

**Newly Emerging forms of Neighborhoods in Ethiopia's Urban
Setting: A Study of the Living Conditions & Mode of Interaction
among Condominium Residents of the "Yeka Sub - City" of Addis
Ababa**

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Abstract

This study is concerned with the analysis of newly emerging forms of urban neighborhooding in Addis Ababa city related to condominium housing. It tries to examine the living condition and kind of condominium dwellers interactions in three selected sites of the Yeka sub - city namely Eyseuse , Yeka One and Kotobe. To understand this study, the researcher used both quantitative and qualitative methods of research, but with emphasis on the qualitative one. In this regard, interview, participant observation, focuses group discussion and case study were employed as tools for data generation. Besides, an extensive review of related literature was carried out. The findings of the research indicated that massive condominium construction launched by Addis Ababa city government since 2004 has brought about the emerging of new neighboring hoods form and new social-cultural interaction among its inhabitants. Compared to the forms of neighbor hoods relations in slum areas from which the current condo dwellers were relocated, the new modes of interaction are by far more individualistic, reserved and reducing communal forms of interdependence. Though there are emerging new forms associations, such as association of condo dwellers, since the high turnover of the residents and high renters percentage presence, old mutual help associations such as Eddir seem to decline. That happens mainly because most of the houses owners rented out their flats and moved back to the low cost slum dwellings to save money meant for condo payment. Yet it is possible to conclude that the process is

still at a too infant age to take a firm root, but the trend looks toward a more fragmented individualistic life style than the previous vibrant communalistic ties between neighbors.

Introduction

From the beginning of human species, housing is a basic human being need that is why our ancestors sheltered in caves. When sedentary way of life started, human beings begun to build shelters to protect themselves (Temesgen, 2000:1) However, adequate sheltering remains unmet for a large and growing segment of humanity (UN, 1991: 607).

Shelter is one of the necessities of man, one of the most important aspect of materials culture and considerably influences man's physical, mental and social well – being. That is why it has become a source of concern for governments, organizations and individuals throughout the world. Nevertheless the problem is more pronounced in third world cities, such as the case of Addis Ababa. The problem results not only in terms of shelter deficiency effects on the present population, but also more disturbingly through out implications on future generation in the light of the continued insufficient supply despite the growing needs (UN., 1991: 607).

Based on the United Nations International children's fund (UNICEF) 1995 report, 10 million people are dying annually in densely populated urban areas from conditions produced by sub standard housing and poor sanitation. About 500 million people worldwide are either homeless or living in unfit housing, which is threatening their life. The first social group to suffer from this problem is the urban poor (UNICEF, 1995, as cited by Abiy 2006). African residents live in life threatening condition and, as part of African socio-economic and demographic structure, Ethiopia also faced and faces similar problems under successive governments. The priority given to

housing was far less than what was required, leading the problem to the present dimension.

Yet, despite limited or poor success scores, efforts had made to solve housing problem of the city dwellers in general, and the urban poor in particular. During the Imperial regime, in the 2nd and 3rd five – year development plan, the low cost housing project was launched largely using cheap local materials and support of credit system. These government sponsored housing schemes were meant to provide shelters for the middle and lower income households (Solomon, 1985: 66 – 67), while additionally a free land holding system was encouraging private ownership. Nevertheless, only small segment of the society i.e. the nobility; the clergy, the land lords, the military and few well-to-do were the real beneficiaries of the system.

As a result, majority of town low-income groups were totally excluded from access to urban land (Abraham, 2002: 23). In effect, the majority of urban dwellers continued to rely on rental houses for housing and many social interactions were of interdependence between neighbors, even though formal associations like today. The strong attachment and mutual collaborative system helped people coping up with the harsh urban realities.

Following the 1974 revolution, the prominent policy measure taken by the government was the Nationalization of Urban Land and Extra Houses in 1975 (proclamation No. 47/ 1975). Because of this policy measure, the involvement of private sector in housing development was strictly limited. As the result, the housing problem of the city rapidly increased. After the Derg regime, the Ethiopian people Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) took power in 1991; government adopted a market – oriented approach that encouraged private investors to engage in housing development. However, the contribution of the private sector in reducing the low-income group housing problem in the capital remained very limited. Moreover, a mismatch between housing price and the buying power of the majority of the residents was observed. In connection with that Office of

Addis Ababa Municipality (ORAAM 2002) report indicated that the majority (90%) of the total population of the city have no enough financial capacity to build its own shelter.

Last year the problem seems to increase even at a much faster rate. For instance, there were 453,000 people registered in application for condominium units in 2004/5. In addition to this, ORAAMP has registered on waiting list 241,432 units on waiting list in the year 2007. On the other hand, an estimated 240,000 additional units were required by the newly forming and immigrating household that is to mean a total of 481,432 needed by the end of 2010. On the whole it is presumed that about 2.4 million people would be in need of adequate shelter. To meet the huge urban shelter need, Ethiopia requires a substantial effort from both the public and private sector and the community at large.

Cognizant of the challenge, the Addis Ababa city administration has launched a condominium housing construction project to effectively narrow the demand - supply gap with five consecutive years –starting from the fiscal year of 2004. Until now, the Addis Ababa housing development project office (AAHDPO) constructed 81,000 houses out of the total planned 300,000. Moreover, it has so far managed to transfer 60,769 to the selected beneficiaries (AAHDPO, 2009: 10).

Yet, since the design of condominium house is different from what the society is traditionally familiar with, a direct influence on living style and community socio-cultural interaction is assumed to occur. This impact may be positive or negative, and, whichever way it will influence the living condition of the condominium dwellers, the related process has yet not been properly researched. The purpose of the current study is therefore to undertake a scholarly investigation to know the impacts of the emerging forms of condominium neighborhoods on the life style conditions and the socio-cultural relations of the inhabitants. To assess the living condition and modes of interaction among the condominium dwellers in Addis Ababa, the

researchers has selected and referred to three condominium sites in the Yeka sub-city.

Statement of the problem

The aggravated circumstance of the Addis Ababa housing problem is over urbanization. That is, the unbalance between the needs of the people of the city and the city's capacity to accommodate them. Above all, the inadequate supplies of new housing, due largely to rampant urban poverty, policy and administrative bottlenecks in allocation of land and tenure security, had exacerbated the situation. In general when people are forced to live in shanty area or on street, they will be exposed to adverse forms of culture deterioration. Their social interactions become also extraordinary (out of social norm), and that may lead the society and country to different kind of crises. At the same time, when people live in clean house, the society's behavior, social interaction, living culture, economic and political outlook may improve. That is why, in recent years, the Addis Ababa city government is taking a number of measures to alleviate the housing problem in the city.

However the condominium housing, which is one of the integral elements of the renewal programs of the city, has its own impact on neighborhood relations. Though it has become a distinguishing feature of the change in the city, which is not the only related change, since it goes in tandem with the overall agenda of the current government's urban policy. In fact it is assumed that the condominium housing, a low-cost housing program to address the problem for lower and middle-income groups, can even favorite a better use of urban land and create job opportunities. Yet, although the construction of condominium houses contributed to the reduction of some of the problem just mentioned, we cannot still say it has

brought a significant change in resolving the housing shortage but much remains to be done in that regard.

The condominium houses recently launched in Addis not only changed the outlook of the city, but also the nature of its neighborhood interaction. Previous modes of community interactions, inter-personal relations or interdependences in times of joy and despair such as wedding and death events, as well as community's modes of organizations, are involved in the change process, largely due to the nature of the new houses and the relocation of people from their previous places of domicile to new areas. Thus, this study tries to explore these changes and their impacts upon neighborhood relations by answering the following salient research questions:

- What forms of changes were observed in and around newly built condominiums?
- What is the trend of these changes, and how people evaluate and cope up with the new way of life – see interpersonal and group relations?
- Which new elements of culture and forms of neighborhood interactions are emerging and which old practices are vanishing in this process?
- Which are the impacts of these changes on the social well-being of the condominium residents?
- Which mechanisms are present to ease adverse impacts of these changes?

Specific Objectives

- to assess the overall situation of the selected condominium sites;

- to evaluate the habitability of the condominium houses built at the selected sites;
- to identify and describe the newly emerging social interactions among the inhabitants;
- to identify the declining modes of conventional interactions and socio-cultural relations in the new areas, providing causal explanations for these changes;
- to analyze the changes and continuity trend in the provision of social service in old and new places of residence;
- to examine the role of condominium neighborhoods in sustaining previously existing social bonds;

Significance of the Study

The study aims to provide relevant information on how to design urban development project without disruption of the social web of relationships that were formed over generations. Policy makers who attempt to develop policy guidelines for urban socio cultural development should consider such kind of studies, since they provide them with information about newly emerging community culture of and the trend of social interaction. It would also serve as a point of departure for researchers who are interested in studying condominium residents' life situation in Addis Abeba.

Scope and Limitation of the Study

Limitations were observed during the data collection process. The research was conducted mainly during weekends and after office hours, as was difficult to get condominium residents during working hours. It has to be noted that some respondents were reluctant to provide information, with unmotivated fear. Additionally, owing to the recent restructuring in Yeka

sub- city, there were some problems in obtaining adequate and accurate data, since most of the officials and experts are new to the job and lack details.

Method of Research

Sampling techniques and Data Collection Method

Among the ten Sub – Cities in Addis Ababa, Yeka was selected purposely because it had most of the condominium houses inhabited. According to Addis Ababa Housing Development Project Office (AAHDPO, 2010) 3758 residential condominium houses were constructed in 12 sites of Yeka Sub- City, all of them actually occupied by inhabitants.

The study employed both quantitative and qualitative methods of research, but overwhelming emphasis was given to the qualitative method. Thirty key informants were identified from homeowners and renters of every site, five dwellers for each category from each three sites compound. Finally, a group discussion was made with 15 residents.

Table.1. Key Informant Distribution Based on Categories

No	Categories	No of Informants		
		Male	Female	Total
1	Homeowners	14	16	30
2	Renters	12	18	30
Total		26	34	60

Conceptual and Theoretical Framework

Conceptual Framework

The concept of “**Urbanization**” is defined differently by different scholars, but always generally associated with physical and demographic aspects of urban centers, urban growth process during industrialization and attendant modes of human existence and interactions. Urbanization in deed is

the process of becoming urban, moving to cities, switching from agriculture activities to others more common in cities, such as trade, manufacturing, industry and management, and corresponding change of behavior patterns.

Yet still, in the “developed” world urbanization represents a structural process of change generally related to industrialization but not always its result. In that part of the world, urbanization results from the concentration of large - scale industrial, commercial, financial and administrative set up in the cities; technological development in transport and communication, rise of cultural and recreational activities. In most developing countries, a peculiar phenomenon takes place: urban growth occurs without a significant shift in the structure of the economy, i.e. without significant transformation of the economy from agricultural to industrial, but still with a large migration of population from rural to urban areas. That, and lack of infrastructural facilities, makes urban areas choked.

Urbanization implies cultural and social psychological processes, where people acquire materials and immaterial cultural outlines, including behavioral patterns, forms of organization and ideas originated in the city. Although the flow of cultural influences is in both directions, toward and away from the city, there is a substantial agreement that the cultural influence exerted by the city on non-urban people is more pervasive than the reverse. In this light “urbanization” has also resulted in what Toynbee has called the “westernization” of the world (Gist and Fava, 1933: 443), an idea of urbanization made more precise and meaningful if interpreted as aspects of acculturation diffusion. Urbanization may be manifest either as intra – society or inter – society diffusion, that is, urban culture may spread to various parts of the same society or it may cross-cultural it or/and be temporary lent (ibid, 1933: 477).

Theoretical Framework

Urban theories explain how people interact in urban neighborhoods, mainly related to industrial cities of the West, especially the United States. Obviously, these theories are limited in scope to the realities of industrial cities, as explanatory tools for pre-industrial and transitional phase, like the Ethiopian ones. In spite of this, the Chicago school theories, formulated in the early 20th century, are still helpful to explain some aspects of the newly emerging neighborhood interactions, even among condominium dwellers in Addis.

From 1920s - 1940s a number of sociologists from the University of Chicago, formulate ideas that became the chief basis for theory and research in urban sociology. Louis Wirth (1938) was one of the pioneers between urban sociologists who tried to explain the influence of urban environment on the behavior of urban residents. He was the first to systematically distinguish the concept of urbanism and urbanization, and his social – psychological theory aim to investigate the human behavior in an urban environment.

He indicated that size, density and heterogeneity, as principal traits in defining cities and urban environment, creates specific behavioral patterns and moral attitude (AJS, 1938: 5 - 16). For him “a city is a relatively large, dense and permanent settlement of socially heterogeneous individuals.” Urbanism is the complex traits making up the characteristic mode of life in cities. Moreover urbanism, as a way of life, may be approached empirically from three interrelated but different perspective:

1. As a physical structure comprising a population base, a technology, and an ecological order.
2. As a system of social organization comprehensive of characteristics of social structure, social institutions, and a typical pattern of social relationships;

3. As a set of attitudes and ideas, and a number of people engaging in typical form of collective behavior and subject to typical mechanism of social control (AJS , 1938: 20 - 24).

Wirth (1938) argued that the size of aggregated population would even affect the nature of relations between its members. The bonds of kinship, of neighborliness and the sentiments arising out of living “together” for generations under a common folk tradition may disappear or weaken, largely due to heterogeneity and diverse background of urban dwellers. Under such circumstances, competition and formal control mechanisms substitute the bonds of solidarity that are used to hold a folk society together. Wirth further indicated that urban dwellers meet in segmented roles and face-to-face relations are usually impersonal and superficial. In consequence of the “superficiality”, the anonymity and the transitory character of urban social relations, the individual alienates from his folk or rural background: the sense of belonging to an integrated community is no longer present and that leads to the state of ‘anomie’, of being lost in the ‘lonely crowd’ (ibid).

Lewis Mumford (1961) had a different view of urban life from Wirth’s one. Mumfordian idea stressed the interactive and social role cities fostered in human behavior. He did not assume as Wirth that cities nurtured impersonal relation but, instead, he believed important primary relations established in cities to lead to social innovations. For Mumford, urban life is creative, and the city the site of civilization, which over the centuries produced countless innovations. The city is considered as theatre of social actions. He further indicated that all urban functions take place on city streets and that intensify social interaction. Mumford’s view that dense social interaction are the blood of city life influenced the successive entire generation of urban theorists (Gttdiener and Budd, 2005: 9).

The sociologist Claude Fischer, who developed the idea of '*subculture theory*' in the early 1970s, stated that the size, population density and heterogeneity of cities actually strengthens social groups and encourages the formation of subcultures, which are much more diverse in nature compared to the general culture as a whole which they are a part of. Fischer defines a subculture as "a large set of people who share a defining trait, associate with one another, are members of institutions associated with their defining trait, adhere to a distinct set of values, share a set of cultural tools and take part in a common way of life" (Fischer, 1995: 544). In any other setting, the creation of such subcultures would be nearly impossible, due to lower diversity and number of people.

Moreover for Fischer "City life is relatively unconventional, a term that covers a number of behavior from artistic innovation, to expression of dissenting values, to serious criminality," and he adds, "according to subculture theory, cities do stimulate unconventionality, but not through breakdown", as sociologists before him believed. The correlation between urban life and unconventionality is largely incidental for different reasons, such as existence of particular types of people, ethnic minorities, the artistic avant-garde, professionalities and so on. When they come to live in cities they modify their lifestyles and then typify cities (ibid: 544). In general, unlike Wirth, Fischer's suggests that urban environment fosters unconventional behaviors, not simply impersonality and individuality, and one of these is the inclination of people in urban areas to form subcultures, a distinctive way of life of a group that deviates from mainstream culture of the society. From Fischer's theory, it is possible to infer that urban environment simply tolerates diversity in all its forms including cultural diversity.

Most of the early urban theorists were ecological determinists. They argue that the type of environment we live in determines neighborhood patterns and human behavior. Besides Louis Wirth, who dealt with how the city life shapes human behavior, the main proponents of ecological theory were Robert Park, Ernest Burgess and Amos Hawley. These scholars felt that cities do not grow randomly, but along lines and in accordance with existent advantageous features such as: along rivers, near natural resources, on trading routes.

They argue that cities are ordered in to a “natural area”, through a process of competition, invasion and succession. Pattern of location, relocation and movement in cities follow similar principles. These scholars view cities as a map composed of areas with distinct characteristics (Gottdiener and Budd, 2005:1-3). However, they were criticized for ignoring human creative capacity to shape where and how to build cities, for relying only on the single American experience to forward such an all-encompassing theory, for lack of historical depth (not assessing the development of cities in historical perspective) and of cross-cultural comparison too. However, after the World War II, the ecological approach to urban studies was revived, ignoring the Chicago school’s emphasis on spatial competition in favor of technological determinism. The new perspective was called “*contemporary human ecology*”. Accordingly, urban land use pattern and the distribution of population and activities was a product of communication and transportation technologies. When the dynamics of these interactions changed, human ecologists argued that so did the pattern of social organization (Sassen, 1991:8)

Another argument made by urban ecologist in the 1970s claimed that while cities expanded in size their central business districts, the administrative functions are also increased. That happen, they sustain, since

the command and control activities of the urban area increased as the size of that region grew, just as a cell's nucleus expand when the cell develops (Sassen, 1991: 10).

The late 1970s and the 1980s saw another group of urban theory formulation by David Harvey and Manuel Castells, who had stressed that urbanism, is not an autonomous process, but is part of larger political and economic processes and change. Harvey's theory starts and points out the concept of "space continually restructured" by a process determined by large firms, who decide where they should open their business and factories, and by policies, controls and initiatives asserted by government. Like Harvey, Castells also stresses that the special form of a city is very much related to the larger process of society.

He further adds that is the dimension of the struggle and conflict of various groups inside the urban reality that make up cities. He gives the example of how gay community has reorganized some structure of San Francisco city. He believes that it is not only big corporations, businesses and government to influence the shape of a city, but also the communities and groups who live in cities (Harvey and Castells, 2000: 35). Out of the theories of urbanism reviewed above, ideas forwarded by Wirth (1938) in his famous article "*Urbanism as a Way of Life*" and that of Claude Fischer (1975 and 1995) titled "*The Sub-cultural Theory of Urbanism*" have some explanatory power for the study of contemporary neighborhood relations in the newly built condominiums of Addis Ababa. The fact that urban neighborhoods foster individualism as indicated by Wirth is present even in contemporary condominium neighborhoods of Addis. Besides, the situation whereby people living in close physical proximity in apartment experiencing wide social distance is becoming a reality in the study community. On the other hand, the fact that urban neighborhood fosters the emergence of new

forms of voluntary association, as laid down by Fischer's sub cultural theory of urbanism, is also exhibited by condo residents of Addis Ababa.

Literature Review

The Concept of Housing

There is no general definition for the term housing. Its meaning differs among people and from place to place depending upon their culture and socio – economic condition. According to World Health Organization (WHO), housing is the “residential environment which includes the physical structure that the family uses of shelter, all the necessary services, facilities, equipment and services needed or desired for the physical well- being of the family and the individuals” (UN, 1973: 17).

In a more simplified approach, housing should be defined as a living environment, consisting of infrastructure associated with the dwelling units, such as water supply, sewerage disposal, electricity, and access to educational institution, market, recreational center and health facilities and others according to the Ministry of Urban Development and Housing (MUDH, 1980: 15). Therefore, housing connotes more than the mere condition, design, arrangement and constructions of buildings. It means the place and conditions, under which people carry on their daily activities at homes and in their neighborhood. Generally we can say that the kind of housing requirement vary with the size and type of family, income status , change in the family cycle and change in the patterns of family living. The relation of houses to each other and to other buildings and facilities can have an impact on the amount of light, air, noise and order in the houses and through his on the physical and mental health of the residences. The placement of housing or the building site creates an environment that influences social relation, neighborhood, and community activities, and the

efficiency of urban communications. (Encyclopedia Americana vol. 14, 1979: 481).

In this regard Leland writes the following: “In the house citizens receive their first educational formations. They learn or do not learn love, security and the sense of how to live with other human beings. The house is the core, the central place, the starting point of all life in human settlements.” (Brendan, 2005). In a broader sense, problems of city planning, community service that provide good living condition, safe sanity and comfortable dwellings are called standard housing. But most of the world’s people live in substandard housing. A large part of Europe is over-crowded, and many of its people are not sufficiently housed, while in Africa and Asia to shelter is still a problem of difficult solution (World encyclopedia Vo.19, 1973:359).

Housing Conditions in Addis Ababa

In total, there are 417,372 housing units in Addis Ababa, occupied by 450,463 households (Adinew and Tsion 1997: 38). As from Central Statistics Authority (1995; 176), a housing unit was defined as a “separate and independent place of abode either intended for habitation or not intended for habitations but was occupied as a living quarter”, and on the average, 5.5 persons belong to one housing units while 60% of housing units only had one room (31%). The number of persons per room was calculated to be of 2.1 on average, varying from 1.7 to 3 in different woredas. According to Central Statistics Authority (1996:190) a room was defined as “a space enclosed by walls reaching from the floor to the ceiling or roof at least to a height of two meters and having an area of at least four m²”.

According to Small Scale Manufacturing Industry Services (1997: 177), it was noted that averages were calculated only for “conventional population and conventional housing units”. But, since these terms were not defined, different calculations put the average persons per room at 2.9 (Liyew, 1994: 117). Estimates by the Ministry of Works and Urban

Development showed that the total housing need for Addis Ababa population in 2004 was more than 300,000 housing units. Out of this, 39 % is due to overcrowded accommodation, 31% to population increase, and 30% due to the replacement of obsolete dwellings. But experience suggest that the actual annually supply does not exceed 10 % of the required number (Ethiopian ministry of works and urban development 2007: 17).

Housing problem

In developing countries, most of the local governments lack the necessary financial, technical and managerial capacities to address the housing problems of the low income households and various contingent factors made the situation worst, such as, according to the Central Statistics Authority (CSA, 1994), the rapid population growth, the low income level of the majority of urban households, high cost of housing construction. According to Devas, high price of building materials, rigid urban planning system, lack of knowledge of cost effective housing construction, lack of information on the availability of land and construction materials, lack of credit access in 1993 affected the new born situation.

The socio-economic benefit of housing

Without the provision of adequate housing and associated dwelling facilities, the socio economic development of a given country is almost unattainable. Housing is a condition influencing the productive capacity and social interaction of people and thus is playing a significant role in the overall country economic development. Hence, it considerably influences man's physical, mental and social wellbeing (Dwyer, 1975:58). Moreover, housing is even a mere shelter, offering physical protection from cold, heat, rain and other services, such as indoor cooking, sanitary and storage facilities, or assurance of privacy and provision of space for recreation and

children's education depending on income, climate and traditions (Burns, 1977 : 15-16). Burns emphasized even the socio – economic benefits of housing as follows; “Housing foster the development of other industries such as production of building materials, not only for dwelling but all types of construction, shops, communal facilities, transport and power plants and plays a dominant part in employment direct and indirect”. (Ibid, 1977:109-112).

Equally, shortage of housing and the inadequacy of dwelling facilities are a social and physical problem for the society. First of all lack of housing may result in street sleeping, which permits no family life, privacy, relief from climatic conditions and no cultural transformation from parent to children.

Analysis and data presentation

As indicated from the outset, the purpose of this research is to analyze living conditions and modes of social interaction among condominium dwellers in Addis Abeba. For this purpose, I intentionally selected three condo sites in the sub-city basing on location and time of construction.

Selected Condominium Sites

Eyesuse condominium site is located in Yeka Sub - City, kebele 01/02, near to French Embassy in Addis Ababa. The area consists of 4 condominium blocks. Yeka One and Kotobe Condominium Sites are far 5 km east south and 12 km east respectively from the centers of the capital. The Yeka one site is located in the kebele 11/12 at pervious Balderas camp area. But the kotobe Condominium site is located in kebele 16/17/18. The sites consist of 8 and 9 condominium blocks. To all the questions posed by

the researcher, the interviewed were invited to respond in comparative terms, i.e., by comparing the current situations with their ones.

Accordingly, majority of the respondents agree on the fact that facilities and sanitation of the rooms in condominium sites are much better than that of their previous houses. The respondents were particularly happy with the fact that they will be owners of flats they currently occupy, through long-term down payment system and they will have ownership right. They are also comfortable with the fact that, each unit has its own independent toilet, kitchen, shower and water tap. With regard to the size of the rooms, it is better than the former ones, even though some respondents complained that the condominium houses are not comfortable for householders with a large family size.

Nevertheless, many homeowners complained about quality of the units, e.g. walls not plastered and painted; toilets, showers and the electric line not in line with standards, which resulted in leakage in the sewerage and improper functioning. In addition, the common facilities, such as kitchen, laundry and slaughter area were not functional at all. Furthermore, condominium houses do not have water tank that put the residents, particularly those in 4th and 5th floors, in a difficult situation when water supply interrupted.

Condominium Committees

Yet one should also note that the social practices existing in condominium communities were usually initiated and facilitated by the sites committees, which were bridging the individual life and the communal one. The Addis Ababa city administration business and industrial development offices prepared the Terms of Reference (TOR) for these associations. Having discussed on these guidelines, the dwellers prepared their own bylaws, based on the Addis Ababa city administration proclamation no.376/70 (articles 39 and 40) and proclamation of Business Organization

no.147/ 91 or 402/ 96. The bylaws were later enforced as law and every resident abide by it but sub-committees, which expected to carry out task instructed by the general committee, are not yet setup. Most of the homeowners are not yet actively participated in these committees by raising issues, since they do not have free time or as well they are not interested to be committees' members.

Prohibited Things in the Sites

Many ban present in the condominium sites. For instance, pets like dog and cat are prohibited, noise in the residential area and independent painting of the unit wall and corridor not allowed.

Disputes, their Causes and Ways of resolution

According to respondents, many disputes are not observed at residential sites. Nevertheless, mothers sometime had disputes for different reasons, particularly over children related issues. The sewerage system of the condominiums has found to be another factor for possible conflicts. Particularly, people who live in the ground floor of the condominium building were found to suffer from the recurrent failure of the sewerage system. In addition, some dwellers bring pet dog in the room and when dog barks the neighbors may be disturbed. Condominium committee and elderly dwellers of the sites use to contribute in such problems resolution.

Social interaction of the residents

According to 22 (73.3%) of renter respondents from the selected sites, before transfer in condominium house they were living in rental homes and they use to have close relationship and celebrate holidays jointly with neighbors. Differently, such types of gathering are not practiced in condominium residential area. That may show a first change of the society

attitude and mode of interaction when living condition changes. The remaining 8 (20.7%) of the respondents attributed the lack of joint celebration to the high turnover rate of renters in the condominium sites. Social interactions in condominium sites are even severely affected, due to lack of proper entertainment facilities. Adults usually remain at home locking their gate and viewing DVD or CDS, music and movies from western world. In most cases, they prefer to communicate with people who came from their previous places of residence rather than with their neighbors. The problem also pertain children and modern computers games, which move them away from traditional way of life and custom. Majority of the respondents from all sites said that, before they transfer in condominium houses, their privacy was violated in rental home situation.

According to the respondents, since the dwellers came from different areas, the creation of “mahabers” (associations) by ethnic and/or religious affiliation, is not easy neither common. As many of condominium dwellers are renters, they do not consider themselves as permanent residents and they tend not to participate in social associations, such as Eddir, Eqqubs. That is a significant determinant of the poor social interaction level. During the group discussion with Yeka one site dwellers, many respondents disclosed that some renters are very careless and thrown away garbage with no or little concern. Therefore, currently compounds result indeed dirty. There are various social problems in condominium residential houses. For example, upper floor residents have to come to the ground level to grind coffee, if they do not have coffee grinding machine. In order to avoid going up and down, sometimes floor residents grind coffee with traditional mechanism in their home producing considerable noise.

Further all of the respondents in all sites said that it is difficult to use toilet or stay in the home when there is no water supply, circumstance highly affecting especially children and elders. The respondents of all sites pointed out that satellite dishes are installed on any vacant places in the compound so

they are forced to keep children at home for fear of paying the cost of eventual damage. In addition to this, some people are not comfortable in sharing their verandah with neighbors, since they feel their privacy invaded.

Living condition and Neighborhoods interaction in slum areas	Living condition and Neighborhoods interaction in Condominium Residential area
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Eddir is the biggest institution in the previous residential place and any interested bodies can participate in it. ▪ Eqube results a strong supporting system. ▪ Toilet, kitchen and water tap used in common. ▪ Ceremonies by name of saint angels, families assembling, peers association and others are celebrated carefully. ▪ Space problem for hanging washing cloth, play ground for children and others social issue. • Comfort bereaved person • At the time of marriage, birthday and any other events dwellers participate on work. • Neighborhoods became the problem of noise. • Holidays celebrated jointly. • Lending and borrowing goods is Common. • Householders can paint, modify and consolidate their house as they wish. • Dispute resolution had made by elder and religious leader • Meeting can not take place regularly among the dwellers to solve the common problem • Renters and homeowners were living in the same compound 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Eddir' continued in condominium units ▪ Dwellers that came from the same area looking for each other. ▪ Lending and borrowing goods with neighbor hoods. ▪ Space problem for hanging washing cloth, play ground for children and for other socialization • Comfort bereaved person • Condominium flat owners feel ownerships right. • Neighborhoods involves noise problem • Dispute resolution had made by elder of the residences

The Declining or vanishing cultural features in the Condominium sites	New life style and social interaction emerged in Condominium sites
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The traditional insurance (Eqube) is very weak in condos. • Families assembling, peers and religion ceremony weakly celebrated. • There is no collaboration among society. • No one give attention to visit his neighbors. • Dwellers do not have deep interaction as neighbors. • Holiday is not jointly celebrated • Homeowners and renters are living in the different place. • Unexpected rental increment reduced. • Unhygienic dieses reduced. • Usage of the traditional goods is reduced. • Pets are not allowed breeding in the house or compound 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Condominium Association is established. • Each members of condominium dwellers except renters contributed money for common facilities maintenance and guard salary. • Individualism is high. • Get approval from condominium committees is required for renting your own flat. • Renters have privacy. • It can lock up and leave for vacation or on extended period from the houses. • Every unit owners are forced to be the a member of the condo association • Freedoms of dwellers are restricted by different rules and regulations. • Renters paid the charge of water and electric fee to the concerned organization their own. • Toilet, kitchen and tap water used privately. • Only condominiums homeowners are become members of the Eddir. • Modern goods are available in the house. • DVD, VCD music and cinema of western are highly viewed in sites

Conclusions

It is known that the purpose of the condominium housing project is to solve the housing problem of lowest income residents, but many low-income beneficiaries rented their house to others to pay the long-term down payment debt and they returned to live in previous slum areas. That confirms that even if the low-income dwellers became the owners of the condominium house, they are temporary unable to live in them. Since most of the residents are tenants they are constantly changing; it is difficult for the homeowners to establish a permanent and stable relationship with them. Therefore, they forced to continue their socio economic relationship with their old villages.

With regard to the design and size of the typology, the aim of the condominium program is to address the low-income residents with the studio and one bedroom's houses. It was found out that most low income family size are larger than that of the higher income ; accordingly, as it was confirmed through the study, to have small rooms make it very crowded and uncomfortable. Absence of playing ground or the fact that the open spaces occupied by satellite dishes and parked cars forced children to confine only at their house. Parents are obliged to live in suspicion fearing that their children may damage satellite dish or cars, locked them behind doors, causing psychological crisis in the newly emerged generation.

With respect to the quality of the units, dwellers complained that walls are not plastered and painted properly. Furthermore, items installed in the toilet and showers were not up to the standard and functional. The lack of interest of the dwellers to participate in the condominium association as committee members hindered the establishment of sub committees that contribute for the poor social interaction among the dwellers. Tenants did not took part of participate in social organization like “ Eddir” because of their brief stay in these residential houses, that might have caused them socio – cultural problems. It has noted that distrust arose in service delivering due to mismanagement of committee members who are unable to discharge the

responsibility entrusted on them by dwellers. The repeated interruption of water supply and absence of water tankers also cited in the problem, that creates inconvenience among the condominium house residents'. The absence of recreational centers in condominium site forced the residents to sit idle in their free time or leave the site in search of entertainment facilities.

Recommendations

As the cost of a single condominium house is still beyond the financial capacity of the urban poor, government should study and look forward for alternatives to meet the demand of the people who are unable to pay the amount of the required money. The condominiums were not built with consideration of the playing grounds for children, recreational place and access facilities for the disabled. Therefore, it is better to pay more attention in for future construction of condominium houses.

Condominium house beneficiaries have incurred extra expenses after receiving their houses for finishing works, mainly because the materials used are of low quality. Thus, in order to protect people from extra wastage of time and money great caution is necessary in selecting quality materials during construction process. Family size of low-income groups is larger than that of higher income. In order to alleviate the social crisis created by narrow living spaces, it is necessary for the government to bridge these gaps considering the average family size of Ethiopia families and their living standard. It is necessary to create awareness among the dwellers of condominium houses to help closing work with newly established condo committees and select viable and trustworthy committee members to ensure transparent relationship. As there is a consensus on the idea of the condominium flats as better alternative residential places, it is important to use soundproof materials in the process of construction.

Condominium houses should not be concentration camps. Or areas where short term relief for housing problems entertained, they have to be built taking in to account the age old tradition of Ethiopian strong social bound that pass down to generation which helps families and neighbor hoods to stick together in times of happiness such as weeding and in time of difficulty such as mourning and sickness. It adversely affects the effort towards building a strong and socially responsible citizen. Therefore, it is necessary to include children and the aged people as vital social segment and take into account their needs while designing new residential houses.

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