norms that do influence and to some extent regulate how people build. The proponents of regulation, on the other hand, point to the threats posed by unregulated urban development to people's health and safety. They also argue that owners with secure tenure tend to invest more in their property. The element of informality in the urban environment has long been seen as a setback to the general outlook of urbanity from the professional point of view and thus not fully accepted as a proper part of the city. In response to the perceived setback, a number of professional measures and strategies spearheaded by state institutions have been taken to rectify the situation so that urban quarters meet the desired standards of the city

Empirical approaches in Informal Settlements handlings: In this section experiences in informal settlement handling approaches from selected countries are presented. Countries selected are Malaysia, Argentina, Indonesia, Chile, South Africa and Kenya. Proposed policy and alternative housing package for squatters in Kuala Lumpur (Malaysia). The table below shows settlement identification criteria and administrative measures used by the Malaysian government. In the table below, experiences of other different countries are presented for comparative illustrations.

Lessons from the intervention policies: The discussion on approaches for informal settlement intervention from the 1970s to 2000s shows that most policies were based on a reactive approach than a proactive one. Policies were formulated to react to the problems already in place. As the causes of rising informality are complex, concerted efforts are needed not only to minimize the problems but also to identify the root causes. The critical factors affecting the formation of informal settlements are notably related to several major interrelated challenges.

Studies show that rapid urbanization and influx of people to urban area, lack of control mechanisms, inadequate formal land distribution, lack of resources, poverty and socio cultural factors are major causes of informal settlements. Similarly, inconsistent and complex legislations, unnecessary bureaucracy for land development and permission are additional factors contributing to the proliferation of informal settlements. The review clearly shows that despite a few 'best practices' recorded in implementing informal settlement policies, settlements have continued to dominate the urban landscape of most cities in developing countries. Some of the weaknesses of past slum policies are that conditions pertaining to the incidence of slums were not taken into account. Such conditions include the negative impact of international interventions (e.g., Structural Adjustment Programs), the impacts of neoliberal policies (e.g., liberalization and globalization), urban poverty (or income gaps), poor governance, socioeconomic and political instabilities, rapid urban growth rate, inadequate planning regulations, poor housing financing (Shatkin, 2004).

The trends of informal settlements in Addis Ababa: In the city, informal settlement that is commonly called *"CherekaBet"* (moonlight house), is increasing at a highrate. According to the study compiled by ORAAMP (2002), thesquatter settlement has already occupied a portion of land in the city. The area occupied by the informal settlement has gone beyond 10% of the urban landmass. According to the finding by ORAAMP. In 1988,there were only about 4,394 squatter/informal housing units in the areas like Akaki, Kotebe, Lidetaand Nifas Silikthat accounts for 1.6 percent of the total housing stock in the city (ORAAMP, 2002).The rate of the squatter/informal settlement as a percentage of the total house constructed during 1984 to 1994 was 15.7 percent. Out of the total of 94,135houses developed in the city during this period, about 14,794 were informal houses (PADCO, 1997).

According to ORAAMP (2000), the area of land under the informal holdings varies between 200sq. m. and 2000 sq. m. per household. There are about 60,000 dwellings in different squatter settlements of the city providing shelter for, more than 300,000 people (ORAAMP, 2000). Although the Addis Ababa Works and Urban Development Bureau have the power to demolish these settlements and control its tendencies, this does not seem to give long lasting solution to the problem of housing. Major informal/squatter settlements a relocated at the peripheries of the city at former woredas16, 17,19,24,27and 28 (at the south, south eastern, south western and Northeastern parts of the city) that are potential development and expansion areas (ORAAMP, 2001, cited in AR and Associates, 2002: 3).However, there is no significant squatter housing development in the Northern part of the city where there is no expansion possibility and where infrastructure development is limited. Here, topography plays a role. It is terrain, not the laws and regulations that has prohibited the squatter settlements (AR andAssociates, 2002: 3). According to the same source, an estimated 300,000 people live in the estimated number of 60,000 housing units in the squatter settlement areas of Addis Ababa.

Recent data on the informal settlement trends in selected sub-cities: Most of /informal settlements are observed in sub cities which are located in peripheral areas such as in Bole, Akaki-Kality, Nifas-Silk Lafto,Yeka and Kolfe-Keranio, Unique about these sub-cities is that there is no practically well demarcated boundaries with Oromia regional state which encircles the capital.

Table1. Practices from Malaysia

| Proposed action and housing alternatives	Identifying criteria
Resettlement	• The land is owned by the government • The land is owned for public purposes • Flood risk is high • Land value is high • The site is not appropriate for residential use
Improving	• The land is owned by the government • The land is required for the public purpose in the future • The site is not appropriate after the surrounding area has not been developed
Upgrading	• The land is not needed for public purposes • The site is appropriate for residential use • The site has a low flood risk • Land value is low
No action	• Squatters occupy private land • The site has no threat to health or environmental hazard
Low-cost housing	• The land is appropriate for residential use • The land is not needed for public purposes • Land value is higher than other areas recommended for site and services
Site and services	• The land is appropriate for residential use • Areas are near to the place of employment • The land is not needed for a public purpose • Land value low

Source (Healey, 1994: 25)

Table 2. Selective Experiences in Handling Informal Settlements in other countries

Experience from	Key Learning points	Sources
Indonesia	Emphasized multi-stakeholder process to enhance the physical, social, economic, and environmental, and governance dimensions of the urban poor and their rights to the city and through local political network arrangements.	Jones (2017)
Latin America Argentina Chile	• Illegal occupation of land is common in Buenos Aires for almost 80 years. The measures were evolving over years. • Chile had revised its housing policies six times to accommodate its problem from 1906-2009	Van Gelder , Cravino, and Ostuni (2016) Salcedo (2010
South Africa	South Africa's delayed urban policy Many politicians also believe that rural-urban migration should be discouraged because of social dislocation. sizeable government investment in housing and services has reduced the proportion of urban residents living in 'slums' from 46% in 1990 to 23% in 2009 Building low-income housing on the periphery Presented missing elements during informal settlements upgrading. Emphasized the need for supporting upgrading with comprehensive and sustainable social and economic programs	UN-Habitat 2013 Brown-Luthango; Reyes; and Gubevu (2017)
Kenya	There are Informal settlements, bulldozing, slums upgrading, and most recently emphasizing the right groups are advocating for shelter as a basic human right issue.	Ono and Kidokoro (2020)

Source: Daniel Bayera(2021).
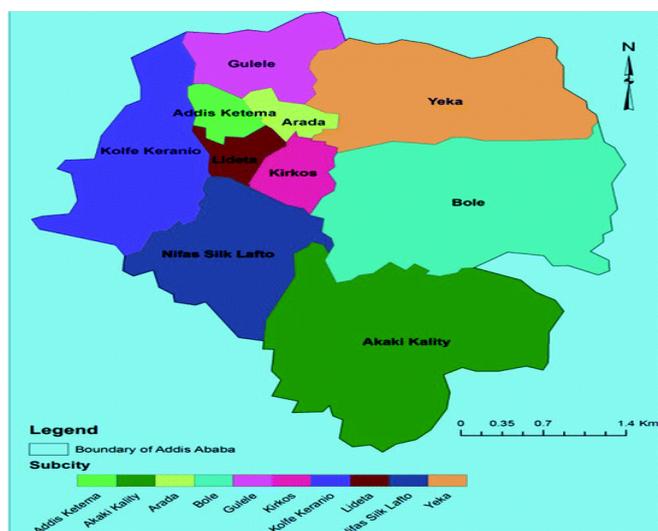
Source: Addis Ababa City Administration, 2015

Figure 1. The map of sub-cities in Addis Ababa
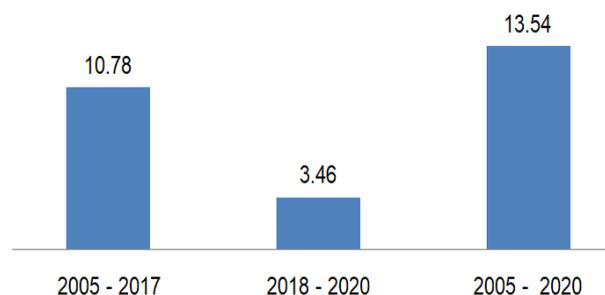
(Source: AACA, 2021) quoted Daniel Bayera, 2021

Figure 1. Illegally occupied land in millions of meter square (M^2)

According to the most recent study conducted by the Addis Ababa City Administration, illegal land invasion including informal settlement has shown a high increase. This figure included all land formerly given as legal but which remained not utilized for years; invaded land by various groups in the city and illegally occupied or expanded landed by multiple actors over years. As it is indicated in the figure above the area of illegally occupied land in the Bole sub-city has increased

Table 2. Trends of Illegal land occupation in various sub-cities in Addis Ababa

Sub-city	Year	Illegally occupied land in M^2
Yeka	2005 - 2017	1, 113, 260
	2018 - 2020	87, 182
Bole	2005 - 2017	2,139,639
	2018 - 2020	1,598,489
Addis Ketema	2005 - 2017	119,480
	2018 - 2020	92,418
Arada	2005 - 2017	71,855
	2018 - 2020	-
Gulele	2005 - 2017	23,208
	2018 - 2020	27,957
Lideta	2005 - 2017	42,207
	2018 - 2020	1,159
Kirkos	2005 - 2017	42,185
	2018 - 2020	66,616
Nifas Silk Lafto	2005 - 2017	3,338,837
	2018 - 2020	8,299
AkakiKality	2005 - 2017	447,289
	2018 - 2020	498,600
Kolfe Keranyo	2005 - 2017	2, 889,218
	2018 - 2020	677, 058

Source (AACA, 2021) quoted in Daniel Bayera.

Source: Daniel Bayera, 2021

Figure 3. Trends of Illegally occupied land in Bole and Nifas-silk sub cities for further illustration

dramatically whereas in Nifas Silk Lafto sub-city illegally occupied land is still significant but not as high as in the Bole sub-city.
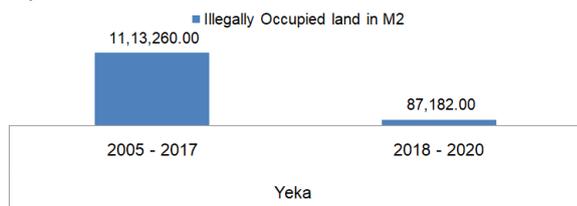
Source: Daniel Bayera, 2021

Figure 4. F illegally occupied land in Yeka sub-city for further illustration
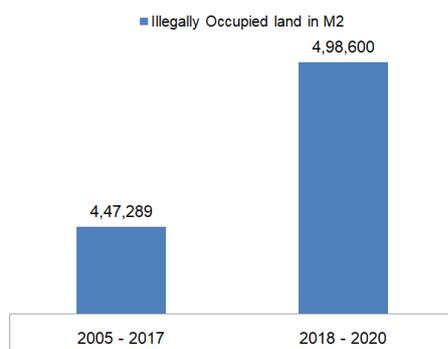
Source: Daniel Bayera, 2021

Figure 5. Trends of Illegally occupied land in Akaki-kality sub city for further illustration

Here, the total illegally occupied land areas in Akaki-Kality sub-city over the last two years were much higher than what was illegally occupied from 2005 to 2017.

Government Responses to Informal Settlements: The approaches which have been used to alleviate the problem of informal settlement in Addis Ababa range from demolition to partial regularization. These approaches, in general, can be divided in to three major groups: regularization, land supply and demolishing.

Regularization

In an attempt to manage the rising squatter settlements, the city administration issued various regulations at different times. The major ones are Regulation No.1 of 2000, Regulation No.2 of 2010 and Directive No.17 of 2014. During the year 2000, the city government issued *"Regulation Number One"* for the regularization of informal holdings occupied till the date of the title deed survey (July 1996). As indicated in the document, the intention of the regulation was to formalize the large number of holdings which have not been given legal recognition over many years. Besides lack of formality in the context of the then urban master plan and building regulation, parts of the holdings to be regularized were the legal holdings occupied during the imperial regime, prior to the proclamation number 47/75. The regulation states that:

> *Those illegal holdings serving for residential purpose and in conformity with urban development plan and for the unauthorized holder who fulfills other criteria mentioned in the regulation shall be regularized for once according to the minimum plot size standard of the City by entering in to the lease system within four years' time starting from the date on which the regulation came in to force.*

It was indicated that out of the 380,000 housing units, about 42,000 were outstanding applicants, who have not received the title book. Nevertheless, it was also indicated on page 2 of the regulation, under section 3.2 that the squatters whose locations were contrary to the urban land use system as per the then master plan, contrary to the urban service map, contrary to the road and power lines maps would be demolished so as to implement the activities as per the master plan. No compensation would be given to these types of squatters. Moreover, no legal recognition would be given to the squatters developed after the month of May, year 1996. Despites the regulation, illegal settlements have flourished in the city from time to time because of failure to implement law and order and abstentions from taking action after illegal residences are built. Abstention from taking action against illegal settlers refers to a situation where the concerned bodies consciously or unconsciously ignore the problems of informality either due to lack of capacity to tackle the problem or failure to recognize the existence of the problem in terms of its scale, intensity and severity. Another major problem is the misinterpretation and misunderstanding by the residents of Regulation No.1. The true intention of the Regulation was to minimize illegal settlements by legalizing residential houses built between 1975 and 1996 if they fulfill minimum requirements such as alignment with master plan and plot size not more than 175 square meters. The residents interpreted it to mean that all squatter housing units would be given legal status and recognition by the city government.

Thus the issuance of the regulation has contributed to the emergence of new waves of squatter houses instead of curbing it. For instance 400 squatter housing units were constructed in Bole sub-city around Bole Secondary High School in a very short period of time following the issuance of the regulation (ORRAMP, 2001 quoted in Minwuyelet Melese 2005:23).According to this study, 59.1 % of the respondents in another sub-city called Kolfe-Keranyo have built their houses after the issuance of the Regulation. Hence, the city administration was forced to issue more other legislations to contain a more dynamic proliferation of informality in the city. Parallel to legal and administration actions, the city authorities also used more actions such as land supply and demolition.

Urban land supply: Despite its limitation, the city government has provided thousands of plots to residents of the city. For example, from 1990 to 19996 E.C about 40,000 plots were distributed for different purpose (most of the plots for residential use). To support the low-income group, land for housing up to 175 sq.mis given free from charge. Besides this, especial emphasis was given and is still given to housing co-operatives. For example, of the total 40,000 plots supplied in the six years about 60% was given to housing co-operatives. However, despite all these efforts, there is a huge gap between demand and supply. The delay in providing land, insufficient institutional set up, unfavorable procedures and requirements in land supply etc are among the major factors that worsening the situation of land supply.

Demolishing: The city administration established an office with many responsibilities, paramount amongst which is demolishing task-force under it to control illegal settlements. One way through which this illegal settlement was being addressed is through demolition. This has been taking as one of the solutions to tackle squatter settlements. With this thousands of informal settlements were demolished. The office for the revision of Addis Ababa master plan (ORAAMP, 2002) has recommended that those squatter settlements found on 1070 hectares (54% of the total 2000hectares occupied by such settlements should be demolished and relocated. One of the main reasons given by office is "their location on critical sites preserved for other purposes (business and industrial districts, important public landmarks, green frame and block right of ways). However, demolishing /bulldozing of squatter settlements without giving the settlers any alternatives had never been a solution before and it will never be a solution in the future too. Despite the first bulldozing activities that destroyed 2,500 to 3000 illegal housings in 1988, in different woredasit could not however deter the proliferation of illegal settlements in the city (Haddish; 2001, cited in Daniel 2006). To be effective, therefore, "bulldozing "should be complemented by measures that address the housing need of the low income people. Otherwise, bulldozing alone produce nothing other than aggravating the problem.

CONCLUSION

One of the most vexing problems confronting many of the developing nations in the world today is the illegal occupation of land. This is generally known by the term "squatting." Its most frequent causes are the great increase in national populations, the surge of people toward the cities, and the incapacity of the affected nations to meet the needs of urban growth by providing the land and housing needed to accommodate their urban newcomers. To secure footholds in the cities, millions of people, in violation of law and ownership rights, have seized land and erected makeshift dwellings. In the cities of the newly emerging countries, squatter settlements are to be seen on hillsides, parks, roadsides, on unplanned land on the urban outskirts and even on valuable land in the cities' centers. As more people pour into the cities and appropriate land, governments are finding it more and more difficult to dislodge them or to prevent it from happening. Squatter settlements have greatly expanded and contributed to the unplanned and irregular horizontal expansion of the built-up area of the city. In such conditions, formal development and management of the city of Addis Ababa is very difficult. If there is no mechanism to halt such illegal development and illegal subdivision of land by squatter settlements, orderly development of the city will be impossible. The situation of squatting has a significant implication on urban development on one hand and the situation of the squatters themselves on the other. Various policies and plans have been taken versus informal settlements including those policies that cover wide range from compulsory demolition and withdrawal to construction of low-cost houses and social housing and land and services technique.

The researcher assessed the trends of squatter settlements. In order to achieve the objective of this study, secondary data sources were mainly used to analyze the subject. The findings indicate that though the city administration made attempts to prevent the construction of illegal settlements by issuing various regulations, the proliferation of illegal settlements has continued unabated. Thus, demolitions had taken place in parts of the city where preventive measures failed. Both in the implementations of the regulations and demolitions, the city administration faced many problems such as high temptation for illegal construction, population pressure, weak law enforcement and inefficient institutions.The causes of such squatting activities are population growth, inefficient land provision, the high cost of urban living standard, and illegal land grabbing by urban speculators. These settlements create challenges present for planners and urban politicians.

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