A CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF THE ROLE AND IMPACT OF NGOS IN THE PROVISION OF HOUSING FOR THE POOR OF ADDIS ABABA: APPLICATION OF A RIGHTS BASED LENS

**A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of
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Amy Fraser

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Abstract

Our world today is experiencing the fastest urban growth rates in history, with developing countries at the forefront of this trend. This rapid urban growth is contributing to a multitude of problems, since countries lack the resources and institutional capacity to manage them effectively. As a result, the prevalence of slum and squatter settlements is escalating within the urban environment. This thesis seeks to critically examine the role and impact of NGOs in the provision of housing for the poor of Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. The study argues that housing is a human right and explores whether a rights based approach is an effective means for NGOs to employ, in order to achieve successful housing provision.

The methodological approach to this study was largely qualitative, due to the fact that it deals with matters relating to social relationships and issues of power. This mode of enquiry has provided a deep understanding of the issues facing NGOs working in Addis Ababa. The primary mode of data collection was semi-structured interviews, which were carried out during the four weeks of field research in Addis Ababa.

The findings of this research reveal that the role and impact of NGOs seeking to provide housing within Addis Ababa is extremely limited, due to a number of serious and debilitating factors, including a restrictive policy environment, excessive bureaucracy, and a lack of sound governance. In addition, it was discovered that the employment of a rights based framework for housing provision would be exceptionally difficult within Addis Ababa, thus posing serious risks for NGOs and the communities in which they work. This thesis highlights the importance of context and how it can change the suitability and roles played by those within the development sector.

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List of Abbreviations

CBOs	Community Based Organisations
CRDA	Christian Relief Development Association
CSP	Charities and Societies Proclamation
DFID	Department for International Development
EDO	Environmental Development Office
EPRDF	Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Force
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HFHE	Habitat for Humanity Ethiopia
IHDP	Integrated Housing Development Programme
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IMF	International Monetary Fund
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MWUD	Ministry of Works and Urban Development
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NSDF	National Slum Dwellers Federation
ODA	Official Development Assistance
RBA	Rights Based Approach
SDI	Slum/Shack Dwellers International
SPARC	Society Promotion of Area Resource Centres
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UN	United Nations
UNCHS	United Nations Centre for Human Settlements
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNHSP	United Nations Human Settlement Programme
UNICEF	The United Nations Children's Fund

Chapter One

Introduction

Every day we have a choice. We can take the easier road, the more cynical road, which is a road sometimes based on a dream of a past that never was, fear of each other, distancing and blame, or we can take the much more difficult path, the road of transformation, transcendence, compassion, and love, but also accountability and justice (Novogratz, 2010: TED)

As we entered the millennium decade, it was estimated that half of the world's population were living in cities, with seventy per cent of the urban population to be found in developing countries. An alarming proportion of these urban dwellers were and continue to be living in life and health threatening homes in 'slum' neighbour hoods because of the inadequate infrastructure services associated with housing (Gidron, van Ufford & Kello, 2003 :31). This is a continually growing issue with "an inadequate master plan, poor housing facilities, environmental problems and shanty corners, among others, characterise urban centres of developing countries" (Yntiso, 2008: 1). One part of the issue is that the massive speed in which urban populations have increased and developed in the Third World has far out-paced the institutional capacity to manage this growth. A significant effect on society is the increased demand for urban infrastructure: and in particular, housing. For a variety of reasons including economic status and access to funding and current systems, governments in developing countries lack the capacity and resources to deal with increased urbanisation and their people are being forced to create their own solutions. In much of the developing world, housing units, condominiums, slum and squatter settlement upgrades are being developed by Non-Government Organisations (NGOs), due to a lack of government capacity and resources. This is because the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank are imposing increasingly strict loan conditionalities that require countries to reduce government spending, in order

to pay back debt, thus decreasing the role they can play in the development of basic services for their citizens. Hence, there is a large need for new solutions and initiatives in the area of housing, as the world rides the largest urban growth wave in history (Gidron, Quarles van Ufford & Bedri Kello, 2003:8). Everyone shares the right to a decent standard of living and "essential to the achievement of this standard and therefore to the fulfilment of human life beyond simple survival is access to adequate housing" (HREA, 2011:1).

The rapid rise of the NGO sector within the urban setting of Addis Ababa is clear, with the number of registered organisations climbing annually (Røe, 2009). NGOs now form a very prominent part of the aid delivery sector in Ethiopia and being well informed, in regards to their contributions, accomplishments and challenges, could lead to more successful and effective urban development. The housing situation in Ethiopia is alarming, inadequate and requires immediate attention. Significantly, increased rural to urban migration trends have led to rampant growth in the capital, Addis Ababa. This is resulting in copious pressure being placed on a city that has largely underdeveloped urban infrastructure and consequently, it is unable to adequately provide for this increased urbanisation.

This introductory chapter comprises an explanation of the research rationale, a description of the research aims, objectives, questions and methodology and an outline of the overall structure of the thesis.

1.1 Research Justification

The justification for engaging in this research is driven equally from two different perspectives. The first is the more emotive, personal perspective, where my own life journey has resulted in me wanting to engage more deeply with the issues associated with housing provision in the developing world. The second justification comes from an academic standpoint, where initial literature reviews have revealed a significant 'gap' in the knowledge on housing provision in Ethiopia. These differing rationales will now be elaborated upon and discussed.

1.1.1 Personal Rationale

Upon completion of my Bachelor of Interior Architecture in 2008, my life was at a crossroads. Through my final year major project, I explored the possibilities for refugee housing in the future and I began to develop a deep appreciation for the 'built shelter'. I was beginning to understand the raft of benefits that having a home and a place to belong in the world could have on individuals and families. I spent the next two years travelling throughout South East Asia, where I learnt a great deal about life and people and the hardships that are overcome daily by millions within our world. This time spent travelling reaffirmed my belief in the benefits of shelter and therefore I set about seeking opportunities in the housing sector.

In 2010, I travelled to Ethiopia as part of the New Zealand Habitat for Humanity team. We were destined for the south western village of Jimma, where we would spend time building houses in the traditional fashion. Whilst in Ethiopia, we worked closely with the home owners and their families, the wider community, community based organisations (CBOs) and other NGOs. This gave me the opportunity to really begin to understand some of the deeper issues associated with housing provision in the developing world. While spending time in the capital city of Addis Ababa, I noticed the prevalence of slum housing. The city is characterised by mazes of sloping, slanting, decaying shelters that are formed from any recyclable materials that people have access to. I also noticed the large presence of NGOs within the country, especially in the capital city. Working alongside the Ethiopian people was a blessing in many respects. I am privileged to have some firsthand insights into their lives, culture, beliefs and traditions. The hierarchical structure which dominates their society did not appear to be enabling empowerment for the majority of the population.

The absolute squalor and dire conditions shocked me into action. In 2011, I enrolled as a postgraduate student of development studies at Massey University. I was eager to investigate more deeply the issues that I witnessed, especially within the capital city, Addis Ababa. I was beginning to really question the role of NGOs in the provision of housing. With such a strong

representation from that sector, what were they contributing, considering the immense scale of the housing crisis? Could a rights based approach be utilised to combat the excessive lack of empowerment that I had noticed? The initial literature reviews I conducted revealed a problem that was indeed dire and growing daily (Thomas & Taylor, 2000). Over 90 per cent of the housing stock in the capital city was deemed 'slums' and 80 per cent needed instant demolition and renewal (UN Habitat, 2007). Global rural to urban migration trends, which are affecting much of the world, are also prominent in Ethiopia, with the city of Addis Ababa expanding at a phenomenal rate of 5.1 per cent per annum (Melesse, 2005).

I have a particular interest in contributing research on the provision of housing in Addis Ababa to the existing body of work, in the hope that one day it could help to inform better partnerships and more effective urban development. The underlying motivation and passion for this work stems directly from my belief in the physical, social and physiological benefits of providing people with decent shelter — and a place to belong in the world. Development is complex and there is not one universal solution, however, I strongly support the benefits and value of the humble 'home'.

1.1.2 Academic Rationale

The academic rationale for this research to be undertaken is driven by three main concerns. The first issue concerns the lack of literature on the role of NGOs in the city of Addis Ababa. Upon reviewing the initial literature available, it is clear that, whilst a limited amount of research has been conducted on the work of NGOs within the capital, none has been focused solely on housing provision. This is of concern, considering the growth within this sector and the escalating housing crisis. Whilst this study has a large amount of limitations, it will seek to begin filling the 'gaps' in terms of knowledge surrounding housing provision in Addis Ababa.

The second issue of concern is the violation of rights that are taking place in Addis Ababa and the country of Ethiopia at large. Ethiopian authorities are

responsible for the severe restriction of basic human rights, particularly the right to freedom of expression, association and assembly. During the year 2011, hundreds of people were detained and tortured, as a result of these violations (Human Rights Watch, 2012). As stated earlier, over 90 per cent of the housing stock in the capital city is slums (UN Habitat, 2007), which means that people are living in dire conditions. This research is grounded in the belief that every individual is entitled to claim his or her rights. As outlined by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights formulated in 1948, the right to adequate shelter is fundamental to human life (UDHR, 1948). This research will explore the rights based approach and examine its effectiveness as a framework for NGOs to employ, in order to improve housing conditions in Addis Ababa.

Finally, as global urbanisation trends escalate with no sign of slowing, population growth is set to continue strongly in Addis Ababa over the next 50 years (Melesse, 2005). This is going to impact on (and also complicate) issues in a city that already faces a myriad of developmental problems. Without effective, deep, and up to date data on housing within Addis Ababa, it will be extremely difficult to implement effective urban planning and housing solutions. The continued lack of knowledge will, in turn, lead to the intergenerational poverty cycle being continued.

1.2 Research Aim, Objectives and Questions

This research aims to provide an in-depth understanding of the role and impact that NGOs are having on housing provision in Addis Ababa, with the hope that it will be able to inform more effective urban development in the future. The main research question asks: **'What is the role and impact of NGOs in the provision of housing for the poor?'**

Accompanying the research aim and main question, this thesis intends to achieve two objectives:

- **To examine the key roles that NGOs can perform that assist in the provision of housing for the poor.**

- **To explore whether a rights based approach is an effective means for NGOs to employ to achieve effective housing provision.**

In order to answer the questions and objectives above, sub-questions will be used to guide the data collection and fieldwork phase.

- Are NGOs faced with any challenges when trying to set up and provide housing in Addis Ababa? If so, what are these?

- What relationship do the NGOs have with other development actors? (for example, government, local administration, Kebele leaders or faith based groups)

- To what extent do NGO relationships with other development actors affect their ability to be effective agents for change?

- Are NGOs able to contribute to the facilitation of a rights based approach to housing within the city?

1.3 Methodology

In order to explore the research aim and answer the research questions, a qualitative approach was applied to the fieldwork. Qualitative research is characterised by the way in which is seeks to understand the world through interacting, empathising with and interpreting the actions of its participants. Qualitative methods are employed, in order to gather a deep and rich understanding of people's worlds (Bryman and Burgess, 1999). The process involved travelling to Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, for the month of June 2012, in order to carry out the data collection. Methods used to gather data included semi-structured interviews, document analysis and structured observation. Semi-structured interviews were utilised as the primary method of data collection, since they enable the researcher to obtain in-depth insights from

the participants. The participants were selected from a range of development sectors including NGOs, government, private sector, CBOs and slum dwellers. This enabled information to be drawn from a range of actors who are affected by, or involved with, the provision of housing for the poor within the city. Structured observation was used as a complimentary method to the interviews. Document analysis has been employed, in order to gain background knowledge about the issues of housing and to provide a context for the research. In the case of this study, it is also used to highlight an extensive 'gap in the literature'. In addition, document analysis has also been used to cross-check the data gathered through interviews and participant observation. The accuracy and authenticity of the data has been cross-checked through a triangulation process which combines the three research methods. A detailed discussion of the methodological approach will be presented in Chapter Four.

1.4 Outline of the Thesis

This thesis is comprised of seven chapters. In Chapter Two, an overview of housing in developing countries is given. This includes examining global urbanisation trends and the different approaches that are being developed world wide, in order to provide adequate shelter for the urban poor. The various theoretical approaches to housing provision taken by NGOs are outlined, together with a discussion on their strengths and weaknesses. Finally, the ways in which NGOs can play a positive role in housing provision are examined.

Chapter Three involves an in-depth and critical discussion on the rights based approach. Drawing from the literature, the emergence of this approach is traced and the key principles and challenges are identified. The thesis then seeks to understand the rights based approach from the differing perspectives of NGOs and governments. There is also an examination of how this approach can be applied to the housing sector.

In Chapter Four, the methodology used during the fieldwork phase is described. This includes clarification of my position within the research; a discussion on the methods employed for the data collection and analysis; ethical considerations; and a reflection on the fieldwork experience and obstacles that were faced during my time in the field.

Chapter Five is used to offer a context to the research location of Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. Issues that are specific to the country of Ethiopia are raised and this is followed by a deep contextual analysis on the city of Addis Ababa. This analysis is focused on the current housing situation; government policy and planning; the working environment for NGOs; and what they can currently do within the city.

In Chapter Six, the findings of the research are presented, together with the current role and impact of the NGOs being described. The challenges faced, when providing housing for the poor within Addis Ababa are discussed, as per the findings. The roles that other development actors play in the successful provision of housing are also examined. The suitability of NGOs employing a rights based approach in Addis Ababa concludes the chapter, together with a discussion being held in direct relation to what the participants and the document analysis has revealed.

In Chapter 7, insights gained from the research are discussed and situated within the wider context of the literature. The first part of the chapter reflects upon objective one, which seeks to identify the role and impact of NGOs in the provision of housing. The next section addresses the second research objective, which is a discussion on the suitability of NGOs employing a rights based approach within the context of Addis Ababa. A research summary is presented that draws final conclusions, in relation to the study. Finally, suggestions for the direction of future research are presented and these suggestions conclude the thesis.

Chapter Two

Conceptualising Housing

After HIV and AIDS, the biggest threat to sustainable development in Africa is rapid and chaotic urbanisation, because it is a recipe for disaster for increased tensions and pressure (Tibaijuka cited in Maclellan, 2010)

2.1 Introduction

Housing provision is an exceptionally vital and complex issue that all cities must continually address throughout their growth and progression. This chapter facilitates a discussion on the experiences of housing provision in developing countries, with a focus on the urban environment. Firstly, global urbanisation trends are examined, since they validate the need for effective housing solutions, particularly in countries where urban growth shows no sign of slowing. As noted in the quote above, this growth is often rapid and chaotic and thus the importance of planned, purposeful and carefully considered housing solutions. This examination is followed by a discussion about global approaches to housing for the poor. In outlining the trajectory of housing, the differing theoretical frameworks, approaches and recommendations for policy will be explored. When considering this trajectory and the growing awareness about the issue of housing in the developing world, various actors in the housing debate will be presented and therefore the role of NGOs is critically discussed. Finally, the different methods utilised by NGOs in housing provision for the urban poor are examined and the individual strengths and weaknesses of their methods are identified. The ways in which NGOs can engage in best practice, during the process of housing provision, are exemplified.

2.2 Urbanisation

This section examines literary sources to elicit the key ideas and thinking about the issues that surround urbanisation. In concluding this section, I will illustrate the impact of urbanisation in developing countries, noting the effect it has had on growth and progression. A sound knowledge of urbanisation is vital to further understand the challenges being faced by the urban poor of the developing world.

2.2.1 Definition and concepts

Urbanisation denotes an increase in the proportion of a population that resides in the urban areas, predominately due to rural to urban migration (United Nations Population Fund, 2007). However, a fundamental problem arises when seeking to further understand the concept of urbanisation. As outlined by Cohen (2006), there is no global standard for the classification of an urban environment. Each country makes a distinction between rural and urban: but the definition of what constitutes the two environments can vary significantly. Countries have also developed their own parameters for defining the term.

Communities can be defined in accordance to population, size, density, administrative borders or economic function. Areas that have been defined as 'urban' in one country may be classified as 'rural' in another (Cohen, 2006: 66). Countries, such as Argentina, Benin, Cuba and Ethiopia, use population size to identify an area as being urban. However, even within this chosen mode of definition, there is still a large disparity. In Benin, settlements with over 10,000 residents are considered urban, whilst in Ethiopia just 2,000 inhabitants represent an urban setting. Other countries, such as Botswana, employ more complex methods of defining the urban zones within their countries. They view an urban environment as a place where more than 5,000 inhabitants reside and 75 per cent of the economic activities are non-agricultural (Cohen, 2006: 66).

Accordingly, it is important to understand that 'urban', as a classification, is not globally unified and hence data on urbanisation rates is difficult to compare equally between nations. Adding to this complication is also the issue that the United Nations Population Division is the sole source of world population statistics and analysis documents (Montgomery, 2008). Their data presents information that reflects the differing and diverse national definitions of rural and urban and thus documents must be viewed with this disparity in mind.

Another major concern, which is relevant to this research, is the availability of accurate and up-to-date demographic data. Census data is the principal source of information for studies on migration flows and urbanisation. However, in some countries, new data has not been made available since the 1990s, meaning that in some cases urban statistics are calculated from data that is well out of date (Cohen, 2006). This situation has far reaching implications, particularly if countries' urbanisation rates are underestimated and these estimates are being used to inform policy. Gathering accurate data can prove to be exceptionally difficult amongst the crowded urban landscape and in countries where large percentages of the population are actively mobile (Cohen, 2006). In addition, the undertaking of a national census is extremely costly and requires highly skilled and knowledgeable people to undertake the process. Frequently, countries lack the finance and capacity to administer a census, which then results in the irregularity of information available (Kaimu, 2001). With an increased understanding of how rural and urban environments are defined — and the limitations of these definitions — a discussion on the impact of global urbanisation will now follow.

2.2.2 Urbanisation Globally

The year 2008 was a significant year, as it marked the first time in history that the balance between urban and rural dwelling statistics changed, with 50.5 per cent of the world's population residing in urban areas:

This historic milestone represented both a demographic change and more importantly a social, cultural and economic transformation. This change is more remarkable considering that, two hundred years ago the world's population was overwhelmingly rural, with less than three per cent living in cities (Ramachandran, 2009: 1).

Over the next four decades, the world's total population growth is expected to take place in urban areas (Montgomery, 2008). The graph below (see Figure 2.1) clearly depicts the changes that are predicted to occur and it illustrates that this growth will largely take place within the developing world, where urban populations are expected to double from 2.6 billion, as recorded in 2010, to 5.2 billion in 2050 (UN, 2011).

Figure 2.1: Urban and Rural Populations by Development Group 1950 – 2050
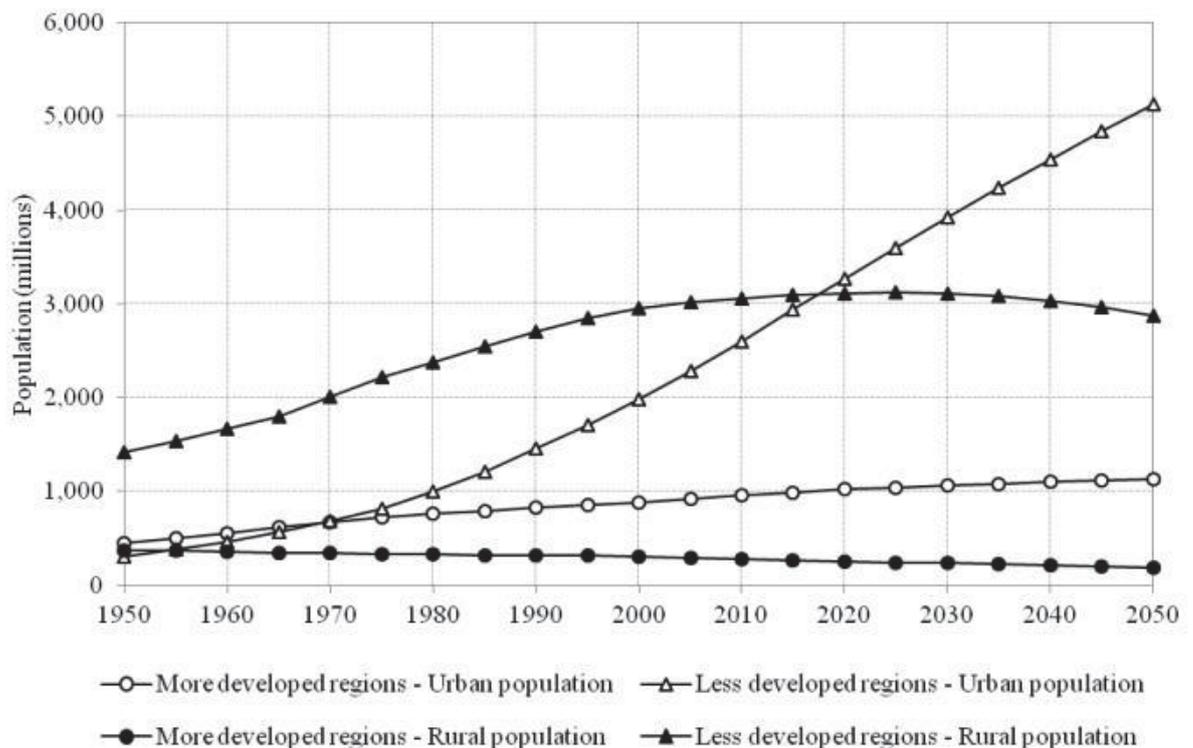
Source: United Nations, 2012: 3.

The speed of urbanisation that we have witnessed, since the beginning of the 20th century, is unprecedented and it has changed the global landscape. In 1900, there were only 16 cities worldwide with a population that exceeded one million. However, today there are over 400 urban agglomerations boasting populations in excess of this number (Cohen, 2006). Despite all this growth, the overall rate of global urbanisation is slowing, due to some regions (for example, Europe, Latin America, North America and Oceania) having already reached very high proportions. Nevertheless, rates in Africa and Asia are predicted to remain high in the proceeding decades, due to their large existing rural populations. Africa gained an average of 13 million additional urban dwellers per year between 2005 and 2010, and it is expected to gain 25 million per year between 2045 and 2050 (UN, 2011: 1).

While the reasons for urbanisation may differ for each country and/or region, urbanisation is believed to be predominantly a result of: (1) a natural increase through birth rates outweighing death rates; (2) rural to urban migration trends; and (3) the reclassification of rural localities to urban centres (UN, 2011). This process of urban growth is generally considered to be a positive progression, with many of the world's largest and oldest cities growing out of the advantage they previously had, in relation to transport or raw material supply.

To explain further: productive activities are often located in urban areas, which help to provide a good supply of paid employment. Cities are able to offer residents greater economic and social development opportunities. As commercial hubs, they provide a modern style of living, where indicators of health, wellbeing, literacy and social mobility are typically higher than in rural settings (Cohen, 2006). Population density generally indicates the opportunity for governments to provide lower per capita costs for basic services and infrastructure. Consequently, urban residents often have better access to education, electricity, water, healthcare and sanitation facilities than their rural counterparts (Cohen, 2006).

According to UN-Habitat (2008b), the more rapid a country's economic growth, the faster it urbanises. When managed well, this scenario has been proven to have numerous benefits for its inhabitants ─ although within the developing context this is not always the case. As mentioned previously, the majority of this growth is occurring within the developing world and the following section in this chapter will discuss the implications of urbanisation in under-developed environments

2.2.3 Urbanisation in Developing Countries

Negative consequences

The developing nations of the world today face much greater urbanisation challenges than that which confronted developed countries in the past. Developed countries endured the urbanisation process at a considerably slower and more sustainable pace. For example, America was 40 per cent urbanised in 1960, 70 per cent in 1980 and in 2000 it reached almost 80 per cent.

> That gradual pace, combined with relatively high gross domestic product (GDP) and education per capita at the beginning of the century, allowed time for the development of the political and economic institutions and market instruments essential for an efficient form of urbanisation and a reasonable quality of urban life (Henderson, 2002: 90).

The rate and scale of urban transformation within the developing world presents daunting challenges, with growth outstripping the capacity of governments to provide adequate services for their citizens.

Lopez Moreno (2011) observes that almost all urban population growth in the future will be found in developing countries, with Africa and Asia alone contributing to 86 per cent of the expansion. In Africa, the population is growing twice as fast as any other major region in the world ─ and the

percentage of its urban population is projected to double by the year 2030. African urbanisation demonstrates a fundamental difference, in relation to the growth that has been witnessed in Asia and Latin America, since it has become decoupled from economic development. The urban centres of Africa are struggling economically, but they are continuing to overflow with inhabitants, despite very poor macro-economic performance (Cohen, 2006). A development report produced by the World Bank observed that:

> Cities in Africa are not serving as engines of growth and structural transformation. Instead, they are part of the cause and a major symptom of the economic and social crisis that have enveloped the continent (World Bank, 2000: 130).

As a result of this considerably fast paced urban growth, the developing world is facing the consequences, as it looks towards a future plagued by rampant poverty. With underdeveloped urban systems and minimal capacity to deal with large influxes of people, urbanisation has become virtually synonymous with the development of slums. In 2005, a third of the world's population were living in slums, with percentages only predicted to increase over the coming years (Sheuya, 2008). Some of the most pressing consequences of urban poverty are listed below:

- Large and growing backlogs in the delivery of basic services as demand outstrips institutional capacity and financial resources

- A worsening state of access to adequate shelter with security of tenure, resulting in severe overcrowding, homelessness and poor environmental conditions

- Increased vulnerability to environmental health problems, environmental shocks and natural disasters

- Lack of substantial productive assets (such as land and housing), limited access to social safety nets

- Sharp intra-city inequality, manifested in stark residential segregation, escalating violence and social unrest, which impact women and the poor disproportionately

- Lack of participation of communities in decision-making processes and in the implementation of activities

- Lack of political power, participation, dignity and respect

- Vulnerability among women, children and youth

Source: UN, 2011: 33.

It is evident to see the severe ways in which urban poverty affects the livelihoods and well-being of those in its wake. Urbanisation and urban poverty need to be addressed urgently, as Lopez Moreno (2011:34) states:

> Without decisive action, the number of slum dwellers in the world will probably continue to grow. This may have profound consequences for cities as a whole, as growing inequalities can strain the ability of cities and countries to prosper and develop. Inequalities can affect relations between different social and economic groups and may lead to rising levels of insecurity, which in turn could lead to conflict.

The adverse effects of urbanisation are clear to see in the developing world. The management of urban growth has become one of the most important challenges of the 21st century. The proliferation of slums, as a result of increased populations, is an issue that requires urgent attention.

Positive consequences

It is important to present a balanced account of the effects of rapid growth and urbanisation. Despite the increasing poverty being faced globally, many positive aspects can be found, in particular the resolve of the people that are most severely affected by these changes. English architect, John Turner, was influential in encouraging a shift in attitude towards the 'slum dwellers'. He was significantly influenced by the creative ingenuity he witnessed after spending time with squatter communities in Peru. He witnessed slum dwellers building and catering for their own needs much more effectively than governments or public agencies (Share the Worlds Resources, 2010). He argued that the urban poor are not a burden on the developing world, but instead they should be viewed as one of the world's most dynamic resources. (Burgess, 1978).

The collective agency of the urban poor has resulted in some exceptional outcomes. There are numerous examples of urban residents forming community organisations that have become actively engaged in addressing their own needs (Share the Worlds Resources, 2010). An example of this type of community action that has manifested into a global movement is Slum/Shack Dwellers International (SDI), which is an organisation comprised of urban poor collectives from over 33 countries.

> SDI's mission is to link urban poor communities from cities across the South that have developed successful mobilisation, advocacy, and problem solving strategies (SDI, 2012).

SDI (2012) believes that the only way to manage urban growth — and to create inclusive cities — is for the urban poor to be at the centre of strategies for urban development.

When slum communities are placed in charge of improving their circumstances, they display great self-reliance, collective ability and potential (Neuwirth, 2005). Slums are vibrant communities of people that have ever-evolving networks of social institutions. They represent a hub of untapped potential, and in many countries the realisation of slum dwellers' abilities could be the beginning of solving the overwhelming problems facing the growing cities of the developing world (Schreibmayer & Grabner, 1996).

The next section of this chapter will explore in more detail the progression of thinking with regards to housing provision for the poor.

2.3 Global approaches to housing for the poor

Having adequate shelter is an essential part of life, since it provides protection from the elements and promotes good health, in addition to numerous psychological and social benefits. The process of upgrading housing in the developing world is now a recognised reality, due to an escalating slum growth that shows no sign of slowing. Three main issues will be discussed below, in relation to global approaches to housing for the poor. They are as follows: (1) the demand for housing solutions; (2) the progression of global approaches; and (3) current practices.

2.3.1 Demand for housing solutions

Over decades, the governments of developing nations have refused to acknowledge the provision of decent shelter as being a priority concern within the development process. According to Drakakis-Smith (2000), the concept of low-cost housing provision is viewed by many as resource absorbing, rather than productive. A great deal of discussion over the importance of housing provision has been initiated by the international community, rather than at a national or local level. However, we are now living in a world where one out of every three urban residents live in a slum and the scale of the problem is

prompting action (UN-Habitat, 2006). The graph below (see Figure 2.2) clearly depicts the extent and prevalence of urban slums.

Figure 2.2: Nations by percentage of urban population living in slums in 2010
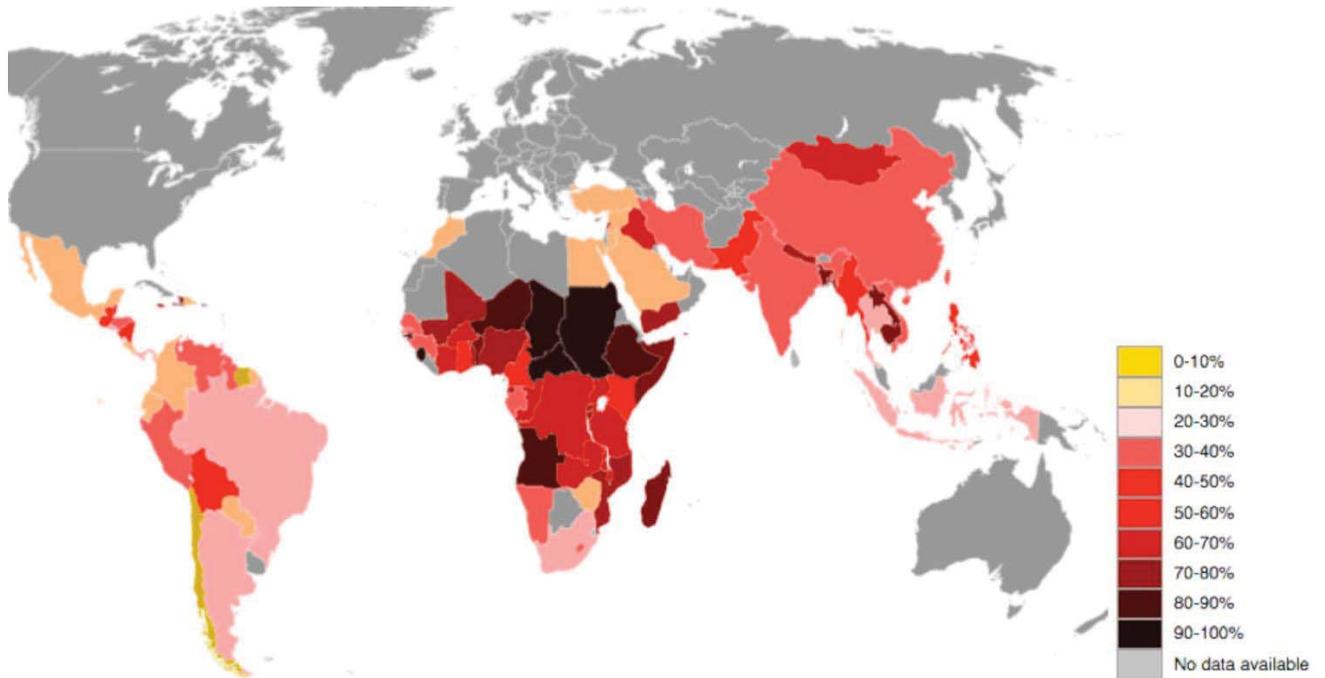
Source: UN-HABITAT, 2010.

In parts of the world, 'informal' settlements are growing faster than 'formal' ones, with slum dwellers being exposed to the multi-dimensional nature of poverty. These people often experience lack of food, water, healthcare, education and transport services (UN, 2011). However, as Lopez Moreno (2011) suggests below, slums were not always intended to become permanent fixtures of the urban landscape:

> For many years, governments and local authorities viewed slums as transient settlements that would disappear as cities developed and

incomes of slum dwellers improved. However, evidence shows that slums are growing and becoming permanent features of urban landscapes (Lopez Moreno, 2011: 36).

Slum communities are excluded from the plans of governments and local authorities, thus contributing to worsening conditions over time. Lopez Moreno describes slums as being 'zones of silence' (2011: 35), since they are invisible to opinions and discussions about urban poverty.

The millennium development goals (MDGs) were formulated in the year 2000 and they are a set of global targets to be achieved by 2015. They promise to result in the reduction of poverty in under developed countries. They represent a change within the development community, since the plight of the urban poor has now been recognised and they are represented in a number of the goals and targets to be met. Under goal number seven, a target is set to "significantly improve the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers by the year 2020" (MDGs 2000, Goal 7: Target 11). With such increasing rates of urbanisation within the developing world, this change and recognition is overdue and much needed by the millions of people dwelling in slums (Gulyani & Bassett, 2007). The evolution of global approaches taken to housing for the urban poor will be examined below.

2.3.2 Progression of global approaches to housing

The way in which housing provision for the poor has been approached over time is difficult to generalise, due to the diversity of approaches taken by various cities, as they seek to manage urban growth. This diversity can be due to differing cities or contexts or, as noted in the quote below, it may be about the direction:

When two governments appear to have similar housing policies, they probably arise from different motives and may have very different implications for their citizens (Hardoy & Satterthwaite, 1990: 121).

Nonetheless, at a global level, the evolution of dominant trends is evident and it can provide valuable lessons for development actors, who are attempting to combat the intensifying demand for adequate shelter.

After the 1950s, as slum areas began expanding globally, they became more visible and sprawling. They surpassed city centres and engulfed large areas, moving to the periphery of urban settlements. With land scarcity developing into a major issue, people began to occupy land that was unfit for habitation, thus exposing them to environmentally vulnerable and hazardous areas (Buckley & Kalarickal, 2006). By the late 1960s, in response to acute demand, most developing cities were implementing large-scale public housing programmes. During this period, there was a distinct focus on nation building and a strong expectation that the state should lead development and provide social services for its citizens. However, as Tebbal and Ray (1998) identify in their report on housing the poor, there were three major shortcomings to this approach. The first was a distinct lack of resources and capacity from governments, in order to meet the needs of growing populations. Secondly, the cost associated with public housing provision meant that the majority of projects failed to service the intended target groups. Thirdly, institutions that financed housing loans struggled to meet demand and therefore they enforced strict collateral requirements, thus making it impossible for the poorest of the poor to gain access to funds. The public housing model was transplanted from the experiences of developed countries, where it had been implemented during the post-war period to provide housing to low-income groups (Abbot, 2002)[1]. Unfortunately, the Third World did not have the capacity needed to implement it successfully.

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[1] The public housing model implemented widely during the post war period in Europe was later found to have many negative consequences. The concentration of low-income dwellers created overwhelming social problems. The residents of public housing estates were often isolated from

With public housing schemes labelled 'less than successful', especially in the area of addressing poverty, the academic community called for greater dweller control in the production of shelters (Abbot, 2002). In addition, governments of the developing world began to exert pressure on the World Bank to offer loans for infrastructure and housing provision projects. The World Bank agreed to be involved, if countries made a major transition away from public housing (Pugh, 1994), towards a very different approach:

> The alternative approach that it advocated, to replace social housing, was self-help, and the mechanisms for delivery were the provisions of sites and services and in situ slum upgrading (Pugh, 1994: 64).

This approach marked a considerable shift in thinking from the development community, since it encouraged a bottom-up method of working. It displayed a belated realisation that the poor have a variety of positive objectives with regard to their own housing. Self-help housing involved some type of collaboration between what had been called the public and popular modes of housing construction (Drakakis-Smith, 2000: 157).

In theory, this approach offered advantages over the rigid public housing schemes. The 'self-help' nature enabled communities to keep costs down and to stretch funding. It also allowed beneficiaries to build or upgrade their homes at their own pace, based on household income, thus ensuring the process was manageable and sustainable over time (Tebbal & Ray, 1998). However, due to the difficulty in providing un-occupied land that was suitable for self-help building, the initiative reached out to far fewer people than was intended (Werlin, 1999). A lack of technical advice available to the poor saw unfinished homes become common practice. The sites and services approach continued

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society and the estates became ghettos which were breeding grounds for crime and drug use. The housing estates were abandoned over time, as lack of income for maintenance meant they deteriorated rapidly. Additionally residents found increased incomes with new levels of economic growth, moving out and leaving the estates empty and abandoned (Atlas & Dreie, 1994).

in some countries, as small projects amongst communities: and hence another model was sought.

Despite the approaches that have been discussed thus far, until the late 1970s an underlying belief still prevailed in many countries that the only solution to growing slums was to demolish them, or force dwellers to the outskirts of the city so they were not as visible (Boonyabancha, 2005). The introduction of slum and squatter upgrading programmes in 1977 marked a significant shift in thinking, as governments began to view slum dwelling communities as a part of their cities. "For the first time the necessity of ensuring security of tenure for residents of the informal settlements was discussed at an international level" (Tebbal & Ray, 1998: 2).

These programmes were largely funded by the World Bank and they did not represent a unified approach, but a realisation by governments that they needed to invest in slum upgrading, since the problem was visibly escalating. Countries were responsible for implementing their own schemes and some visible results were produced, as seen in the Kampung Improvement Programme in Jakarta and the Bustee Improvement Programme in Calcutta. These approaches were comprised of an increased focus on service provision in the slum areas, however, despite some good results, this approach also failed to make the difference that was needed (Tebbal & Ray, 1998). In terms of upgrading, the investments made to these programmes were insufficient to combat decades of neglect. In addition, the haste to use the project funds made available, allowed little time for communities to be involved in the planning process, which resulted in them feeling a lack of ownership towards the interventions. This contributed to a reluctance shown by communities to pay for the improved services and the associated maintenance costs meant that any gains made were quickly undone over time (Drakakis-Smith, 2000).

2.3.3 Current practices

Nearing the end of the 1970s, theorists began to openly challenge the role of the state in development. It had become evident that governments were not effective providers of housing. John Turner, a British architect, was one of the strongest critics and he argued that governments should stop doing what they did badly (for example: providing and managing housing developments). He called for users to become the principal actors in housing provision, instead of central institutions (Turner, 1976). Reducing the role of government in direct provisory roles within the economy was accepted and exchanged with an increased role for the private sector (Keivani & Werna, 2001). This shift was largely promoted by changes in policy from the World Bank and IMF and it marked a move away from support of the 'development project' to the backing of more neo-liberal agendas. Support for the decreased involvement of the government within the housing sector led to the formulation of the 'enabling strategy'. This was designed and advocated by the World Bank, as an approach for public sector support of private market activity in housing provision in developing countries (World Bank, 1988). The new direction of 'enablement' had its roots in a liberal political economy.

> Liberalism has economic elements based upon principles of market dynamism and efficiency, orthodoxy in macroeconomic management, and certain prescriptions in the politics of institutional conditions and property rights (Pugh, 1994: 357).

This approach required the reformulation of the government's role to solely focus on activities that would strengthen the capabilities of the private sector and thus generate an environment that would enable the housing market to work effectively (Hassan, 2011). It sought to address housing as an entire system, not just as individual projects. Two documents have been instrumental in establishing and defining the parameters of this new approach. They are the 'United Nations Global Strategy for Shelter to the Year 2000', which was adopted in 1988, and 'Housing: Enabling Markets to work', which was published by the World Bank in 1993. The Global Strategy for Shelter

focuses on the mobilisation of the full potential and resources of all actors in the shelter production and improvement process. The people concerned are given the opportunity to improve their housing conditions according to the need and priorities that they themselves have defined (Global Strategy for Shelter, 1988). The World Bank's report outlines two main points that they believe to be essential for the success of this approach: (1) governments must refrain from intervening in housing and land markets, thus allowing the market to function more efficiently; and (2) housing must be treated as an economic good, not as a social service (World Bank, 1993). Furthermore, the World Bank provided a guide for governments stating the 'Do's and Don'ts' of the enabling approach:

Table 2.1: Do's and Don'ts of the Enabling Approach

Instrument	Do	Don't
Developing Property Rights	-Regularize land tenure -Expand land registration -Privatize public housing -Establish property taxation	-Engage in mass evictions -Nationalize land -Discourage land transactions
Developing Mortgage Finance	-Allow private sector to lend -Lend at positive market rates -Enforce foreclosure laws -Ensure prudential regulation -Introduce better loan instruments	-Allow interest rate subsidies -Neglect resource mobilization -Allow high default rates -Discriminate against rental housing investments
Rationalizing Subsidies	-Make subsidies transparent -Target subsidies to the poor -Subsidize people not houses -Subject subsidies to review	-Build subsidized public housing -Allow for hidden subsidies -Use rent control as a subsidy
Providing Infrastructure	-Coordinate land development -Emphasize cost recovery -Base provision on demand -Improve slum infrastructure	-Allow bias infrastructure investments -Use environmental concerns for slum clearance
Regulating land and housing development	-Reduce regulatory complexity -Assess cost of regulation -Remove price distortions -Remove artificial shortages -Eliminate monopoly practices	-Impose unaffordable standards -Maintain unenforceable rules -Allow long permit delays

Organise the building society	-Encourage small-firm entry -Reduce import controls -Support building research	-Institute regulations inhibiting competition -Continue public monopolies
Developing a policy & institutional framework	-Develop enabling strategies -Monitor sector performance -Create a forum for managing the housing sector as a whole -Balance private/public sector roles	-Engage in direct public housing -Neglect local government role -Retain financially unsustainable institutions

Source: World Bank, 1993, p.43.

The new approach highlights key constraints that have plagued effective housing provision in the past: lack of secure tenure; speculative land markets; inflexible housing finance systems; inappropriate planning; and the inability of institutional frameworks to involve people in the development process (Tebbal & Ray, 1998). It was believed that the constraints on effective housing provision would be addressed through neo-liberal policies carried out in the form of structural adjustment programmes. The new enablement partnership puts people centre stage and gives households access to land, credit and infrastructure, through the removal of restrictive policy (Drakakis-Smith, 2000).

> The basic philosophy is that the poor shall be assisted to help themselves and the initiative for shelter provision shall spring out of a more free and efficient market (Hesselberg, 1995: 158).

However, it is often difficult for vulnerable groups to organise themselves and sustain collective action. The enablement approach relies on strong facilitation by local authorities towards housing provision. It also calls for an increased role for NGOs and CBOs, since they provide valuable links between communities and city administrations (Pugh, 1994). The strength and commitment of governments to the cause of housing provision is highlighted through the enabling paradigm.

Since the initial conception of the enabling strategy, a number of international agreements and declarations have been signed to further strengthen its effectiveness. The 'Habitat Two' conference was held in Istanbul in 1996 and the pressing need for slum upgrading was highlighted (UNHSP, 2003). 'Habitat Two' endeavoured to address two main themes: (1) providing adequate shelter for all; and (2) learning how to develop sustainable human settlements within an urbanising world (UN Habitat Agenda, 1996). During this summit, 171 governments committed to the agenda of, "promoting the upgrading of informal settlements and urban slums as an expedient measure and pragmatic solution to the urban shelter deficit" (UN Habitat Agenda, 1996: 13). The conference extended the scope of the enabling framework, by emphasising the importance of partnerships and participatory approaches to realising the goal of 'adequate shelter for all'. Governments were encouraged to engage with, and strengthen relationships with all stakeholders, including local authorities, NGOs and the private sector (Tebbal and Ray, 1998).

There have been a number of other significant moves by the international community to express their commitment to the global housing plight. In 1999, a joint venture between 10 donor governments, UNCHS and the World Bank emerged. It was called the Cities Alliance and it represents a global partnership for urban poverty reduction and the promotion of the role of cities in sustainable development (Cities Alliance, 2012). The Alliance focuses on two key issues: the growth of slums; and how to manage the urban environment where substantial growth is occurring. They act as a support agency offering advice on policy direction, capacity building and project management (Cities Alliance, 2012). The group initiated the development of the 'Cities without Slums' action plan, which seeks to contribute to the meaningful reduction of urban poverty. The commitment of the international community towards housing provision can also be seen in two other global projects: (1) MDGs formulated in the year 2000, with goal seven having a target of 'improving the lives of 100 million slum dwellers by the year 2020' (UNDP, 2012); and (2) UNCHS Global Campaign for Secure Tenure, which acknowledges the goals set in the Millennium Declaration and seeks to remedy one of the largest obstacles for slum dwellers, that is, security of

tenure, which was marked as a vital element to the successful progression and development of rapidly expanding cities (UN Habitat, 2012). Since the late 1980s, various initiatives and declarations have arisen. However, they are still being carried out within the parameters of the enablement approach. The discussion will now continue with a focus on NGOs and their approach to housing provision. The opportunities that the enablement framework provides for them will be examined, in addition to their experiences within the sector.

2.4 NGO Approaches to housing

As mentioned above, since the 1980s there has been a distinct shift in development thinking, which has seen a reduction in the role of the central state. This is a direct reflection on the move towards neo-liberal, market led approaches to development. Decentralisation was introduced as an enabling method, thus aiding the transition from state led to a market driven economy. It was believed to increase efficiency, by shifting responsibility away from the government and onto local authorities and organisations. The move from top-down approaches provided an opportunity for the growth of the non-governmental sector (Willis, 2005). Satterthwaite (2001) claims that the single most influential factor in the failure of urban housing interventions by governments, over the last 40 years, is the fundamental lack of influence they have allowed groups of the urban poor to exert. NGOs arguably play a very significant role within developing nations, since they have the ability to directly involve and enable communities to use their own initiatives to develop themselves (Agbola, 1994).

Defining NGOs

Due to the increasingly large civil society sector, confusion can emerge over what constitutes an NGO. There are examples of the term being used to describe sports organisations, political parties, unions and charities (Arrossi, 1994). Although the term is very broad, it is important to define what constitutes an NGO, with specific reference to this research. For the purpose

of this study, the following definition formulated by the World Bank (2012: Glossary of key terms) will be used:

> NGOs are defined as private organisation that pursues activities to relieve suffering, promote the interests of the poor, protect the environment, provide basic social services, or undertake community development. NGOs often differ from other organizations in the sense that they tend to operate independent from government, are value-based and are guided by the principles of altruism and voluntarism.

A diverse group of organisations can fall under this definition. For example, NGOs can be small-scale and operating within just one community or city. In direct contrast, they could also be large northern-based organisations working with partner countries in the south (Vakil, 1997). Coupled with the vast range of organisations comes a huge variation in methodologies and theoretical standpoints. The section below will examine the approaches taken by NGOs working within the housing sector.

2.4.1 Modes of delivery

Approaches

The notion of 'housing provision' is a broad theme and it could apply to any sector-based intervention within a settlement that results in the improvement of the lives of residents affected (Abbot, 2002). It is difficult to generalise about the work of NGOs in the housing sector, since the form, content and scope of their work differs greatly. It is influenced by the political context, countries, neighbourhoods and the value and beliefs of the individual NGOs (Arrossi, 1994). There is minimum consensus on the approaches that have been taken by NGOs working within the infrastructure sector (Arrossi, 1994). Particularly in the Sub-Saharan region, there is a distinct lack of documentation on the work of NGOs providing housing and shelter. Guylani

and Bassett (2007) explain that very little is known about previous and on-going efforts to improve slum conditions. Literature is scarce about the types of projects that have been implemented, how and why they have evolved over time and their successes and failures. Despite the lack of literature surrounding urban housing projects, the approaches that organisations use to provide housing predominately reflect dominant paradigms of the time.

Emergency Approach to housing:

The notion of development NGOs has evolved in more recent times, but the origins of most established NGOs can be traced back to their beginnings as emergency relief agencies (Pearce, 2000). NGOs often engage with immediate relief based development, as a direct response to emergencies or disasters. Approaches to this form of aid vary significantly and reflect each organisation's core values and beliefs. However, the following are identified as common principles that underpin the approach: efficiency, recovery, holistic, sustainable, respect for local culture and knowledge, and accountability (Mancino, Malley & Cornejo, 2001: 3).

There are a large number of NGOs that provide housing and shelter through the emergency approach — and for some it is their sole focus. NGOs can be seen as highly valuable actors in the recovery process, since they have the ability to quickly mobilise resources (Chandra & Acosta, 2009). In addition, they have been credited for the way in which they give attention and support to communities throughout the relocation and reconstruction phase (Gilbert, 2001). Multilateral development banks are often disinclined to become involved with financing emergency housing projects. They fear that these interventions may be detrimental to permanent good practice housing solutions. NGOs are valuable in this situation, since they are very willing to carry out borrower demands and will often work in remote geographical locations (Gilbert, 2001).

In the face of disaster, emergency shelter provision is a basic and essential human need. Nevertheless, NGOs face numerous challenges when attempting to provide housing through this mode. They face balancing efficiency with fostering the participation of communities, which often takes additional time and effort. Another challenge is the implementation and commitment to long-term development partnerships with the affected communities, once their immediate needs have been met (Gilbert, 2001). A report, which examined the impact of NGOs that provided housing after Hurricane Katrina, suggests that "their effectiveness could be enhanced if they were more formally engaged in recovery efforts and better integrated into planning at the local and state levels" (Chandra & Acosta, 2009: 6). Nevertheless, NGOs play an important part in housing provision through this emergency approach.

Basic Needs Approach to housing:

The basic needs approach emerged during the 1970s, since top-down methods of development were not succeeding in reducing poverty. Rather than 'trickling down' through society, the benefits of increased economic development were being experienced by richer countries and groups (Hettne, 1995). The approach was initiated in 1976 by the International Labour Organisation (ILO) and the World Bank. Under this scheme, the focus of development policy was to be directed at the poorest of the poor in society, in order to address their most pressing needs, for example, food, shelter, water and employment (Willis, 2005). The adoption of this approach helped to "gear production, investment, income and employment policies to meet the needs of the poor in a cost-effective manner within a specific time frame" (Streeten, 1981: 3). Fundamentally, most NGOs pursue a 'basic needs approach' to some extent, as they seek to identify the basic requirements of human development and to advocate within society for their fulfilment (Jonsson, 2003).

There has been much criticism against the basic needs approach, particularly due to the issue of cost, since improving basic services is financially

demanding (Willis, 2005). However, evidence shows that NGOs still use this approach as a theoretical underpinning to their work. Habitat for Humanity is a large international NGO that is solely committed to "providing decent and affordable shelter for all" (Habitat for Humanity, 2012). They work from a strong basic needs perspective and only in recent years have they become engaged in strengthening their advocacy and participatory practices. To date, they have served over 2.5 million people globally, proving that this type of singular focus can be effective (Habitat for Humanity, 2012). One of the major benefits to NGOs that pursue a basic needs approach is that their objectives can be met through benevolent or charitable actions. Their success is generally quantifiable through the reaching of goals and targets, thus making accountability to donors much easier (Jonsson, 2003).

Rights Based Approach to housing:

Whilst the links between rights and human development have been present since the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948, rights as an approach to development has only gained recognition within the international community over the past decade (Llewellyn-Fowler & Overton, 2010). A wide range of actors have adopted this approach, including the United Nations, DFID, Oxfam and Save the Children (Bradshaw, 2006). Rights based development starts from the position that all people are entitled to a certain level of well-being:

> It takes the side of people who suffer injustice by acknowledging their equal worth and dignity; it removes the charity dimension of development by emphasising rights and responsibilities (Kjaerum as cited in Boesen & Martin, 2007: 4).

This approach is driven by a set of base principals that can vary slightly between organisations, but they are generally defined as: (1) inalienability, indivisibility and interdependence of human rights; (2) empowerment and participation; (3) equality and non-discrimination; and (4) accountability

(Boesen & Martin, 2007: 15). Within this approach, every human being is a rights holder and for every human right there is a corresponding duty bearer (Gready, 2008).

NGOs have eagerly adopted this approach, since they have close existing relationships with communities and they are able to empower the poor to 'claim their rights' (Offenheiser & Holcombe, 2003). Housing, as a human right, has been recognised by numerous international declarations and agreements. The effectiveness of this paradigm, as a tool for NGOs and housing provision, will be deeply explored in Chapter Three. The following section will examine two case studies where NGOs have been involved in housing provision or upgrading activities.

2.4.2 Examples of interventions by NGOs

The involvement of NGOs in housing provision is essential if global goals and targets, such as the MDGs are going to be met.

> NGOs are significant because they partner with urban poor households and their community organisations and networks to increase their voice, and offer local governments potential partners in reducing poverty (Satterthwaite, 2005: 111)

The following examples highlight the positive roles and contributions that NGOs can make towards housing provision.

The Alliance of SPARC, The National Slum Dwellers Federation and Mahila Milan

The Society for the Promotion of Area Resource Centres (SPARC) is an Indian NGO that was formed in 1984. Together with the Mahila Milan (a women's cooperative formed by slum and pavement dwellers) and the

National Slum Dwellers Federation, their work has resulted in local innovation, mass mobilisation, policy change and much improved utilisation of municipality funds (Patal & Mitlin, 2004). SPARC is now considered by many to be one of the world's leading urban NGOs reaching out to thousands of slum dwellers. By the year 2002, 750,000 households were members of this alliance: and it was working in 52 cities in eight different states (Patal & Mitlin, 2004). SPARC works predominantly from a rights based perspective, since their mission is to build the capacity of urban poor communities, thus enabling them to 'claim their rights' to the city (SPARC, 2012).

When SPARC's work began their staff members were clear that engaging with the pavement dwellers of India's slums should be their focus. These people are the poorest of the poor and they are extremely vulnerable to the realities of life ─ constantly fear eviction, disease and hunger. The grants received by the NGO, during the first years, were spent on area resource centres, which provided spaces where women could meet and discuss their problems (Satterthwaite, 2005). The NGO opted to create a women's collective, rather than seeking male members, and all participants of the group, which became known as the Mahila Milan, were pavement dwellers. All the ideas that emerged through these meetings were one hundred per cent driven by the women, with SPARC acting as a facilitator. Issues and strategies were discussed and eventually housing emerged as the top priority for the women (SPRAC Annual Report, 2009). They formed a savings fund, which all the pavement dwellers would contribute to and utilise for income generation activities, in the hope that they could collectively finance housing developments in the future (Patal & Mitlin, 2004).

SPARC began to expand operations throughout the city and formed a partnership with the National Slum Dwellers Federation (NSDF), to ensure it could access more communities. By 1990, the alliance had amassed enough capital to start building houses and expand their operations to other sectors of importance within the urban slums. SPARC began to challenge governmental agencies and argued that:

No urban programme can work in the long run until institutions are owned and controlled by the communities and the programmes are designed and executed by those that are meant to benefit from them (Patal & Mitlin, 2004: 221).

The NSDF believe that a people's organisation, such as Mahila Milan, will always need the support of an NGO, due to their ability to liaise with government and funding agencies, write proposals, prepare documentation and liaise with people of different languages abroad (Patal & Mitlin, 2004).

SPARC has facilitated the process of housing provision amongst some of the poorest within urban settings. In Mumbai alone, seven housing projects have now been completed, including the first housing estates for the families of the pavement. This alliance has also managed the relocation of 22,000 households in Mumbai, demonstrating that forced eviction is not the only option for governments (SPARC Annual Report, 2009). It is also now implementing a large-scale housing project in Dharavi[2], in the hope of demonstrating to the world that it is possible to provide quality housing without slum dwellers having to move away (Satterthwaite, 2005).

Namibia Housing Action Group

The Namibia Housing Action Group is an NGO that was formed in 1992, to assist with the provision of low-income housing. They work largely from a basic needs approach, since providing the urban poor with minimum housing and sanitation requirements is the core purpose of their work (Satterthwaite, 2005). This NGO is responsible for supporting the national Shack Dwellers Federation. By the end of 2004, the NGO and the Federation together had 312 active savings groups in 41 different settlements, over all 13 regions of the nation. There are over 12,350 households that have members in the Federation, with most of them living in slums (Satterthwaite, 2005). The NGO has been instrumental in liaising with municipal authorities and communities,

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[2] A very large, high-density inner city slum

in order to acquire land for building upon. They also have been involved with educating communities on issues related to tenure and encouraging them to demand a reduction in the cost of formal, legal housing plots, so they are more affordable. In addition, the Namibian Housing Action Group has a loan fund in which savings are deposited and accumulated. This fund is then available for members of the Shack Dwellers Federation to utilise for infrastructure, housing or income generating projects (Mitlin &Muller, 2004).

2.4.3 Positive roles for NGOs

NGOs are taking a significant role in the provision of housing, due to their abundant knowledge, expertise and experience of the housing process (Lombard & van Wyk, 2001). Through the examples above, it is clear to see the positive roles that NGOs can play within the sector. A great deal of their success is due to a strong commitment to community driven development, which is the common element in both of the projects (Abbot, 2002). Huchzermeyer (1999) outlines that NGO-driven, community-based activities can change according to country and region and they do not represent a unitary methodology. Instead, they are guided by a universal principle: trust in the abilities of the poor, with the aim, therefore, not to provide for them, but instead to increase the options open to them. It has been observed that, in areas where NGOs are encouraged to work, community development activities have been powerful in bringing about change and can complement a government's national development efforts (Agbola, 1994). As seen in the examples above, NGOs are effective development partners: the success of the projects above has relied on the forming of strong partnerships between communities, CBOs and governments.

The new aid paradigm[3] has led to a renewed focus on alternative development methods, thus providing NGOs with a unique opportunity to become dominant actors in remedying urban poverty. NGOs are committed to

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[3] A new framework for aid delivery channeled through the creation of the MGSs, PRSPs, SWAPs, budget support, country ownership and a global goal of 'poverty reduction' (Holvoet & Renard, 2005).

identifying and solving the core causes of poverty (for example, housing) with their flexible, community based initiatives (Rahman, 2002).

> NGOs recognise the need to link their efforts with that of the government to achieve better results, as fragmented and uncoordinated housing programmes may not benefit the mass in the long term (Rahman, 2002: 10).

NGOs can have a significant impact on housing development, but they do suffer from a lack of resources. It requires strong partnerships with governments, to ensure policy and institutional obstacles do no stifle their work with communities (Ulleburg, 2010). An atmosphere where NGOs are encouraged and enabled would benefit governments and slum dwellers, therefore leading to the improvement of the urban housing crisis.

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter has explored the notion of housing within the developing urban environments of our world today. The impact of global urbanisation trends validate the need for effective housing solutions to be sought, as urban poverty rises at astounding rates. Globally, the progression of approaches towards shelter provision has been traced and the different modes and paradigms that have been implemented over the decades, as solutions to shelter deficits, have been highlighted. The ineffectiveness of governments as sole providers of housing has been exemplified. The methods that NGOs have employed within housing provision were examined and two case studies were presented, in order to validate their role within the sector. The examples given have highlighted the value and importance of NGOs when facilitating community action and beginning to solve the housing puzzle. The following chapter will consist of a deep analysis of a rights based approach to development. This will enable an assessment of the suitability of the approach to be employed by NGOs for housing provision.

Chapter Three

Rights Based Approaches

3.1 Introduction

The history of development is one of constant flux and change and it is continually being shaped by political ideologies; global trends; academic discourse; non-governmental issues; and a failure to generate lasting solutions to poverty and underdevelopment. The linkages between human rights and human development have been recognised for more than 50 years, but the deliberate inclusion of a human rights perspective into development policy and practice has only strongly emerged over the past two decades. This has occurred as a direct response to the inability of mainstream development to reduce poverty and the recognition of the value of human rights, as suggested by Llewellyn-Fowler & Overton:

> Where human rights were once considered a by-product of development, good governance and democracy, today they play a central role, influencing everything from stakeholder analysis to programme design (Llewellyn-Fowler & Overton, 2010 :828).

The language of human rights is becoming increasingly common and rights based approaches to development have been mainstreamed into organisations, such as the World Bank and Oxfam, thus giving the approach new backing and considerable purchase within the international development community. However, strong support from the World Bank towards this approach makes some people highly sceptical.

This chapter outlines the emergence of the rights based approach and situates it within wider development thinking. It is especially relevant to follow its evolution, since it represents some very significant changes in development rhetoric and practice. The key elements and challenges of applying of a rights based approach will be identified. It is useful for this thesis to examine the way in which the approach impacts on the work of NGOs and governments.

3.2 The emergence of rights based approaches

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1948. It coincided with the emergence of the modern era of development and it represents one of the strongest statements of rights, as the means for human fulfilment.

> The UDHR not only redefined the relationship between the individual and global political order, but did so by declaring the individual to have both civic and political freedoms and the right to cultural, economic and social welfare (Gready & Ensor, 2005: 16).

Development emerged as 'overseas aid' in the early 1950s, within an environment that was dominated by independence movements and the ending of colonial occupation. The developed 'north' set about assisting the 'south' in the quest for economic growth. The aid provided was considered to be a transitory arrangement, which would induce 'take-off' and it was accordingly defined by an economic agenda, with growth being sought mainly through large-scale infrastructure projects. However, the newly formulated UDHR seemed to play a minimal role within the flurry of development that the following decades would bring. Issues of ethics such as rights and welfare were, if considered at all, assumed to follow as a mere consequence.

During the 1960s, it became increasingly clear that aid had not had the immediate effects that were intended and this led to donor countries reassessing their roles. Whilst some growth had been achieved, conditions for the poorest within society had seen no benefits. As a critique of modernisation, the 1960s brought about a new vision of development, characterised by anti-poverty, welfare and gender strategies. This redefinition of development become known as the basic needs approach (see Chapter Two). This aid was directed at the poor and excluded certain groups of society, by offering programmes that were targeted at meeting health, education and farming needs. Despite high expectations from this new mode of development, the debt crisis, at the start of the 1970s, prompted a rapid retreat from human-focused development (Gready & Ensor, 2005: 16). The first United Nations Development Decade (the 1960s) review and appraisal stated, in its critique of development, the disregard for human rights. This report states that there was no attempt to raise awareness or increase action towards extending the protection or fulfilment of human rights (Tomasevski, 1993: 12).

Despite the lack of acknowledgement for human rights during the 1960s, important developments emerged during the 1970s that would begin to weave rights and development together in a meaningful way that would prove to be an enduring relationship. It was during this decade that governments of the South, frustrated by the ineffective nature of aid, brought rights squarely into development discourse, through the claiming of the right to development (Gready & Ensor, 2005: 18). The United Nations General Assembly would not fully adopt the right to development until 1986, but the notion began to gain momentum with the UN and other development actors, especially NGOs. Amartya Sen is well known for introducing the ideas of freedom, agency, capabilities and entitlement to development discourse. He strongly challenges conventional development ideologies and practices, by rejecting the technocratic, welfarist economic development and replacing it with the notion of 'development as freedom'. "He has played a central role in the emergence and acceptance of the interrelationship between human rights and development" (Gready & Ensor, 2005: 19). When Sen's ideas are placed within the broader context of thought relating to rights and development, it is

easier to see rights-based approaches as the product of an evolution in thinking, rather than the result of one individual's work. The emergence of rights based approaches show a significant difference from previous development strategies. It identifies rights as a challenge to mainstream thinking, and as a goal to be contested rather than the simple 'repackaging' of the status quo (Uvin, 2004: 2).

As realisation that the aid modalities of the 1980s and 1990s had not been beneficial to the developing countries of the world, criticism was directed against the structural adjustment programmes that were implemented during this time period. There was a general lack of evidence to suggest that the SAPs actually enhanced and promoted economic growth. Molyneux and Lazar speak of the 'conceptual shift' across a range of large development actors and NGOs, at the beginning of the 1990s, where organisations moved from being needs based and service driven to more *strategic* approaches, in which the prevalence of rights issues increased considerably. (Molyneux & Lazar, 2003: 6).

> After several decades on the sidelines of development discourse, the failure of the neo-liberal reaction provided an environment receptive to an alternative development paradigm, allowing the human rights approach to emerge (Gready & Ensor, 2005: 20).

Throughout the 1990s, NGOs worked tirelessly, by campaigning for the adoption of rights language into donors vocabulary and policy documents. The end of the Cold War brought about an overwhelming shift in global politics and ─ from a rights perspective ─ evidence of this can be seen in the content of the Vienna Declaration. This consensus emerged in 1993 at the UN World Conference of Human Rights and the declaration reaffirmed 'the right to development', as established in the Declaration on the Right to Development. The declaration stated:

> Human rights and fundamental freedoms are the birthright of all human beings; their protection and promotion is the first responsibility of government (Vienna Declaration, 1993).

In a way, the right to development was reinstated again in Vienna, in a manner that was envisaged at its conception, post-World War Two. (Sengupta, 2004: 2). As a result of Vienna, developing countries increasingly demanded international assistance as an entitlement and development was seen as a right, rather than an instrument of solidarity (Jonsson, 2005:47). With the reassertion of populist sentiments, civil and political rights were being regained and used to demand cultural, economic and social justice. Many social movements realised that "impoverishment and disempowerment are two sides of the same coin" (Tomasevski, 1993: 21). The indivisibility of rights was finally becoming clear to a wide range of development actors, and we can now see this forming the basis of the approach. "The threads of failing neo-liberalism, resurgent indivisibility, social movement activism and long-standing intellectual support combined to form a bond tying rights to development" (Gready & Ensor, 2005: 21). Rights based approaches to development have now been adopted by NGOs and organisations around the globe, in varying degrees.

3.3 Examination of key principles and challenges

Rights-based approaches (RBAs) to development provide the clearest link to human rights and they are becoming increasingly popular within the international development community. According to Boesen & Martin, rights-based development starts from the ethical position that all people are entitled to a certain standard, in terms of material and spiritual well-being: and it takes the side of people who suffer injustice by acknowledging their equal worth and dignity (Boesen & Martin, 2007: 4). With the rising prevalence of RBAs being applied to development, there is much discussion and debate about what this approach encompasses and how it can be implemented in practice. It is crucial for this thesis to unravel the tangled-threads of 'rights talk', in order to define the key principles of the approach, so that a framework for identifying NGOs utilising rights can be formulated.

Through examination of a wide range of literature, it is extremely evident that there is not one RBA. It is an evolving area of theory and practice and can be

understood in a variety of different ways (Llewellyn-Fowler & Overton, 2010: 828). The United Nations defines rights-based development as "a conceptual framework for the process of human development that is normatively based on international human rights standards and operationally directed to promoting and protecting human rights" (UNOHCHR, 2006: 15). This approach builds on the existing knowledge and the technical foundations that a traditional form of development offers. By merging development with the human rights framework and its focus on justice, the RBA is heavily focussed on issues of power balances, discrimination and vulnerability. This approach recognises that economic development does not necessarily lead to better living standards for 'the poor' within society. RBAs emphasise the importance of the interrelationship between the individual at the micro level and the state and the international community at the macro level. Participation and empowerment of the poor are strong themes that run through the RBA. The notion of rights holders and duty bearers is prominent, with rights holders being encouraged to hold governments and other development actors to account, thus helping them to secure all rights which they are owed (Boesen & Martin, 2007: 12). However, demanding accountability from various actors does not necessarily mean confrontation, since the RBA also aims to enable duty-bearers to meet their obligations.

The shift in development thinking, when compared to traditional charity and needs based approaches, is illustrated clearly below:

Table 3.1: The shift in Development Thinking

Charity Approach	*Needs Approach*	*Rights-Based Approach*
Focus on input not outcome	Focus on input and outcome	Focus on process and outcome
Emphasises increasing charity	Emphasises meeting needs	Emphasises meeting rights
Recognises moral responsibility of rich towards poor	Recognises needs as valid claims	Recognises individual and group rights as claims towards legal and moral duty-bearers
Individuals are seen as	Individuals are objects of	Individuals and groups are

victims	development interventions	empowered to claim their rights
Individuals deserve assistance	Individuals deserve assistance	Individuals are entitled to assistance
Focuses on manifestation of problems	Focuses on immediate causes of problems	Focuses on structural causes and their manifestations

Source: Boesen & Martin, 2007, p.10.

In the table above, it is easy to see the clear shift that has taken place in development thinking, which has led to the emergence of RBA. One of the most obvious differences is the way that the RBA creates 'claims' and 'duties' — as opposed to 'philanthropy' and 'charity' (Banik, 2010: 37). These changes in power balances transform the practice of development and it clearly enables people to recognise and exercise their rights. As explained by Cornwall & Nyamu-Musembi (2004), most rights based organisations' strategies involve: (1) Strengthening the capacity of the duty-holders (the state and other development actors that may be responsible for the fulfilment of rights); and (2) building the capacity of citizens to claim their rights, through working alongside them as advocates or by providing opportunities for people to empower themselves (Cornwall & Nyamu-Musembi, 2004: 1430). The RBA adds value to development by including existing elements, such as gender, participation and empowerment into a coherent framework. This approach also adds some of the missing elements, such as a renewed focus on law, policy, accountability, vulnerability, the role of the state and the interrelation between rights-holders and duty-bearers. The Danish Institute for Human Rights has identified four principles that they believe underpin the approach and they can be found, in varying degrees, within most organisations that advocate for rights: (1) inalienability, indivisibility and the interdependence of human rights; (2) empowerment and participation;(3) equality and non-discrimination; (4) accountability. The common principles of rights-based development depict a shift in how development actors 'do business', thus offering the potential to change their ways. As stated by Cornwell and Nyamu-Musembi, they need to shift from unreflective patronage to the self-awareness exercise of 'agency', in support of those who are discriminated against and

marginalised (Cornwall & Nyamu-Musembi, 2004: 1431). Moving human rights beyond its state-centric paradigm will serve two purposes that are strongly advocated by Chris Jochnick:

> First, it will challenge the reigning neo-liberal extremism that infects much of the public discourse about development and poverty, providing a rhetoric and vision to suggest that entrenched poverty is neither inevitable nor acceptable. Secondly, it will provide a legal framework with which to begin holding these other actors more accountable for their role in creating and sustaining poverty (Jochnick, 1997: 1).

The rights approach offers development practitioners the opportunity to reflect more broadly upon the power dynamics inherent within international development.

Despite the rights approach to development becoming increasingly prevalent within the development sector, it has not escaped careful analysis from academics, activists, theorists and even some donors. It proposes a significant shift in development theory and practice, thus causing many to be critical and wary of the approach. In the case of this thesis it is essential to examine some of the main critiques of the approach, in order to ensure that a full and well-rounded understanding is gained. This will enable informed decisions to be made about the appropriateness of using a rights based approach to housing provision for the poor in Addis Ababa. There are a multitude of criticisms against shifting to a rights based approach, however, this thesis will examine three aspects that have been identified as major concerns for the new paradigm. The issues that will be discussed have been identified following the completion of a full and thorough literature review and they appear to be the most prominent and reoccurring themes of critique.

3.3.1 Multitude of modes for Implementation

The RBA leads to confusion when organisations seek methods for implementation, since there are numerous ways to utilise its principles. Cornwell and Nyamu-Musembi (2004) reviewed four ways in which human rights are deployed in RBAs, which can be seen as: (1) a normative set of principles; (2) a set of instruments to develop assessments, checklists and indicators; (3) a component to be integrated into programming; and finally (4) the underlying justification for interventions aimed at strengthening institutions. (Cornwell & Nyamu-Musembi, 2004: 1431). Each of these four dimensions has their own strengths, but also limitations. Therefore, pursuing any one dimension on its own will be likely to have an insignificant impact and it will be inadequate as an overarching approach. Utilising the RBA as a set of principles, which define the overall vision of development, can run the risk of becoming simply another way of repackaging interventions, with little substance or commitment to lasting change. UNICEF has chosen the second step of implementation outlined above, and it is using this approach as a set of instruments for developing assessments. Evidence of this process is depicted in their five-step assessment model that was developed to help formulate indicators and checklists (UNICEF, 2004: 16). However, this method of employing a RBA runs the risk of becoming tokenistic and simply a matter of 'ticking boxes'. (Gready, 2008: 740). Cornwell and Nyamu-Musembi warn of the danger of adopting a RBA as a component to be added to traditional programming, since it is vulnerable to becoming an 'add on' and something that is not truly invested in time. It might be considered on paper through policies, but in practice it is completely disregarded with little or no influence. Most organisations are formulating and arriving at their own understandings of how to employ a RBA.

> An excessive amount of the attention on RBAs is directed at the rhetorical level rather than on the practical implementation of development practice and policies. The basic weakness of human rights is that they are mainly proclaimed rather than implemented (Banik, 2010: 39).

Developing countries are underprepared for the arrival of such drastic changes to development thinking and practice, especially when issues of power, conflict, exclusion and discrimination have to be deciphered. It is exceptionally difficult for governments and organisations to prepare for an approach with such varying methods and modes. The importance attached to the RBA and its success varies significantly, depending on the ideological or organisational culture of the institutions (Banik, 2010: 39). Rights could be seen as central and instrumental to the success of development, or as a mere formality of 'keeping up appearances' necessary to ensure continued donor support.

> The risk always exists that taking up a rights based approach amounts to little more than making nice statements of intent regarding things that it would be nice to achieve, or duties we would like the world to assume one day, without setting out either the concrete procedures for actually achieving those rights or methods of avoiding the slow and dirty enterprise of politics (Uvin, 2004: 39).

For the rights movement to have an eternally lasting impact on poverty, a unified direction for practical implementation needs to be developed, thus making the progression to this approach manageable and clear for all who wish to invest in its promised power.

3.3.2 Politicisation

Traditionally, NGOs proclaim to be a more neutral, impartial and independent source of aid and advice within the development community. However, there is growing concern that this position is considerably compromised with them taking up a RBA, since it lends itself heavily towards the increasing politicisation of their work (Gready & Ensor, 2005: 32). "NGOs have embraced human rights as politics. Aid has been identified by NGOs across the development-humanitarian spectrum as inherently political" (Chapman, 2005: 6). The engagement between politics and rights-based development is eminent, due to a focus on the government as chief duty-bearers to rights holders. According to Action Aid in India, the meaning of empowerment is

"enabling the poor to gain and keep control over the development process"
(Action Aid India, as cited in Greedy, 2008). This shows a shift in the
perspective of NGOs and their stance on politics: no longer are they
concerned with control of single actors or other NGOs, but with much broader
economic and political factors. Concepts such as participation and
empowerment, which were once used to describe NGOs' mode of
engagement with communities and values, have now expanded into much
deeper democratic spaces (Gready, 2008: 743). Mander writes:

> Neither rights nor justice can be given to a passive and inert group of
> people. Sustainable justice requires their central and active agency in
> all processes connected with identifying, assessing and securing their
> rights. Rights approaches therefore are by their very nature profoundly
> democratic (Mander, 2001: 242).

There is much criticism against aid being provided (or not) on the basis of how
it might contribute to the protection or promotion of rights. Gready and Ensor
argue that this is creating a different type of conditionality within the
development arena, which is unfair on the marginalised and vulnerable
communities who are relying on assistance. It is inadvertently denying them
their rights all over again. Humanitarian principles are based on neutrality,
universalism and impartiality, but the RBA is being accused of breaking those
long-held values and instead increasing the political nature of development
(Mohan & Holland, 2001: 183). With increased levels of politicisation in
regards to aid, leverage over non-western nations is amplified, with NGOs and
large institutions making decisions about what is right and fair.

> Where humanitarian aid started out as an expression of empathy with
> common humanity, it has been transformed through the discourse of
> human rights into a lever for strategic aims drawn up and acted upon
> by external agencies (Chandler, 2002: 47).

Organisations that have committed to the use of a RBA need to proceed with
caution. While politics are at the heart of this approach, it needs to be carefully

managed, to ensure that reducing poverty is their intention and that they are not swayed or manipulated by larger political agendas.

3.3.3 False hope

Development efforts, since the 1950s, have been characterised by their continual failure to reduce global poverty. Development is in a constant state of flux, with new vocabulary and modalities being added to its toolbox at a rate that seems so frequent it is barely manageable to keep current. It has come to a point where critics are exceptionally wary of new ideas, quickly adding them to the 'latest buzzword list'. Uvin discusses the shift to rights-based development as nothing more than:

> A rhetorical feel-good change, little more than thinly disguised repackaging which alters terminology, but rather than challenging traditional development discourse simply elevates it to a higher moral ground (Uvin, 2004: 1).

Many people critical of the approach believe that, rather than dramatically changing the work of agencies, the RBA reinvents a new identity, in order to combat the increasingly competitive and sceptical world (Duffield, 2001: 223). Human rights objectives are being added to the goals and criteria of various development actors, therefore allowing them to create programmes with very specific aims. For example, the World Bank now has a very strong focus on good governance.

This could constitute a form of appropriation as, in the case of good governance, it is often used by higher powers to blame southern governments for their underdevelopment (Gready & Ensor, 2005: 39). Rights rhetoric seems to be divided, with some organisations embracing it in a genuine manner by believing strongly in its lasting benefits, whilst others manipulate and adapt the new 'buzzword' to fulfil their own desires: often at the expense

of the very people they claim to help. Mohan and Holland believe the "balance sheet for rights-based development, as it is currently conceived, is relatively empty" (Mohan & Holland, 2001: 193). With the operational aspects of the approach still being more or less open to interpretation, the implications of full engagement with the approach remain to be tested. It will take time to develop a full understanding and in retrospect will we look back and agree it was a 'buzzword' ─ or really know that it was the beginning of lasting global change?

3.4 Understanding the approach from different perspectives

It is crucial for this thesis to identify the different ways in which a RBA affects varying development actors. Being aware of differing perspectives will allow an understanding of how they interact together: and which factors may enhance or be detrimental to effective development practices. It is especially relevant to examine this approach from the perspective of governments, since they form a major part of the rights based paradigm. Ethiopia is a weak state with low institutional capacity and therefore factors, such as the aforementioned, will change their viewpoints on a rights based approach, compared to those of a developed and strong state.

3.4.1 NGO perspective

Over the past decade, many development agencies have been reprogramming their organisations, in order to integrate RBAs into their work. NGOs were instrumental at the inception of the approach and this is reflected today with the visible amount of large NGOs, such as CARE, Oxfam and Action Aid that strongly support rights. Whilst engaging in a study of NGOs in Fiji, Llewellyn-Fowler and Overton found that they were aware of (and influenced by) the global policy shifts towards rights (Llewellyn-Fowler & Overton, 2010: 833). Nyamu-Mesembi and Musyoki write about the misconceptions on rights based development. It is often mistaken, especially amongst NGOs, as simply telling people about their rights.

However it is about letting people identify and analyse their problems and then coming up with solutions. It's about figuring out who is responsible for what. The important thing is to facilitate people's own understanding of their entitlements; helping to remove what constraints their potential. It's about facilitating a discovery of root causes, and then facilitating the search for solutions. The biggest challenge is to avoid creating another type of dependency, where people begin to view you as the 'rights giver' since you are the one telling then about their rights (Nyamu-Mesembi and Musyoki, 2004: 15).

NGOs are caught in a web of differing positions when carrying out a right-based mode of development. Their position is vulnerable and open to misinterpretation from local communities, but they also hold a position of influence, as they have the knowledge and methods to empower both rights holders and duty bearers.

The NGOs view of the rights based approach to development is largely different to that of governments. In the case of Oxfam, they start from the premise that poverty is a state of powerlessness in which people are denied human rights and the ability to control important aspects of their lives (Brouwer, 2005: 63). Oxfam believe that poverty is a direct reflection of unequal power relationships, which have been institutionalised through policies and practices of the state. Therefore, they engage with development work beginning at the local community level. Rights-based organisations are posing as advocates and agents of change for the poor and marginalised. In the case of CARE, the adoption of a RBA means that their central aim is to "facilitate a process of self-empowerment of poor, disenfranchised peoples and communities in order to help them pursue and achieve progressively their rights" (Jones, 2005: 79). Rights based approaches, from the perspective of NGOs, deepen the focus on the people who are facing the discrimination.

When compared to governments, the implications of the RBA for NGOs are much fuller. They are assuming the driving position of rights issues and therefore, this means that they must set up tools and methods to

operationalise the approach in practice. The transformation for NGOs seeking to implement rights based strategies requires a considerable investment of time and commitment towards a long-term venture. It is necessary that NGOs assume a strong method of approach to rights issues, since they will be responsible for the empowerment and capacity building of not solely the rights-holders, but also that of large institutions, governments and the private sector, from whom they are demanding the rights.

Rights based development has become hugely multidimensional for NGOs and "implies a whole new perspective on how they engage with civil society and governments" (Jones, 2005: 89). CARE openly discuss how previously government, public sector actors and civil society partners employed them as essentially subcontractors and they mainly paid attention to whether they could carry out the required tasks. CARE now state that they are "looking more deliberately to get behind development partners that are genuinely representative of and accountable to the poorest and marginalised" (Jones, 2005: 89). In addition, NGOs are now being held accountable by rights holders. This marks a distinct shift away from the basic needs approach, where any provisions by the NGOs were accepted. The rights based approach will now be examined from the perspective of governments.

3.4.2 Government Perspective

With many organisations now seeking to improve their development effectiveness, the implementation of the rights based approach is widespread. However, as stated by the UNDP (2006), human rights carry with them correlative duties to be carried out by the state. Under international human rights law the state has an obligation to: (1) respect, (2) protect, and (3) fulfil the rights contained in the convention (UNDP, 2006: 9).

> This new emphasis on accountability presumes the existence of a
> stronger state than the neo-liberal state promoted by structural

adjustment programmes implemented by the World Bank (Salomon, Tostensen & Vandenhole, 2007: 72)

Academics, Mohan & Holland (2001), believe that the emergence of the rights based approach has been successful within the current neo-liberal climate. They describe the way in which "neoliberalism has successfully repositioned itself with respect to the rights based agenda by championing accountability and transparency" (Mohan and Holland, 2001: 31). However, despite this repositioning, governments are facing increased pressure, since the range and scope of demands that are now being placed upon them is increasing, as rights holders become mobilised and educated. There is a distinct broadening and diversification in the areas of which accountability is being demanded by rights holders (Sano, 2007 as cited in Salomon, Tostensen & Vandenhole). Sano (2007) identifies the need for a clearer understanding of how the state can cooperate with all development actors, in order to fulfil their legal obligations and realise rights. "The agenda of accountability has challenging implications and the ways in which it affects governments has received far too little attention in debates about rights based approaches" (Sano, 2007: 74). The success of the rights based approach is largely dependent on the context in which it is applied. Evidence suggests that, where the state is weak, the realisation of rights will be much more difficult.

It is highly important to examine state capacity to successfully implement a human rights based approach to development and poverty reduction and the interaction of non state actors that influence this process (Banik, 2010: 47)

Increasing accountability demands are applying pressure on governments in the developing world, as citizens and civil society demand improvements within their environments. Governments will need to place a large focus on capacity building in the future, if they are be successful partners in the rights based approach.

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter has examined the trajectory of the rights based approach and discussed its initial inception, which was driven by the global development community's need to see 'real' change, after decades of failed interventions. It marks a huge progression in thinking and depicts the shift from traditional charity to claims and duties. Although the approach has been criticised by some academics, as being nothing more than the latest fad in development, NGOs are implementing it globally. This approach places new demands on both NGOs and governments, making the context in where it is implemented important for its success. The next chapter will discuss the methodological approach for this research.

Chapter Four

Methodology

Research is to see what everybody else has seen, and to think what nobody else has thought – Albert Szent-Gyorgyi (Nobel Peace Prize Winner 1937)

4.1 Introduction

As outlined in Chapter One, this research aims to provide a deep understanding of the role and impact that NGOs are having on housing provision in Addis Ababa, with the idea that this research will inform a more effective approach to urban development. This chapter discusses the fieldwork which was conducted over a four week period during June 2012 in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

This chapter will discuss the methodological considerations and qualitative methods that were employed during this course of the research and it will be divided into two main sections. The first section will discuss the motives for exploring the topic and it will outline the theoretical framework of the research. This will be followed by a justification for using a qualitative research approach and issues of validity in qualitative research will be examined. Finally, ethical considerations that guided the research will be covered and preparations for fieldwork will be described and discussed. The second section of this chapter will be focused on the researcher's fieldwork experience in Addis Ababa. A discussion will be held on the effectiveness of the research approach, obstacles faced during the research collection in the field and methods for data analysis.

4.2 The suitability of a qualitative methodology

My interest in examining the different roles and impact that NGOs can have in housing provision is a direct result of observations I made during a trip in 2010, as a volunteer with Habitat For Humanity New Zealand. I was part of a team that travelled to Ethiopia to build houses with the NGO. Over the duration of the trip, much time was spent in the capital city Addis Ababa, where I began to notice the large presence of NGOs. I also noticed the sprawling slums, visible lack of sanitation systems and general chaos in the urban environment. Informal and illegal squatter settlements exist as far as the eye can see, and after spending much time with the local people, the lack of 'decent housing' emerged as one of their primary concerns. Everyone in this large global community, in which we live, shares the right to a decent standard of living. Essential to the achievement of this standard and the fulfilment of life beyond simple survival is access to adequate housing.

> Housing fulfils physical needs by providing security and shelter from weather and climate. It fulfils psychological needs by providing a sense of personal space and privacy. It fulfils social needs by providing a gathering area and communal space for the human family, the basic unit of society. In many societies, it also fulfils economic needs by functioning as a centre for commercial production (HREA, 2010: 1)

I am particularly interested in exploring the key roles that NGOs can perform, in order to assist in the provision of housing for the poor. In addition, this research will also examine whether a rights based approach could be an appropriate method for NGOs to employ for effective housing provision. I strongly believe that housing is a human right, but whether a right based approach to housing can actually make a difference is something I want to explore. My rationale for choosing this area of research is largely a result of finding major gaps in existing knowledge and literature on this subject. Urban growth rates within the city are constantly rising, thus making this a pressing issue that requires urgent insight and deep understanding (UN Habitat, 2007).

As outlined in Chapter One, the research is guided by four key research questions:

- Are NGOs faced with any challenges when trying to set up and provide housing for the poor in Addis Ababa? If so what are the major concerns?

- What relationship do the NGOs have with other development actors? (e.g government, local administration, Kebele leaders, faith based groups, private sector)

- To what extent do NGO relationships with other development actors affect their ability to be effective agents for change?

- Are NGOs able to contribute to the facilitation of a rights based approach to housing within the city?

These research questions lend themselves towards a qualitative methodological approach, in that they largely deal with issues relating to social relationships and issues of power. I am also interested in meaning, describing, explaining and exploring, all of which are qualities that also lean towards a qualitative approach: that is, they are not easily quantifiable and they are subject to many different interpretations. While economic outcomes may be more easily measured in quantitative terms, social outcomes, such as skills and knowledge, are not as quantifiable: and thus qualitative research techniques may provide a deeper understanding of the magnitude of social impacts and the direction of social change (Nair, 1999). Therefore, qualitative research methods will be employed in this study, in order to gain a deep understanding of the role and impact of NGOs that are seeking to provide housing for the poor.

Qualitative research is inherently subjective (O'Leary, 2010) and therefore a discussion on the researcher's positionality in relation to the research topic is essential, in order to ensure the credibility of the researchers findings.

4.3 Positionality and Research Approach

Qualitative research is characterised by the way it seeks to understand the world through interacting with, empathising with, and interpreting the actions and perceptions of its actors (Brockington & Sullivan, 2003:57). Qualitative research emphasises subjectivity and it recognises that, as individuals, we all interpret the world in different ways. The researcher is not shielded from this process and brings his or her own personal beliefs, values, biases and subjectivities to the research. It is vital to the integrity of this project that the researcher's position is acknowledged at all stages of the process, during fieldwork and in the writing-up stage. With this acknowledgement researchers can ensure their research experiences and findings have a good degree of credibility.

In regard to my positionality within this research, I am a New Zealand-European female. I have spent some time in Ethiopia and I have been overwhelmed with the absolute generosity, kindness and hardworking nature of the local people. The housing plight that they face is an issue that is close to my heart. I have a background in architecture, which has fostered my love for sound building practice. Coupled with the knowledge I have gained from being a Development Studies student, I place great value and importance on the notion of having a 'home' — and I strongly believe in the numerous social benefits that can come from having sound housing. I believe that societies, communities and families do best when they have somewhere to belong and something to call their own. The rights-based approach fits within my personal philosophy on how development should be achieved in the future. My background and philosophy have undoubtedly influenced my motivation for exploring this topic. Therefore, I am acknowledging that my approach to the research methods and my interpretation of the research results may reflect these notions and personal philosophies. I tried to control this, however, by formulating open ended, exploratory questions and cross-checking my interpretation of interviews through conversations with my research assistant.

It is essential to qualitative research that the researcher aims to be actively reflexive throughout all stages of the project. This involves the researcher critiquing his or her own research processes and identifying potential biases

that may affect the validity of the data (Mason, 2002). While reflections upon positionality and value-stance are critical, they are inherent and too much focus on them could deter the researcher from becoming fully involved in fieldwork. Reflexivity needs not only to be about the researcher, but also reflection is needed on how the research impacts on the participants (Finlay, 2002).

Triangulation of the data is another means for ensuring the validity of research findings and results (Guion, Diehl & McDonald, 2011). By employing a range of qualitative techniques, such as interviewing, focus groups, participant observation or document analysis, the findings can be compared, in order to determine the soundness of the results. Researchers often compare their results with those of previous research literature, and they identify and explore the similarities and differences.

Since there are few existing studies on my topic area, I needed to be even more vigilant throughout the entire process, by ensuring that the findings and literature were being interpreted in the fairest manner possible.

4.4 Research Methods

My research approach reflects my desire to formulate a rich and deep understanding of the research subject. Qualitative research techniques, such as semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions, aim to gain an understanding of people's experiences, feelings and motives — or in other words an understanding of their 'world' (Brockington & Sullivan, 2003:57). This understanding of people's experiences, life stories, passions and opinions can be gained by encouraging people to open up in conversations. This research employs three methods of data collection, with the primary mode being semi-structured interviews. Due to the nature of the research document, analysis and participant observations have been the techniques employed whilst in the field.

Semi-structured Interviews

Semi-structured interviews have some predetermined order, which helps to ensure that key areas are addressed during the interview. They also allow for flexibility, thus enabling the researcher to extend conversations around topic areas of particular relevance (O'Leary, 2010). Predetermined open-ended questions were used in my research, to aid with flow, but not to interfere or sway meaning. A very interpretive approach was taken, allowing meanings to be constructed from the perspective of the respondent (Longhurst, 2010). Making initial contact with key informants before carrying out my fieldwork gave me further clarification of the situation in Addis Ababa and it allowed me to refine my interview questions and objectives. The majority of interviews were conducted with the use of a research assistant. This led to different dynamics within the interview setting, which were both positive and negative. I needed to carefully consider the setting for the interviews and whether my research assistant would be male or female, which was dependent on which would be most appropriate to put my participants at ease.

Document Analysis

Document analysis is a systematic procedure for reviewing and evaluating documents that are relevant to the research topic. Similar to other qualitative research methods, it requires the documents to be examined and interpreted, in order to elicit meaning, gain understanding and develop empirical knowledge (Bowen, 2009). Document analysis is often employed to create triangulation within the research, since it is generally free of the researcher's subjectivity. It provides sound validation and a point of comparison for the data collected in other ways, in the case of this research, interviews and participant observation. Examples of the documents that will be collected will be outlined later in the chapter.

Observation

Observation techniques allow the researcher to observe the research participants in their natural setting, by engaging in conversation with them, observing their interactions with others and the environment and constructing meanings from these experiences (Brockington & Sullivan, 2003:59). I planned to engage in participant observation in this research, in order to

become immersed in the physical and social environment of the society I was are studying. I hoped that this would provide me, as the researcher, with an opportunity to empathise with how the members of that society, community or family interpret their world.

All the above research methods need to be carried out with the utmost respect and consideration towards ethical implications. The wellbeing of the research participants should be paramount at all times.

4.5 Ethical Considerations

When carrying out field research there are numerous ethical considerations. It is especially important to be well-informed and aware of ethical issues that may arise during field work, particularly when the study is people-focused. Undertaking ethical research is not just about gaining ethical 'clearance' from one's university. It is about building mutually beneficial relationships with the people you meet in the field and it is also about acting in a sensitive and respectful manner (Scheyvens & Storey, 2003:139). As stated by Madge (as cited in Scheyvens & Storey, 2003:139), "ethical research should not only 'do no harm', but also have the potential 'to do good', to involve empowerment". This is particularly important to remember when one considers the inherent power imbalances that exist between researchers and research participants (Scheyvens & Storey, 2003).

Consideration of ethical issues takes time and careful thought. The beginning of the process for me was facilitating conversations with my colleagues about issues that may arise. Following these conversations, a comprehensive written discussion on the ethical dimensions of the field was completed for an in-house ethics review within the Development Studies programme. This document was discussed at length with my supervisors and another Development Studies academic, prior to the commencement of the fieldwork stage. During this review, the ethical issues discussed included: recruitment process for gaining participants; obtaining informed consent; participant confidentiality; minimising potential harm; the handling and storage of data; cultural and gender considerations; and any conflict of roles. As required, a

screening questionnaire was completed, which indicated that my research was low-risk. The Massey University Human Ethics Committee approved it as low-risk and permission to commence fieldwork was granted. The fieldwork was carried out in accordance with the Massey University Ethics Committee Code of Ethics for Research, Teaching and Evaluations involving Human Participants (Massey University, 2012).

4.6 Fieldwork Preparations in Addis Ababa

Before travelling to Ethiopia, tentative contact was made with potential key informants, friends and NGOs I had previous contacted. This was useful, in order to gauge interest in the research topic and it also provided the opportunity to be guided towards others who might have information of interest, or be willing to share their stories and knowledge with me. I received suggestions from organisations and people of which (a) I had not previously considered or (b) I did not know of their existence. I also organised a research assistant to join me throughout the time in Ethiopia. Preceding my arrival, I spent a few weeks getting to know him via email. This really solidified a mutual understanding and started a friendship, before commencing in the research phase. However it was difficult to communicate fully with people in Ethiopia prior to the fieldwork stage, since the Internet connection in that country is not yet reliable and websites (for example, NGOs, CBOs) do not contain up to date information.

4.7 Fieldwork Experience

Fieldwork was a unique experience and upon reflection it could be likened to steering a car over a windy hill road, not being able to see around the next corner and then at other times vast expanses of road paving the way in front of you. You ride the journey bumping through the highs, lows, obstacles and successes. The first week of fieldwork, I spent time with my research assistant. It was really important that we continued to build on our friendship, discussed the research more deeply and went over ethical concerns surrounding the project, as I would need to rely on him heavily at times. I took

particular care to ensure we had the same understanding of the type of data I was interested in collecting. I also spent some time reacquainting myself with the city of Addis Ababa and visiting friends and the staff at Habitat for Humanity.

The Habitat for Humanity team was interested in my research from the beginning. In the first week, together we discussed ideas and issues surrounding the fieldwork. They advised me on libraries and databases to visit while I was in Addis Ababa. They also gave me access to other key informants and NGOs and they made sure I was up to speed with relevant policy changes that had occurred over the last few years. Throughout this discussion process with Habitat, I was very aware that the people and organisations they recommended I speak with would possibly align with their values and beliefs: and they were probably not going to be critical of their practice. The majority of the research participants were, therefore, not chosen at random, but instead they were selected in a similar manner, that being their association with Habitat for Humanity, IHA-UDP or personal contacts. This method of selection represents a purposive approach to sampling and it is synonymous with qualitative research. "To say you will engage in purposive sampling signifies that you see sampling as a series of strategic choices about with whom, where and how to do your research" (Palys, 2008: 1). Sometimes, non-random sampling methods are criticised as not being a true representation of the population being studied (O'Leary, 2010), however, the participants involved within this research do represent a cross section of people involved with the provision of housing for the poor. Purposive sampling was followed by the 'snowball' method, which is based on existing participants identifying other potential informants. The process can be repeated several times, if it is proving to be useful and meeting the aims of the research (Oliver, 2004).

A table outlining the participants involved in the research is presented below. Due to the political climate in Ethiopia and restrictions imposed on human rights work (discussed further in Chapter Five), the participants were at some risk being involved with the research. Although the majority of participants gave consent for their names to be used, as a researcher I needed to take

responsibility for minimising the risk and harm to the participants. Therefore, in this study, where it has been deemed inappropriate to reveal the identity of the participants, I have created names to conceal their identities.

Table 4.1: Research Participants

Participants	Description
NGOs	
NGO 1	-A national NGO that has been working in Ethiopia for 20 years -Employs 10+ national staff members -Has reached out to tens of thousands of families with a combination of new builds, renovations, and provision of water and sanitation units -Previously operating from a strong social justice/rights perspective
NGO 2 (Two Representatives)	-An International NGO that has been working in Ethiopia for over 10 years -Employs 20+ national staff members -Has reached out to tens of thousands of families with a combination of new builds, renovations and provision of water and sanitation units -Previously operating from a rights based perspective
NGO 3	-An International NGO that has been working in Ethiopia for over forty years -Employs 150+ national staff members and 20+ international staff members -Works in partnership with the Ethiopian government on capacity building -Set up the Ministry of Works and Urban Housing
NGO 4	-A national NGO that has been working in Ethiopia for over 50 years -Employs 30+ national staff and offers internships for international volunteers -Provided housing for thousands of families through new builds -Previously working from a basic needs/advocacy and awareness perspective
NGO Housing Recipients	
Tewabech, Age 40	-Both participants received housing from NGO 1 and now reside in condominium accommodation
Tsige, Age 82	
Government	
Arat Kilo Kebele Representative	(further details are not permitted to be discussed at the request of the participant)
Addis Ababa Housing Department Representative	-Planning and Budget Senior Minister -Employed by the Ethiopian government for over 30 years

Private Sector	
Flinstone Housing	-Real Estate Division created in 2008 -Building for the middle to low income sector -Aim to deliver first 450 condominiums December 2012 -Strong sense of social awareness with regards to the housing crisis in Addis Ababa
Access Real Estate	-Company established in 2008 -Currently holds the largest market share of the private housing sector -9 housing developments have been built and released to the public -Realises the acute shortage of 'affordable' homes and seeks to contribute to the provision of more cost effective solutions
Slum Dwellers	
Almaz, 41, Arat Kilo	-Both are residents of one of the largest inner city slum areas, known as Arat Kilo
Etapharow, 61, Arat Kilo	-The area is the target of mass slum clearance by the city administration
Other	
Dr Elias (Addis Ababa University)	-Lecturer at the University and also has written several influential reports commissioned by the administration about the state of the housing situation in Addis Ababa
Joshua Microfinance Representative	-Microfinance organisation established in 1990 -Particular focus on offering small loans for housing renovations -Mission: To improve the socio-economic living conditions of its members that will enable them to live a life of dignity and prosperity

4.7.1 Interviews

As outlined earlier, I used semi-structured interviews as the primary fieldwork method of data collection, in order to gain deep insights into the role and impact of NGOs, in the provision of housing for the poor. From my initial broader guiding questions, I developed a series of more detailed interview questions to enable slightly more focus during the process. Since I was interviewing people from a number of different sectors (e.g. NGO, private, government), I had to have multiple sets of guiding questions to ensure that I was able to elicit the best information. Details of these questions are attached in Appendix 3.

In total 16 interviews were conducted with data being collected from a number of areas. Housing provision incorporates a range of different stakeholders so,

in order to gather a holistic understanding of the role of NGOs, it was necessary to gather data from all the sectors involved. This research explores whether a rights based approach could be employed by NGOs for the provision of housing in Addis Ababa, so it was a priority to interview slum dwellers, since they are the 'rights holders'. Officials from the government's housing department were interviewed, in addition to representatives from NGOs, the private real-estate sector and micro-finance staff.

Throughout the process, I was mindful of my guiding questions, but I stayed true to the semi-structured interview format, thus encouraging the participants to express their opinions freely and allowing the conversation to flow with open ended questions. At times, I had to guide the interviews back on track: often this was due to a misunderstanding as to what I was asking, rather than a participant going off on a tangent. Interviewing was a challenging process, since sometimes I received information that was unexpected and I was unsure as to where it 'fitted' within my findings. When this occurred I had to be very flexible and adapt my questions and discussion accordingly. I found that interviewing was often frustrating and that I needed to be calm and highly empathetic. Often, participants would say things that I would personally object to or disagree with, but I continued on with the interview and accepted what they said, in order to show them respect as they were just 'telling it as they saw it'. Since the participants came from various sectors, the interviews were conducted in a range of locations, from plush designer real-estate offices to the slums of Arat Kilo, where I perched myself on a bag of wheat for an afternoon of learning. Interviews were all different lengths of time, with two interviews taking the entire day, as people were eager for me to not only interview them but also experience their hospitality through the offering of food and coffee. I felt extremely privileged to receive such kindness from these people.

None of the 16 participants would allow their interviews to be recorded. I anticipated that this would be the case, due to the oppressive environment and persecution that people their face for 'speaking out' (see Chapter Five). I had to learn quickly the art of recording accurate and legible notes. This was a major challenge, as I often found myself distracted by listening and not writing

enough. To combat this situation, I formulated a process of emailing my interview notes to the participants for their approval. This was a good way for me to validate the data as being accurate, gain their consent and allow them to add things I had missed or misinterpreted. For those participants who did not have internet access, I would get my translator to read back to them what I had recorded. This worked well, especially in the slum areas where many people are illiterate. It was an interesting experience and the two slum dwellers expressed their appreciation for us taking the time to ensure their story was accurate. They were grateful we valued their opinion enough to ensure accuracy.

4.7.2 Documents

Documents and other forms of secondary data were collected for the purpose of cross-referencing and triangulation. The documents gathered would help to verify the interviews and observation data. It was highly important to gather any documents whilst in Ethiopia, since very little information is available via the internet or electronic sources. Documents provide a valid background and contextual information that is vital to completing an accurate portrayal of the situation in Addis Ababa. Most of the documents were collected using a hand-held scanner, since copying services are almost non-existent. The range of documents collected included government research reports, NGO documentation, policy documents, housing declarations, urban plans and newspaper articles. The key things I was looking for in these documents were:

- mission statements
- organisation's objectives
- references to civil society and NGOs (particularly in government documents)
- current scope of work
- future plans
- references to rights or rights based approaches

4.7.3 Observation

Initially, I had planned to look for rights based behaviour through my participant observation. I was interested in seeing how the differing development actors interacted, so that I could further deduce the situation in Addis Ababa. However, upon arriving in Ethiopia, I became aware of the political climate and the government's stance on rights. It was evident that rights based behaviour was being carried out in very discrete ways within the urban environment. As an alternative, I recorded my observations daily in a fieldwork journal and extracts from this have been included within my findings chapter, in order to help reiterate and strengthen aspects of the research.

4.8 Obstacles Faced

> The complexity of your task grows before your eyes, with more and more you want to understand you realise that you understand less and less. At such times you cannot help wondering if any fieldworker before you has confronted anything quite like this! (Wolcott, 1995:94)

As Wolcott alludes to above, there are many obstacles and challenges to face during the fieldwork stage of the research. In retrospect, most of them proved to be opportunities for learning and often they resulted in deep insights into the participants' lives and underlying issues, which then helped me to gain a better understanding of the Ethiopian context.

One of the most obvious challenges for my fieldwork was the language barrier, together with travelling around a large urban city with a hugely underdeveloped public transport system. Fortunately, my research assistant displayed incredible knowledge of the city and the work of NGOs from day one. However, it was imperative to the success of the research that we discussed everything at length before interviewing or meeting with people. It was difficult during the interviews that needed to be translated, as I was relying on my research assistant to be translating accurately and to pick up on subtleties in the tone of voice or body language, which I may be missing. It was a huge challenge learning to trust someone else's ability to understand

the research topic and to prompt or reassure the participant if needed. My research assistant and I built up a solid friendship and over the four weeks of fieldwork things become much easier as we talked to more and more people.

Getting participants to speak the 'truth' was at times very difficult and I am certain that a portion of the data collected consists of comments the 'participant thought I wanted to hear' ─ and they did not necessarily reflect reality. Currently, in Ethiopia, the political climate is hostile and the individual has no voice and this situation, coupled with various other elements that will be explained further in Chapter Five, made it very difficult for participants to reveal their true stories or feelings. Many of the population live in fear and they do not want to be persecuted for speaking out about anything. I learnt to interview carefully, never wanting to put the participants in an uncomfortable, compromising or risky position whilst trying to gather data, which reflected some truth about the situation in Addis Ababa. It was a fine balance trying to identify the participants that were open to challenging questions and debate, from others who were already vulnerable and thus being extremely generous in sharing their stories.

The third challenge was much more pragmatic and it taught me a vast amount about the city of Addis Ababa's functionality and organisational structure. The amount of bureaucracy we experienced was astounding. It was very difficult to find the people I wanted to interview. We spent many long, hot days traipsing around the city going from office to office and being told we were at the wrong place, over and over. One particular day, we visited three different buildings and fifteen separate offices to no avail. People's availability and locations changed frequently, often within just hours of meeting them. The incredible amount of bureaucracy generally led to two scenarios: (1) being totally dismissed at the 'information counter' by someone who was generally woken from sleep with our arrival; or (2) being totally scrutinised, with every document I had being taken for copying and checking. Often, we would need to return days later to see if we would be permitted to interview our selected participant. We witnessed people constantly trying to assert power over us, with job titles that didn't make sense, within a city that is operating in organised chaos.

The fourth and final obstacle that will be discussed regarding the fieldwork concerns the ability to be able to adapt when not finding what is expected. In the case of this research, initial literature reviews indicated that approximately twelve NGOs were directly operating within the city, in regards to housing for the poor. From these twelve, I had believed that three of them were working from a strong rights-based perspective. In reality, this was not the case, with only two NGOs providing housing for the poor. I was disheartened at first when I discovered this fact: and even more so when neither of them were operating from an openly rights-based perspective. I began to learn about the oppressive rights climate in Ethiopia. I had to learn to look at my research questions from a new perspective. As I look back, the situation challenged me to think about my fieldwork more deeply and I have discovered some of the disheartening truths about rights based approaches and housing provision for the poor, as a result of not finding things as expected. This situation also highlighted to me the value of field research, as relying on literature alone does not always give an accurate portrayal of the situation.

4.9 Returning from the field

Following my fieldwork, I returned to Massey University, where I began to settle back into life in New Zealand. It was a very hard adjustment to make after being away, learning so much and meeting amazing people. I had such a strong desire to go straight back and start working alongside the people on efforts to better their situations. Post fieldwork is a very difficult time, as you are faced with the challenge of deciphering the large volume of data gathered in the field (Scheyvens & Storey, 2003). However, employing qualitative data analysis techniques helped to make the process easier and over time patterns and themes began to emerge.

The main aim of any form of data analysis is to make the progression from raw data to a meaningful and deep understanding. In qualitative data analysis, this is done through a process of revealing the themes and patterns that run throughout the raw data. It is the researcher's task to code and interpret what the themes mean in relation to the research question (O'Leary, 2004). Qualitative data analysis also requires the researcher to use inductive and

deductive reasoning to interpret themes, in order to achieve rich understanding (O'Leary, 2004). The thematic coding continues throughout the entire data analysis phase and it morphs and changes, as new themes are revealed and others are deemed less important. The researcher needs to be aware of the subjective nature of qualitative data analysis, since the same data could be analysed in a different manner by a different researcher. Therefore, it is important to recognise that this variation will occur within the qualitative analysis process and the findings are influenced by your fieldwork observations and personal epistemology.

4.10 Conclusion

This chapter has outlined my research approach and described the fieldwork experience. I have stated my methodological approach, obstacles that presented themselves in the field and also explained my position in the field as an outsider. I have described how the process was managed from interview questions to methods for data recording. This chapter has set up the reader to follow on to the findings chapter with full knowledge of how the researcher dealt with the fieldwork process.

Chapter Five

Contextualising Ethiopia

Out of clutter find simplicity; from discord find harmony; in the middle of difficulty lies opportunity – Albert Einstein.

5.1 Introduction

This chapter will provide a contextual analysis of the research country and urban area of focus, Addis Ababa. The analysis will present vital information to help readers further their understanding of the particularities associated with working in Addis Ababa and more generally, Ethiopia. The analysis will focus on issues related to the urban environment that align with the research topic, despite the majority of Ethiopia's population residing in rural areas. First, a broad country analysis will be undertaken which examines issues, such as demographics, governance and the economy. This overview will be followed by a discussion about the city of Addis Ababa. The existing housing situation will be examined, together with an exploration of plans and policies for the future. Finally, the analysis will be narrowed further, in order to engage in an exploration of the working environment of NGOs in Addis Ababa. This thesis seeks to examine their role and impact on the provision of housing and therefore, it is vital that a comprehensive understanding of their working conditions is gained.

5.2 Ethiopia context and demographics

The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia is a country of severe contrasts. Ancient churches are juxtaposed alongside bustling cities. Eighty distinct

ethnic groups and indigenous languages differentiate the population (Clark, 2000:4).

Ethiopia is the second most populous country in Sub-Saharan Africa, with an estimated population of about 84 million. It is a landlocked country on the Horn of Africa and it has a large total land area of 1,133,380 square kilometres (UN Habitat, 2007:1). Ethiopia represents one of the oldest independent nations in the world and it has a long history of indigenous urban development. Today, the country is one of the least urbanised nations in Africa, with only approximately 17 per cent of its population living in urban areas (UN Habitat, 2007). However, in keeping with current world trends, Ethiopia is witnessing one of the fastest rates of urban growth in the world, with a five per cent increase per annum (UN Habitat, 2008a:7).

Ethiopia has a GDP per capita of approximately 220 USD, thus making it one of the poorest and most heavily indebted countries in the world (Rahmato, Bantirgu & Endeshaw, 2008:11). It is ranked 169th out of 175 countries in the United Nations Development Programme Human Development Index (UN Habitat, 2010). The poverty seen in Ethiopia is aggravated by its large and rapidly growing population, with an average of six children borne to each Ethiopian woman. This equates to a 2.7 per cent population increase every year (UN, 2008a:7). There are a number of other demographic indicators that display the huge development challenges faced by Ethiopia: primary school enrolment rates sit at approximately 46 per cent; infant mortality is high at nearly 10 per cent; 53 per cent of the population is illiterate; and national unemployment has reached over 20 per cent (UN Habitat, 2010).
Ethiopia is a largely rural-focused country with over 80 per cent of the population working within the agricultural sector. Agricultural production contributes to 40 per cent of the economy, which is much higher than rates found in other sub-Saharan countries (UN Habitat, 2008a). However, the nation endured periods of excruciating droughts through the 1970s and 1980s, which were particularly devastating for a large majority of the population. The difficult climatic conditions in Ethiopia have exposed its people to a large number of issues, with major suffering being felt through drought, famine, rural un-employment and land degradation (Gidron, Quarles van Ufford & Bedri Kello, 2002: 8). This has led to an increase in the rural

population migrating to the urban centres around Ethiopia, particularly the capital, Addis Ababa (Tolon, 2008).

5.2.1 History of governance

It is important to consider the journey of governance in Ethiopia, particularly since the beginning of the 20th century, as the consequences of choices and policies implemented by different regimes have significantly impacted on the current administration. The modern history of Ethiopia's governance began with Emperor Haile Selassie, who reigned from 1930 until 1974. His control was interrupted in 1936, when Italian forces invaded and occupied the nation for a number of years. However, they were eventually overthrown by national army forces (Keller, 2005).

Selassie was best known as a reformer, who placed great importance on modernisation. He was responsible for revising the constitution of Ethiopia and he sought to align the country with a more European style of monarchy and governance. He introduced various social welfare programmes and he tried to achieve greater unification between Ethiopia's diverse populations (Imperial Crown Council of Ethiopia, 2000).

Whilst Ethiopia has been largely free from the coups that have plagued other African countries, the country's turmoil has been no less devastating. Famine, war, severe droughts and ill-conceived policies brought millions to the brink of starvation during the 1970s and 1980s (Tolon, 2008). In 1974, these major events helped to fuel the ousting of Selassie as the leader. He faced growing pressure, as people became increasingly dissatisfied with the pace of modernisation and development within the country (Patz, 2002). Selassie was replaced by a Marxist regime led by Mengistu Haile Mariam, commonly known as the Derg. With Ethiopia now a socialist state, the early years of the regime were spent struggling for power and this time is often referred to as 'the red terror phase'. The establishment of a military administration resulted in war and opposition, with over 100,000 people being brutally massacred and thousands fleeing the country (Patz, 2002). Under Mariam's leadership, defence spending spiralled and alliances grew stronger with the Soviet Union

and Cuba (Tolon, 2008). Property was also confiscated, severely affecting the livelihoods and wellbeing of a large majority of the population (Henze, 2000).

Ethiopia spent 17 years under the rule of the heavy-handed Marxist Derg regime in which time the economy suffered terribly, due mainly to "a large number of ill-conceived policy measures ultimately designed to steer and control the courses of social, economic and political development in the country" (UN Habitat, 2007:3). Dramatic change in Ethiopia occurred in 1991, with the battle against liberation finally being won and a new democratic governance system was implemented. This represented a huge overhaul in governance style since, for centuries, Ethiopia had been ruled by highly centralised powers of single ethnicity. (African Development Bank, 2009).

The reforms implemented by the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Force (EPRDF) have led to an improvement in economic stability and growth within the country. During its inception, the government openly expressed the importance of creating a diverse administration, where different ethnic groups would be fairly and evenly represented (Tewfik, 2010). A new constitution was adopted during 1995 and it gained support with the ethnic communities, since it provided them with political stability and the right to share power and exercise self-rule (Tewfik, 2010):

> After a long period of political evolution and restructuring, Ethiopia has now built a federal political system that is organised on the basis of the recognition and institutionalization of the right of ethno-territorial communities to self-determination, ensuring the equality and unity of its diverse ethnic communities (Tewfik, 2010: 3).

The decentralisation of Ethiopia was facilitated through national development policies, strategies and sector programmes that were implemented at all levels.

> The pace of the devolution of powers and functions of the state to lower levels of government, namely, to the woredas, has been quite

significant, establishing genuine self-rule and grassroots participation in the governance processes (Tewfik, 2010: 27).

With 80 per cent of the population living and working within the agricultural sector, Ethiopia's poverty reduction programmes have placed a large emphasis on the welfare of the rural population.

> The government's efforts to improve the living conditions of the rural population have begun to bear fruit, whereas the incidence and severity of poverty have intensified in urban areas in the recent past (UN Habitat, 2007:6).

A severe imbalance within the country began to emerge with inadequate amounts of attention being paid to the needs of urban dwellers (UN Habitat, 2007:5). The country's second Poverty Reduction Strategy includes commitments to: (1) avoidance of political bias in providing basic services; (2) improvement in local accountability; (3) strengthening fiduciary standards; and (4) devoting an increased share of expenditure to pro-poor services, with a particular focus on urban areas (Tolon, 2008: 7). The government is now faced with the challenge of resolving demanding development problems that are escalating within the country. "The current Government inherited a highly centralized and control oriented civil service. The civil service lacked autonomy while accountability to citizens was weak" (African Development Bank, 2009:4). These institutional shortcomings have hindered the ability of the government to be responsive to public service delivery needs and capacity building will be an on-going need for the administration.

5.2.2 Economy

Under the rule of the Derg, the national economy suffered, since the regime implemented ill-conceived policies. The nationalisation of all land and rental housing hit the urban economy particularly hard. In addition, the recurrent droughts, while the Derg was in power, significantly affected the national economy and highlighted its heavy reliance on the agricultural sector (Tolon, 2008). The country undertook dramatic market-orientated reforms following

the takeover by the EPRDF in 1991. Since that time, increased stability and growth has been evident. with a continual economic growth rate of six per cent being recorded over the past 10 years, thus making Ethiopia one of the fastest growing economies in the developing world (UN Habitat, 2008a: 13).

The government dominates the non-agricultural markets within the country, by operating and owning all major utilities and a large majority of the production factories. Agriculture is the dominant contributor to the economy, providing 40 per cent of total revenue (Easterly, 2006). Other contributors include tourism, trade, transport, textiles and mining. Exports are also vital to sustaining Ethiopia's economic growth, with the major earners being coffee (40%), khat (12%), oil seeds (12%) and gold (4%) (UN Habitat, 2008a). The revenue gathered from tax has increased to 14 per cent of the government's income since the introduction of the Value Added Tax policy. Ethiopia is still highly dependent on International Aid with the amount received in 2008 being 1 billion USD, marking an increase from the 700 million USD received in 2002 (UN Habitat, 2008a). The economic growth seen in Ethiopia over the past decade has been largely due to enabling policies, trade agreements and freer markets. However, uncontrollable inflation has been an unwanted side effect of this growth. The official inflation rate reached 12.3 per cent in 2006 and it has consistently remained around this figure (UN Habitat, 2010).

A discussion will now follow, which examines the urban environment of Addis Ababa.

5.3 The city of Addis Ababa

Addis Ababa was founded in 1886 and it represents much more than just the capital city of Ethiopia. It is the political, cultural and economic hub of the country. It also assumes the role of official diplomatic capital, accommodating headquarters for both the African Union and the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (Lemma, 2005). It has become the largest and most populous city in Ethiopia, with the population estimated to be over three million (Dubbale, Tsutsumi & Bendewald, 2010).

However, Addis Ababa is one of the least developed cities in Africa and it is suffering from a range of social and economic problems that include:

> Widening income disparity, deepening poverty, rising unemployment, severe housing shortage, poorly developed physical and social infrastructure and the proliferation of slum and squatter settlements (UN Habitat, 2007:2)

Overcrowding and deterioration have become commonplace within the urban environment, due to uncontrolled population growth, high rural to urban migration rates and severe housing shortages (Lemma, 2005). The creation of an overwhelming number of slums and informal settlements is considered to be the core problem that is affecting the livelihoods and wellbeing of those living in Addis Ababa (Dubbale, Tsutsumi & Bendewald, 2010).

5.3.1 Urban housing situation

The current housing situation in Addis Ababa is particularly worrisome and it represents the by-product of decades of inaction and inappropriate and misguided urban development policies and programmes (UN Habitat, 2007:67). Under the rule of the Derg, all cities in Ethiopia, particularly Addis Ababa, went through acute housing shortages and significant deterioration of housing conditions. Nearing the end of its rule, the Derg realised the damage its lack of policies had caused to the urban housing sector and it set about introducing corrective policy measures. (UN Habitat, 2007: 11). In 1986, it launched a housing reform which attempted to standardise the building code; encourage community involvement in housing production; and make more effective use of the existing housing stock, by allowing co-dwelling (Yntiso, 2008:63). However, this attempt to rectify the housing situation failed and as a result rapid proliferation of squatter settlements began to spread throughout the capital.

When the democratic government took over power in 1991, the urban economy was in very poor condition. The most important decision the EPRDF made immediately after coming into power was the implementation of a federal system of governance. The nation was divided into nine regional

states, with Addis Ababa being placed under direct federal government control (Bihon, 2008:7). This decentralisation was intended to establish local authorities, thus enabling housing issues to be tackled in regional sections and at a community level. Upon his departure in 2005, the former mayor of Addis Ababa spoke about efforts made by the administration to undertake four main policy reforms, in order to improve the urban environment. These included decentralisation; community participation; civil service reform; and improved service delivery (Rahmato, Bantirgu & Endeshaw, 2008:10). Under the new government, the political structure was reorganised into three levels: city, sub-city and *kebele*[4], with the lower levels entrusted with significant power to decide on matters regarding urban development (Yntiso, 2008:62).

> The decentralization has had a considerable influence over the course of urban development in Addis Ababa but the concept of local authority continues to remain largely underdeveloped (Yntiso, 2008:63).

The second most important change the EPRDF implemented within the capital city was the Urban Land Lease legislation (UN Habitat, 2008a:5). This legislation ensured that all land in Addis Ababa remained government property and the implementation of a leasehold system to generate revenue to improve municipal services was to take place (UN Habitat, 2008a:6). However, the leasehold system fell short of generating the expected amount of income.

> Its failure was mostly due to the insensitivity it showed toward the housing plight of the urban poor, as it asked for large deposits to be paid before land would be released for development (Clark, 2000:5).

Until recently, there were few national coordination policies regarding housing and urban development. In 2005, the government formulated an Urban Development Policy to link together with small-scale efforts that had been

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[4] **Kebele** - A *kebele (*Amharic 'neighbourhood') is the smallest administrative unit of Ethiopia similar to a ward, a neighbourhood or a localised and delimited group of people.

made by regional governments since 2000 (UN Habitat, 2008a: 4). It was in this year that the Ministry of Works and Urban Development (MWUD) was also established, in order to guide the overall development of all major urban cities and to conduct much needed studies on urbanisation patterns (Bihon, 2008:9).

Despite efforts by the government to rectify the escalating housing crisis, informal and unplanned housing constitutes 40 per cent of the housing in Addis Ababa (UN Habitat, 2008a: 5). The existing housing stock is of very low physical quality with 80 per cent of Addis Ababa classified as a slum[5] and 70 per cent of this stock is comprised of government owned rental housing (HFHE, 2010:10). Houses are typically constructed from mud, wood and other discarded material, with many being erected decades ago with little or no maintenance (HFHE, 2010:11). In addition, the majority of the city lacks access to water, electricity and sanitation facilities, which are factors contributing to the raft of issues in the city. Accurate data on the amount of dwellings within the city is limited, but the administration has estimated that 60,000 informal squatter settlements have been built that represent 20 per cent of the total housing stock (Addis Ababa City Administration, 2010).

The government estimates that the current housing deficit is around 900,000 units and that only 30 per cent of the current housing stock is in fair condition, with the remaining 70 per cent in need of total replacement (UN Habitat, 2008a :6). This large housing deficit is only going to increase, due to the rising population and migration flows into the city. In order to accommodate future growth, the Urban Sector Millennium Development Goals Needs Assessment have predicted that, if MDGs are to be met by 2015, it would require the building of 225,000 houses per annum (MoFED, 2005: 33). This is an overwhelming and unachievable reality for a city that has a wide range of pressing issues needing to be addressed. The need to improve the urban housing situation in Ethiopia has been recognised since 1991, but the sheer size of the problem has so far dwarfed any efforts made to date (UN Habitat, 2008a :8).

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[5] For the purpose of this paper, *'slum'* is defined as "a heavily populated urban area characterized by substandard housing and squalor" (UNHSP, 2003: 5)

An evaluation of the current housing situation is relevant to this research, since it can identify the scale of the problem that needs to be addressed.

5.3.2 Housing Plans for Addis Ababa

The dominant player within housing provision in Addis Ababa (and throughout most of Ethiopia) is the state.

> The state controls the majority of the rental accommodation and influences the supply of new housing through active involvement in material production and importation, land supply and housing finance (UN Habitat, 2010: 4).

There is a distinct lack of private housing developers, due largely to the complicated and time consuming process involved with carrying out business in Addis Ababa. There has been a small amount of growth in the private real-estate sector, which has provided housing for high-income groups over the past few years, however, it is still very limited (UN Habitat, 2010). "Ethiopia's growth will slow to 6.5 percent this year and over the "medium term" unless there's more private-sector involvement in infrastructure projects" (IMF cited in Davison, 2012:1). Table 5.1 maps housing construction activity over a period of time in Addis Ababa, showing that individuals, cooperatives and the informal sector are the dominant housing providers.

Table 5.1: Houses constructed in Addis Ababa: 1996 – 2003

Housing supplier	No. of houses	Percentage share
Public	7409	8.4
Individuals	22,225	25.3
Cooperatives	24,820	28.2
Real Estate Developers	3520	4.0
Informal Sector	30,000	34.1
TOTAL	87,976	100

Source: UN-Habitat, 2010, p.4.

The government of Ethiopia has ensured it remains in control of the housing sector, but pressure against this situation is mounting. As noted previously, it must provide 225,000 houses, per annum, in order to meet the MDG targets set for 2015. To combat the escalating housing crisis, the government has implemented the 'Integrated Housing Development Programme' (IHDP), which was initiated by the Ministry of Works and Urban Development in 2005 (GTZ, 2006). This programme is the government's sole solution to the housing crisis and it has four main aims, as follows:

1. To increase housing supply for the low income population
2. Recognize existing urban slum areas and mitigate their expansion in the future
3. Increase job opportunities for micro and small enterprises and unskilled labourers, which will in turn provide income for families to afford their own housing
4. Improve wealth creation and wealth distribution for the nation

Source: UN Habitat, 2010.

In addition to these goals, the government has outlined an ambitious mission in the hope that all slums will be cleared within 10 years and Ethiopia will be a middle-income country by 2025.

> The IHDP envisages the utilisation of housing as an instrument to
> promote urban development, create jobs, revitalise the local urban
> economy, encourage savings and empower urban residents through
> property ownership, and develop the capacity of the domestic
> construction industry (Ministry of Works and Urban Development,
> 2008: 3).

To date, the project has had mixed results, with only half of the predicted units being constructed. However, Ethiopian Government officials believe the programme has: (1) contributed to a GDP growth rate of 11.5 per cent; and (2) been instrumental in increasing the capacity of the construction sector with over 176,000 jobs being created in Addis Ababa (UN Habitat, 2010). Whilst these are two positive effects of the programme, two other severe and unanticipated problems face the project, as it seeks to reach its targets in the future. The first is that issues of affordability, rapid economic growth and rising inflation, are making these new houses unobtainable for the poor (Cities Alliance, 2012).

> While the IHDP has the laudable aim of targeting the low-income
> sector of the population, unfortunately experience has shown that the
> 'poorest of the poor' are not benefiting from the IHDP due to inability to
> afford the initial down-payment and monthly service payments (UN
> Habitat, 2010: 50).

The poor are being excluded from one of the only housing development programmes available to them in Addis Ababa. With the cost of construction rising dramatically, resolving this issue does not seem possible in the foreseeable future, thus leaving the poorest of the poor with no option but to continue expanding the squatter settlements (Lemma, 2005).

The second problem arises from the government's mode of consultation, or lack of, during the project implementation.

Although the programme makes explicit effort to consult widely on development plans, provide compensation in the case of relocation, and support the transition of relocated people through temporary housing, several problems have been raised (UN Habitat, 2010: 51).

Communities have expressed their concern over the amounts of compensation they have received and they fear that they will be left in the temporary resettlement camps, should they not be able to afford the down payments for the condominiums (Tolon, 2008). There is also wide discontent amongst beneficiaries of the programme, in regards to the design of the buildings. They are not conducive to the lifestyle that they are used to: and provision for essential livelihood activities (for example, the preparing of Injera and the slaughter of animals) have not been given any consideration (Haregewoin, 2007). The IHDP demonstrates a distinct lack of reference to other development actors and the exclusion of any partnerships to be formed with NGOs is obvious. The third section of this chapter will explore, in more depth, the roles of NGOs that provide housing in Addis Ababa. Since this programme acts as the government's sole solution to the housing crisis, significant adjustments and contingencies will need to be made to ensure that the poorest of the poor are reached (Haregewoin, 2007).

5.3.3 Major challenges for housing provision in Addis Ababa

As discussed previously, the lack of housing in Addis Ababa is causing a raft of social issues throughout the city. This problem is rapidly growing, especially with the IHDP not having the intended benefits and also failing to create housing solutions for the poorest of the poor in society (Bahir, 2010). The United Nations review on Slum and Squatter Settlements in Addis Ababa (2007) identifies two major issues that are significantly constraining the success of slum upgrading in the city. They are as follows:

1. Substantial gaps in policy development
2. Complete institutional weakness across most departments in the municipality and wider business community

The distinct gaps in policy seen in the city of Addis Ababa are a direct result of the lack of comprehensive national urban housing plans. The city government of Addis Ababa developed an Urban Plan in 2005, but it still lacks a specific housing plan. While the IHDP has made some attempt to rectify this situation, as an approach it stands alone and it is not incorporated into any wider housing policy for the city (UN Habitat, 2007). This lack of policy and institutional framework acts as a deterrent to any private or public organisations that wants to be involved in the sector, since they must operate in an environment lacking operational objectives (Bihon, 2007).

> It is difficult to achieve consensus amongst stakeholders involved in urban development. The whims and discretions of high-ranking officials fill in for the gaps in policy, thereby creating the opportunity for the misallocation of material and financial resources, and the mismanagement of urban development projects (UN Habitat, 2007: 63).

The government's lack of urban housing policy is a major factor that contributes to the governments' indecision and ambivalence about the future of public housing in Addis Ababa.

Institutional weakness is an issue that has plagued the democratic government since winning power in 1991. There are three different municipality departments that are attempting slum upgrading activities within Addis Ababa (Tolon, 2008): the Environmental Development Office (EDO); the Eco City Project; and the Housing Development Office. They are all disjointed and appear to have their own objectives and missions, despite attempting to work towards the overall betterment of housing for the residents of Addis Ababa (UN Habitat, 2007).

> This fragmented approach to the solution of the same problem is resulting in the duplication of efforts, conflicts of interests, and inefficient use of resources (UN Habitat, 2007: 63).

In addition, there is institutional weakness in the areas of project planning and implementation, with most plans being prepared totally devoid of basic information or consideration for demographic data (Lemma, 2005). There is a lack of coordination between the main public agencies that are involved in urban development (UN Habitat, 2007). These gaps in policy and capacity significantly impact on the ability of NGOs to be effective in their role as housing providers. The role of NGOs in the city of Addis Ababa will be examined in the following section.

5.4 NGOs in Addis Ababa

The NGO sector in Addis Ababa has endured a turbulent ride, due largely to the country's political instability. However, with the sector experiencing large amounts of growth, it is critical for this thesis to examine the place they occupy within the development sector in Addis Ababa. Understanding their path and challenges identified by the literature will help to either validate, or contrast, the concerns raised by participants during the fieldwork phase.

5.4.1 History of NGOs in Ethiopia

Throughout the developing world, both international and national NGOs play an important part in development. NGOs offer services national governments are unable to provide for their citizens (Gidron, van Ufford & Kello, 2003:17). There are two important aspects to the evolution of the voluntary sector in Ethiopia that have had an enduring impact. First, until recently, the sector consisted of a small number of organisations focused solely on relief efforts; and secondly, they have operated under very difficult and trying circumstances. The Derg regime was unwilling to tolerate any independent citizen activism or autonomous non-state organisations (Rahmato, Bantirgu & Endeshaw, 2008:11). However, they were forced by the pressing environmental and human crisis to allow NGOs to operate in the country:

The sector was given an active life in the 1970s as a result of the devastating famine in Wollo and the global publicity it received. The regime was forced to open its doors to international and local NGOs to undertake relief and rehabilitation activities (Butler, 1995, 64).

Initially most of those NGOs, which were allowed permission to help, were northern NGOs and local faith based groups (Rahmato, Bantirgu & Endeshaw, 2008:12). The Christian Relief and Development Association (CRDA) was established in 1973 to operate as an umbrella organisation for the co-ordination of NGOs working within the country: and it still plays a pivotal role and has a large presence today. The experience of the NGOs in the famine crisis, during the 1970s and 1980s, resulted in a tremendous focus on relief operations (Butler, 1995:67). "During these crisis NGOs were catapulted into highly prominent roles - a prominence harshly resented by the Derg regime" (Clark, 2000:4). During these famine periods, NGOs provided hundreds of thousands of people with the means of survival in a very public display of aid giving but, at the same time, the regime also endeavoured to keep the NGOs under tight control, since they reflected Western values and economic abundance (Clark, 2000:5).

When the Derg regime collapsed in 1991, civil society groups and NGOs proliferated at an intense rate (Gidron, van Ufford & Kello, 2003:18). The new government recognised and valued the role NGOs had to play and gradually it began re-opening avenues for their involvement that had been shut down by the Derg. The government's 'Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper' (PRSP) recognises the strong role that NGOs play (and will continue to play) in the effort to reduce poverty and to meet the MDGs. However, emerging post-1991, the NGOs were weak and disorganised and they lacked a resource base to carry out effective activities. With such a large and prolonged focus on relief aid, minimum thought had been given to future and sustainable development. Altering the mind-set of NGOs away from emergency relief operations to development was an early priority of the new government as it started to form a national development agenda and implement strategies (Clark, 2000).

In 1995, the government implemented *Guidelines for NGOs*, which was an attempt to closely monitor the escalating amount of organisations operating in the country. The prime minister of Ethiopia stated:

> The government expects them to partner with local grassroots organizations to develop local capacity. They have to understand they are here to work themselves out of a job someday. They must have an exit strategy (Zenawi, as cited in Clark, 2000: 8)

The government took a very ambivalent stance towards NGOs and their new guidelines for the sector proved problematic for organisations wanting to gain registration, work permits and import licenses. Post-1991, NGOs have been operating in an atmosphere of uncertainty and close government scrutiny.

5.4.2 Working environment of NGO in housing sector

Today, an estimated 2300 NGOs are involved in activities throughout the country, with over 500 being based and working in the city of Addis Ababa. However, past history has had a massive influence over their ability to provide effective support and aid to the people. "Due to the hostile policy environment during the previous regime most (NGOs) have limited capacity" (van Beurden, 1998 cited in Clark, 2000:8).

Ethiopia is highly dependent on external assistance and a large majority of funds are channelled through NGOs, because they have gained vast support from the donor community. This highlights the pressing need for NGOs to be effective development partners on the ground. Today, only a small number of the 500 NGOs based in Addis Ababa are participating in programmes or projects that involve the provision or upgrading of housing (UN Habitat, 2007:55). Considering the magnitude of the housing problems being faced in Addis Ababa, this situation is alarming. There are eight prominent organisations that have been operating in various parts of the city, mostly with *Kebele* support together with collaboration from grassroots associations (Melesse, 2005:9). Only two or three of the organisations involved in housing provision are recognised as running meaningful programmes, which make an

impact on the escalating situation. CARE is the most prominent one and it has undertaken some very large and visible infrastructure upgrades. CARE has a long-term community infrastructure improvement plan, which it is endeavouring to follow through (UN Habitat, 2007:56). CONCERN is another NGO, which has a successful housing programme. Between 2001 and 2002, this organisation provided 137 houses and 25 latrines. An important aspect of CONCERN's activities, which must be highlighted, is that it has a large focus on capacity building, thus helping communities to alleviate their environmental and housing issues by themselves (UN Habitat, 2007:56). It seems that, despite the large number of NGOs working in the city, few are addressing the housing crisis. The NGOs' role in the provision of housing is minimal. For a country with escalating poverty and high rates of urban growth, urgent resolve is needed on this issue and NGOs need to be involved, if the basic human right to housing is to be realised.

5.4.3 Challenges for NGOs

Despite the ever-growing NGO sector in Addis Ababa, we witness all but a distinct few avoiding the 'housing' issue. Some mitigating factors to this avoidance are rural to urban migration rates; the scale of the current housing situation; previous suppression; a lack of regard for NGOs and their roles; and weak institutional capacity. It is clear to see the complex and diverse set of challenges for all those involved in housing provision. The degree of trust between NGOs and the government in Ethiopia is still fragile and developing. This relationship needs to be nurtured and built upon, to ensure the two parties can work together for the benefit of the people that are suffering daily.

The literature suggests there are a few key factors that have discouraged NGOs from participating in housing provision. As highlighted earlier, a comprehensive citywide housing development plan was only formulated in 2005. Until that time, large gaps in policy made it difficult for NGOs to contribute (UN Habitat, 2007:59).

In an attempt at planning in 2006, the government endorsed a large-scale urban renewal programme, which required the demolition of deteriorating houses and the relocation of residents to new condominium housing. However, NGOs were not compelled to become involved in this initiative, since it displayed scant regard for the housing rights of the poor people who could not afford the new units that were being built, thus creating more mayhem in the city (Gebre-Egziabher, 2010:133).

Institutional weakness is another obstacle for NGOs to overcome. There are three separate government departments all working on housing issues within the city: but not one of them has the capacity or resources to contribute to any substantial poverty reduction (Haregewoin, 2007:3). Institutional weakness from the government can also be seen in different areas, including project design, implementation and management:

> Skilled labour is lacking from the administration and the Kebeles are devoid of any capacity for project design and implementation. Most Kebele officials and development committee members lack the requisite capacity to effectively identify, prioritise or implement development programmes, yet are entrusted with so much (Haregewoin, 2007:11).

This growing crisis is also greatly worsened by the lack of co-ordination between the agencies involved in urban design and development. The research has discussed the huge shift in political systems and ideologies that took place in 1991, which has had a massive effect on the capacity of a government that has been building a country back up from the ruins left by its predecessor. It will take a long time before systems, policies, monitoring and evaluation guidelines and partnerships, become comprehensive enough to be effective in the provision of basic shelter for their people.

In Addis Ababa, NGOs are also at fault, since they lack the capacity and the ability to perform at their full potential as effective agents of change within the development field. As outlined earlier, historically, NGOs have been suppressed in Ethiopia with a focus on relief aid leaving large underdeveloped

areas within their organisations. The weakness within NGOs operating in Addis Ababa can be seen in their inconsistent approach to project prioritisation and the identification of beneficiaries. Furthermore, many of the projects carried out seem to have poor finishing (UN Habitat, 2008a:63). Often, NGOs are driven by donor wishes and in Addis Ababa often glaring problems (e.g. housing for the influx of migrants) can be ignored and others given priority, to suit donors. This situation can be seen in the channelling of funds away from complex issues such as housing, to programmes with more tangible and easily obtained solutions, such as the provision of school books or the establishment of a community health clinic. NGOs

> …were also partly responsible for failing to establish good working relations with some *kebele* leaders. Just like EDO again, NGOs have failed effectively to tap into the resources of civil society groups in their endeavour to upgrade housing and infrastructure (UN Habitat, 2007:64).

It is important to invest in the capacity building of NGOs since, in Addis Ababa, they form a dominant part of the development sector. The facilitation of a gradual transfer needs to take place, in order that NGOs can conceptualise, implement and evaluate housing interventions more effectively (Clark, 2000:9).

The relationship between the government and NGOs is another highly important factor in the provision of housing for the influx of migrants to the city. The relationship is always riddled with tension and it must be approached with care and tact. The Addis Ababa city administration requires that:

> …each separate project activity by an NGO requires a specific agreement with the appropriate line ministry at the regional level. The time and effort required to reach such agreements varies widely. However, the sparse levels of technical knowledge and capacity in the regional government's bureaucracies can often result in numbing delays of several months (Clark, 2000:12).

It seems there is a great need for a more regulated framework in which NGOs can operate within the city. With the government not relenting control over any of the land in Addis Ababa, NGOs often find housing provision a difficult area to work in. Any interventions they plan will require direct consultation with the government, thus resulting in delays and displays of bureaucratic incompetence. Donors want to see results, so money is channelled into other sectors, such as education and health, despite the alarming housing crisis.

5.5 Conclusion

This chapter has provided a contextual analysis of Ethiopia and the city of Addis Ababa, where the research is situated. Ethiopia's turbulent journey to democracy has been traced, in order to highlight the fragility of the country's governance system. The Marxist Derg regime left the country hugely underdeveloped and consequently, the present administration is still attempting to build capacity and adequately provide for its rapidly growing population. The urban environment of Addis Ababa has been examined with particular reference to the housing sector. An analysis of the existing situation highlights the need for solutions in the area of urban renewal. The city's lack of planning, or co-ordinated efforts towards slum upgrading, are significantly hindering its progress. Finally, the rise of the NGO sector in Ethiopia has been discussed, with their roles and challenges being highlighted. Their scale of involvement within the housing sector is minimal but positive contributions are being made, if the organisation has a priority for housing. The following chapter will present the research findings from the fieldwork which took place in Addis Ababa during the month of June, 2012.

Chapter Six

Research Findings

6.1 Introduction

This chapter will present the research findings that emerged when examining the role and impact of NGOs in the provision of housing for the poor in Addis Ababa. The findings weave together the differing views of various stakeholders. Although coming from different standpoints, the participants all unanimously agree on the severity of the housing situation in Addis Ababa, with all expressing serious concern for the future of the urban poor in relation to housing.

The chapter layout will be guided by the four key research questions outlined in the methodology chapter. Participant responses relevant to the first three questions will be discussed in light of the first research objective: *to examine the key roles that NGOs can perform that assist in the provision of housing for the poor.* For the purpose of this discussion, research questions two and three will be combined, since participant responses from both questions are closely related and best understood when presented simultaneously. Views that were shared on the final research question will be examined in relation to the second research objective: *to explore whether a rights based approach could be an appropriate method for NGOs to employ for effective housing provision.* Furthermore, under each research question, the data has been grouped into themes that appear dominant or reoccurred through the collection phase and analysis. While the findings are discussed with direct relevance to their specific research objectives and questions, there are noticeable overlaps and often themes display relevance to a number of the questions.

6.2 Are NGOs faced with any challenges when trying to set up and provide housing in Addis Ababa? If so what are these?

This section outlines the four major challenges to housing provision that have emerged from the semi-structured interviews and document analysis. The issues presented were raised consistently throughout the data collection phase by a large majority of the participants. They provide a deep insight into the factors that significantly hinder NGOs' ability to effectively provide housing to the urban poor.

6.2.1 Governance

The concept of governance is as old as civilisation and the term refers to the process of decision-making and the process by which decisions are implemented (UN, 2012). As outlined previously in Chapter Five, Ethiopia has endured a tumultuous ride towards achieving democracy and good governance. This has had a major impact on the roles that NGOs are able to play within society.

The modern history of Ethiopia represents a centralised unitary system of governance. Both the dominant regimes (Haile Selassie and the Derg) aligned strongly with a Marxist style of governance (Zewde, 2002: 134). When the Derg fell in 1991, the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) took power with the intention of ruling the country in a democratic manner. Government in Ethiopia comprises four main tiers: (1) the administrative region; (2) the district (wereda); (3) sub-districts (sub-wereda) and urban dwellers associations (kebeles). Throughout the Derg era, important roles played by the municipal bodies and urban departments were not clearly defined. Governance and politics were mixed with administration and as a result the function of the municipality became incredibly slow and bureaucratic (UN Habitat, 2007: 17). The Derg favoured supporters of their party for roles within the administration, despite candidates lacking the necessary management skills (UN Habitat, 2007: 18).

The EPRDF has been in power since 1991 and it is attempting to implement a more decentralised style of governance. As Zewde (2002: 130) explains, "these positive aspects of democratic governance have added to the theoretical and practical appeal of decentralization as an attractive political programme to bring government closer to the people". However, the majority of participants describe the new decentralised system as being unproductive, ineffective and bureaucratic. Due to the sensitive nature of information regarding the government, participants were exceptionally cautious in what they shared with me. The majority of research surrounding governance being an obstacle to housing provision comes from grey literature and documents (for example, newspaper clippings and news reports). However, some participants were open to discussing aspects that were affecting them, as NGO 1 comments:

> Since early 2000 the government *demanded* that all NGOs build either condominium style houses or build nothing at all. When we questioned them about it they would just say it's better for land economy. We fought relentlessly against the initiative, as we don't believe in the condo houses. But the government does not care. They don't offer any alternatives or give time for public submissions. They also banned the use of chika[6], which is particularly devastating as it's such a cheap building material. Once they have decided upon something there is no going back (NGO 1).

It is argued by many that Prime Minister Meles Zenawi (who passed away in August, 2012) was a modern day dictator. The Atlantic International Journal had the following to say about Zenawi after his passing:

> Zenawi's rule was marked by a cynical divide-and-conquer strategy that excluded several of the country's major ethnic groups from political and economic life. Zenawi was one of the most-praised leaders in Africa (although never by human rights groups), a development-minded regional power broker whose government was largely funded

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[6] Inexpensive local building material made from teff grain stalks and mud. Estimates show around 90 per cent of the existing housing stock in Addis Ababa is created from chika.

through foreign aid. Zenawi very successfully painted journalists and human rights workers as purveyors of Western rather than African ideas, a tactic that culminated in a ban on civil society organizations in 2009 (Atlantic International, 2012).

The Awramba Times depicts a similar picture below:

Zenawi ruled Ethiopia with an iron fist and bloody hand. According to Human Rights Watch, "Ethiopia's citizens are unable to speak freely, organize political activities, and challenge their government's policies – through peaceful protest, voting, or publishing their views – without fear of reprisal." These dire economic and governance conditions resemble other dictatorial regimes such as North Korea or China (Abdu, 2012).

Awareness of the dominant way in which Zenawi ruled the country is crucial to understanding the adverse effects his governance style has had ─ and, continues to have on NGOs. The following policies and projects were implemented by the government without any consultation and it provides examples of the heavy top-down governance style that rules Ethiopia today.

Table 6.1: Policies and Projects Implemented in Addis Ababa

Policy / Project	Year	Purpose	Impact for housing NGOs working in Addis Ababa
Integrated Housing Development Programme	2005	Social housing project for Addis Ababa, which aimed to construct 400,000 housing units for low to middle income families. The intention was to address the increasing housing deficit and renew decaying slums by complete clearance and relocation of slum	- Forced to cease construction of traditional style houses - Demolition by government of anything that was not built to new regulations - Increased / prohibitive cost of condominium construction for NGOs - NGOs were only allowed to continue with existing house renovations - Mass slum clearance to make way for condominiums created more need, homelessness and pressure

		dwellers.	on NGOs
Charities and Societies Proclamation	2009	The policy required all NGOs working in the country to re-register under the new system. If donor funding from abroad exceeds 10 per cent of their total budget, then the NGO must cease all engagement with human rights and advocacy work.	- NGOs have had to evaluate their programmes and eliminate any that engaged with advocacy and rights - NGOs have had to reword mission statements and rebrand themselves according to the new guidelines - This has resulted in NGOs losing funding as donors have become nervous about the political stability in the country and have opted out of funding - This has forced a number of NGOs to stop work in the country, since they protest against a regime that has implemented such a harsh policy

Source: Amnesty International, 2012 & UN Habitat, 2011.

The ramifications of both these interventions, for NGOs striving to provide housing, are overwhelming. NGO 3 concurs:

> As an organisation we have had enough. We are sick of not being consulted with on these very important issues. The government does not care about the people and social issues like housing. It's all about the politics and creating the new hub of Africa for them (NGO 3).

In addition to the top-down style of governance displayed, there is evidence to suggest that inadequacies also run deep into the institutional and administrative departments of government. It is believed that the majority of the organisational and functional shortcomings of the current administration were inherited from the Derg regime and they are continuing to hamper meaningful progress (UN Habitat, 2007: 17). The administration's

shortcomings have been compounded by a lack of financial resources and the heavy reliance that the nation has upon foreign aid;

> With all these inadequacies in municipal authorities, service delivery was never a top priority in urban Ethiopia until very recently. As a result, most of the services provided by urban authorities in Addis Ababa are characterised by a glaring lack of professionalism, endless bureaucratic procedures, and an abundance of red tape (UN Habitat, 2007: 18).

It is clear that the shortage of qualified staff and inadequate institutional and administrative capacity is hampering efforts to institutionalise effective decentralised governance and promote balanced urban development in Addis Ababa. This disorganisation and lack of planning makes it difficult for NGOs to operate effectively, as NGO 1 states:

> It's like a nightmare that keeps on getting worse. The bureaucracy is out of control. Planning any project for us takes a lot of commitment and effort. We have to run around so many different offices in the city to follow up on permits and consents. One day the office might be on one side of town and then the next day it's gone. It can take up to a year for our requests to be processed (NGO 1).

NGO 2 reports similar problems:

> The Addis Ababa urban plan is very new and the housing department is very fragmented which makes it challenging for us. There are many different departments we must consult. They all have completely different procedures and processes. Any errors we make can hold up plans by months. It gets tiresome and sometimes you just want to give up.

The governance and bureaucratic process is a dominant feature in my fieldwork journaling. I was generally astounded by the difficulty in locating people and documents, as I wrote during week two:

For the past two days we have visited over 24 different offices that are all related to urban development and housing in some way. It appears the decentralisation process has gone too far in Addis Ababa, with the result being extremely fragmented and ineffective offices. Generally, people seemed uninformed and unsure about what their department's role was and on many occasions we were sent to find people and documents miles across the city to no avail. We spoke to over 15 different people just to locate the Local Development Plan for 2012. My research assistant and I joked that on average you needed to visit six offices before you would find the right person (Fieldwork Journal, 14th June, 2012).

This section has identified one of the largest challenges that NGOs face when trying to provide housing: working with a governance style, which has a deeply engrained top-down value system that is not open to consultation and collaboration, is debilitating. The lack of financial and institutional capacity displayed by the government makes engaging in formal processes very difficult and time consuming. Bureaucratic delays are to be expected, which take a large toll on the tolerance, resources and drive of NGOs.

6.2.2 Lack of money and resources

Inflation

Ethiopia has experienced rapid economic growth over the past decade. This land-locked nation has consistently outperformed the majority of African countries with its GDP growth reaching double digits annually since 2003. In 2010, it became the fastest growing non-oil economy on the continent (Mwanakatwe & Barrow, 2010:1). Moderate rates of inflation are an inevitable consequence of sustained economic growth. However, in the case of Ethiopia, inflation has surpassed the break-even point and threatens to act as a major deterrent to engagement in productive activities (Desta, 2008:1). Throughout the interview process, the effects of inflation on the provision of housing were recognised as a major challenge by participants from all sectors:

Since we built the initial condominiums, the cost has increased by five times the original price. So, in the very beginning they were achievable, but now with land and construction prices soaring, it is impossible to do anything. (NGO, 3)

NGO 1 also acknowledges the challenge:

The construction costs are increasing rapidly, double, treble, even quadruple, what they have been previously. We have done a lot of building around this area and never before has it been so hard to source affordable materials (NGO 1).

The following quote by a representative from NGO 2 helps to illustrate the wider effects that inflation is having upon NGOs and the urban poor:

Land and construction costs are rising at a rapid rate. Living is also becoming increasingly expensive due to inflation. The wages are not rising, pushing more and more people into extreme poverty every day. It is really bad here in Addis, so many people are homeless and it didn't used to be like that. Nowadays, it would be far too expensive for any NGO to buy land at market cost and build, they could, but by the time they had the finished product no one could afford to buy it. The people of Addis are getting poorer and poorer (NGO 2).

For two consecutive years (2010 and 2011), the inflation rate in Ethiopia has stood at 41 per cent. This is compounding an upward inflation trend that began to grow strongly in 2005 (Central Statistics Agency Ethiopia, 2012). Since visiting Ethiopia in 2010, I observed a huge change in the cost of goods and services, as indicated in my fieldwork notes:

I cannot believe the noticeable change of prices here in Addis. Coffee and food seem to have doubled. Today, I got a taxi that took me a relatively small distance and he wanted almost ten dollars (US), everything seems very expensive. My friend told me today the price of

injera[7] has almost tripled and he is eating much less now due to this. This is not the Ethiopia I remember (Fieldwork journal, June 7th, 2012).

Inflation is causing huge disruption for NGOs and it is impacting significantly on their ability to provide housing. They are now operating in a particularly harsh economic climate, thus making most of their activities financially unviable or unsustainable.

Donor Funding

All the NGOs interviewed regard a lack of financial resources as a major obstacle to being able to provide housing in Addis Ababa. The high inflation rates now mean that they need more money than ever to carry out their programmes. As the director of NGO 1 states:

> In development you always need more money from your donors, that's how it is. When you become known within the community, people start asking you to take on more and more. But with the rising costs we are struggling to get enough financial resources to even complete the projects we started. Housing is too expensive for us now, so we will finish the condominium we started and use our resources in other sectors (NGO 1).

A further five NGOs interviewed said that they had ceased involvement in the housing sector due to numerous reasons — and a lack of funding for housing projects was mentioned by each of the organisations. They all agreed that using funding for housing was not a strategic use of resources and it would take the large majority of their budget, thus leaving a minimum available for other projects. NGO 2 states that:

> Getting enough funding from donors is a huge obstacle that we face annually. Donors are now requesting we diversify our services and plan new projects that can reach the most people. Housing absorbs so

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[7] Injera is made from Teff flour and is the main dietary staple in Ethiopia.

much of our budget. We are now engaging in water and sanitation projects which cost less (NGO 2).

The economic growth that Ethiopia is currently experiencing is having adverse effects on the NGO sector. Increased funding is required to simply maintain the programmes that NGOs are now running. It is of serious concern, since growth shows no sign of slowing down. At the end of the 2012 fiscal year, the overall macroeconomic environment remained plagued by the fast paced inflation rate. Similar to the years that preceded it, inflation last year ended on a high note. However, despite the fact that in July 2012 the rate was forced down to 20 per cent, it still poses a serious threat for the macroeconomic stability of the nation (Seyoum, 2012). The graph below (see Figure 6.1) plots the flow of official development assistance (ODA) to Ethiopia over a period of almost 20 years.

Figure 6.1: Flows of net ODA to Ethiopia
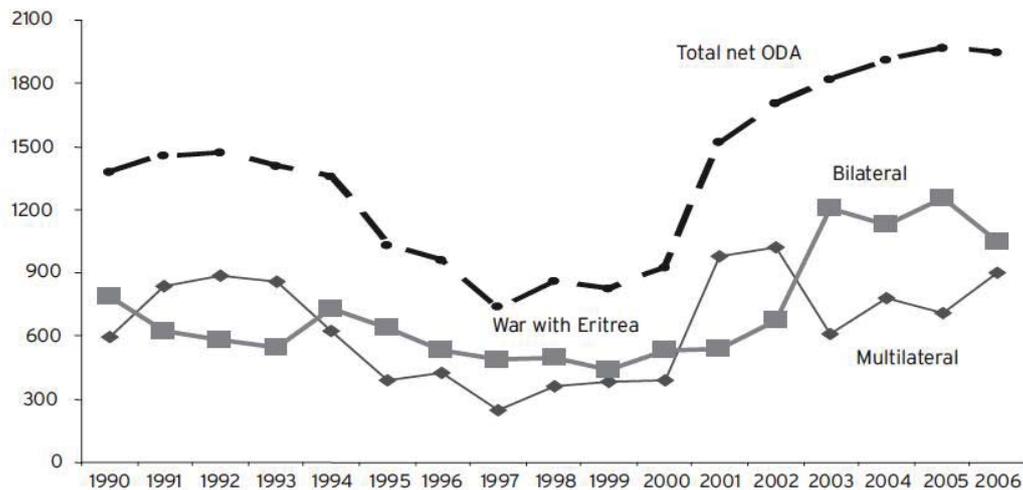
Source: OECD, 2011

It is clear to see that, since the year 2000, the figure has been steadily increasing. When I asked NGOs about the upward trend in donor assistance, they replied with answers that share a similarity to that of NGO 3:

> Yes, donor funding is increasing but because of inflation we now need more money to run the same projects, so it doesn't really benefit us. Also, the NGO sector is expanding each year, which means there is more competition for the available finances (NGO 3).

Economic growth, inflation and a lack of donor funding is contributing to the difficult climate that NGOs must navigate, as they strive to achieve their goals and fulfil mission statements. When combined, these issues have dramatic implications on the daily operation of an NGO.

Labour

One operational implication mentioned by several of the participants was the increasing difficulty in acquiring skilled labour. The employment of qualified labour is paramount to the completion of a successful housing renewal programme, but is presenting itself as a problem for the NGOs for two reasons. Firstly, skilled labour and expert practitioners are scarce and secondly NGOs lack the financial resources to employ such people. This demonstrates the flow-on effect that dramatic economic growth and inflation are having upon the organisations involved in housing provision. Due to the need for increased financial resources, the NGOs are finding it difficult to employ the staff they need. All three NGOs agree that, in order for housing provision to be successful, it needs to be carried out with skilled and qualified staff overseeing the work taking place. NGO 1 comments:

> We have enough unskilled labour, with almost 50 per cent unemployment here in Addis. You can get anyone from the street to come and help you. But what we need is jobs to be overseen by people with expertise to ensure it is quality work. Sometimes, if you leave the labourers by themselves they will not build the houses properly and may sell the materials on the street (NGO 1).

Participants outline that a lack of money and resources is one of the five significant obstacles that they face when trying to provide housing for the poor of Addis Ababa. With a rapidly expanding economy and flamboyant inflation rates, it is a growing concern for NGOs. The flow-on effects will have to be dealt with effectively, in order to minimise harm and maximise their effectiveness.

6.2.3 Perceptions

Throughout the fieldwork phase, an interesting trend in responses from participants began to emerge. It became increasingly evident that other development actors working within Addis Ababa did not respect or value the work of NGOs. Often, this was expressed subtly through non-inclusion in events, activities or planning documents. Whilst the initial interviews had already been conducted, the damaging effects of these perceptions only began to emerge later, during further visits to the NGOs. A representative from NGO 1 spoke about the challenge of perception:

> It's hard to work in a city where the government does not respect you. The people of Addis are at the centre of our mission and we are trying to bring about change for them. But as you will soon discover we are not included anywhere, it's like we are invisible. They have so many rules and regulations in place to control us, but they never ask where we can fit and what we can contribute.

Two representatives from NGO 2 were spoken with throughout the data collection phase. Interestingly, they presented almost opposite views on the impact that perception has on their ability to provide housing in Addis Ababa. This situation is particularly relevant, as I reflect upon the discussion that was held in the methodology chapter about qualitative research recognising multiple truths. The following statement comes from a former government employee, which may explain his ambivalent position:

> Most of the people in Addis don't value or respect the contribution of the NGOs that are working here. That makes it very difficult for us in

many respects. The people have seen too many projects started and never completed by the ferengi[8]. But if I may be clear, the lack of respect comes from other places not from the government. The local administration is very co-operative and they even provide very comprehensive assessments and permits to us so we can complete our work effectively.

The history of NGOs in Ethiopia is relatively short, when compared with many other nations in the Horn of Africa. The military Derg regime, which ruled Ethiopia from 1974 to 1991, did not encourage national or international aid. However, the great famine that plagued the country, spanning three years from 1983 to 1985, forced the military administration to allow the international community assist in relief aid. The fall of the Derg in 1991 changed the non-governmental sector in Ethiopia, with the new government allowing more NGOs to operate in the country than ever before. In the table below (see Table 6.2), it is easy to see the dramatic increase in the number of NGOs working within the country in the period after 1991. There had been steady and substantial growth within the sector, with numbers of registered organisations reaching over 3000. However, it is believed that there are up to a thousand additional NGOs operating around the country on an informal basis, which are not registered.

Table 6.2: Growth of NGO sector in Ethiopia

NGOs	1970	1980	1990	2000	2005
NNGOs	28	65	324	1657	3022
INGOs	5	12	38	458	530
TOTAL	33	77	362	2115	3552

Source: Rahmato, Bantirgu & Endeshaw. 2008, p.12.

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[8] Ferengi (Amharic) translates as 'foreigner' in English.

With the non-governmental sector in Ethiopia amassing numbers and revenue, as noted in Chapter Five, it would be easy to assume they would be considered worthy and valued development partners. Unfortunately, this is not the case, as reflected in the quotes below from participants:

> NGOs do not have any valuable contribution to make to the housing sector. What can they offer? Unless they can afford to buy the land then it is impossible for them to help and we have no intention of working with them (Government representative)

> NGOs are working in very small pockets on upgrading activities and other projects of this sort. But the urban plan for the city clearly states the buildings must be cleared and rebuilt. In the minds of many this makes the efforts of many NGOs worthless. The government is working on a big scale and the NGOs are small scale, so why would anyone even care to partner with them? (Lecturer and senior advisor to the Addis Ababa City Housing Department)

The perception that NGOs are not worthy development partners continues through to the document analysis that was carried out during the fieldwork. In the Addis Ababa City Development Plan, produced for the 2001 – 2010 period, there is no mention of NGOs throughout the entire document. Despite the plans tag line being "Addis Ababa is action: progress through partnership" (Addis Ababa Development Plan, 2001:3). Interestingly, the concluding chapter of the urban plan outlines some of the most important aspects for the administration to focus on in the future. Point number three states the following:

> *Partnership development* – Initiate and maintain strong public-private-community participation and strengthen it through open public discussions. Transparency, confidence building and inclusion are key areas to be maximised.

In 2011, the government commissioned a performance evaluation of the housing sector within Addis Ababa. This report represents a comprehensive

and thorough assessment of what has been achieved within the urban environment and it identifies gaps in policy and practice. Throughout the entirety of the report, NGOs receive a half page mention. The document briefly outlines the NGOs that are involved with housing provision and then concludes with the following statement:

> Evidence shows that many NGOs have ceased their operation in urban upgrading projects because of lack of funding from their donors (Performance Evaluation, 2011).

The issue of 'perception' presents itself in a subtler manner than some of the more obvious obstacles to housing provision. However, I was constantly reminded by participants that others' views can be destructive. This is forcing NGOs to work in a climate where they are not respected or valued, thus resulting in them not being able to maximise potential through partnerships with others. A representative for NGO 2 summarises the issue well with the following:

> We have now rebuilt and upgraded homes throughout Addis that have affected more than 50,000 people. I don't think any of those people would think what we do is not valuable. Although we are limited by many things we are still changing lives. I don't know why the government or anyone else for that matter would not want to partner with us in housing provision. The government should be grateful for our service because we are actually helping them and sharing the burden (NGO 2).

6.2.4 Need

Slums constitute the largest portion of Addis Ababa's urban landscape with over 80 per cent of city dwellers dealing with the consequences of this dire situation daily. The condition of the existing housing stock is declining rapidly, making the task of urban renewal an immediate priority (UN Habitat, 2007). As stated by Bihon (2008: 3), "the housing condition of Addis Ababa is by far inadequate in quantity and quality terms to meet the need of the residents".

United Nations Habitat (2007) predicts that around 65 per cent of the existing housing stock requires immediate demolition and by 2015 the city will have accumulated a deficit of 550,000 houses. Furthermore, due to a number of factors, including land degradation, economic conditions and employment opportunities, Addis Ababa is experiencing rapid growth, as a rural to urban migration trend sweeps the nation. The country has an annual growth rate of 2.8 per cent and the increased migration to Addis Ababa has led to the capital experiencing annual growth rates in excess of six per cent (UN Habitat, 2007).

Due to the escalating housing crisis in Addis Ababa, the majority of NGOs spoke of the seemingly insurmountable challenge of creating change. As the situation worsens, NGOs informed me that this dire need is crippling them. A representative from NGO 2 elaborates on this situation:

> In Addis over 90 per cent of the people do not have access to proper sanitation facilities. Sometimes we are building toilets for people that have only known to use the street or a plastic bag their whole lives. Also, around 75 per cent of the people do not have safe drinking water. You have seen that they live in houses that have almost collapsed and don't have any facilities. This is making them sick and now we see even more problems. This is hard for us! Sometimes we have a shortage of funding because there is so much need not only in housing. We are forced into doing other projects like water and sanitation even though we want to focus on housing provision (NGO 2).

When NGO 3 was asked to outline some of the major challenges they face, it was a clear and concise answer:

> The need and demand. It is so great and we can only provide a drop in the ocean. Every day, I wish we (as an organisation) had the capacity to do more. It is only going to get worse so we must keep trying (NGO 3).

While I was in the field, I experienced this need and demand first hand, as I noted in my fieldwork journal:

> Everywhere I go people think I am going to fix their homes. Walking through the slums represents getting prodded and pulled towards houses all the way down the road — people begging and yelling at me to come and see inside their houses and look at the terrible disrepair. As I walked with an NGO staff member today, he spoke of the immense challenge of working in Addis, explaining to me just how stretched they are. The worsening housing conditions are forcing them to diversify into many different sectors, which challenge their capacity greatly and sometimes shifts the focus away from housing (Fieldwork journal, 12th June, 2012).

Interestingly, NGO 1 further comments on this shift of focus:

> We have a policy of serving the people with the *greatest* need first. So, as the situation worsens in Addis that now means providing water, healthcare and food before housing (NGO 1).

The poor housing conditions that are being faced daily by the majority of Addis Ababa residents is contributing to the emergence of a multitude of poverty related issues. This is forcing NGOs to reassess their priorities and allocate funding to remedy more pressing issues. For some organisations, this is pushing housing to the bottom of their priority list, whilst for others it means ceasing involvement with shelter provision altogether, so they can focus on immediate relief aid.

In summary, it is evident that NGOs face a myriad of obstacles when attempting to set up and provide housing in Addis Ababa. The four major challenges, which were identified by participants throughout the fieldwork phase; governance, lack of money and resources, perceptions and need, are proving overwhelming and debilitating for many of the organisations. Equally important to identifying challenges, is identifying the relationships that NGOs form with other development actors. As discussed previously in Chapter Two,

they are vital to the success of NGOs, since they rely on close networks to complete their work effectively. The findings from the research, in regards to relationships between actors, will now be presented.

6.3 What relationship do NGOs have with other development actors and to what extent do these relationships affect their ability to be effective agents for change?

Over the past decade, there has been a shift in development thinking, which has led to an increased focus on local ownership and improved relationships between donors, national governments and civil society. The lack of collaboration between different donors has been proven to have serious consequences for national governments and their capacity to provide effective development solutions for their citizens (Kakande, 2004: 87). This section will present the findings that offer insights into the NGOs' relationships with other development actors. The relationships will be examined with reference to the short and long term effects on the NGOs. This enables the reader to gain a perspective on the scale and value of the individual partnerships.

6.3.1 Tension between Government and NGOs

In the majority of contexts, the relationship between NGOs and government is marred with unease. An overwhelming body of literature exists, which describes the conflict that can emerge as a result of the relationship between these two major development actors (Edwards & Hulme, 1992). A common view of NGOs, from an African point of view, is expressed clearly by Yash Tandon:

> Their secrecy, their non-transparency, the non-reciprocity of relations between northern and southern NGOs on matters of evaluation, the complexity of the constituencies from which the western NGOs derive their agendas and to which they are accountable – all these make western NGOs difficult for Africa to understand (Tandon, 1991: 75).

Despite a minimal number of exceptions, government and NGO relationships in Ethiopia have been typified by mistrust, suspicion and exclusion (Cambell, 2000: 13).

As Ethiopia emerges slowly from the socialist style of government that has dominated its past, it is wary of the work and motives of NGOs. Some of the suspicion is founded on the belief that former government employees have created NGOs with hidden political agendas, after losing their jobs through the structural adjustment process (Cambell, 2000). In addition, distrust towards NGOs in Ethiopia is derived from the resources they command, the agendas they serve and the values they possess (Cambell, 2000: 6).

Throughout the interview process, NGO 1 was open to talk about the relationship it has with government:

> We try and keep any interactions with government to a minimum. However, this is not always possible. When the condominium plans were announced we scheduled meetings and tried to fight for the initiative to be stopped. This year we signed an agreement with the government to keep rents fixed for our tenants. Our contact is minimal, we don't respect them and nor do they us, so we will just keep out of the way and go about serving the people (NGO 1).

As mentioned earlier in the chapter, two different representatives from NGO 2 were interviewed. The former government employee depicts a wonderful and healthy working relationship with the administration, which is in stark contrast to the other responses received. He states:

> We have a very good relationship with the government and local administration. They provide everything we need, for example building permits, land and consents. They help us in many respects because we are adding value to what they are trying to do here in Addis. Sometimes the government lacks the capacity to research new methods, so we can introduce them to new ideas. We have so many certificates of appreciation on our walls. Government representatives

are always visiting our sites and congratulating us on the great work (NGO 2).

Another participant from NGO 2 suggests a possible reason for the amicable relationship it has with the government, which differs greatly from the experiences of other NGOs. He speaks to the following question, "Why do you think your NGO is able to work positively with the government, when others find it very difficult?"

> Well, you have to understand that corruption is everywhere. You need to have friends in good places to get things done. People inside this organisation know many people in the government so it's easier for us. Also, I think they like us more because we are building for the community and providing a tangible output. Unlike some others, we are not engaged with any form of advocacy and just concentrate solely on service delivery (NGO 2).

A participant from NGO 3 reflects upon a different type of relationship it has with the Ethiopian government. As a large international NGO, it was approached by the administration to assist with the housing crisis in Addis Ababa. The government recognised their weak institutional capacity and inability to implement anything with scale through their own administration. Prior to 2006, there was not any department dedicated to urban development or housing for the city. NGO 3 was solely responsible for creating the City Housing Department, which now deals with the planning of future housing projects. A participant from the organisation explains their relationships with the government:

> We believe in capacity building and the transferring of knowledge. We had a very specific contract that was to be completed for the government. It worked well for us both and we found the officials to be quite co-operative. However, the relationship broke down when the government began clearing the slums and moving people to the outskirts of Addis ─ we did not expect this to happen. They also implemented the condominium scheme a lot sooner than we gave

them clearance for and now we can see the results of that everywhere in the city. The design had not been fully developed and we were still working on small improvements. So we finished our contract with them and ceased involvement. They were only interested in using our expertise, once they had the plans and prototypes we were nothing to them. It was a very superficial relationship (NGO 3).

In summary, as identified through the literature and semi-structured interviews, the relationship between the government and NGOs in Ethiopia is a delicate one. However, for NGOs, it also represents an extremely vital partnership that can enhance or destroy their ability to provide housing for the urban poor. As discussed previously in the chapter, the top-down military style government that rules Ethiopia does not hesitate in implementing policies that affect NGOs. It is a huge challenge for these organisations to attempting to work alongside a regime, which seems to show minimum tolerance and respect for this growing sector of aid.

6.3.2 Community

Often poverty strengthens communities, as people rely daily on each other, in order to face the hardships of life (Mequanent, 1998: 495). Ethiopia is not an exception, with close-knit communities all over the city often comprised of many generations of family or friends living together. The history of NGOs working with communities in Addis Ababa is relatively short, due to government restrictions that prohibited NGOs from reaching out to the people. Since 1991, there has been a positive upward trend and communities have welcomed the contribution of NGOs. A number of participants in the research were recipients of new houses provided by NGOs. The following statement echoes the sentiments of all those people interviewed who had received homes:

Before, you cannot imagine my home and what it was like. It was fit for nothing, not even animals. I had heard of NGO 1 because my parents live in a house built by them, but I never imagined they would build for me also. The process of working with the NGO was good. It was very

open and we had weekly meetings to discuss issues and give suggestions about the design of the new homes. Many of us were also offered work on the building site throughout the project, which was a blessing. Everyone in the community knows the NGO staff very well and they have a special place within our hearts. They took care of us in the temporary camp and then taught us about living in the new condos. We have now formed our own community committee that solves problems with the condos and administers the maintenance fund. It feels like we have been born again and dignity has been restored. My only hope is that more people could get homes from the NGO (Tewabech, 41: NGO housing recipient).

This statement clearly shows the positive role that NGOs can play within the housing sector. They have an ability to relate well with communities on the ground, thus ensuring their needs are met. NGO 2 outlines the importance of their relationship with the community:

The people that need new homes are so vulnerable. You must treat them with respect and listen to what they say, as often they know the problems better than us. You have to leave your priorities and underlying intentions at the door and truly listen. As an organisation we rely on the communities to make our interventions successful. They carry the majority of the load we are just the facilitator (NGO 2).

The only concerning factor that was raised throughout the interviews with participants, in regards to their relationship with NGOs, is the sceptical views of some communities that have been previously let down by aid interventions. One participant comments:

When they said we were getting new homes, I didn't even blink or get excited. I had heard this story so many times before and nothing ever happened. The foreigners always come here, talk to us and make plans but then we don't see them ever again. I warned everyone in the village not to get their hopes up.

Despite particularly positive recollections by participants of working with NGOs, a similar story was reiterated several times by communities. This situation has very damaging effects for villages and NGOs, since trust and strong relationships are paramount to the success of housing provision.

6.3.3 Private Sector

Currently, NGOs and the private housing sector do not have any form of relationship. This is largely due to the underdeveloped private sector that is only beginning to emerge. Currently, Access Real Estate holds the biggest market share of the private housing market and the company only began in 2008 (Access, 2012). Due to the authoritarian style of governance that has dominated the country's history, space for the private sector has been minimal. In the past, the government has been suspicious of the activities and motives of private companies working inside the country (Centre for Affordable Housing Finance in Africa, 2012).

Private developers face a substantial number of obstacles when attempting to provide housing in Addis Ababa and it is believed that this has been the reason for the limited growth. The most critical issue for the private sector is that all land in Ethiopia is owned by the state: and rights to land are granted through a lease system. Land can be leased for up to 99 years for residential housing and 15 years for urban agriculture in urban centres. The lease prices are expensive and the supply of agreements is slow and inadequate. The accuracy of the lease system has also been queried, since often multiple parties are assigned the same plots of land (Centre for Affordable Housing Finance in Africa, 2012). This offers limited confidence to property developers and makes it risky to invest in Addis Ababa. However, the sector is slowly beginning to develop at the present time, due to a number of factors including: firstly, new hydro-electric power stations alleviating crippling power shortages; secondly, a review of the land-lease system; and thirdly, a consistent cement supply available from within the country, thus reducing previous importing costs (Centre for Affordable Housing Finance in Africa, 2012). Currently, the private housing sector is only involved in housing provision for middle to high-income groups.

Despite the current lack of partnership between NGOs and the private sector, it could be an area open to future potential. In other countries dealing with large-scale slum renewals, this type of partnership has led to some very effective results. Furthermore, Access Real Estate has expressed an interest in being involved in low-cost housing projects in the future.

In summary, the findings of this research question exemplify the strained relationships that NGOs endure with other development actors in Addis Ababa. The majority of NGO workers identify their relationship with the government as being minimal, with organisations wanting to limit their involvement with the administration as much as possible. The findings have revealed ideas that corruption is still present and favouritism is employed, thus rewarding NGOs who can include 'friends' of the administration. NGOs have been able to facilitate good relationships within the communities in which they provide housing. The ramifications, which these relationships have on the ability of NGOs to be effective agents for change, are considerable.

 Findings from the final research question, which explore whether a rights based approach could be employed by NGOs in Addis Ababa, in order to aid housing provision, will now be presented in the following section.

6.4 Are NGOs able to contribute to the facilitation of a rights based approach to housing within the city?

This research is driven by the belief that housing is a human right and Chapter Two draws on examples where housing rights have been realised in developing nations. Unfortunately, in Ethiopia, extremely serious and crippling rights-based violations are taking place on a daily basis. As discovered through document analysis and interviews with participants, the facilitation of a rights based approach by NGOs to housing is not a possibility.

6.4.1 Policy

NGOs working in Ethiopia have always been subjected to an overtly suspicious government, hostility and bureaucracy. However, the passing of

the 2009 Charities and Societies Proclamation (as shown in Table 6.1) stifled any form of rights based activities carried out by NGOs. The law was implemented to regulate the sector and it requires the re-registration of mass membership, based societies, charitable trusts, foundations and NGOs. Coupled with this law came a newly formed Charities and Societies Agency, which was granted substantial power to interfere in the running, administration and planning of organisations activities (Amnesty International, 2012: 5). The table below summarises the policy's implications:

Table 6.3: Charities and Society Proclamation 2009

• **Who it affects?**	NGOs, charitable trusts, Foundations, mass membership based societies
• **Re-registration**	Must be completed under one of the following: 1. Ethiopian Charity or Society 2. Ethiopian Residents Charity or Society 3. Foreign Charity
• **Funding**	Any organisation that receives more than 10 per cent of funding from foreign sources is *NOT* permitted to carry out rights based activities. (Article 3 CSP)
• **Monitoring**	Charities and Society Association (CSA) was set up to monitor the policy implementation. They are able to demand full disclosure of information and documents at any time. (Article 85 CSP)
• **Enforcement**	CSA has the power to carry out all activities necessary for the attainment of the policies objectives. (Article 6 CSP)
• **Consequences**	1. NGOs cannot engage in rights based work unless they change their programmes to suit the policy 2. The broadness of the enforcement powers given to the CSA allows them to adopt the widest interpretation of their powers, thus leading to misuse (for example, targeting, silencing or undue punishment of organisations)

Source: Amnesty International, 2012, p.7-11.

The Charities and Societies Proclamation has placed excessive restrictions on the activities of human rights organisations throughout the country. The law is also a clear breach of the United Nations Declaration on the Right and Responsibility of Individuals, Groups and Organs of Society to Promote and

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Protect Universally Recognized Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms. Interestingly, article one of the declaration states:

> Everyone has the right, individually and in association with other, to promote and strive for the protection and realisation of human rights and fundamental freedoms at a national and international level (Article One, UDHR, 1948).

In addition the Ethiopian constitution guarantees that:

> Every person has the right to freedom of association for any cause or purpose (Ethiopian Constitution, Article 31)

However, the CSP impedes both of these obligations. The United Nations Human Rights committee expressed serious concern over this law and advised the government to amend the document:

> The state should revise its legislation to ensure that any limitations on the right to freedom of association and assembly are in strict compliance with national and international agreements. It should also reconsider the funding restrictions on local NGOs and authorise NGOs to work in the field of human rights (UN 2011, as cited in Amnesty International, 2012: 11).

The majority of participants were wary of questions relating to the CSP and rights, since they feared being implicated in a situation that may affect their organisation. However, some were willing to share their experiences of working from a rights-based perspective:

> You have to be so careful with rights. We cannot run seminars and advocate openly but the way we do it is by being in the communities and building. Our presence raises so much awareness. People then begin to understand what a toilet looks like or how hygienic a new kitchen is. Because the communities are so close everyone will come to where we are working and see the building, they will then get ideas

that their needs and rights are not being met and seek out help. Its can only be described as a very silent and discrete snowball effect (NGO 2).

What are rights?! Do not speak of rights around here young lady, because they do not exist. In our country if you want to empower people you have to be very smart. You have to show the government one side of your cards and use the reverse to help the people. Everything is always difficult and then the year 2009 came and it got much worse. We had to change many of our programmes and reword our mission statement to fit within the parameters of the new law. However, we still have some mention of social justice in there – we are lucky they didn't pick that up (NGO 1).

The effect, which the CSP has had upon NGOs and their ability to realise housing as a basic human right, is absolute. It has encouraged NGOs to cease work within the country entirely and leaves the urban poor in an ever-worsening situation of helplessness and vulnerability.

6.4.2 Climate of fear and control

In order to further curb and oppress rights organisations and their supporters, the government of Ethiopia have systematically created an environment of fear within their country (Amnesty International, 2012). The Charities and Societies Proclamation is just another example of the ways in which they silence the critical voice:

This long-standing hostility to human rights organisations has been institutionalised in the CSP, placing heavy restrictions on their work and threatening human rights defenders with imprisonment for transgressing the law (Amnesty International, 2012).

The representative from NGO 1 was previously imprisoned for speaking out against the government policies and knows the issue of fear all too well. She speaks about it candidly:

Fear is the best way to rule if you want people to follow exactly what you have planned. We have a history of military dictatorships here in Ethiopia so the people are no stranger to fear. Although things are better now the government still controls through this method. After the proclamation was announced, I know many people that fled the country. People are now scared to join NGOs because of the things they could be associated with. They don't want to be an enemy to anyone, let alone the government (NGO 1).

Organisations are now being forced to self-sensor their activities for fear of violating any of the laws currently in place. A significant amount of human rights defenders are now too scared to speak out, or to have the experiences of their organisations discussed or publicised. I reflect upon this in my fieldwork journal:

You can sense the fear everywhere. People are nervous and wary of who I am and what I want. I asked NGO 2 if I could visit some of their project sites and talk to the recipients of houses. My request was deliberated upon for 20 minutes by the director before he said it could not be permitted. He said because the government might be there and watching (there are always patrols) and they will wonder what a young white lady is doing. He told me the consequences, which for them would be severe and he didn't want to jeopardise the organisation's projects. My translator also asked me today to stop talking with him about the government in the public taxis in case someone overheard us and we end up in trouble. He said to me "even you (a white woman) are not immune from prison in my country anymore, we have to be so careful" (Fieldwork Journal, 13th June, 2012).

The media is another example of the way in which the government is able to control the country and prevent rights based activists creating awareness. All television, phone and Internet services are provided by the state owned Ethiopian Telecom Company. They have a total monopoly of the market and they have censored a vast amount of what its citizens have access to, through

the blocking of websites and creative editing. Anything relating to rights and advocacy is prohibited, as are blog sites, independent news reports and online communication tools (for example, Skype, Google or YouTube videos).

6.4.3 Slum Clearances Programme

It is obvious that the government does not value the basic human rights of its citizens. A different way of exposing this lack of regard is by examining the slum-clearance programme, which has bombarded the inner urban environment over the past year. Although it is not directly related to NGOs, as are many other issues that have been discussed, it offers the view of government officials and slum dwellers, helping us to understand the regime and the impossibility for NGOs to work with a RBA in the future.

The Land Development and Urban Renewal Project implemented in 2011 required the clearing of all inner city slum areas for redevelopment and private land sales (Addis Fortune, 2011). A participant from the Housing Administration agreed to speak with me about the clearance project and the processes involved:

> The process is good. People are well informed long before their homes are cleared. They have the opportunity to apply for a new condominium house, which is great for them. We will go and speak with them about how to apply and how long they will have to move. Usually they will have more than one year. He said there is some resistance, but generally people are very excited at the prospect of a new home. Even if they are living on the outskirts of the city, they still get a new home so they should be happy with that and not cause trouble. We decided not to allow submissions for the project as it is happening anyway, so we just have to try and get the best solution for everyone losing their homes (Housing Administration representative)

Throughout the statement above, it is clear to see that the government is unwilling to engage with the slum-dwellers. The project is being carried out

from a very top-down perspective and the people whose homes are being cleared have no rights. Participants from the affected slums were then interviewed, in order to gain their perspective and see if their rights were being realised throughout this disheartening process. Almaz lives in Arat Kilo. She is 61 and has lived in the area all her life. She tells of the following experience:

> It is heartbreaking to leave but what can I do? We have no choice. I know about rights and I know the government is not treating us well. They cannot just tell us to move over night or take us to the outside of the city and leave us there with nothing as they do. I know everyone should live in a proper and clean house. But I have just 50 birr so what should I do? I have never experienced anything of this sort before (Almaz, 61, Slum Dweller).

In contrast to Almaz, fellow slum-dweller Etapharow paints a different picture. Before our interview she told us government officials had been doing surveys in the area and she checked on several occasions that we were not with them. Her answer may be a reflection of her fear:

> The process is fair; we have had a few meetings with the local Kebele where they told us what would happen. Three hundred houses around mine have already been destroyed. The condominiums are expensive, but I will just wait and see if I can get the money somehow. I am really excited about moving to a new home and having a new life. The government has a good plan for the future (Etapharow, 40, Slum dweller).

An Ethiopian newspaper reported on the effects of the evictions and clearances:

> In a country like Ethiopia, where social life is said to be stronger than individualism, eviction destroys many social values and helpful traditional institutions (Reta, 2012:2).

The slum clearance case helps us to exemplify the dire rights conditions inside the country. They solidify the view that the government has no tolerance or respect for the needs and rights of its people. Furthermore, it helps us to understand the hopelessness of NGOs attempting to empower people through rights.

6.5 Conclusion

This chapter has presented the research findings from the fieldwork phase, backed up by relevant literature. It has outlined the key roles that NGOs can perform in the provision of housing for the poor in Addis Ababa. It also questioned whether NGOs were able to facilitate a RBA to housing within the urban setting. The contribution that NGOs can make to the housing crisis in Addis Ababa is limited, due to the overwhelming number of serious obstacles that they face. Operations within a climate that is riddled with oppression and fear are not conducive to a productive NGO. Inflation and population growth also pose serious threats to the ability of organisations wanting to provide for a costly sector, such as housing. The facilitation of a rights based approach is currently almost impossible in Ethiopia and those that engage with it risk serious ramifications that could lead to jail or deportation. The following chapter will now discuss these findings and draw conclusions.

Chapter Seven

Discussion and Conclusion

7.1 Introduction

As outlined in chapter one, the primary aim of this thesis is to understand **the role and impact of NGOs in the provision of housing for the poor in Addis Ababa.** In an effort to address this aim, this chapter intends to discuss the two overarching objectives and supporting research questions. This chapter seeks to situate the findings from Chapter Six into the context of the aim and objectives, which represent the original motivation for this study.

The first section addresses research objective one which is to: *examine the key roles that NGOs can perform that assist in the provision of housing for the poor.* Similar to the presentation of findings in Chapter Six, research questions one, two and three, will be discussed in relation to this objective. This will be followed by a discussion on the second research objective: *to explore whether a rights based approach could be an appropriate method for NGOs to employ for effective housing provision.* Research question four will be considered in relation to this objective. A summary of the research will then be presented, with conclusions being drawn.

7.2 Discussion of Research Objective One

- ***Examine the key roles that NGOs can perform that assist in the provision of housing for the poor***

This section explores the roles that NGOs are able to assume within the housing sector in Addis Ababa. The research questions will be discussed in relation to the findings and the literature that has been presented throughout the thesis. The systematic unpacking and exploration of these research questions makes a vital contribution towards understanding the primary aim of the thesis. Without a deep and full understanding of the key roles that NGOs can perform in the provision of housing, it would be difficult to assess their impact and future potential as actors within the sector.

7.2.1 The challenges NGOs face when trying to set up and provide housing in Addis Ababa

Research question one of this study sought to understand the potential challenges that NGOs face in Addis Ababa when trying to provide housing for the poor. Available literature reveals that the working climate for NGOs within Ethiopia is characterised by: suspicion; distrust; a lack of good governance; bureaucracy; and exclusion. As discussed in Chapter Five, Clark (2000), Yntiso (2008), Haregewoin (2007) and UN Habitat (2008a), amongst other literary sources, have all identified the significantly damaging impact that the Addis Ababa city administration and wider country governance systems have had on NGOs and their ability to provide housing within the city. Several sources propose that the concept of governance remains largely underdeveloped in Ethiopia and despite attempts since 1991 to create a more democratic, decentralised system, heavily top-down, dictator-like governance prevails (Haregewoin 2007, Abdu 2012, UN 2007). This top-down approach is exemplified in the literature, which presents a number of examples where NGOs and CSOs have been excluded from the decision-making process. As a result, policies that have serious and debilitating ramifications for their work

were implemented without consultation (for example, the 2009 Charities and Societies Proclamation). The process of decentralisation has had a considerable influence over the trajectory of urban development in Addis Ababa and literature from Yntiso (2008) and Rahmato, Bantirgu & Endeshaw (2008), which have identified the underdeveloped nature of this concept within the urban centre, is contributing to confusion and the creation of excessive bureaucracy. This has led to inefficiencies in planning and policy that now act as major deterrents for NGOs engaging in housing interventions in Addis Ababa.

There is a distinct lack of literature which specifically examines the role of NGOs engaging in housing provision in Addis Ababa. Therefore, whilst the research findings of this study align with many of the challenges identified in Chapter Five, additional obstacles have been revealed. The findings present the four main challenges in Chapter Six as follows: poor governance; lack of money and resources; perceptions; and need. It was clear that each of these factors are affecting all the NGOs that participated in the study and severely crippling their work. A variety of modes employed by NGOs for housing provision were presented in Chapter Two. As a result of the significant challenges that NGOs face in Addis Ababa, their role is so reduced that many organisations are ceasing involvement in the sector, or undertaking housing provision in a manner that aligns with an 'emergency' approach, since they are unable to participate in full scale projects. Scholars, such as Gilbert (2001) and Chandra and Acosta (2009), suggest that housing provision through this mode is filled with challenges, since it is difficult for NGOs to engage with communities and create any form of long-term solutions. They also discuss that this approach can be undertaken when NGOs are not integrated into urban planning at local or state level, as seen in Addis Ababa.

Despite the seemingly insurmountable challenges associated with non-governmental work in Ethiopia the literature reveals a growing civil society sector. Documents from the UN (2008), Bihon (2008) and Melesse (2005) all discuss the fact that there are eight prominent NGOs providing housing in Addis Ababa. However, the findings of this research identify only two NGOs

that were still actively involved in the sector. Throughout the thesis, Satterthwaite (2005) has been mentioned as a strong advocate for communities creating their own housing solutions. He also strongly encourages investing time into developing the non-governmental sector, since he believes that forms key linkages between communities and governments. Hence, the dramatic lack of involvement in the housing sector by NGOs in Addis Ababa validates the challenges raised during the research to be very real and incapacitating.

The challenges faced by NGOs seeking to provide housing in Addis Ababa are numerous. Three out of the four challenges identified are discussed extensively throughout the literature. Issues of governance, inflation and overwhelming demand for housing solutions, all require fundamental changes to be undertaken within the city. Interestingly, the fourth obstacle identified by participants depicted the damaging effect that others' perceptions can have upon their ability to be recognised as effective development partners. The participants believe that their contributions are not being valued within the city and that they remain largely unrecognised by the government and private sector institutions, as having any contribution to make towards the housing development of Addis Ababa in the future. However, the case study presented in Chapter Two, outlining the work of Indian NGO SPARC, proves that NGOs can play a very vital role in urban renewal programmes. Both Satterthwaite (2005) and Patel and Mitlin (2004) agree that successful and lasting urban development requires the contribution of *all* development actors, including NGOs.

The research question helped to identify challenges that NGOs were facing when providing housing in Addis Ababa. It is evident that, given the current political climate in Ethiopia, these challenges will not easily be overcome. Mitigation of any of the issues raised is something that NGOs alone cannot overcome. Deep-seated government dominance still prevails in a country that has a long history of dictator styles of governance. The government has outwardly expressed its priorities through the introduction of new policies that have crippled the work of NGOs within Addis Ababa and the country at large.

7.2.2 The relationship that NGOs have with other development actors and the extent to which these relationships affect their ability to be effective agents for change

Consistent with the presentation of the findings, research questions two and three will be discussed simultaneously. These questions seek to understand the relationships that NGOs have with other development actors. As the literature outlines in Chapter Two, there has been a distinct progression of approaches to housing globally, with a move to reduce the role of the state in housing provision since the 1970s. The enabling approach was introduced and it forms the basis upon which future housing initiates have been built. As argued by Tebbal and Ray (1998), the Habitat Two conference expanded the scope of the enabling framework and stressed the absolute importance of partnerships to reach global housing targets.

As outlined by Satterthwaite (2005), Offenheiser and Holcombe (2003) and Rahman (2002), the building up of relationships between development actors is essential for the forming of successful partnerships. Explored earlier in Chapter Two, Rahman (2002) believes strongly in the value of NGOs within the housing sector and he identifies their ability to recognise the importance of the link between civil society and the government to achieve results. Furthermore, much of the literature continues to praise NGOs for their ability to break down barriers with communities and other actors, in order to promote effective development interventions. Most believing that the dominant strength of NGOs is the way they are able to form relationships working from the bottom up.

The nature of the relationship that NGOs have with government, communities and the private sector are examined in the research. The findings reveal that the relationships NGOs have formed with these different actors are extremely delicate and need to be negotiated with great care. Most participants in the study indicate the fragility of the relationship that NGOs have with the government — and this was deemed as the most influential partnership. Within the current political climate, NGO representatives acknowledge that the partnership they have with the government directly impacts on their ability to

provide housing within the city. Interestingly, the representative that held strong ties with government officials (from former employment within the administration) alluded to the fact that his organisation has had no problem working closely with the Urban Housing Department. This would support the idea discussed by other participants that corruption and favouritism are rife within Ethiopia. All the participants express their concern that the government was not involving them in urban development plans, thus creating a wave of uncertainty and speculation about their future in the sector.

The findings of this study support the ideas by Satterthwaite (2005) and Offenhensier and Holcombe (2003) discussed in Chapter Two that NGOs can create development solutions from the ground up, since they often have better access to communities and they are able to be fluid, flexible, and adapt quickly to change. Participants from communities in Addis Ababa, where NGOs have implemented successful housing projects, give testament to the inclusive relationship that NGOs have fostered with them. Whilst some participants express concern and believed that the promises proposed by NGOs would not materialise, all reported that they, in fact, received more than they had hoped for. The findings suggest that the NGOs place the community at the heart of their work and they enjoy strong working relationship with them, which continues after the projects have been completed. The relationships that NGOs form with the communities significantly impact on the success of housing interventions and they are vital for enabling solutions to the urban housing crisis in Addis Ababa.

The interaction that NGOs have with the private sector is minimal, due to the largely underdeveloped nature of private housing development in Ethiopia. However, as discussed by Araya (2012), developers are beginning to express an interest in the sector, with several private real estate companies currently providing housing for low to middle income households. In the future, there is potentially going to be a need for NGOs to form relationships with private sector housing providers.

As discussed by Ulleburg (2010), it is extremely important to remember that, whilst NGOs are often the facilitators of strong relationships, in return they

require strong partnerships to ensure that policy and institutional obstacles do not hinder or slow their work. With reference to this research those sentiments are realised, since the participant NGOs are constantly faced with working in an environment that does not encourage or enable their work. Therefore, due to the nature and style of governance in Addis Ababa and the country of Ethiopia at large, government and NGO relationships remain strained. This relationship has the most impact on their ability to be effective agents for change and it is significantly affecting them. The case studies discussed in Chapter Two present the work of two NGOs that are actively involved in housing provision. Both examples show ways in which NGOs can work in partnership with various development actors, including governments, in order to produce successful outcomes. NGOs play a vital role in strengthening communication channels and ties between all actors involved in housing provision.

7.3 Discussion of Research Objective Two

- ***To explore whether a rights based approach could be an appropriate method for NGOs to employ for effective housing provision***

This section explores whether employing a rights based approach to housing provision would be an effective strategy for NGOs working in Addis Ababa. Research question four will be discussed in relation to this objective. Through the exploration of the literature and research findings, the suitability of the approach will be assessed.

7.3.1 NGO contribution to the facilitation of a rights based approach to housing within Addis Ababa

Housing has been recognised as a human right since the formulation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948, where it is stated that everyone is entitled to an adequate standard of living, encompassing housing. However, as discussed throughout Chapter Three, even with these

international declarations in place the emergence of a rights based approach to development has only begun to gain momentum over the past two decades. Amartya Sen has played a central role in encouraging the development community to recognise the intrinsic links between rights and development. Literature by Molyneux and Lazar (2003) and Llewellyn-Fowler and Overton (2010) suggest that this approach has been strongly advocated by NGOs, since they have the ability (and are in a position) to work closely with the rights holders.

When engaging in a discussion on what the RBA encompasses, literature by Llewellyn and Overton (2010), Cornwell and Nyamu-Musembi (2004) and Jochnick (1997), all express the variety of ways in which this approach can be viewed and implemented. However, there is consistency amongst the literature reviewed in Chapter Three, in regards to the underlying intentions of the approach, which are: firstly, to strengthen the capacity of the rights holders, thus empowering them to claim their rights; and secondly, to strengthen the capacity of the duty holders to help realise the fulfilment of those rights.

Despite the overarching aims of the approach being agreed upon, theorists and academics have openly criticised it for having such a multitude of implementation methods. Cornwall and Nyamu-Musembi (2004) outline this major issue with an example of four different ways right-based development could be put into practice. Banik (2010) outlines the sentiments of most literature surrounding rights when he expresses that the focus of the approach is largely theoretical and the practical implementation is still a largely underdeveloped idea. Despite the uncertainty about implementation, a number of prominent international NGOs (for example, OXFAM and Action Aid) are operating from a rights based perspective. Furthermore, the United Nations has also adopted the framework into some of its programmes, using it as a tool for developing assessments. Gready (2008) emphasises the risk of a rights based approach to development becoming highly tokenistic, as organisations utilise it to simply move with current thinking and practices, in order to satisfy donor demands.

The findings from the fieldwork reveal an alarming human rights situation in Ethiopia, with literature from Amnesty International describing Ethiopia as a country displaying some of the most restricted human rights and advocacy laws in the world. These findings strongly suggest that, under the current regime, any engagement with a rights-based approach to development by NGOs would put them and the communities in which they work at significant risk. Participants are understandably cautious when discussing issues of rights ─ and a staff member from one of the NGOs has previously been imprisoned for campaigning against the government on issues related to human rights.

The Charities and Societies Proclamation of 2009 has had a devastating effect on the ability of NGOs to work from a rights based perspective, and it has effectively has banned all engagement with advocacy and rights. Two out of three NGOs stated that, previously, they took a rights based stance on the housing issues faced in Addis Ababa, however, this was crippled in 2009. Both participants report having to change their mission statements and cease many of the programmes that they were running, since they were no longer permitted. They also report that the post-2009 situation has been difficult and programme planning must be negotiated with care to ensure that no violations regarding rights are made. However, participants from all the NGOs express ways in which they are carefully engaging in low-level rights based awareness. One organisation states that, even though they are unable to facilitate seminars or advocacy meetings, working within the communities is still valued, since their presence can educate people on issues such as hygiene and clean living.

As discussed in previous chapters, the Ethiopian government operates in a heavy top-down manner. They have systematically created a climate of fear and control within Ethiopia. A participant reflects upon this situation and describes the devastating situation now for NGOs, as being one where people are scared and unwilling to be involved in the sector, since they do not want to be implicated through association. Upon reviewing document sources, it is evident that the government has limited regard for the rights of its citizens.

This can be exemplified through the extensive slum clearances that have been undertaken within Addis Ababa.

Even though the literature states that housing is a human right, in the case of Addis Ababa a rights based approach to housing is not an appropriate framework for NGOs to employ. When reflecting upon a rights-based approach, the literature that was reviewed in Chapter Three has shown that, despite some flaws regarding implementation, the approach has been taken up by many NGOs. Unfortunately, much of the literature disregards the issue of context, which in this case is extremely important. When we reflect upon a rights based framework theoretically it is sound, but it also requires the support from and engagement with governments, in order to be successful. The rights based approach is highly dependent on the government's capacity and ability to realise the rights of its citizens. In addition, NGOs need to have the capacity to implement the approach and (as discussed in Chapter Five) the NGO sector in Addis Ababa suffers from a significant lack of capacity and organisation. This situation is due largely to their short history and previous restrictions, which have only allowed them to engage in relief activities, thus leaving little time for growth and development.

7.4 Research Summary and Concluding Statement

The intention of this research was to examine the role and impact of NGOs in the provision of housing for the poor of Addis Ababa, whilst assessing whether the employment of a rights based approach by NGOs would be an appropriate framework to enable more effective housing provision. In order to address the primary aim for this research, three key research conclusions can be discerned.

Firstly, the role that NGOs currently play in the housing sector within Addis Ababa is very limited. This is due to various factors that are having serious and debilitating consequences for NGOs and the wider housing sector. The research shows that, whilst the impact of their activities is relatively low, the communities that they have been providing housing for have reaped numerous benefits from the interventions. Governance remains the major

obstacle for NGOs, since a lack of planning and pro-poor housing policies are escalating the urban housing crises faced by the rapidly growing city of Addis Ababa. Whilst the majority of literatures (see Satterthwaite, 2005 and Rahman, 2002) identify the positive impact that NGOs can play in slum upgrading and housing provision, overwhelming difficulties associated with context are highlighted in this research.

Secondly, this thesis has been inspired by the author's belief that housing is a human right. However, NGOs are not able to employ a rights-based approach to housing provision in Addis Ababa, or anywhere in Ethiopia. The Charities and Societies Proclamation that was passed in 2009 represents one of the world's most crippling human rights laws and it does not allow for any type of rights or advocacy engagement by civil society. This brings to light the absolute complexities of the rights based approach and exemplifies the need for it to be carried out within an enabling context, where both NGOs and governments have the capacity to realise the rights of the people.

Finally, NGOs can only be effective if they are able to work in an enabling environment where partnerships are encouraged and facilitated. This research has highlighted how sensitive NGOs are to context and circumstance. Whilst they are widely acknowledged for their abilities to form strong partnerships, this is only able to happen if other development actors are also willing. The exclusion and disregard for the NGO sector within Addis Ababa is completely disempowering for them and it discourages them from supporting the housing sector.

With a rapidly growing urban population that shows no signs of slowing, Addis Ababa is a metropolis in need of sustainable housing solutions. The government has been posing as 'democratic' since 1991, but their actions do not imply they have any interest in true democracy. However, it would be to their benefit if they committed to meaningful partnerships with the large NGO sector within the city and invest in pro-poor housing policy. The psychological and physical improvements that the residents of Addis Ababa would gain from decent housing would produce numerous benefits including being in healthier condition, which would enable them to work and to become productive

members of society, thus contributing to the building up of the Ethiopian economy. However, for any of these changes to occur ─ and the housing rights of a city to be realised ─ there needs to be a fundamental shift in governance and the approach to development. This is challenging in a country that has such deeply engrained political agendas. The NGO sector could assist the government and ease the burdens they face by being highly productive housing partners, as they have proven to be in developing countries, globally. I live in hope that one day this will become a reality and that NGOs will have the freedom to exercise their skills in Addis Ababa, thus creating positive housing solutions and empowering communities to realise their rights.

7.5 Suggestions for Future Research

Due to the distinct lack of research about the roles of NGOs in Addis Ababa, it seems premature at this stage to make any suggestions for future policy and planning. Instead, of more value would be additional research on the subject area. This study was very limited in terms of scope and length of time spent in Addis Ababa and, whilst it presents a glimpse of the serious issues at hand, a more in depth analysis would be highly beneficial. It would be relevant to seek the experiences of more NGOs working within the city, since in this way increased accuracy regarding the sector could be gained. The Charities and Societies Proclamation was only implemented during 2009, so it is relatively new in terms of its operational implications. A long-term study of its effects would enable researchers to identify if the NGO sector will be further reduced as a result, or if it may build resilience and alternative pathways around the restrictive policy.

With the recent forming of Urban Development Departments within the Addis Ababa City Administration, it would also be beneficial to study how the plans are implemented within the city. Although, to date, there has been minimal coordination between departments, officials spoken to throughout this study seemed optimistic of change: and monitoring of this change (should it occur) would be useful. If, in the years to come, the administration manages to increase capacity and show an interest in producing housing solutions for the

poorest of the poor in Addis Ababa, the role for NGOs could change dramatically. Due to the relatively new governance structure and rapidly growing population in Addis Ababa, the situation requires constant monitoring and evaluation. The more informed we are, the better the solutions to the housing crisis will be. Context specific solutions are vital to the negotiation of the complex environment that is Addis Ababa.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: *Information Sheet*

Massey University
COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

SCHOOL OF PEOPLE, ENVIRONMENT
AND PLANNING
Private Bag 11 222
Palmerston North
New Zealand
T 64 6 350 5799
F 64 6 350 5737
www.massey.ac.nz

**Examining the role and impact of NGOs in the provision of housing for the poor:
A case study on Addis Ababa**

INFORMATION SHEET

Salam,

My name is Amy Fraser. I am a student in the Institute of Development Studies at Massey University in New Zealand. I have come to Ethiopia, in order to conduct field research for my Master's thesis. My research investigates the role and impact of NGOs in the provision of housing for the poor of Addis Ababa. It examines the roles that NGOs can perform to assist in the provision of housing. It also explores if a rights based approach could be an appropriate method for NGOs to employ for effective housing provision. The research will be undertaken in a qualitative manner as it seeks to gain a deep and rich understanding of the issues related to housing provision. The research will enable different development actors to have a voice, including those residing in poverty housing, as often their opinions are excluded from literature. Currently there is no literature on the role of NGOs in the provision of housing within Addis Ababa, so any contribution towards this project will be providing knowledge for future generations. NGOs form a large sector of aid within Addis Ababa and it is vital we

understand what they are doing and how they interact with other development actors. Knowledge of this will help to ensure successful, collaborative and lasting urban development within the city.

I would greatly appreciate your contribution towards my project. However your participation should be voluntary. As a participant you have the right to decline to answer any questions you do not feel comfortable with. You are also welcome to ask me any questions that you wish. If you don't understand anything that I am asking you, please ask and I can further clarify or rephrase for you. If a tape recorder is used it can be turned off at any time during the interview. If you would like a summary of the findings from the research or a copy of the interview / photos I can give them to you at a time we agree upon. I will not use your name in this research, unless you give me informed consent to. You can withdraw any information you shared with me before the conclusion of this research. The information that you share with me will only be used for the purpose of completing this thesis.

This project has been evaluated by peer review and deemed low-risk. It has not been reviewed by one of the University's Human Ethics Committees. As the researcher, I am responsible for the ethical conduct of this research.

If you have any concerns about the research that you want to discuss with someone other than the researcher please contact: John O'Neill, Director, Research Ethics, email: humanethics@massey.ac.nz, telephone +64 6 350 5249.

Thank you for considering my request to participate in this research, it is greatly appreciated.

Appendix 2: *Consent Form*

Massey University
COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

SCHOOL OF PEOPLE, ENVIRONMENT
AND PLANNING
Private Bag 11 222
Palmerston North
New Zealand
T 64 6 350 5799
F 64 6 350 5737
www.massey.ac.nz

**Examining the role and impact of NGOs in the provision of housing for the poor:
A case study on Addis Ababa**

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

I have read and understood the information provided by the information sheet and additionally by the researcher. I, therefore, voluntarily accept to be involved in this research without expecting any form of compensation afterwards.

I agree to participate in this study under the conditions outlined in the information sheet.

Full name printed: _____

Signature: _____   Date: _____

Appendix 3: *Initial semi structure interview questions*

Research Question:

'What is the role and impact of NGOs in the provision of housing for the poor of Addis Ababa?'

Objectives:

- To examine the key roles that NGOs can perform that assist in the provision of housing for the poor

- To explore whether a rights based approach could be an appropriate method for NGOs to employ for effective housing provision

<u>**NGO Questions:**</u>

(Maybe begin with some quantitative questions to get conversation flowing and to gain a quick idea about how much influence the NGO is having in the housing sector)

1. What sort of projects does your organization usually engage with (full rebuilds, partial renovation etc.)?
2. How many people or communities have you been in contact with or helped? (I have noticed from the literature the NGOs are very good at knowing this stuff – mostly for donors I would say)

- Asking these questions will also give me the opportunity to present somewhere in my data a table that will give a general overview/comparison of the NGOs so the reader can quickly get an idea of context. For example:

NGO	*How are they assisting*	*Main work in sector*	*Number of people affected by NGO contribution*
e.g. Habitat for Humanity	Rights awareness programme, opportunity for home ownership, Renovations	Partial Renovations	100,000
OXFAM			

More in-depth questions like the following will be asked of 2-3 NGOs:

1. What are the challenges you face when trying to set up and provide housing in Addis Ababa?

2. Does your NGO work with any other groups to provide housing (for example, local community groups, faith based organisations, larger NGOs, government)?

3. To what extent do your relationships with other development actors affect your ability to be effective agents for change?

4. Do you work with your recipients to teach them about their rights to housing, ongoing communication with families and communities etc. or do you simply provide a service?

5. What do you think is your organisation's overarching philosophy on housing provision? (*Asking this question will help to understand what drives the organisation and if they are identifying with the underlying principles of a RBA even if they are not familiar with the term*)

Government Questions:

1. Currently what is your view on the contribution of NGOs towards the provision of housing for the poor?

2. Do you see NGOs having a role to play in future urban development plans?

3. Are they (NGOs) a valuable development partner? (For example, can they help to bridge some gaps between government and slum dwelling communities?)

4. There are so many NGOs registered and working within the city but a minimal amount are involved with housing, do you have any idea why this is occurring considering the housing crisis in Addis Ababa?

5. Are you aware of the 'right to housing'? Do you feel a duty to provide adequate shelter for the people of this city?

Private Sector Questions:

1. There are so many NGOs registered and working within the city but a minimal amount are involved with housing, do you have any idea why this is occurring considering the housing crisis in Addis Ababa?

2. Do you think NGOs have a role to play in the provision of housing for the poor?

3. Do you see the potential of any future partnerships between the private and NGO sectors for housing provision?

Slum Dwellers Questions:

1. How did you find out about (enter NGO name) and the work they do with housing?

2. What sort of process did you go through to get your new house / repairs?

3. How did you find working with the NGO? Do you have any ongoing contact or support from them?

4. Who do you see as the main provider of housing within the city?

5. Do you think NGOs have a role to play in providing housing for the poor or do they face too many challenges? If so, what are these challenges?