

Moving to Condominium Housing?

Views about the Prospect among Caregivers and
Children in Addis Ababa and Hawassa, Ethiopia

Agazi Tiemelissan and Alula Pankhurst



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Young Lives, Oxford Department of International Development,
University of Oxford, Queen Elizabeth House, 3 Mansfield Road, Oxford OX1 3TB, UK
Tel: +44 (0)1865 281751 • E-mail: younglives@younglives.org.uk

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Summary

This paper considers the views of caregivers and children in four sites in Addis Ababa and Hawassa about a condominium housing programme established by the government of Ethiopia with the intention of providing low-cost housing for the urban poor, especially for those living in sites designated for redevelopment. The paper provides insights into the ways in which the Young Lives children and adults perceive this new form of housing, what they appreciate and what they dislike about it, the extent to which they would wish to live there, and their assessment of whether they will be able to afford the costs. The paper also presents the views of officials and community leaders, as well as case studies of a few households which have already moved into condominium housing. The perspectives of families who will be directly affected by urban redevelopment have important policy implications in terms of addressing the needs of the urban poor, their preferences and priorities. The findings suggest the need for a range of options for financing access to condominiums for the urban poor, including more flexible, longer-term, inter-generational or group loans, and the formation of housing cooperatives. Alternatives to the condominium model should also be considered, since it does not seem to be a realistic option for the very poor without the benefit of subsidies.

The Authors

Alula Pankhurst is the Young Lives Ethiopia Country Director. He has a PhD in social anthropology from the University of Manchester and was previously Associate Professor in Social Anthropology at Addis Ababa University. His research has mainly focused on poverty, well-being, migration, food security, customary institutions, and social exclusion.

Agazi Tiumelissan is a Research Assistant for the Young Lives study in Ethiopia. He has a BA in Sociology from Addis Ababa University and has completed his course work for his MA in Sociology. He has carried out qualitative field research for Young Lives and the Well-being in Developing Studies research project.

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About Young Lives

Young Lives is an international study of childhood poverty, following the lives of 12,000 children in 4 countries (Ethiopia, India, Peru and Vietnam) over 15 years. www.younglives.org.uk

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Executive summary

This paper considers the views of caregivers and children in four sites in Addis Ababa and Hawassa about a condominium housing programme established by the government of Ethiopia with the intention of providing low-cost housing for the urban poor, especially for those living in sites designated for redevelopment. The paper provides insights into the ways in which the Young Lives children and adults perceive condominiums, what they appreciate and what they dislike about them, the extent to which they would wish to live in them, and their assessment of whether they will be able to afford the costs. The paper also presents the views of officials and formal and informal community leaders, as well as case studies of a few households which have already moved into condominiums. The perspectives of adults and children who will be directly affected if the expected urban redevelopment takes place in their neighbourhoods have policy implications in terms of addressing the needs of the urban poor, their preferences and priorities.

Attitudes towards the impending rehousing

Both adults and children expressed strong interest in living in condominiums – the more so in the three sites in Addis Ababa, where more than 70 per cent of the respondents aspire to live in condominium apartments. In all sites there was a stronger desire among children than among adults to live in condominiums, especially in the sites in Addis. However, even in the Hawassa site, where fewer than half the caregivers in the study said they would want to live in condominiums, more than half the children are keen to do so.

Despite the general enthusiasm for this housing option, respondents expressed some reservations, particularly in relation to livelihoods: people working from home, notably women preparing and selling food and beverages, were not confident of being able to do so from condominium housing. People who currently work in the informal sector close to their homes in the central areas doubted whether they would find similar opportunities in the suburban relocation areas. Concerns were raised about higher transport and living costs. Caregivers and children in the case-study families who had already moved to condominiums reported that children had to travel farther to school, at considerable cost to their families. Some respondents mentioned the limited areas of play space for children in the condominiums, and the lack of communal spaces and facilities. Some disliked condominiums for cultural reasons.

Hopes for a better living environment

Most caregivers and children (especially girls) perceived condominiums as being clean and having proper toilets. Having a separate kitchen was a feature appreciated by a significant majority of caregivers. More than half of all caregivers also expressed the view that they like condominiums because they represent a modern way of living, while slightly fewer than half of the children appreciated them for this reason. In relation to policy, these findings suggest that both the adults and the children appreciate condominiums and have internalised their representation as a modern ideal way of living which will provide potential improvements in their livelihoods, notably with regard to sanitation and privacy.

Concerns about the new facilities

Most respondents considered multi-storey buildings as potentially risky, especially for children, elderly people, the sick, and pregnant women, because of the external staircases and balconies. This suggests the need for improved safety features such as internal rather than external staircases, and higher balcony walls, and the need to consider ways of providing day-care, nursery and kindergarten facilities so that mothers are relieved of the constant need to keep an eye on small children. It also seems advisable to allocate accommodation for elderly, infirm, and disabled people on the ground floors.

Administration of the move

Registration for condominium housing seems to be closely linked to the likelihood of imminent relocation, since the two sites where relocation is planned have the highest proportions of households registered. Some people have not registered for allocation to condominiums, most significantly because they believe that they would be unable to pay for the accommodation. There was limited knowledge about the costs of down-payments and monthly payments, and about the duration and payments options for condominiums, which suggests the need for greater awareness raising.

Financial constraints

For financial reasons most respondents are not sure where they will end up living after the relocation. More than 80 per cent said they would not be able to afford the down-payment, and more than 60 per cent said they could not afford the monthly payments. Most respondents do not want to get a bank loan to cover the down-payment; even those who said they would want to get a loan did not feel confident of obtaining one. An even smaller proportion of respondents expected to be able to get a loan from a relative or to find another way of paying. The same was true for monthly payments. These findings suggest the need to consider a range of options for financing access to condominiums for the urban poor, including more flexible, longer-term, inter-generational or group loans; the formation of housing co-operatives, possibly linked to *iddir* funeral associations; sponsorship or partial payment by NGOs; donor subsidies; and mobilisation of support from the private sector and the Ethiopian diaspora. Alternatives to the condominium model should also be considered, since it does not seem to be a realistic option for the very poor without the benefit of subsidies. Such alternatives might include other models of low-cost housing on the outskirts of the city which would be linked to employment opportunities or skills development.

Conclusion

Even though the evidence is based on very few case studies, the concerns expressed in this paper suggest the need for policy dialogue on these crucial questions. Insofar as the urban poor who have been living and working in the city centre are to be relocated to the outskirts, and given that the costs of commuting to areas where they used to work are likely to be prohibitive, the development of income-generation activities and employment opportunities in the suburban relocation areas deserves serious consideration. It is also important to ensure that services other than housing, notably schooling, day-care, and kindergartens for children, are available when new condominium areas are being developed.

So far only three of the households have moved into condominium housing, and none of the Young Lives sites have yet been demolished. However, two of the sites are due for

redevelopment in the near future. The views of those who are likely to be relocated, and the experiences of those who have already moved into condominium housing, provide some indication of both the positive aspects as well as some of the potential concerns, particularly about the sustainable affordability for the poor, which deserve to be the subject of policy debate. The study underlines the importance of managing the resettlement process better by creating enhanced awareness about the conditions and options for obtaining condominiums, linking housing issues to access to income-generation, social support and services, and reviewing the condominium model to make it more flexible to meet the needs of poor people.

1. Introduction

This report is one of a set of three resulting from a Young Lives relocation sub-study conducted in four sites in Ethiopia, three in Addis Ababa and one in Hawassa, the capital of the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Region (SNNPR). The study investigates what happens to children and their families living in areas of these two cities that are due to be redeveloped. This second report focuses on housing and considers how children and caregivers view the prospect of moving to condominium housing, the advantages and risks involved, and their perceptions of their ability to afford the costs. The first report¹ presents the views of children and caregivers about their living conditions prior to the impending move. The present report considers how children and adults view their home and neighbourhood environment, and the extent of their social support networks. It seeks to document how children and caregivers understand and experience their lives in a context of urban poverty in sites which are considered to be 'slums', mainly in areas that are due to be demolished and redeveloped through urban renovation programmes involving both commercial and residential development. The third report will review the attitudes of children and adults about the planned relocation, and their hopes and concerns about the move. The report will discuss the respondents' attitudes towards relocation, and their assessments of the potential positive and negative consequences of relocation for social relations, access to services, and opportunities for employment.

1.1. Background: urban redevelopment and relocation

The urban landscape in Ethiopia is currently undergoing a fundamental transformation, with whole neighbourhoods in the centre of major cities being cleared for urban development. The urban renewal programmes have the twin objectives of promoting urban growth and providing improved housing for the urban poor. On the one hand, the clearing of areas without high-value buildings is viewed by developers as freeing urban space for the construction of office blocks, shopping centres and real-estate development. On the other hand, low-cost housing condominium apartments are being constructed by the government and offered to urban residents who were living in the areas that are being demolished and who can afford the down-payment and subsequent monthly payments. Some of these condominiums are in the vicinity of central areas that are being redeveloped, whereas a larger number are being constructed in the suburbs.

1 *Living in Urban Areas due for Redevelopment: Views of Children and their Caregivers about their Homes and Neighbourhoods in Addis Ababa and Hawassa, Ethiopia* (Young Lives Working Paper 105).

Worldwide, the redevelopment of urban centres for business and improved housing has historically led to displacement. The study of the process and consequences of relocation in Africa has focused mainly on rural resettlement, notably due to the construction of large dams, such as Kariba, Aswan and Volta, and irrigation projects (Brokensha 1963; Chambers 1969, 1970; Colson 1971; Scudder 1968, 1973; Scudder and Colson 1979, 1982). In the Ethiopian context the literature on resettlement has focused largely on rural-to-rural resettlement in the context of drought and famine in the 1980s (Pankhurst 1991; Gebre 2001; Wolde-Sellasie 2002; Pankhurst 2009; Dessalegn 2010). Until recently there were comparatively few studies of urban relocation in Africa, apart from the pioneering work of Peter Marris (1961), based on interviews with families cleared from Lagos slums.

The main body of more recent theoretical literature on reactions to resettlement focusing mainly on the household level is based on the equally pioneering work of Michael Cernea, who developed the *Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction Model* (IRR) (Cernea 1997, 2000), which was influential in moulding the World Bank guidelines on resettlement (World Bank 1998). The model rests on three basic concepts: risk, impoverishment and reconstruction. The major displacement-related impoverishment risks are landlessness; joblessness; homelessness; marginalisation; food insecurity and a decline in health; increased morbidity; loss of access to common property resources; social disarticulation; and risks to host populations (Cernea 2000: 22). Cernea first addressed the question of urban relocation in a World Bank discussion paper (Cernea 1993). He noted that there was limited research on urban displacement, and that the first studies were by sociologists in the 1960s in industrialised countries, writing mainly about slum clearance, particularly in the USA. Cernea noted that further sociological contributions came in the 1970s, including some ex-post impact assessments which influenced US legal regulations on property expropriation and compensatory payments. He argued that there was much less known about urban relocation in developing countries, and certainly not enough to influence domestic policies, legal frameworks, actual projects or donors' assistance programmes. He cited the influential study of *favela* relocation in Rio de Janeiro by Perlman (1976), and a handful of cases in Asian countries such as a study in Delhi by Misra, Girish and Gupta (1981), and a few in African countries such as a Nigerian case study (Adekolu-John 1988).

More recently Cernea predicted that urban relocation will become 'larger in Africa than population displacements in any other single sector, dam-building included' (Cernea 2005: 212). He further remarked: 'Against this imminent trend, the paucity of urban relocation in Africa's mega- and medium-size cities is hard to explain' (2005: 212). A UN-HABITAT scoping study on Guidelines and Practices on Evictions, Acquisition, Expropriation and Compensation suggests that there is 'evidence to show that market based urban displacement is on the increase as a result of economic development and globalisation' (UN-HABITAT 2010). A further UN-HABITAT publication assessing the impact of evictions notes:

Forced evictions are a global problem. Every year millions of people around the world are evicted from their homes and land, against their will and without consultation or equitable compensation. These evictions are carried out despite the fact that international law explicitly recognises the right to security of tenure and adequate housing; and has repeatedly declared the practice of forced eviction to be a gross and systematic violation of human rights. (UN-HABITAT 2011)

Poverty is seen as a major factor contributing to the eviction of the poor, as Olivier-Smith argues: 'it is their very poverty that subjects the poor to processes of displacement and resettlement' (2009: 18). The fact that the poor often lack formal security of tenure can make

them immediately vulnerable to removal from land that is needed or desired by the powerful. The fact that they live in terrible conditions can, in itself, become grounds for their eviction from an area, so that, through their removal, the assets of the wealthy are promoted (UN-HABITAT 2011).

The impacts of evictions can be manifold. As a result of evictions, people's property is damaged or destroyed; their productive assets are lost or rendered useless; their social networks are broken up; their livelihood strategies are compromised; their access to essential facilities and services is lost; and, as violence often is used to force them to comply, they suffer severe and lasting psychological effects. Indeed, the prospect of being forcibly evicted can be so terrifying that it is not uncommon for people to risk their lives in an attempt to resist; or, even more extreme, to take their own lives when it becomes apparent that the eviction cannot be prevented (Du Plessis 2006). The United Nations Centre for Human Settlements report (UNCHS 1991) distinguished between two levels of impact: (1) impact on the social organisation of the people relocated; and (2) impact on their employment and financial situation. It also drew attention to the impact on women, as a third category warranting special focus (UNCHS 1991: 38-40).

Cernea, using his IRR model, cites three studies of urban displacement: one in Mauritania (Faure 2004), and two in Ethiopia (Feleke 2004; Dinku 2004). The former was a case of successful resettlement of shantytown dwellers whose livelihoods improved, although Cernea remarked that this was not usually the case, citing his own study of 500,000 people, mainly refugees and squatters, removed from the Sudanese capital Khartoum (Cernea 1993). The study by Dinku of refugees from the war with Eritrea reports disarticulation of community solidarity and tensions between refugees and the inhabitants living in the area beforehand, but also reports re-articulation in patterns of mutual help, and development of new solidarities and ways of coping and adjustment, based on social and religious values. (The predicament and coping strategies of the same community have more recently been the subject of a book by Lewis Aptekar (2011).) The study by Feleke considers the peri-urban resettlement of peasants as the city of Addis Ababa expanded, highlighting the loss of housing and grazing, and dilemmas inherent in the use of compensation payments, which seldom led to the re-establishment of sustainable livelihoods.

There have been very few studies of urban relocation in Ethiopia from city-centre areas designated for renewal; most of them are master's theses at Addis Ababa University in Social Anthropology and Regional and Local Development Studies. Four of these focused on the families relocated from the area designated for the building of the Sheraton Hotel (Nebiyu 2000; Ashenafi 2001; Fitsum 2006; Ambaye 2006). These were a rather privileged group, provided with relatively good housing on the outskirts of the capital city; however, despite better housing they no longer had employment opportunities in the informal sector on which they had relied in the city centre, and also they faced daily commuting costs, which were initially subsidised. There was also a study by Dejene (2005) on the impacts of the ring road which split communities (Piguet and Pankhurst 2009; Pankhurst and Piguet 2009).

1.2. Urban development and the Integrated Housing Development Programme

The large-scale implementation of 'slum' upgrading and housing-improvement programmes is one of the biggest challenges faced by communities and municipalities in developing countries such as Ethiopia today: 'Such programs aim to overcome diverse problems, such as poor housing conditions, access to water, sanitation, insecure tenure, hazard risks, and

missing access to employment opportunities (Tsion et al. 2006:1). One of the main objectives of the urban-development policy of Ethiopia is to provide efficient and effective public services to urban residents (MoWUD 2007). Urban problems are rampant in Addis Ababa, as the city has been a melting pot for hundreds of thousands of people, coming from all corners of the country in search of better employment opportunities and services (UN-HABITAT 2008). Addis Ababa, the national capital, is a true primate city:² its population of about 3 million is 10 times larger than that of the second-largest city in the country, Dire Dawa. Although 35 per cent of the urban population live in the seven major urban centres in Ethiopia, 25 per cent of the total urban population are concentrated in Addis Ababa (MoWUD 2007; World Bank 2008).

Regarding housing in Addis Ababa, studies conducted in the last five years conclude that only 30 per cent of the urban housing stock is in good or fair condition. Cities have been attempting to deliver housing for their residents, but the strategies have been unclear and the achievements limited, given the magnitude of the problem. Addis Ababa City Government initiated a large number of pioneering and important strategies and projects during the Sustainable Development and Poverty Reduction Programme period from 2002 to 2005. These included new and innovative initiatives in integrated housing development, and Addis Ababa was taken as a laboratory for urban reform in the country (MoWUD 2007). In order to respond to the ever-growing need for low-cost housing in the urban areas of Ethiopia, the Ministry proposed to implement an 'Integrated Housing Development Programme' (MoWUD 2006). The objective of this government-led housing programme was to provide sustainable low-cost housing solutions to low- and middle-income urban dwellers in urgent need of decent dwellings (MoWUD 2006; UN-HABITAT 2010). The Ministry of Works and Urban Development describes the programme [IHDP] as follows:

The Integrated Housing Development Programme, combined with increased provision of land, infrastructure and services are intended to contribute to achieving MDG Goal 7, Target 10: *To halve, by 2015 (EC 2007), the proportion of people without sustainable access to safe drinking water and basic sanitation* and Target 11 – *By 2020 (EC 2013), to have achieved a significant improvement in the lives of slum dwellers (2007).*

One of the main aims of the IHDP is the clearing of 'slum' areas and the re-housing of their residents. Condominium housing is the type of building characteristic of this programme, consisting of multi-storey apartment blocks. This form of housing was promoted as a response to a growing shortage of land and housing (Mihretu 2005; UN-HABITAT 2010).

In the Ethiopian context, the term 'condominium', popularly known as 'condos', refers to an apartment that the resident owns or is entitled to, as opposed to one that is rented. It is thus generally used to refer to the form of housing tenure whereby each apartment unit is individually owned, while use of and access to common facilities is controlled by the association of owners, who jointly have ownership of the entire property (Alazar and Haas 2011).

The Addis Ababa City Administration launched ambitious low-cost condominium housing projects through the Integrated Housing Development Programme (IHDP) in 2006 to minimise housing backlogs, clear slums, and provide decent shelter to middle- and low-income groups (Ingwan et al. 2010).

2 A primate city was defined by Mark Jefferson (1939) as being 'at least twice as large as the next largest city and more than twice as significant'.

IHDP has a plan to reduce the city slum areas by 50 per cent by building nearly 400,000 new units nationwide within five years, for households living in predominantly run-down, rented accommodation administered by local *kebele* administrations in the inner city, where living conditions are congested. By 2010 a total of 80,257 housing units had been built in Addis Ababa alone, and the model is being replicated in other cities (Wessling 2008; UN-HABITAT 2010). The condominium buildings are designed in blocks of buildings consisting of three, four, or five storeys, containing one-, two-, and three-room housing units, with some blocks having four-room housing units on the upper floors and commercial space on the ground floors (Alazar and Haas 2011).

Although condominiums are supposed to provide low-cost housing for the poor and for middle-income households, they do not seem to be meeting their initial goals, as costs are so high that even many middle-income earners cannot afford the payment (Yewoinshet 2007; UN-HABITAT 2010; Ezana 2011). Moreover, even those households who are able to move to condominiums might be allocated flats on the periphery of the city, which restricts their employment opportunities and forces them to incur high transportation costs (UN-HABITAT 2010). The inability to pay the monthly mortgage and service payments forces many households to move out of their unit and rent it out (UN-HABITAT 2010). As a result, the condominiums programme may lead to a process of gentrification through which poorer people who are allocated to condominiums rent them out to better-off households. Gradually, this may lead to a situation where the urban middle class reside in and own the housing that was intended for the urban poor, who may be pushed to the suburbs, where they may not be able to find employment in the informal sector and may be unable to afford to travel to the city centre for work, thus becoming even more impoverished.

This paper provides background baseline data on the views of children and caregivers about condominium housing prior to the planned move. It will therefore provide important evidence to compare with experiences of the respondents after the relocation. Despite the desire of most caregivers and children to live in condominiums, the acknowledgement by large proportions of respondents that they will not be able to afford the costs raises important questions about the viability of these low-cost housing schemes for the urban poor and suggests the need to reconsider ways of addressing their needs. The indications from the case studies of the few households who have already moved raise issues concerning the need to consider income generation, employment and services, notably education, alongside low-cost housing schemes.

This paper is the second report produced from the relocation sub-study based on fieldwork carried out in January 2012. It considers views of children and their caregivers about the prospective move to condominium housing in four Young Lives sites in Addis Ababa and Hawassa, some of which are likely to be affected by urban redevelopment in the near future. The paper consists of four sections after this introduction. The first presents the views of caregivers and children regarding condominium housing. The second is concerned with the extent to which caregivers and children wish to live in condominiums. The third section deals with attitudes to registration and payment for condominium housing. The fourth section seeks to understand the expectations of caregivers about their future place of residence if relocation is carried out, and whether they expect to be offered condominium housing. The major findings and policy implications are discussed in the conclusions.

1.3. The context of the study and the sites

Young Lives is an international study of childhood poverty, commissioned and funded by the UK's Department for International Development (DFID). The research is conducted in Ethiopia, India, Peru and Vietnam, involving a longitudinal study from 2000 to 2015. In each country 3,000 children, in two cohorts, were included in the research. The younger cohort was born in the year 2000-01, and this group of children are the main subjects of the current study. The older cohort was aged 7 to 8 years old when the research began in 2001. In Ethiopia the research is conducted in 20 different sites, in the four major regions – Amhara, Oromia, the Southern Nations Nationalities and Peoples Region (SNNPR) and Tigray – and in Addis Ababa. In the twenty sites, three rounds of detailed quantitative household and child surveys have been conducted (in 2002, 2006-7 and 2009, with a fourth round in progress in 2013). In five of the sites, one site from each region, there have also been three rounds of in-depth qualitative research with a sub-sample of the children and their peers.

Young Lives has also conducted other sub-studies, and this paper is a product of one such sub-study. It uses data from a cross-sectional study called 'Relocation Sub-study', conducted in four Young Lives sites. Three are in Addis Ababa (Bertukan, Duba and Menderin), while the fourth site, Leku, is in Hawassa, the capital city of the Southern Region (SNNPR).³ In two of the sites in Addis Ababa (Bertukan and Menderin), relocation has been an issue of concern which has been raised in the previous rounds of the main Young Lives surveys. Both these sites are in the central part of the city, in areas where relocation is expected to take place. Likewise the site in SNNPR is in the centre of the city, and some relocation is believed to be likely. The fourth site, Duba, is on the outskirts of Addis Ababa. Relocation does not seem to be a major concern here, and the study included this site for contrast as a 'control' site.

Although all four urban sites are in poor areas in capital cities of the country and a major region, each of the sites presents particular characteristics which are worth describing, to provide a background understanding of the context.

Bertukan is located in the central part of the capital city in an old quarter developed during the Italian occupation, close to a major market where many of the households find casual employment in the informal sector. The site is heterogeneous in terms of ethnicity (Amhara and Gurage are the largest groups), and also of religion (with Orthodox Christian and Muslim communities included). Many Young Lives households rely on petty trade in the market, street vending, wage labour, sale of food and beverages, and carpentry. There is a large proportion of female-headed households, and some of the women concerned are involved in commercial sex work, for which the area is known. Several adjacent areas have already been demolished and are being redeveloped, and this area is also within the priority redevelopment areas. There are some condominiums in the vicinity, and some very poor people were able to obtain flats within them with the support of NGOs.

Duba is located on the outskirts of the capital city, in an area that was first developed as an industrial zone. The area is close to a main road and a major river, which is subject to industrial pollution from factories. The site is less congested than the two in the centre of the city. The area is mixed in terms of ethnicity, with Oromo, Amhara and Silte being the major groups. The main forms of livelihood involve wage labour, retail trade and street vending, and

³ The children and their families share a great deal of personal information with us over many years. For this reason, pseudonyms have been used – both for the children mentioned here and for their communities – to preserve anonymity.

some men work in factories. There is relatively good access to health and education services. There are no immediate plans for redeveloping the area, although there has been an increase in industrial development in the vicinity and along the road beyond the area, and roadside development may lead to some displacement.

Menderin is in the centre of Addis Ababa in a very congested area which has a reputation for being one of the poorest parts of the city, with badly constructed, crowded dwellings. The area faces problems of pollution from several sources, including a cigarette factory. The area is mixed in terms of ethnicity, with four major ethnic groups: the Amhara, Gurage, Oromo and Tigraway. The majority of the population are Orthodox Christians, although there are large Muslim and smaller Protestant Christian minorities. There is an important market in the area. The main forms of livelihood include petty trade, street vending, retail selling, woodwork and daily labour, and some residents earn wages in government agencies or private organisations. Several adjacent areas have already been demolished and are in the process of being redeveloped. Some condominiums have already been built in these areas. The area has been designated for redevelopment, and the residents have been informed that they will have to move.

Leku is located in an old neighbourhood in Hawassa, the capital city of the Southern Region (SNNPR). The ethnic composition of the site is heterogeneous, with three major groups among the Young Lives sample: the Wolayta, the Amhara and the Oromo; there are also a few Gurage, Tigraway and Sidama. In terms of religion the site is also mixed, with Orthodox Christians and Protestants representing the largest groups. In terms of livelihoods, most people in the community are engaged in informal-sector activities, notably petty trading, daily labour, street vending, or other forms of self-employment. Children are involved in such activities. There is a high prevalence of female-headed households. The community is considered to be very poor, and some NGOs have been engaged in distributing aid and educational materials locally. Some parts of the area are expected to be demolished for renovation, although the boundaries are not yet clear.

1.4. Methods and data

The relocation sub-study, carried out in January 2012, comprises both qualitative and quantitative components. In the quantitative study a total of 466 caregivers and 451 children were included. Of the 451 children, 299 (64 per cent) are among the Younger Cohort (aged between 11 and 12 years at the time of the study), whereas 152 (36 per cent) are among the Older Cohort (aged between 17 and 18 at the time of the study). Of the total, 232 (51.4 per cent) are girls and 219 (48.6 per cent) are boys.

In the qualitative component of the study, interviews were conducted with 79 children and their caregivers, 10 boys and 10 girls in each of the four sites.⁴ Key-informant interviews were conducted with people from formal and customary institutions in each community. Focus group discussions were also conducted with children, taking into account their gender and age cohort, with their caregivers, and with influential community members. Three Young Lives families who have moved to live in condominium houses (two of the families in their own apartments – one from Bertukan and the other from Menderin – and the third living in a rented condominium in Bertukan) were contacted for in-depth interviews to obtain their views

⁴ One boy selected in Bertukan has moved and could not be located.

about changes in their lives resulting from the move from their previous residence to the new housing in condominiums.

The quantitative data were analysed using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS), calculating percentage distributions, cross-tabulations and chi-square tests (χ^2). Chi square is an appropriate test, because most of the dependent variables in this paper are nominal scale variables. Chi-square tests at 0.05 significance level were run for children and caregivers across different sites and within the same site to test significance.

Qualitative data were analysed by considering interviews with similar categories of respondents together. Thus files relating to specific categories from the four sites were merged and reviewed together. The different categories included caregivers, Older Cohort boys, Older Cohort girls, Younger Cohort boys, Younger Cohort girls, as well as officials and community leaders, and also cases of caregivers and children from households that had already moved to condominiums.

2. Views of caregivers and children regarding condominium housing

Caregivers and children were asked for their views about a range of attributes of condominiums and whether they considered these to be positive or negative. The following section presents the likes and dislikes of caregivers and children, starting with the positive aspects.

2.1. Features of condominiums that caregivers and children appreciate

In Addis Ababa there has been more exposure to the condominium housing programme than in Hawassa, where some children had only seen examples on television. Some children had visited friends living in condominiums in the Addis Ababa sites, and others mentioned hearing about condominiums from classmates in school. A large majority of the caregivers and children said that cleanliness is one of the things that they like about condominiums. There do not seem to be significant differences between caregivers and children overall and in most sites, except the one in Hawassa (Leku), where a slightly higher proportion of children as compared with caregivers expressed positive views with regard to cleanliness. See Table 1. The difference between the views of children and caregivers across the sites was found to be statistically significant.⁵ However, the difference between children and caregivers within the same site was not statistically significant.

⁵ For caregivers $\chi^2=34.36$, sig.=0.00, and for children $\chi^2=39.46$, sig.=0.00.

Table 1. *Cleanliness*

	Caregivers			Children		
	Yes	No	Do not know	Yes	No	Do not know
Bertukan	88.6	11.4	0.0	81.3	18.8	0.0
Menderin	95.2	6.7	1.9	92.1	4.0	4.0
Duba	85.5	13.7	0.8	84.3	13.2	2.5
Leku	73.1	16.0	10.9	76.9	8.5	14.5
Total	84.5	12	3.4	83.4	11.3	5.3
	(N=393)	(N=56)	(N=16)	(N=376)	(N=51)	(N=24)

In Leku the advantages of cleanliness were mentioned notably in terms of the bathrooms. Genet's caregiver in Bertukan noted that currently her household does not have a place to wash; she explained as follows:

“We have a problem now with regards to kitchens and toilets. We don't have a space where we take showers now. We do so in our bedroom or in our compound.”

Officials and community leaders also emphasised cleanliness as one positive aspect related to moving to condominiums. They mentioned that with cleanliness and sanitation the health of the people will improve. However, a Health Extension Worker (HEW)⁶ in Bertukan said that some families are not looking after their toilets in their flats, and sanitation problems are the result.

The two families already living in their own apartments suggested that cleanliness is a major advantage of life in condominiums. They related this both to conditions inside their house and to the general external environment in the area; they mentioned that their previous house and area were much dirtier and more polluted. However, the child in the third household said that their previous compound was much cleaner than the one in the condominium, as the surrounding area is covered with waste, which presents a risk of spreading diseases.

The need for a proper toilet was also viewed as important by a large majority of caregivers and children, who saw this as an important attribute of condominiums. In the two sites where relocation is imminent (Bertukan and Menderin) and where living conditions are rather congested, higher proportions of caregivers and children appreciated condominiums for having proper toilets. The proportions were somewhat lower for the other two sites. Access to a proper toilet seemed less of a concern for children than for adults, cited by lower proportions altogether and in each of the sites. See Table 2. The difference is found to be significant across the sites for children and caregivers alike.⁷ However, differences between caregivers and children were found to be significant only in Bertukan.⁸

6 Health Extension Workers (HEWs) are frontline community health workers employed by the state, who are trained for a year at Technical and Vocational Education and Training Centres and assigned to work at community level in each *Kebele*. Their work focuses predominantly on preventive health care, under the country's Health Extension Programme involving 16 packages.

7 For caregivers it was $\chi^2=49.7$, sig. =0.00, and for children it was $\chi^2 =70.86$, sig. 0.00.

8 With $\chi^2 =6.71$, sig.= 0.04.

Table 2. *Having a proper toilet*

	Caregivers			Children		
	Yes	No	Do not know	Yes	No	Do not know
Bertukan	86.8	13.2	0.0	73.2	25.9	0.9
Menderin	88.0	9.3	2.8	87.1	5.9	6.9
Duba	71.0	29.0	0.0	63.6	33.1	3.3
Leku	75.6	12.6	11.8	69.2	9.4	21.4
Total	80 (N=372)	16.3 (N=76)	3.7 (N=17)	72.7 (N=328)	19.1 (N=86)	8.2 (N=37)

A caregiver of an Older Cohort girl in Menderin said that the good things about condominiums are that you have a toilet, kitchen and bathroom; and above all you are the owner of a house, so you are respected. However, Seifu's mother in Leku said that she had no experience of toilet seats and does not like the idea, and she suggested that she will never get used to it.

Some of the qualitative case material shows that it is not just the fact of having access to a toilet that is important, but also the privacy that it offers, as opposed to having to share one with many households.

Etenesh's family, who are now living in their own condominium apartment, said they did not have a toilet previously and used to be obliged to relieve themselves in a river; Nebiyu's family had shared a communal toilet. For these families, the flush toilet in their condominium is far superior to what they were used to. Nebiyu's mother, who used to live in Menderin, mentioned her relief at no longer having to queue to go to the toilet. Hafiza's family used to live in a *kebele* house with four rooms and a compound of their own; the caregiver said that although the cleanliness of the toilet is better in the condominium, the space in the room is very tight, making it awkward to use.

Although most boys and girls said that they appreciated condominiums for having proper toilets, the proportion of girls who expressed this view was higher in all the sites, suggesting that this is more of a concern for them than for boys. See Table 3. The significance test shows differences across sites for boys and girls.⁹ However, although the proportions of the girls' responses were higher in all the sites, the difference was not found to be statistically significant.

Table 3. *Having a proper toilet: the views of girls and boys*

	Boys			Girls		
	Yes	No	Do not know	Yes	No	Do not know
Bertukan	69.4	30.6	0.0	76.2	22.2	1.6
Menderin	86.8	7.5	5.7	87.5	4.2	8.3
Duba	56.7	36.7	6.7	70.5	29.5	0.0
Leku	66.7	7.0	26.3	71.7	11.7	16.7
Total	69.4 (N=152)	20.5 (N=45)	10.0 (N=22)	75.9 (N=176)	17.7 (N=41)	6.5 (N=15)

9 For boys it was $\chi^2=45.656$, sig.0.000, and for girls it was $\chi^2=28.912$, sig.0.000.

In all the sites and especially in the two sites where relocations is anticipated, having a room for a kitchen was valued by an overwhelming proportion of the caregivers. See Table 4. The difference was found to be significant for caregivers and children across the sites.¹⁰ The proportion of children considering kitchens as important was somewhat lower than that of caregivers, especially in Bertukan and Leku. In these two sites the difference was found to be statistically significant, while for the other two sites it was not significant.¹¹

Table 4. *Having a room for a kitchen*

	Caregivers			Children		
	Yes	No	Do not know	Yes	No	Do not know
Bertukan	84.2	15.8	0.0	63.4	35.7	0.9
Menderin	91.7	5.6	2.8	86.1	7.9	5.9
Duba	66.9	33.1	0.0	59.5	38.0	2.5
Leku	79.8	10.1	10.1	70.9	6.0	23.1
Total	80.2 (N=373)	16.6 (N=77)	3.2 (N=15)	69.4 (N=313)	22.4 (N=101)	8.2 (N=37)

However, the use of electricity and electric stoves and utensils for cooking was mentioned as presenting difficulties in terms of their way of living. Many respondents said that they cannot use firewood and charcoal in the condominium apartments as they used to, and were worried that electricity and electric utensils would be very expensive and unaffordable. Some officials also mentioned their concern that electricity costs in condominiums were too high for people who had previously used charcoal.

As with the case of toilets, one family now living in their condominium flat did not have a kitchen at all before the move, while the second one shared a communal kitchen. Both families therefore report improvements, although they raised the issue of the cost of electricity for cooking. The third family did not like the kitchen in the condominium, because it is small and electricity costs for cooking were high.

Regarding the importance of kitchens, as might be expected, there is a difference between boys and girls: overall there is a higher proportion of girls keen on having kitchens (72 per cent, compared with two-thirds of boys). See Table 5. This can be related to the gendered division of labour prevalent in Ethiopia, where girls from an early age assist their mothers with domestic tasks (Bevan and Pankhurst 2007; Heissler and Porter 2010). The difference between boys and girls across the sites was found to be statistically significant.¹² However, the difference was not found to be statistically significant within sites.

10 With $\chi^2=60.0$, sig.=0.00 for caregivers and $\chi^2=97.0$, sig. =0.000 for children.

11 For Bertukan it was $\chi^2=12.55$, sig.=0.02, while for Leku it was $\chi^2=8.00$, sig.=0.18. The chi-square test shows that the difference is more marked in Bertukan than in Leku.

12 With $\chi^2=46.972$, sig.=0.000 for boys and $\chi^2=53.857$, sig.=000 for girls.

Table 5. *Having a room for a kitchen: the views of girls and boys*

	Boys			Girls		
	Yes	No	Do not know	Yes	No	Do not know
Bertukan	61.2	38.8	0.0	65.1	33.3	1.6
Menderin	81.1	13.2	5.7	91.7	2.1	6.3
Duba	51.7	43.3	5.0	67.2	32.8	0.0
Leku	71.9	5.3	22.8	70.0	6.7	23.3
Total	66.2	25.1	8.7	72.4	19.8	7.8
	(N=145)	(N=55)	(N=19)	(N=168)	(N=46)	(N=18)

A child from Menderin who is now living in a condominium said that he liked the new kitchen, because preparing breakfast has become very easy in the apartment.

Overall the idea of living in buildings with several floors was not something that was appreciated. About half the caregivers said they did not think having several floors was a positive attribute of condominiums. Among children, however, just over half did view this as positive. There were site-specific differences, with much higher proportions of caregivers and children expressing positive views in one site located in the inner part of Addis Ababa (Menderin), which might be related to the experience of seeing some condominiums built in the vicinity. See Table 6. The chi-square test shows that the difference between caregivers and children is significant.¹³ The difference between caregivers and children was not statistically significant in Menderin,¹⁴ while it was significant for the other three sites.¹⁵ The difference between caregivers and children in Bertukan is not high in Duba and Leku, though it is statistically significant.

Table 6. *Buildings with several floors*

	Caregivers			Children		
	Yes	No	Do not know	Yes	No	Do not know
Bertukan	21.1	78.9	0.0	34.8	65.2	0.0
Menderin	81.5	14.8	3.7	84.2	9.9	5.9
Duba	21.8	78.2	0.0	39.7	57.9	2.5
Leku	64.7	25.2	10.1	55.6	18.8	25.6
Total	46.5	50.1	3.4	52.5	38.8	8.6
	(N=216)	(N=233)	(N=16)	(N=237)	(N=175)	(N=39)

Overall a higher proportion of caregivers have a positive attitude towards condominiums as representing a modern way of living, whereas just under half the children held this view. See Table 7. The difference between caregivers and children was found to be significant, except

13 For caregivers it was $\chi^2 = 172.67$, sig. = 0.00, and for children it was $\chi^2 = 153.85$, sig. = 0.00.

14 With $\chi^2 = 1.64$, sig. = 0.44.

15 The difference was highest in Duba, with $\chi^2 = 12.92$, sig. = 0.002, followed by Leku with $\chi^2 = 10.28$, sig. = 0.006, and finally Bertukan with $\chi^2 = 4.97$, sig. = 0.026.

for Duba.¹⁶ The other three sites show significant difference to a varying degree, with the highest degree of significance in Menderin and the lowest in Leku.¹⁷

Table 7. *A modern way of living*

	Caregivers			Children		
	Yes	No	Do not know	Yes	No	Do not know
Bertukan	55.3	44.7	0.0	40.2	59.8	0.0
Menderin	78.7	16.7	4.6	58.4	26.7	14.9
Duba	37.9	62.1	0.0	29.8	66.9	3.3
Leku	72.3	16.0	11.8	61.5	15.4	23.1
Total	60.4	35.5	4.1	47.0	42.8	10.2
	(N=281)	(N=165)	(N=19)	(N=212)	(N=193)	(N=46)

Most of the caregivers, and the children especially, mentioned that they liked condominiums because they are 'modern'. Some explained what they meant, relating this to the housing and building style, available services, kitchens, toilets and bathrooms, better sewerage, privacy and use of modern electric cooking facilities. Yordi in Leku and Yared in the same cohort in Menderin suggested that condominiums are modern because the housing style is new and a positive improvement on their previous housing conditions. This was also mentioned by the Older Cohort boys in a focus group discussion in Leku. They said that condominiums are modern because of the way the buildings are constructed and because of the services that are available. Younger Cohort girls in Duba mentioned in the focus group discussion that they liked condominium houses because they think that it is a modern way of living, where individuals and families sleep privately. Girls in the same cohort in Menderin said that condominiums are the expression of a modern way of living, because they have enough services and they house a lot of people. Older Cohort girls in Bertukan in the focus group said condominiums are modern, as they have private toilets and kitchens where no one bothers anyone else. Older Cohort boys in a focus group discussion in Menderin said condominiums are modern living places, as they represent a move from mud houses to cement buildings, and there is no sewerage problem.

A school principal in Leku argued that women will adapt well to life in condominiums, because condominiums have modern kitchens, toilets and bathrooms. The head of the *kebele* health officials in the same site said that condominiums represent a modern way of life, as people living in them will use better household utensils.

However, not all views were positive. Hamelmal's mother in Menderin mentioned that condominiums are modern, but she considered this as negative, because they are not suitable for most 'traditional families'. Zewditu in Duba said that condominiums are not appropriate for those who do not have a good income, as they require using modern electric equipment for cooking and other activities.

Interestingly, there were differences in terms of gender disaggregation, with a higher proportion of girls in all sites perceiving condominiums as representing a modern way of life.

16 Where $\chi^2 = 4.73$, sig. = 0.095.

17 The significance for Menderin was $\chi^2 = 12.095$, sig. = 0.002, for Bertukan $\chi^2 = 4.577$, sig. = 0.032 and for Leku $\chi^2 = 6.023$, sig. = 0.111.

See Table 8. This may well be related to girls' appreciation of kitchens, private toilets and a greater sense of security. Although the proportion of girls was higher in all the sites, the results were statistically significant only in Duba.¹⁸ However, the difference between boys and girls across the sites was found to be statistically significant.¹⁹

Table 8. *A modern way of living: the views of girls and boys*

	Boys			Girls		
	No	Yes	Do not know	No	Yes	Do not know
Bertukan	65.3	34.7	0.0	55.6	44.4	0.0
Menderin	34.0	49.1	17.0	18.8	68.8	12.5
Duba	75.0	18.3	6.7	59.0	41.0	0.0
Leku	15.8	57.9	26.3	15.0	65.0	20.0
Total	47.5 (N=104)	39.7 (N=87)	12.8 (N=28)	38.4 (N=89)	53.9 (N=125)	7.8 (N=18)

Only a little over half of the Older Cohort children perceived condominiums as representing a modern way of life; this proportion was even lower among the Younger Cohort, where there was also a significant proportion who said that they did not know. A much higher proportion of Older Cohort children in Hawassa view condominiums as representing modernity. See Table 9. The chi-square test shows that there is a statistically significant difference between Younger and Older Cohort children across sites.²⁰ However, when Younger Cohort and Older Cohort children were considered, it was only in Menderin and Leku that the difference was found to be statistically significant.²¹

Table 9. *A modern way of living: age-related views*

	Older cohort			Young cohort		
	Yes	No	Do not know	Yes	No	Do not know
Bertukan	45.0	55.0	0.0	38.0	63.0	0.0
Menderin	63.9	36.1	0.0	55.0	22.0	23.0
Duba	30.0	70.0	0.0	30.0	65.0	5.0
Leku	83.3	16.7	0.0	52.0	15.0	33.0
Total	54.6 (N=83)	45.4 (N=69)	0.0 (N=0)	43.0 (N=129)	41.0 (N=124)	15.0 (N=46)

The fact that condominiums can house a lot of families together in a limited space did not seem to be considered by the majority overall as a reason for appreciating them; however, there were site differences: this was seen as an advantage by the majority in Menderin and Leku, but was not appreciated by most in Bertukan, and especially Duba. See Table 10. The positive views in Menderin might be related to experience of some condominium housing close to the site, whereas in Leku in a regional city it might be associated with condominiums

18 With $\chi^2=6.550$, sig.=0.038.

19 With $\chi^2=59.773$, sig.=0.000 for boys and $\chi^2=55.019$, sig.=0.000 for girls.

20 For the Younger Cohort it was $\chi^2=86.476$, sig.=0.000, and for Older Cohort it was $\chi^2=24.496$, sig.=0.000.

21 With $\chi^2=11.032$, sig.=0.004 for Menderin and $\chi^2=16.370$, sig.=0.001 for Leku

being viewed as symbols of modernity. The lack of enthusiasm in Bertukan might be interpreted in relation to worries about being moved to the outskirts, whereas in Duba, which is on the outskirts of the city in an area where there is not yet serious congestion, it may be that shortage of space is not seen as a high-priority issue. The significance test indicated that the differences for caregivers and children were significant among the sites.²² Significance was also tested between caregivers and children within sites. The results show that the difference between caregivers and children was statistically significant in Leku and Menderin.²³ However, the difference in the other two sites was not statistically significant.

Table 10. *Bringing a lot of families together*

	Caregivers			Children		
	Yes	No	Do not know	Yes	No	Do not know
Bertukan	26.3	73.7	0.0	23.2	75.0	1.8
Menderin	64.8	31.5	3.7	53.5	31.7	14.9
Duba	15.3	84.7	0.0	19.0	77.7	3.3
Leku	63.0	28.6	8.4	58.1	15.4	26.5
Total	41.7	55.3	3.0	37.9	50.6	11.5
	(N=194)	(N=257)	(N=14)	(N=171)	(N=228)	(N=52)

Evidence from the qualitative sub-sample suggests an interesting difference between adults and children on the questions of bringing a lot of families together, with children more positive than adults, except in Leku. Hafiza, a Younger Cohort girl, who is living with her family in a rented condominium in Bertukan and on the whole preferred their previous *kebele* house, did however appreciate condominium housing because many people live close to one another there.

Girls in an Older Cohort focus group discussion in Bertukan, emphasising the aspects of privacy and security, mentioned that living in condominiums is much better than their current housing, as no one would bother them when they wanted to study or rest. In contrast, boys in the Older Cohort FDG in the same site mentioned advantages of condominiums as being that they are modern, with clean toilets and showers. They also added that they are safe and do not leak rain during the rainy season.

Other aspects of condominiums that were mentioned as positive included well-partitioned rooms, and the view that the different sizes of flats available are tailored to particular needs. One man in Bertukan mentioned that condominiums are allocated according to the needs of the households: one bedroom, two bedrooms, etc.

Respondents were also asked to state for which categories of people condominiums are most suitable. Most of them mentioned that condominiums are good for older children, for young people, especially the newly wed, and for those who go to work every day and return to their home only to sleep. Many also said that condominiums are good for rich people, as they are the ones who can afford the payment.

22 The chi-square value for caregivers was $\chi^2=125.981$, sig.= 0.000, and for the children it was $\chi^2=144.325$, sig.= 0.000.

23 With $\chi^2=16.094$, sig.=0.000 and $\chi^2=9.161$, sig.= 0.010 respectively.

2.2. Features of condominiums that caregivers and children dislike

The following section presents characteristics of condominiums that caregivers and children might be expected to dislike.

The presence of neighbours above and below had been assumed to be a feature that respondents might consider to be a negative attribute of life in condominiums. However, this assumption was not borne out, since overall only just over one third of caregivers mentioned this as a problem; children were even less concerned about this as a potential problem, with fewer than one in five children disliking condominiums for this reason. The exception was in Leku, where half the caregivers said they do not like condominiums because of neighbours above and below. This is perhaps because in this regional city many residents may not be familiar with living in multi-storey buildings, and many may be recent migrants to the city. See Table 11.

Table 11. *Presence of neighbours above and below*

	Caregivers			Children		
	Yes	No	Do not know	Yes	No	Do not know
Bertukan	31.6	68.4	0.0	17.0	82.1	0.9
Menderin	27.8	66.7	5.6	16.8	76.2	6.9
Duba	30.6	69.4	0.0	15.7	81.8	2.5
Leku	49.6	44.5	5.9	22.2	55.6	22.2
Total	35.1	62.2	2.8	18.0	73.8	8.2
	(N=163)	(N=289)	(N=13)	(N=81)	(N=133)	(N=37)

Although the proportion of those who said yes overall was small, the difference shows statistical significance for both caregivers and children.²⁴ The difference was also significant for within-site comparison for caregivers and children, except for Menderin. The significance was highest in Leku, followed by Duba and finally Bertukan.

That condominiums might be disliked as offering less privacy was also not borne out by the figures. On the contrary, only just over a third of caregivers and a little over a fifth of children overall considered this a reason to dislike condominiums. See Table 12. The significance test shows that there is a difference for both caregivers and children among the sites.²⁵ However, within-site comparisons of caregivers and children show statistical significance only in Leku and Duba, while the difference was not significant in the two inner-city sites.

24 For caregivers it was $\chi^2=31.658$, sig.= 0.000, and for children it was $\chi^2=49.129$, sig.=0.000.

25 The chi square test for the caregivers was $\chi^2=51.170$, sig.= 0.000 and $\chi^2=42.148$, sig.=0.000.

Table 12. *Less privacy*

	Caregivers			Children		
	Yes	No	Do not know	Yes	No	Do not know
Bertukan	29.8	70.2	0	17	81.3	1.8
Menderin	25	67.6	7.4	19.8	70.3	9.9
Duba	28.2	70.2	1.6	26.4	68.6	5
Leku	55.5	37.8	6.7	23.9	52.1	23.9
Total	34.8 (N=162)	61.3 (N=285)	3.9 (N=18)	22 (N=99)	67.8 (N=306)	10.2 (N=46)

The highest proportion expressing concern among caregivers was in Hawassa, where a little over half did see this as a reason to dislike condominiums, a view which may be related to a more rural attitude to space among recent migrants to this regional city. Differences between boys and girls on the question of lack of privacy were not very strong, since only 21 per cent of boys and 23 per cent of girls mentioned this.

However, anecdotal evidence from the case studies of households who had moved to condominiums suggests that in fact people find that the condominiums offer more privacy than the crowded housing where they lived before, since households have their own private space, separated from other households, and especially private cooking, washing and toilet facilities.

Hafiza's mother, who is now living in a rented condominium, argued that renting a condominium apartment gave her greater freedom than renting from the *kebele* or from people living in part of their houses and renting out the rest. She suggested that this was partly because they had private use of utilities like water and electricity, but also because they had freedom to come in and go out of the apartment, whereas in rented private accommodation there were restrictions.

The potential risks of living in buildings with several floors were perceived as problems by caregivers and children alike. A little over half the caregivers overall said that they did not like condominiums for this reason; however, the proportion of children disliking condominiums for this reason was a little under half. The dislike of multi-storey buildings is highest in Leku, among both caregivers and children. See Table 13. There is a significant difference among the sites for both caregivers and children.²⁶ Within-site comparisons between children and caregivers show strong statistical difference in Leku; while in Bertukan, although there was statistical significance, it was very weak, and in the other two sites there was no statistical difference between caregivers and children.

Table 13. *Dangers of multi-storey buildings*

	Caregivers			Children		
	Yes	No	Do not know	Yes	No	Do not know
Bertukan	46.5	53.5	0	29.5	69.6	0.9
Menderin	51.9	43.5	4.6	54.5	39.6	5.9
Duba	33.9	65.3	0.8	31.4	65.3	3.3
Leku	80.7	13.4	5.9	63.2	19.7	17.1
Total	53.1 (N=247)	44.1 (N=205)	2.8 (N=13)	44.3 (N=200)	48.8 (N=220)	6.9 (N=31)

26 The significance test figures were $\chi^2=76.149$, sig.=0.000 for caregivers and $\chi^2=86.149$, sig.= 0.000 for children.

Many people in the qualitative interviews also said that they did not like condominiums because they are risky for children. This was emphasised by those families who have already moved and are now living in condominium apartments. See Table 14.

Table 14. *Danger of staircases for small children*

	Caregivers			Children		
	Yes	No	Do not know	Yes	No	Do not know
Bertukan	74.6	25.4	0.0	58.0	41.1	0.9
Menderin	76.9	20.4	2.8	78.2	15.8	5.9
Duba	55.6	44.4	0.0	50.4	45.5	4.1
Leku	91.6	5.0	3.4	82.1	8.5	9.4
Total	74.4	24.1	1.5	66.7	28.2	5.1
	(N=246)	(N=112)	(N=7)	(N=301)	(N=127)	(N=23)

Asked more specifically about the potential danger of external staircases for small children, a much higher proportion of caregivers perceived this as a problem, representing three-quarters overall, and two-thirds of children. The concern was by far the highest among both caregivers and children in Hawassa, where there has been less exposure to condominiums. This is confirmed by the significance test, which showed this clear difference.²⁷ The only within-site significance between caregivers and children was found in Bertukan, but it was weak.

When we disaggregate the data regarding concern about risks from staircases by cohort, we can see that a higher proportion of Older Cohort children seemed to be concerned, which suggests less awareness among the younger children. See Table 15. The results for the two cohorts show statistically significant differences across the sites.²⁸ However, within-site differences were only significant in Leku.²⁹

Table 15. *Staircases dangerous for small children: age-related views*

	Older cohort			Younger cohort		
	Yes	No	Do not know	Yes	No	Do not know
Bertukan	63.0	38.0	0.0	55.6	43.1	1.4
Menderin	86.0	11.0	3.0	73.8	18.5	7.7
Duba	50.0	50.0	0.0	50.6	43.2	6.2
Leku	97.0	3.0	0.0	75.3	11.1	13.6
Total %	73.0	26.0	1.0	63.5	29.1	7.7
	(N=111)	(N=40)	(N=1)	(N=190)	(N=87)	(N=23)

In the qualitative interviews, many respondents raised concerns regarding children's safety. Some mentioned cases of children dying after falling from staircases or balconies in condominiums. For instance, in Bertukan Habib's caregiver, his uncle, said that he had heard that two children had died in condominiums by falling down from the stairs. Samrawit's

27 It was $\chi^2=56.516$, sig. =0.000 for caregivers and $\chi^2=63.872$, sig.= 0.000 for children.

28 The significance for the Younger Cohort was $\chi^2=37.338$, sig.=0.000 and for the Older Cohort it was $\chi^2=31.633$, sig.=0.000.

29 With $\chi^2=8.514$, sig.=0.036.

mother in the same site also said she had heard that a two-year-old child had died. The same caregiver who heard of the death of a child mentioned the need to watch over children all the time, and argued that condominiums are therefore not suitable for families with small children. Many children also mentioned their concern about living in multi-storey buildings. Samrawit in Bertukan, who appreciated condominiums, was still worried about the risks above the ground level. She said:

“I have heard that it is much better than the place we are living now. It has a living room, a bedroom, toilet and kitchen. But the stairs are scary for children. They may fall down and that is why people prefer the ground floors. The *foq* (upper floors) is not good for older people and children smaller than me.”

Hawa in the same site said that she is 10 years old but she would fear to climb the condominium stairs alone.

Concern about condominiums being difficult for elderly persons to climb stairs was expressed by more than three-quarters of caregivers, but by fewer than two-thirds of children. The concern was expressed by the largest proportion in the Hawassa site among both caregivers and children. See Table 16. Here again the difference between caregivers and children across sites was found to be significant.³⁰ Within the same site there was a significant statistical difference between caregivers and children in all the sites except in Menderin.

Table 16. *Difficulty for elderly persons*

	Caregivers			Children		
	Yes	No	DK	Yes	No	DK
Bertukan	80.7	19.3	0.0	49.1	50.0	0.9
Menderin	84.3	13.9	1.9	82.2	11.9	5.9
Duba	60.5	39.5	0.0	39.7	55.4	5.0
Leku	94.1	3.4	2.5	84.6	4.3	11.1
Total	79.6	19.4	1.1	63.2	31.0	5.8
	(N=370)	(N=90)	(N=5)	(N=285)	(N=140)	(N=26)

Likewise a very high proportion of caregivers and a high proportion of children in all the sites expressed concern that condominiums would present difficulties for the disabled, the sick and pregnant women. Here again the proportion of respondents with these views is highest in Leku, where there seems to be the strongest opposition to condominiums. See Table 17. The difference was found to be significant.³¹ Within-site comparisons of children and caregivers in Bertukan and Duba were statistically significant, but not in the other two sites. In all the sites there was no statistical difference between children and caregivers in within-site comparison.

30 With $\chi^2 = 56.585$, sig. = 0.000 for caregivers and $\chi^2 = 116.217$, sig. = 0.000 for children.

31 It was $\chi^2 = 64.632$, sig. = 0.000 for caregivers and $\chi^2 = 123.503$, sig. = 0.000 for children.

Table 17. *Difficulty for disabled and sick persons and pregnant women*

	Caregivers			Children		
	Yes	No	Do not know	Yes	No	Do not know
Bertukan	79.8	20.2	0.0	42.9	55.4	1.8
Menderin	86.1	13.0	0.9	83.2	10.9	5.9
Duba	58.9	41.1	0.0	39.7	54.5	5.8
Leku	95.0	2.5	2.5	85.5	4.3	10.3
Total	79.6	19.6	0.9	62.1	31.9	6.0
	(N=370)	(N=91)	(N=4)	(N=280)	(N=144)	(N=27)

Moving away from the area where they have lived, and separation from family and friends, seemed to be lesser concerns for caregivers in the three sites in Addis Ababa, Duba having the lowest score on these concerns. The concern in Leku is the highest, with more than 70 per cent of the respondents revealing their dislike of moving and the possibility of separation. See Table 18. This suggests potentially stronger attachment to social relations among these relatively recent migrants to the city. This was also evident in the statistical test, which showed a difference in significance.³²

Table 18. *Moving away from current living area and separation*

	Caregivers					
	Moving away from area lived in			Possible separation from family and friends		
	Yes	No	Do not know	Yes	No	Do not know
Bertukan	41.2	58.8	0.0	40.4	59.6	0.0
Menderin	47.2	51.9	0.9	39.8	59.3	0.9
Duba	15.3	84.7	0.0	13.7	86.3	0.0
Leku	72.3	24.4	3.4	71.4	26.1	2.5
Total	43.7	55.3	1.1	41.1	58.1	0.9
	(N=203)	(N=257)	(N=5)	(N=191)	(N=270)	(N=4)

The respondents in the qualitative interviews also mentioned other concerns. Many respondents revealed their worries about toilets leaking into the apartments of those living below. This may suggest an awareness that some of the condominiums are of poor quality, which has been a concern among residents and architects. Habib's caregiver in Bertukan said he had heard people fighting over a leaking toilet. Hafiza and her mother, who had already moved to a condominium, mentioned complaints from their neighbours below about their leaking toilet.

The opportunities to find work or sources of income generation are also concerns shared by many caregivers, officials, customary leaders and some children. The main reason is that people in the city centre can engage in informal activities near their houses for their daily subsistence. However, condominiums are not suitable places for people to engage in such informal activities. They are therefore not suitable for people who are involved in the informal sector working from home, for instance women preparing food and beverages for sale. Ayenew's mother in Leku expressed this simply by stating: "condominiums are not suitable for people who work for their daily living".

³² It was $\chi^2=94.395$, sig.=0.000 for moving away from area lived in and it was $\chi^2=93.319$, sig.= 0.000 for possible separation from family and friends.

The families of Nebiyu and Etenesh, who are now already living in condominiums in other parts of the city, also mentioned that the condominiums do not allow working opportunities which their previous localities had provided. Etenesh's brother had to remain with his friends in the previous locality, as it is very far for him to go to work as a taxi driver.

Distance to school for children is another disadvantage of the current living area in the condominiums for the families of Nebiyu and Etenesh. The children are forced to travel far and use transportation. This is causing them to incur additional costs.

Furthermore, both families mentioned that the cost of living is more expensive in the areas of the condominiums in which they are living than in their previous localities.

Other concerns relate to the cultural customs of grinding coffee, hosting various occasions, and celebrating holidays by slaughtering animals, which is customarily done in the home. For instance, Serkalem's caregiver in Duba said that condominiums do not allow for the Ethiopian way of coffee making, saying "We want to smell the coffee when it is roasted and hear when the coffee is ground".

Hamelmal's mother from Menderin said that condominiums are very modern and they do not work for most of the traditional families "as we like smoky things", suggesting that smoke fires and burning incense are important aspects of their customary way of life which would be lost in the new condominium environment.

Many female respondents also mentioned that condominiums are not suitable for washing clothes and putting them out to dry. This is because of the lack of space in the compound near the apartments, compared with the availability of such space (to varying degrees) in their current living place.

3. The desire of caregivers and children to live in condominiums

This section considers the extent to which caregivers and children, differentiated by sex and age cohort, expressed a wish to live in condominiums.

Overall there seemed to be little difference between adults and children in their wish to reside in condominiums. However, there were site-level differences. Whereas there was no significant difference between adults and children in one of the two sites due for relocation (Bertukan), there was a somewhat higher proportion of caregivers expressing a wish to have condominiums in the other site (Menderin). In the two remaining sites where relocation is less likely, we see only slight differences. Whereas in Duba a higher proportion of caregivers are keen on having condominiums, in Leku there is more enthusiasm among children. See Table 19. This may be explained by less exposure, more popularity of condominiums in the capital city and less of a need in Leku, a regional city where urban over-crowding seems to be less of a concern. The significance test also revealed this difference between caregivers and children across the sites.³³

33 The significance was $\chi^2 = 43.222$, sig.=0.000 for caregivers and $\chi^2 = 23.484$, sig.=0.001 for children.

Table 19. *Desire of caregivers and children to live in condominium housing*

	Caregivers			Children		
	Yes	No	Do not know	Yes	No	Do not know
Bertukan	79.8	19.3	0.9	78.6	21.4	0.0
Menderin	73.1	25.9	1.0	82.2	15.8	2.0
Duba	75.0	25.0	0.0	70.2	28.9	0.8
Leku	46.2	52.1	1.7	56.4	40.2	3.4
Total	68.4 (N=318)	30.8 (N=143)	0.9 (N=4)	71.4 (N=322)	27.1 (N=122)	1.6 (N=7)

There are differences overall between boys and girls in their desire to live in condominiums, with a higher proportion of girls, representing a quarter overall, wishing to live in condominiums, compared with just over two-thirds of boys. See Table 20. The difference between boys and girls across the sites was statistically significant.³⁴ However, the difference between boys and girls within the same site was not statistically significant in any site.

Table 20. *Desire of children to live in condominium housing: the views of girls and boys*

	Boys			Girls		
	Yes	No	Do not know	Yes	No	Do not know
Bertukan	79.6	20.4	0.0	77.8	22.2	0.0
Menderin	81.1	15.1	3.8	83.3	16.7	0.0
Duba	66.7	31.7	1.7	73.8	26.2	0.0
Leku	47.4	49.1	3.5	65.0	31.7	3.3
Total	68.0 (N=149)	29.7 (N=65)	2.3 (N=5)	74.6 (N=173)	24.6 (N=57)	0.9 (N=2)

There are also significant differences between cohorts in terms of their interest in living in condominiums, with a much stronger interest among the Younger Cohort children, among whom about three-quarters are keen to live in condominiums, compared with just under two-thirds of Older Cohort children. See Table 21. There was no statistically significant difference for the Older Cohort across the sites; but differences were statistically significant for the Younger Cohort.³⁵ The differences were not found to be statistically significant within the same site between Younger and Older Cohorts.

Table 21. *Desire of children to live in condominium housing: age-related views*

	Older cohort			Younger cohort		
	Yes	No	Do not know	Yes	No	Do not know
Bertukan	67.5	32.5	0.0	84.7	15.3	0.0
Menderin	72.2	25.0	2.8	87.7	10.8	1.5
Duba	62.5	37.5	0.0	74.1	24.7	1.2
Leku	58.3	41.7	0.0	55.6	39.5	4.9
Total	65.1 (N=99)	34.2 (N=52)	0.7 (N=1)	74.6 (N=223)	23.4 (N=70)	2.0 (N=6)

34 With $\chi^2=17.189$, sig.=0.009 for boys and $\chi^2=10.925$, sig.=0.001 for girls.

35 It was $\chi^2=25.367$, sig.=0.000.

There are many people who want to live in condominium houses, especially when they consider the area where they are living now. However, as we shall see, many believe that inability to pay for condominiums and the process of allocation make obtaining condominium apartments very difficult. For instance, Tigist's mother in Duba said that, while she thinks that condominiums are attractive, she does not believe that poor people like her need such kinds of beautiful housing. She said:

“It is a beautiful [type of] housing but it may not be good for poor people for two main reasons. First it is a somewhat difficult to cook with wood for those people who are used to using fuel wood and second the down-payment of the house is not affordable.”

However, not all respondents who could afford condominiums said they would want them. Kebebush's father in Bertukan said he would not have any problem in affording the condominium, as his children would be able to pay for him; but he did not want to live in condominium housing, because he regarded it as unsuitable for the elderly and small children, and therefore he did not get registered.

Likewise, Serawit's caregiver in Menderin said that the positive attributes of condominiums do not make her want to live in one. In addition to concerns about the cost, she saw disadvantages for the elderly and small children. She explained as follows:

“The cleanliness in the toilets and the physical setting don't impress me. I am an old woman living with my blind sister and several family members. In addition I think condominiums are not convenient for cooking and washing clothes easily. There is also a problem of safety for children and the elderly. Condominiums might be good for young people and able-bodied. The down- payments and the monthly payment are not affordable for people like us.”

4. Registration and payment for condominium housing

4.1. Registration

There is a significant difference between the two sites where relocation is expected to happen soon, where more than two-thirds of households have registered with the local city administration to obtain condominiums, and the two sites where relocation has not been much discussed, where under one-fifth of households have registered. The lowest registration is in the Hawassa site, where condominiums are only recently being considered and where most households are rural migrants to the city. See Table 22. The significance test also confirms this.³⁶

³⁶ It was $\chi^2=184.024$, sig.=0.000.

Table 22. *Registration for condominium housing*

	Registered for condominium	
	Yes	No
Bertukan	66.7	33.3
Menderin	87.0	13.0
Duba	17.7	82.3
Leku	13.4	86.6
Total	44.7 (N=208)	55.3 (N=257)

However, registration does not necessarily mean that the respondents will obtain condominiums, and there are long waiting lists. Genet’s caregiver in Bertukan said that three people had registered from their house, but they were not lucky enough to obtain condominium housing. Nebiyu’s and Etenesh’s families, who are now living in their own condominium apartments, had registered and obtained their condominiums after lots were drawn for them.

4.2. Payments for condominium housing

In general the knowledge of the caregivers about the amount of down-payment they will be required to make for the new condominium housing is low; more than two-thirds in Leku and more than three-quarters in the Addis sites (and as much as 90 per cent in Duba) did not know the amount. See Table 23. The difference was found to be statistically significant.³⁷

Table 23. *Knowledge about amount of down-payments*

	Know amount of down-payment		
	Yes	No	Do not know
Bertukan	17.5	77.2	5.3
Menderin	20.4	78.7	0.9
Duba	4.8	90.3	5.0
Leku	26.9	65.5	7.6
Total	17.2 (N=80)	78.1 (N=363)	4.7 (N=22)

There are many people who want to live in condominium houses, especially when they consider the area where they are living now. However, they consider inability to pay for condominiums to be the major problem that they face in obtaining condominium housing.

Miki in Bertukan suggested that it would be cheaper to build better housing where they live than to pay for condominiums. He said:

“Condominiums are not appropriate for us because of the high price. We will not afford it. It is good if we all build our own building at the place we are now. It is cheaper than condominiums. It might cost us 10,000 birr to build our own building here, but for condominiums, it might cost us 17,000 per month.”

³⁷ It was $\chi^2=29.518$, sig.= 0.001.

The Government and Public Construction officer in the sub-city where Bertukan is located said that the down-payment for condominium housing is 20 per cent of the total payment, and the monthly payment varies with the different types of condominium.

Although many respondents did not know about the amount of down-payments, some of the respondents expressed awareness in the qualitative interviews that the cost of condominiums was rising. Genet’s caregiver from Bertukan said that condominium flats were cheaper and more affordable in the past, but now they have become very expensive. He added: “They used to ask for 10,000 birr down-payment and now it has increased to 60,000 birr.” Hamelmal’s caregiver in Menderin also said that the down-payment is increasing: “For a one-bedroom house, people used to pay 3,000 birr in advance and for the entire payment of 35,000 birr, but now it has increased.” In Bertukan, Biruk’s caregiver, his grandmother, said: “*Iddirs* (funeral associations) were advising those who registered for condominiums to start saving money. Now the down-payment needed for a studio (one room) in a condominium building is at least 20,000 birr.”

The proportion of caregivers who said they could afford the down-payment is small: under a quarter in all sites, with slightly higher proportions in the two sites where relocation is imminent. See Table 24. However, the significance test reveals that it was not statistically significant.³⁸

Table 24. *Affordability of condominiums for caregivers*

	Afford down-payment		
	Yes	No	Do not know
Bertukan	16.7	81.6	1.8
Menderin	22.2	73.1	5.0
Duba	9.7	84.7	6.0
Leku	13.4	83.2	3.4
Total	15.3	80.9	3.9
	(N=71)	(N=376)	(N=18)

A UN-HABITAT study also notes the worries expressed by many respondents. The study points out that there are a number of unanticipated challenges facing the IHDP, the most pressing being the affordability of the units for low-income households, as the increase in the price of condominium apartments is resulting in their no longer being a viable option for many low-income households (UN-HABITAT 2010).

Most of the respondents in the in-depth interviews also said that they could not afford the down-payment. One male caregiver in Bertukan said he had registered for condominium housing, but he has no means of paying for it if he gets the chance. Birhane’s mother in Bertukan also said she could not afford the down-payment, but she could pay monthly instalments from remittances sent by her brother, which they currently use for their children’s education.

There were also some respondents who said they might be able to afford condominiums if the government or other NGOs supported them. Zeneba’s mother in Duba said she wants to have condominium housing and she hopes that the government may give her time to pay the

³⁸ It was $\chi^2=12.236$, sig. =0.200.

down-payment until her children grow up and can earn money. Miki's caregiver, his grandmother, living in Bertukan, said that two NGOs that support her children would support her to pay for the costs of a condominium apartment.

The IHDP has arranged different methods of payment and has tried to enable inhabitants become house owners. These measures include lowering the interest ratio for the poorest, introducing long-term payment periods and smaller first instalments, to ensure that all groups of the society are considered in the programme (Yewoinshet 2007). However, Ezana (2011) found that although the people in the Lideta development area were promised that they could make the down-payment in several instalments, this opportunity did not materialise because the bank did not agree with the arrangement.

Some respondents in our study hoped that they would be able to benefit from different arrangements in order to be able to afford condominium housing. Some respondents suggested they might be able to afford the cost if the period of repayment was longer. A male caregiver in Duba said he could not afford a condominium but would want one if the time of payment could be lengthened. Tadelech's father from the same site said he could not afford to pay for a condominium unless "God brings ways". However, he added that he is tired of living in a private rented house. He suggested that the government should give priority to those who have neither private nor *kebele* houses. He also suggested it would be important to lengthen the time of payment. Miki's grandmother said that her concern is that if she does not get support and if she is offered a condominium, she will die without paying for it.

Officials and community leaders confirmed that most of the people in their respective areas would be unable to pay the down-payment and monthly instalments. In Bertukan there are some people who got condominiums with the support of an NGO. They also mentioned that some people were unable to take advantage of their opportunity when their lot was drawn, since they were unable to make the down-payment. Some mentioned their concern that condominiums are not constructed for poor people at all.

The families of Nebiyu and Etenesh, who are now living in their own condominiums, were able to pay the down-payment through remittances received from adult children living abroad. They are also dependent on the remittance for their subsistence. This suggests that if these families did not have children to support them it is very unlikely that they would be able to afford the condominium flats in which they currently live.

In most sites little interest was expressed in obtaining bank loans to cover the down-payment for condominiums. The highest proportion was expressed by half the sample in Bertukan, and the lowest in Leku (just over a fifth). There was even less of a sense from respondents that they would be able to obtain loans. See Table 25. Overall, less than a third of respondents thought they could get loans, and this figure was under a quarter in three sites, less than a fifth in two sites, and only 16 per cent in Leku. In both respects the difference was found to be statistically significant.³⁹

³⁹ With $\chi^2=28.017$, sig.= 0.001 for the desire to obtain a bank loan for down-payment and $\chi^2=23.423$ sig.=0.005 for the ability to get a loan.

Table 25. *Bank loans for down-payment*

	Want bank loan for down-payment			Able to get bank loan		
	Yes	No	Do not know	Yes	No	Do not know
Bertukan	50.9	46.5	2.6	28.9	59.6	11.4
Menderin	38.0	62.0	0.0	20.4	71.3	8.3
Duba	41.1	57.3	1.6	24.2	71.0	4.8
Leku	21.8	76.5	1.7	16.0	74.8	9.2
Total	37.8	60.6	1.5	22.4	69.2	8.4
	(N=176)	(N=282)	(N=7)	(N=104)	(N=322)	(N=39)

Only a small proportion thought they could obtain loans from relatives, the highest being in Menderin (about a fifth). Other ways of paying were also rare, with about one tenth of respondents in Bertukan and Menderin suggesting that they could find other means. See Table 26. On ability to obtain loans from relatives, the difference was not statistically significant; whereas it was significant for other ways of paying.⁴⁰ Yonathan's mother in Duba, who said her household could make the down-payment, added that her husband could get a loan from his office.

Table 26. *Loans from relatives and other ways to make down-payment*

	Loans from relatives			Other way of paying		
	Yes	No	Do not know	Yes	No	Do not know
Bertukan	15.8	83.3	0.9	9.6	85.1	5.3
Menderin	22.2	75.0	2.8	11.1	88.9	0.0
Duba	8.9	87.9	3.2	5.6	91.9	2.4
Leku	13.4	84.0	2.5	5.0	88.2	6.7
Total	14.8	82.8	2.4	7.7	88.6	3.7
	(N=69)	(N=385)	(N=11)	(N=36)	(N=412)	(N=17)

There was even less of an interest in getting bank loans for monthly payments, with the highest proportion being in Bertukan (over a third of respondents). See Table 27. As with the down-payments, there was much less of a feeling that respondents would be able to get loans, with the highest proportion, reaching almost a quarter, being in Menderin. On both accounts the differences were statistically significant.⁴¹

Table 27. *Bank loans for monthly payment*

	Want bank loans for monthly payment			Able to get bank loan		
	Yes	No	Do not know	Yes	No	Do not know
Bertukan	36.0	62.3	1.8	15.8	75.4	8.8
Menderin	30.6	69.4	0.0	20.2	73.1	3.2
Duba	19.4	79.0	1.6	10.5	83.9	5.6
Leku	17.6	77.3	5.0	12.1	75.6	11.3
Total	26.0	72.0	2.0	15.3	77.2	7.5
	(N=119)	(N=336)	(N=10)	(N=71)	(N=359)	(N=35)

40 with $\chi^2=30.080$, sig.=0.000.

41 It was $\chi^2=22.098$, sig.= 0.009 for the desire to get a loan for monthly payment, and $\chi^2=24.455$, sig.=0.004 for the ability to get a loan.

Almost a fifth of respondents in Menderin thought they could get loans from relatives, and another fifth thought that they could pay in other ways. Proportions were considerably lower in other sites, suggesting that the desire to address the need for paying for condominiums is greatest in Menderin. See Table 28. Although there is a statistically significant difference for both ability to obtain loan from relatives and for other ways of paying, it was not very strong.⁴²

Table 28. *Loans from relatives and other ways to cover monthly payments*

	Loans from relatives			Other ways of paying		
	Yes	No	Do not know	Yes	No	Do not know
Bertukan	14.0	86.0	0.0	9.6	86.0	4.4
Menderin	19.4	78.7	1.9	11.1	88.9	0.0
Duba	8.1	91.1	0.8	5.6	92.7	1.6
Leku	6.7	91.6	1.7	5.0	88.2	6.7
Total	11.8	87.1	1.1	7.7	89.0	3.2
	(N=55)	(N=405)	(N=5)	(N=36)	(N=414)	(N=15)

The vast majority of respondents, more than nine out of ten, do not know what the monthly payment is. Very few said they knew, but the range of their answers is very wide, from 50 to 1,500 birr. See Table 29.

Table 29. *Knowledge of the amount of monthly payments*

	Monthly payments				
	50-200 birr	201-500 birr	501-1000 birr	1001-1500 birr	Do not know
	N	N	N	N	N
Bertukan	3	9	2	0	100
Menderin	4	2	3	0	99
Duba	1	2	0	0	121
Leku	0	2	5	5	107
Total (count)	8	15	10	5	427
Total (%)	1.7	3.2	2.2	1.1	91.8

Although the majority in all sites did not think they could afford the monthly payment, there were significant minorities who thought that they could, the highest proportion being in Bertukan, with over 40 per cent. See Table 30. There was a statistically significant difference on ability to afford monthly payment.⁴³

⁴² The significance was $\chi^2 = 18.235$, sig. = 0.033 for loans from relatives and $\chi^2 = 19.343$, sig. = 0.022 for other ways.

⁴³ It was $\chi^2 = 28.440$, sig. = 0.001.

Table 30. *Ability to afford monthly payments*

	Afford monthly payment		
	Yes	No	Do not know
Bertukan	42.1	55.3	2.6
Menderin	31.5	62.1	6.5
Duba	27.8	64.8	7.4
Leku	13.4	76.5	10.1
Total	28.6	64.7	6.7
	(N=133)	(N=301)	(N=31)

The vast majority of the caregivers do not know in how many years the payment for condominium housing should be completed. Among those who did express a view, the most common was 16–20 years. See Table 31. The statistical significance was not very strong.⁴⁴

Table 31. *Knowledge of the number of years required to complete payment for condominiums*

	5yrs	6–10 yrs	11–15yrs	16–20 yrs	21–25yrs	26–30 yrs	Do not know
	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Bertukan	2	3	0	14	1	4	90
Menderin	2	0	4	7	0	4	91
Duba	0	1	1	3	0	4	115
Leku	1	3	1	6	0	2	106
Total (count)	5	7	6	30	1	14	402
Total (%)	1.1	1.5	1.3	6.5	0.2	3.0	86.5

Yewoinshet (2007) gives the period of repayment as 20 years for a studio apartment, 10 years for one bedroom or three bedrooms, and 15 years for a two-bedroom condominium.⁴⁵ The Government and Public Construction officer in the sub-city where Bertukan is located said that the total payment must be completed in 15 years. This suggests a fairly realistic understanding among the small proportion of respondents who did express an opinion.

44 It was $\chi^2=17.875$, sig.=0.037.

45 The subsidy and number of years for repayment decreases for larger apartments to make it easier for poorer households to afford them on the assumption that poorer households will opt for smaller apartments.

5. Expectations about post-relocation residence and obtaining condominiums

This final section seeks to understand the views of caregivers about where they expect to be living after the displacement takes place, and in what type of housing they believe they will end up living.

There is a significant difference in expectations between the two sites in Addis Ababa where relocation is expected to take place soon (Bertukan and Menderin) and the site on the outskirts of Addis Ababa (Duba) and the one in Hawassa (Leku). More than half the caregivers in the two sites where relocation is expected to take place soon do not know where they will go if relocation takes place, whereas the proportion is considerably lower in the other two sites. Moreover, in these two sites most of those who did express a view suggested they would move to condominiums, whereas only small proportions mentioned condominiums in the other two sites. See Table 32.

5.1. Expectations of caregivers about post-relocation residence

Table 32 shows that, among those expecting to move to condominiums in the site nearer the centre of town (Bertukan), twice as many caregivers thought they would be moving to condominiums in the outskirts, whereas in the other site where relocation is expected (Menderin) slightly more respondents thought they would be re-housed in condominiums in the same area, which suggests a greater expectation that the central area will be used for urban redevelopment for business rather than for housing.

Table 32. *Expectations of caregivers about residence if relocation happens*

	In condominium in the same area they lived in	In condominium in other areas on the outskirts	In rented accommodation in other parts of the city	In rented accommodation on the outskirts of the city	In kebele housing	In other urban areas	In other rural areas	Don't know	No answer
Bertukan	14	29.8	1.8	0.9	21.1	1.8	0.9	26.3	3.5
Menderin	13	9.3	0.9	0	22.2	1.9	0.9	50	
Duba	3.2	8.9	5.6	0.8	15.3	5.6	1.6	58.1	0.8
Leku	3.4	10.1	5.9	0	5.9	10.9	2.5	39.5	21.8
Total	8.2	14.4	3.7	0.4	15.9	5.2	1.5	43.7	7.1
	(N=38)	(N=67)	(N=17)	(N=2)	(N=74)	(N=24)	(N=7)	(N=203)	(N=33)

Kebele housing was the other option mentioned in about a fifth of cases in the two sites where relocation is expected (Bertukan and Menderin), whereas this was seen as less likely in the other two sites, especially in Leku. Some people suggested that people who are unable to afford condominium housing will be given the chance of obtaining *kebele* housing.

However, we should not assume that people think that because they will be allocated condominiums they would expect to live there. One caregiver of a child in the Young Cohort

in Bertukan suggested that if her household obtained condominium housing they would rent the condominium flat and find cheaper housing for themselves.

There are many people who want to stay in their neighbourhood for various reasons, most notably for daily work opportunities in the informal sector, especially for women who work from home producing food and beverages. In Bertukan, Bereket's caregiver, his grandmother, said she would like to live in the same area until she dies, and she is praying that she will not have to move. Otherwise she would prefer to live in a *kebele* house with her neighbours and friends.

A few people thought that they could find alternative housing themselves and suspected that they would not be provided with housing by the government. Hawa's father, who lives in a private rented house in Bertukan, said the government might not have any plan to give them a substitute house, but he thinks can afford a house if he works hard.

5.2. Expectations of obtaining condominium housing

As with the registration, the expectation of being offered condominium housing was much higher in the two sites where relocation is expected to take place soon, with more than half the respondents suggesting that they thought they will be offered condominiums, and over two-thirds in Menderin, whereas in the other two sites only a little over one fifth expected to be offered them. See Table 33.

Table 33. *Expectation of being offered condominium housing*

	Expect to be offered condominium		
	Yes	No	Do not know
Bertukan	57.0	36.8	6.0
Menderin	67.6	25.9	7.0
Duba	23.4	72.6	4.0
Leku	21.8	56.3	22.0
Total	41.0	48.8	9.7
	(N=193)	(N=227)	(N=45)

When one compares the proportion of people who are registered with those who think they would be offered condominiums, in the two sites where relocation is expected those who said they would be offered condominiums represent a smaller proportion than those who are registered, suggesting some pessimism or distrust about whether they will be offered condominiums in these sites. In contrast, in the other two sites, where relocation is less likely, the proportion of those who think they would be offered condominiums is higher than those registered, possibly indicating a lack of concern about the issue, since the prospect is not imminent.

6. Interviews with officials and informal leaders

Officials working in government offices (in *Kebeles*, *Woredas*, and Sub-cities, including representatives of the Women's and Children's Affairs office, and health-extension workers and informal community leaders (leaders of customary institutions such as *iddir* burial associations and *iqqub* credit associations, religious leaders, and male and female community leaders) were interviewed about their views regarding condominiums housing. This section summarises their perspectives.

6.1 Official leaders

Generally officials emphasised the positive aspects that moving to condominiums entails. The Woreda Women and Children's Affairs representative in Bertukan said that the cleanliness associated with the new life in condominiums will definitely improve hygiene and sanitation, which will improve the health of the people who live in condominiums. The head of the Woreda Health Bureau and the Health Extension Worker (HEW) in Bertukan agree with this; they said that they had witnessed a great improvement in sanitation in the condominiums in Bertukan, compared with the residents' previous housing conditions. However, the HEW also mentioned her concern that some people continue to lead their lives as they used to previously and they do not clean the toilet regularly, which creates a sanitation problem. Likewise a sub-city official in Menderin said that the improvement of life in condominiums for people in Menderin cannot be over-emphasised; he said that, given the poverty levels and crowded and insalubrious housing there, one could hardly believe that the areas in which people are living are in fact in Addis Ababa. The head of the *Kebele* Health Bureau in Leku said that women's health improves in condominiums, with better sanitation and cooking facilities. Similar views were expressed by the HEW in the same site. The Woreda Health Bureau head in Bertukan said that most people in the area use charcoal and wood to cook their food and they have difficulty in using electricity in condominiums, because it is expensive. There is also a problem of lack of space for washing and hanging clothes. This is a concern mentioned also by the HEW in Duba and by other officials interviewed. The Woreda Education Bureau representative in Menderin said that students might be forced to drop out of school if they cannot afford transportation or school fees when moved to the suburbs.

All of the officials interviewed in Bertukan said that almost all the people in the area will be unable to pay the cost of the condominium housing unless they get some support. The Woreda Women and Children's Affairs representative said that most people would be unable to pay unless the Woreda linked them with loan services such as the Addis Credit and Saving Organisation. An NGO had assisted 14 needy women to acquire condominium apartments built in Bertukan.

A number of officials also noted that most people rent out their houses in order to pay their regular payment. The HEW in Bertukan said she knew some people for whom an NGO paid the down-payment. She added that because they could not afford to pay the monthly payment, they rented the flat and moved to some other place.

Regarding the types of household for whom condominiums might not be suitable, the Woreda Women and Children's Affairs representative in Bertukan mentioned her concern that condominium flats are generally not suitable for people living in Bertukan, because they lead a hand-to-mouth existence, reliant on daily work and engaging in very small informal businesses. This view was supported by her counterpart in Duba, who argued that such problems would occur even for condominiums built in the area, but the problem would be worse and they would find it much harder to survive if they moved to other places. The HEW in Leku also said that if poor women in the area are supposed to live in condominiums they will face difficulties in running their small businesses. According to the Woreda Women and Children's Affairs representative in Bertukan, children will adapt better because they will have a better environment in which to play and grow. However, the stairs are not good for small children. The Woreda Health Bureau head in Bertukan said that condominiums are good for people who have a regular income and for young people. However, they present difficulties for children, pregnant women and elderly people, which is a concern mentioned by most of the officials interviewed. The official who works in the same capacity in Duba agreed, adding that elderly persons might not be happy to live in condominiums because they will be separated from their current social networks.

6.2 Informal leaders

Most of the community leaders interviewed also mentioned positive aspects of life in condominiums, including the cleanliness, sanitation and general improvement of life in condominiums for those who can afford to live in them. A young woman community leader said: "The environment is clean and people have all the facilities they need in condominiums". She added that life in condominiums avoids contact and conflict with neighbours.

As with the officials, all of the community respondents interviewed mentioned their concern that most of the people living in their respective communities cannot afford the payment for condominiums. A respected male elder in Bertukan said that people who obtain condominiums rent out their flats to other people and rent cheaper housing for themselves. This is to enable them to cover the monthly payment and feed themselves. Likewise an elder in Menderin said that people who are allocated to condominium housing prefer to live in rented kitchens or the service quarters of people living in large compounds, because they cannot afford the monthly payment. The difficulty of payment is mentioned by an elder in Leku as follows:

"Condominiums are not constructed for the poor, since they cannot afford to pay. The poor nowadays are unable to pay for the *kebele* house they are living in now, which is by far cheaper as compared with condominium flats."

When people move to live in condominiums, they embark on a process of becoming members of new associations, as well as trying to retain links with the old ones. The leader of an *eqqub* credit association in Bertukan said that he had heard that *iddir* funeral associations perform well in condominiums and support people who want to start businesses. This view was supported by the *iddir* leader interviewed in Bertukan. An *iddir* leader in Menderin mentioned that people who moved to condominiums retained their membership of their old *iddir*, but because they are living far away they have difficulty in keeping their relations of mutual support with the people who remained in Menderin, especially when they faced problems.

A respected woman elder in Bertukan mentioned her concern that condominiums are not good for the elderly, especially when there is a shortage of water. This is a view supported by male elders in Bertukan and Duba. The male elder in Duba further mentioned that social relations will be adversely affected in condominiums and expressed a fear that elders may lose their current standing in the community. An elder in Menderin suggested that the relocation should be for young people and not for the elderly.

Several of the people interviewed mentioned their concern about work opportunities in condominiums. A respected woman elder in Bertukan expressed her concerns as follows:

“People here have their means of livelihood. Even when they don’t have anything, they can sell *qolo* [roasted grain for snacks], or vegetables at their door, and then they will have something for dinner. Nobody goes to bed on an empty stomach. But in condominiums, especially for elders if they don’t have an adult child or somebody else who supports them, it is going to be very hard, worse than our living conditions here.”

A respected male elder in the same community put it succinctly as follows:

“*Foq* [multi-storey buildings] cannot be good; the person whose livelihood is based on daily work may not live a good life after the move.”

Most people interviewed suggested that adaptation will be easy for young people, but not for elders. A respected elder in Bertukan said that condominiums are good for young people who have a regular income. However, he added that elderly people, small children and disabled people will face difficulty unless they live on the ground floor.

7. Families already living in condominiums

During the tracking that we conducted to locate Young Lives families, we found that two families (one from Bertukan and another from Menderin) had already moved into their own condominium housing. Moreover, while the relocation sub-study quantitative survey was being conducted, another YL family (from Bertukan) were found to be living in a condominium which they rented, very near the site where they used to live. Therefore these YL families were contacted for qualitative interviews after the quantitative survey. This section of the report presents their experiences and views as case studies.

Case 1: Etenesh’s family

This household with an Older Cohort girl registered to obtain condominium housing, and a lot was drawn for them. They were given a condominium flat in the south of the city after making a down- payment of 12,000 birr, which they were able to cover from remittance support from their daughter who is living in South Africa.

Etenesh’s mother mentioned many positive changes in their lives since they had moved into their condominium flat. In Bertukan they used to live in a *kebele* house with two rooms, which they were using for everything including cooking and taking baths. Now in the condominium they have a bathroom/toilet, kitchen, living room and bedroom. They also now have their own tap water, whereas they had to buy water while they were living in Bertukan. They did not have a toilet while they were living in Bertukan, and they used to go to the river to relieve

themselves; now they have their own private toilet. The house in Bertukan was crowded and not convenient for children to study, whereas now the index child can study either in the bedroom or in the living room. They said they are now happy, because they are living in harmony with neighbours, and because the area in which they are living is clean with fresh air.

One change affecting Etenesh is that her school is no longer close to their home, which means increased transport costs for the family. Absence of work opportunities is another problem that the family faces in the apartment, unlike their previous life in Bertukan. Her brother is still living in Bertukan with friends, because the new area is very far from his work as a taxi driver. There is no one who is working in the house, and they depend on the remittances they receive from her sister abroad. Besides, Etenesh's mother says she worries about very high living costs; she says that only rich people can adapt easily. There are no NGOs in the current area to support the index child, unlike before, which she sees as a disadvantage. She also suggests that condominiums are risky for small children and difficult for disabled people. However, she does not consider that there are problems for the elderly and for pregnant women.

Etenesh appreciates many of the changes in their new apartment, where they have a separate kitchen, toilet, living room and bedroom. Where they used to live before, they shared the toilet and kitchen facilities with other households. They used to buy water, whereas now they have their own tap water in the house. She also feels that their current living conditions have improved, since there is less noise and they have good relations with their neighbours, and there is no quarrelling, unlike where they used to live before. The negative aspects that she mentioned included the fact that the school is far away, that the condominium does not have an area for children to play in, and that since there are no work opportunities she is separated from her brother, who remains in the area where they previously lived, where he works as a taxi driver.

Case 2: Nebiyu's family

Nebiyu's family used to live in *kebele* housing in Menderin before they moved to live in the condominium housing in the south of the city. Nebiyu's mother registered, drew a lot, and moved to the condominium after they paid a down-payment of 14,500 birr, with the support of her daughter who lives in Libya and her son who lives in Gonder.

Nebiyu's mother was happy with the move to the condominium and mentioned many positive improvements in their lives. Their *kebele* housing had one only room, which served for all activities. Now they are living in a condominium flat with a separate toilet/bathroom, kitchen, living room and bedroom. In Menderin they were using a communal latrine and kitchen, which was not pleasant, but now they have their own private toilet and kitchen. She is especially happy because she no longer has to queue to use a toilet. In Menderin they used to wash their clothes in the road, because they did not have a compound, but now they are able to do so in their own apartment or on the veranda. They now have their own private water tap, whereas they were buying water every day while they were in Menderin. The single room that they had in Menderin was not convenient for the child to study, and the area was noisy, but now he can study in the living room or in the bedroom. The environment where they lived in Menderin was dirty and polluted, but now they are living in a clean environment where the disposal of solid and liquid waste is managed well.

However, she mentioned a few disadvantages in living in condominiums. The most serious is that it is not easy to get work and generate income, compared with their former life in

Menderin. Therefore they are relying on the remittances sent by their children. There are no NGOs who support children in the new area, although the NGO that used to support her child still does so. The school in the current area is also a long distance for the index child to travel. The cost of living in the new area is also much higher than in the area where they used to live. There is also the problem of transportation: public transport is not easily accessible, unlike where they used to live. She concluded that it is people with better income who live well in condominiums.

Nebiyu also considered the moved positively. He pointed out that, unlike their previous house, which only had one room, they now have a kitchen, toilet, living room and bedroom. Moreover, the kitchen and toilet are private, whereas they used to share these with many people in their previous house. He especially likes the kitchen, because he can prepare breakfast easily. They also have their own tap water, whereas they were obliged to buy water earlier. The environment now is very clean, because they dispose of waste properly. The condition of the flat is also good, as it is new, whereas their previous house was damaged and did not have a strong roof and walls. He added that the area where they live now is safe and quiet. The things he dislikes are that his school is very far away now, and he does not have sufficient space to play. However, he said that the teachers are good, and the school as a library. He also said that the price of goods is much higher where they live now, although the quality of goods is better. He is not happy that they are very far from relatives and his former friends, so that they have to incur transport costs in order to go back to visit.

Case 3: Hafiza's family

The caregiver of Hafiza, a Younger Cohort child who lives in Bertukan, moved to a rented condominium in the same neighbourhood. They are living about five minutes' walk from their previous house. Paying the rent is not a problem, because they have a regular income. But they are now planning to move out, as the owner is demanding more rent.

Hafiza's mother mentioned a number of improvements in their quality of life. The flat is in a quiet place compared with where they were living previously, and the environment is clean. The quality of the water is also good, whereas the water in their previous house used to smell bad at times. They also now have a private kitchen and toilet.

However, there are some problems and aspects of their current living conditions that are less attractive. The compound in the previous house was good for her child to play in, unlike the condominium compound. The supply of water is not sufficient in their current house. The size of the kitchen and toilet is small, compared with the ones they had previously. Hafiza's mother also mentioned that theft is a threat for the family now, so they cannot all leave the house at the same time. People in the lower floors complain about noise and water leaking. She expressed the view that condominiums are good for young people but not safe for small children.

Hafiza sees some advantages in the new condominium housing, especially the fact that the toilet is private. She also said she likes the fact that there are many people living in the area. However, on balance she says she would prefer to live in their previous house, for a number of reasons. They used to have a compound in which she was happy to play; she could also play in the house, as there was enough space. Now she cannot do so because the people living below them complain about noise, and also about water leaking. She does not like the compound of the condominium, as its surroundings are filled with waste and bad smells which could spread diseases. She also mentioned that the stairs are not safe for children. Besides, theft is a risk in the condominium, unlike in their previous area.

8. Conclusions

This paper has considered the views of caregivers and children in four sites in Addis Ababa and Hawassa about the condominium housing programme established by the government with the intention of providing low-cost housing for the urban poor, especially from sites designated for redevelopment. The paper provides insights into the ways in which the Young Lives children and adults perceive condominiums, what they appreciate and what they dislike about them, the extent to which they would wish to live in them, and their assessment as to whether they will be able to afford the costs. The paper also presents the views of officials and formal and informal community leaders, as well as case studies of a few households that have already moved into condominiums. The perspectives and perceptions of adults and children, who will be directly implicated if, as expected, urban redevelopment takes place in the areas where they live, have policy implications in terms of the ways in which the needs of the urban poor can be addressed, their preferences and priorities.

Attitudes towards the impending rehousing

Both adults and children expressed strong interest in living in condominiums. This was more so in the three sites in Addis Ababa, where more than 70 per cent of the respondents aspire to live in condominium apartments. In all sites there was a stronger desire among children than among adults to live in condominiums. This figure was again higher in the sites in Addis Ababa. However, even in the Hawassa site, where fewer than half the caregivers said they would want to live in condominiums, more than half the children are keen to do so. The proportion of respondents who desire to live in condominiums does not differ much in terms of the sex of children, but there are differences in terms of age cohort, since a higher proportion of Younger Cohort children (75 per cent) are enthusiastic about living in condominiums, compared with 65 per cent for Older Cohort children.

However, there were some respondents who were not registered for condominiums and who do not want to live in them, for various reasons. Some of these concerns related to condominiums being uncomfortable, or worries about the durability or strength of the buildings. One family living in a rented condominium in Bertukan said they preferred their previous *kebele* house. This might suggest that people who are living in relatively good housing and compounds may not want to move to condominiums. In relation to policy, the findings suggest a general enthusiasm for this housing option among both adults and children; however, some concerns about the quality and durability of the housing were voiced, even though the respondents have not experienced living in them. Other concerns related to livelihoods and the needs of people working from home, notably women preparing and selling food and beverages, who felt that they could not do this from condominium housing. Moreover, people expressed doubts about their chances of finding work in the informal sector close to where they would live in the condominiums, unlike in the central areas where they currently live. Some respondents also felt that condominiums were not suitable for the cultural way of life, where coffee is ground and holidays celebrated by slaughtering animals in the compound.

Hopes for a better living environment

Regarding the positive attributes of condominiums, most caregivers and children perceived them as being clean and having proper toilets. Whereas in the three sites in Addis Ababa it

was mostly adult caregivers who appreciated the cleanliness of condominium housing, in the site in Hawassa cleanliness was appreciated by a higher proportion of children. However, regarding the importance of having proper toilets, the proportion of caregivers giving positive replies was higher than the proportion of children in all four sites, and especially in the two sites where relocation is expected to take place soon. There was also a gender-related difference among the children, since in all four sites a higher proportion of girls than boys emphasised the advantage of having proper toilets. Likewise, having a separate kitchen was a feature appreciated by a significant majority of caregivers, and the proportions were even higher in the two sites where relocation is expected. More than half the total number of caregivers also expressed a preference for condominiums because they represent a modern way of living, while somewhat fewer than half of the children appreciated them for this reason, although a higher proportion of girls than boys expressed this view. In relation to policy, these findings suggest that both the adults and the children appreciate condominiums and have internalised their representation as a modern, ideal way of living, providing potential improvements in their lives, notably with regard to sanitation and privacy.

Concerns about the new facilities

Asked about aspects of condominiums that they disliked, most respondents considered multi-storey buildings as potentially risky, especially for children, because of the external staircases and balconies; a greater proportion of caregivers than of children expressed these concerns in most sites. The highest proportion expressing these worries was in the Hawassa site, where there has been less exposure to condominiums, which are relatively new to the area. There were also age-related differences, as a higher proportion of Younger Cohort children were more enthusiastic about living in condominiums; however, they seem to be less aware than Older Cohort children of the danger for children. Most of the caregivers and children agreed that living in condominiums is difficult for the elderly, for the sick and for pregnant women. The proportions concerned about this were higher among caregivers than children and were highest in the Hawassa site for both caregivers and children. These findings have important policy implications. The dangers of children falling over the balconies or in the external staircases suggest the need for improved safety features, such as internal rather than external staircases and higher balcony walls, and considering ways of providing day-care, nursery and kindergarten facilities so that mothers are relieved of having to constantly watch out for small children to protect them from injury. The difficulties faced by elderly people suggest the need to prioritise allocation for the infirm and disabled on the ground floors.

Administration of the move

Registration for condominium housing seems to be closely linked to the likelihood of imminent relocation, since the two sites where relocation is planned have the highest proportions of households registered. There are a number of reasons why some people have not registered for condominiums, the most important being the belief that they would be unable to pay even if they were given the opportunity to obtain condominium housing. There was limited knowledge about the costs of down-payments and monthly payments, the duration of payments and payments options, suggesting the need for greater awareness raising.

Most respondents do not want to get a loan from banks for making the down-payments; among those who said they would want to get a bank loan, few said they would be able to

obtain one. The proportion of respondents who said they could get a loan from a relative or that they would have another way of paying was even smaller. The same was true for monthly payments: only a minority of the respondents want to get loans from banks, and fewer respondents think they would be able to get loans. Very few think they might get loans from relatives for monthly payments or that they might have some other way of covering the payment. These findings suggest the need to consider a range of options for financing access to condominiums for the urban poor. This could include more flexible, longer-term, inter-generational or group loans; the formation of housing co-operatives, possibly linked to *iddir* funeral associations; sponsorship or partial payment from NGOs; donor subsidies; and mobilisation of support from the private sector and the Ethiopian diaspora. It also raises the question of considering alternatives to the condominium model, since it does not seem to be a realistic option for the very poor without subsidies.

Financial constraints

Most respondents are not sure where they will end up living after the relocation, due to their inability to afford any form of alternative housing. Most said they expected to live in condominiums, whereas about a fifth thought they would be re-housed in *Kebele* houses. Although more than half the respondents in the two sites where relocation is imminent think they will be allocated condominium houses, most respondents said they could not afford the down-payment (more than 80 per cent) and the monthly payments (60 per cent). The findings suggest the need to look into what alternative options may be available for those who simply cannot afford the condominium down-payment and monthly payments if subsidies and support cannot be found. These might include other models of low-cost housing on the outskirts of the city that would be linked to employment opportunities or skills development.

Conclusion

Although the views of respondents about living in condominiums are generally positive, their inability to afford the payment leads most to be pessimistic about their chances of living in condominiums. Respondents in the qualitative sub-sample also mentioned their concern that their daily work or income-generating opportunities may be affected detrimentally if they are going to be relocated to a place away from the city centre. They also expressed worries about high transport expenses and living costs in the new relocation areas in the outskirts. Two of the families who were living in Bertukan and Menderin and who are now living in their condominiums in other parts of the city also shared this concern, reporting that the major problem they faced in the new area is related to work opportunities and the higher costs and limited availability of transport.

Other concerns expressed by caregivers and children in the case studies of families who had already moved to condominiums were that the schools for their children are now farther away, so that the families incur transportation costs, and that living costs in the new condominium areas are higher than in their previous locations.

Even though the evidence is based on very few case studies, the concerns expressed suggest the need for policy dialogue on these crucial questions. Insofar as the urban poor who live and work in the city centre are to be relocated to the outskirts, and given that the costs of commuting to areas where they used to work are likely to be prohibitive, the development of income-generation activities and employment opportunities in the areas in which new condominium complexes are being built in the suburbs deserves serious

consideration. It is also important to ensure that not just housing but other services, notably schooling for children, are available when new condominium areas are being developed. The findings therefore suggest that there is a need to move beyond merely providing housing to considering ways of improving the livelihoods of the urban poor and providing appropriate services alongside housing, notably day-care, kindergarten and primary schooling for the families that move. Some respondents also raised the question of limited play areas for children and the lack of communal spaces and facilities in the condominiums.

Although so far only three of the households have moved into condominium housing, and none of the Young Lives sites has yet been destroyed, two of the sites are due for redevelopment in the near future. The views of those who are likely to have to be relocated and the experiences of those who have already moved into condominium housing provide some indication of both the positive aspects and also some of the worries and potential concerns, particularly about the sustainable affordability for the poor, which deserve to be the subject of policy debate. The study underlines the importance of managing the resettlement process better by creating enhanced awareness about the conditions and options for obtaining condominiums; linking housing issues to access to income-generation opportunities, social support, and services, notably pre-schooling; and reviewing the condominium model to make it more flexible to the needs of poor people.

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Moving to Condominium Housing?: Views about the Prospect among Caregivers and Children in Addis Ababa and Hawassa, Ethiopia

This paper considers the views of caregivers and children in four sites in Addis Ababa and Hawassa about a condominium housing programme established by the government of Ethiopia with the intention of providing low-cost housing for the urban poor, especially for those living in sites designated for redevelopment. The paper provides insights into the ways in which the Young Lives children and adults perceive this new form of housing, what they appreciate and what they dislike about it, the extent to which they would wish to live there, and their assessment of whether they will be able to afford the costs. The paper also presents the views of officials and community leaders, as well as case studies of a few households which have already moved into condominium housing. The perspectives of families who will be directly affected by urban redevelopment have important policy implications in terms of addressing the needs of the urban poor, their preferences and priorities. The findings suggest the need for a range of options for financing access to condominiums for the urban poor, including more flexible, longer-term, inter-generational or group loans, and the formation of housing cooperatives. Alternatives to the condominium model should also be considered, since it does not seem to be a realistic option for the very poor without the benefit of subsidies.

About Young Lives

Young Lives is an international study of childhood poverty, involving 12,000 children in 4 countries over 15 years. It is led by a team in the Department of International Development at the University of Oxford in association with research and policy partners in the 4 study countries: Ethiopia, India, Peru and Vietnam.

Through researching different aspects of children's lives, we seek to improve policies and programmes for children.

Young Lives Partners

Young Lives is coordinated by a small team based at the University of Oxford, led by Professor Jo Boyden.

- *Ethiopian Development Research Institute, Ethiopia*
- *Pankhurst Development Research and Consulting plc*
- *Save the Children (Ethiopia programme)*
- *Centre for Economic and Social Sciences, Andhra Pradesh, India*
- *Save the Children India*
- *Sri Padmavathi Mahila Visvavidyalayam (Women's University), Andhra Pradesh, India*
- *Grupo de Análisis para el Desarrollo (GRADE), Peru*
- *Instituto de Investigación Nutricional, Peru*
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- *General Statistics Office, Vietnam*
- *University of Oxford, UK*

Contact:

Young Lives
Oxford Department of
International Development,
University of Oxford,
3 Mansfield Road,
Oxford OX1 3TB, UK
Tel: +44 (0)1865 281751
Email: younglives@younglives.org.uk
Website: www.younglives.org.uk