6. Everyday Urbanisation in Bahir Dar

This chapter aims to give an insight into local urbanisation at a neighbourhood scale. It presents local practices of "everyday urbanisation" in which the popular (inter-)actions of place-making are documented as rationales of urbanisation alongside urban planning. What has become evident is that there is a discrepancy between the accounts of formal urbanisation and the urban structures that can frequently be observed in town. Hence, it has to be asked which ordinary practices of urbanisation are responsible for large proportions of urban development in Bahir Dar. However, these everyday practices go beyond what has been termed as "informal" urbanisation in Ananya Roy's "idiom of urbanization" (Roy 2009) and encompasses livelihoods and building strategies by a large variety of actors in the form of traditional housing, various set-ups of single unit family homes, small scale mixed-use and multi-storey buildings. In the course of this work they will be named as "ordinary", "mundane" or "everyday" practice, all synonyms referring to a wide spectrum of urbanisation rationales that shaped the city outside of the government's housing and investment programmes. The literature review on the urban policies and literature on urban development shows that little is known about the everyday practices of urbanisation throughout history. Nor have the impacts of formal planning on the ways and habits of the residents in the neighbourhoods been investigated. It has, yet, to be answered how a distinctly local composition of urban practice for Bahir Dar has been shaped and how the urbanisms vary between the neighbourhoods established at different time periods and under varied paradigms. Since historical accounts on development and everyday life in Bahir Dar's neighbourhoods are scarce, today's urbanism can be reviewed to establish whether the different founding paradigms have led to diverse trajectories of urbanisation in the neighbourhoods.

As the preceding chapters illustrated, these everyday urbanisation practices have not been documented systematically in Bahir Dar on the grounds of being rendered informal or insignificant by legal or economic criteria (see chapter 5.5). As a consequence, it has to be questioned to what degree current urban development approaches consider these realities in their assumptions of living environments, working and income opportunities and modes of establishment in the course of

arrivals in the city. However, knowledge on these factors impacts on the spatial arrangements of planning proposals and the regulation of access to the city's resources. Since this description has been lacking as a basis of policy information, the aim is to open a spectrum of diverse rationales of urbanisation beyond statutory planning by describing the different context-specific local urbanities and, thus, trajectories of development in the four different sub-case sites. Thereby, the subject of this research is the practices of the "ordinary" population, as their contribution to urban growth has not yet been described. While the major transformative power and ambivalent relation to politics of capital-intensive private developments has to be acknowledged, the majority of the population in Bahir Dar comes from low-income groups. However, the visible phenomena of urban life connected to these ordinary lifestyles and ways of income generation outside employment work are not sufficiently reflected in the accounts of urbanisation.

Currently, urban life in Bahir Dar is portrayed as a result of involuntary migration, as the focus is on the push factors in the countryside. The most common of the explanations given for the population influx (see chapter 5) is landlessness among the rural young, resulting in incapability to feed themselves and prospective families (Woldie Assaw et al. 2010: 63, Mekibib Kassa et al. 2013: 298, Gebeyaw Walle 2003: 19). There is, it seems, a shortage of land for the young generation and the Amhara Region Land Administration and Use Authority will not revise the current land-distribution scheme to make any land accessible for the younger population groups in Amhara's rural areas (Woldie Assaw et al. 2010: 63). They will continue to be excluded from the ongoing land certification processes in order to prevent a further fragmentation of land leading to unproductive land units (ibid). At the city scale, this narrative seems to be reflected in the general profile of migrants into Bahir Dar. Abeje Berhanu (2012: 39) identifies 67% of all migrants in Bahir Dar being first-time migrants (coming directly from their area of origin), while he identifies a wide range of areas of origin – from the surrounding rural areas as well as from other cities all over the country. Abeje Berhanu states that 62% of his respondents worked on farms before coming to the city, while the vast majority of these did not own the land they were formerly working on (ibid). About 69% of his respondents were not married when they migrated and came from families with about 5–7 members, which is above the national average household size (Abeje Berhanu 2012: 37). The overall level of education is relatively low, and for those migrants of school age it has to be assumed that their schooling was discontinued with the migration (ibid: 49).

Fig. 9: Training, Subsistence Activities and Income Generation in Bahir Dar

Subsistence Activities and Income Generation in Bahir Dar	
Education	High school education, university education (private and public), training courses (diplomas and licences), clerical education…
Trade	Domestic trade, delivery services (supply for larger businesses), sale of farm produce (market and street vending), petty trade (lottery, sweets, food leftovers), shops, fixed market stalls, trade with fabricated (imported) goods (supermarkets, technical stores etc.), chat dealing, second hand goods, street food (corn on the cob, potatoes)…
Services	Domestic work, goods transport (road and boat), people transport (bajaj and mini bus), guard, "agent", waste collection (household) and recycling (scrap metal, plastic bottles etc.), shoe shining, public scales, internet and telecom services, tour guides, bicycle maintenance, porter services, rag-picking, catering/waiting, health workers, sex workers, repairs (watches, radios etc.), car wash, coffee ceremonies, financial services…
Foraging, mining and gathering	Stone excavation, grass cutting and vending, fishing, reed collection, wood cutting, sand excavation…
Production and processing	Masonry, grass mats and baskets, tanning, welding, carpentry, building (daily labour), textile production (weaving), urban gardening, cattle and poultry husbandry, production of household goods (pottery, stoves…), bee-keeping, tanqua boat building, food and drink production (injera, tej, araki..), souvenir production (painting, carving…)…
Third party support	Begging, remittances, family income…
Revenues	Property investment, business ventures, land-holdings in rural areas…
Administration	Ministerial work, sectoral offices, NGO work…

Image by the author.

However, this interpretation of landlessness has to be challenged in this context. Overall, only 11.5% and 4.3% respectively gave landlessness as a reason for leaving their area of origin and coming to the city (Abeje Berhanu 2012: 41). Instead, about 56.9% of first-time migrants and 81.4% of migrants with previous migration experience stated that their main cause of migration to Bahir Dar was to pursue job advantages (ibid). At 38.65% the proportion of illiterates is higher among the new in-migrants than among residents, where 29.62% are illiterate in the population aged 5 and over (Golini et al. 2001: 182). Accordingly, migrants will form a higher proportion of the unskilled labour force (Woldie Assaw et al. 2010: 67). The modes of entering informal labour are not well documented. Abeje Berhanu finds, though, that acquired skills can be used to seek jobs that promise to generate a relatively regular income (Abeje Berhanu 2012: 48). Thereby, the frequent use of opportunity in coming to the city and acquiring an urban livelihood is reflected in the fact that about half of the migrants questioned for his survey (ibid) accounted for having acquired at least one new skill, such as construction skills, mechanical skills, a driving licence, etc., since having arrived in Bahir Dar. As one of the first studies on Bahir Dar, Abeje Berhanu (2012), hence, brings together the topics of migration and informal work opportunities. He postulates that migration has to be understood as the opportunity to engage in income-generating activities, particularly for first-time migrants (ibid: 40). Thereby, many urban residents have to

make an income that is not based on employment work. In the course of exploratory visits to Bahir Dar, a range of income generating and subsistence practices were observed in the public space and within homes that relied on individual or informal agency. Fig. 21 shows a collection of income sources and subsistence practices that were documented during fieldwork in Bahir Dar in 2012 through observation and interviews. These practices appropriate vacant public space or private homes, often in multi-use set-ups. In the case of the brokers, they occasionally even invade other entrepreneurs' business space to exercise their business-model of (uncalled for) brokerage. These practices, hence, produce and depend on spatial arrangements that need to be made the subject of documentation. Thereby, Abeje Berhanu's line of argumentation can be taken further by specifying that the act of involvement in these opportunities comprises rationales of urbanisation, as they are performed only in the city. For the migrants, engagement in the urban labour market results in overall higher incomes than those of their rural origins (ibid: 49). Their earnings are reported to be reinvested in property, furniture, bicycles, livestock and horse carts – or are deposited in the bank (ibid). The role of the micro-economy in urbanisation, hence, needs to be looked into.

Abeje Berhanu further explains that the respondents formulated the hope that the income from the jobs in the city would open opportunities for personal development such as finishing school, going to college, aiming for better jobs or establishing a family (ibid). This points to a second group of migrants, which is backed by the fact that the proportion of population with grade 12 education and above is significantly higher among the very recent in-migrants than with the residents born in the city: 10.76% of the population resident for no more than five years at the time of the survey completed high school, while only 0.94% of the resident population aged 5 and over did (Golini et al. 2001: 182). This means that the number of recent in-migrants that have a grade 12 level education is ten-fold higher than the number of those holding equal qualifications among the resident since birth. This is mirrored in the main sectors of formal employment, which in 1999 were manufacturing (30%) and administration (43%) (Gebeyaw Walle 2003: 29). Qualified job opportunities as well as possibilities for schooling and studying, were mainly lacking in the migrants' areas of origin (Abeje Berhanu 2012: 46) and, therefore, attract not only the unskilled, but also highly qualified migrants to Bahir Dar.

The diversity of everyday urbanisation practices, as well as the phenomenon of well-resourced migrants, has not yet been researched in Bahir Dar. How and whether Bahir Dar serves as an entry point to urban life, due to its proximity and accessibility for the people from the surrounding rural areas (Woldie Assaw et al. 2010: 63) and what makes it attractive for highly skilled migrants needs to be investigated. However, it has to be assumed that the attraction of employment work or micro-business with an urban lifestyle is a more important factor for migration than the alternative offer of making land available in the countryside can promise.

It, further, seems that the city accommodates special gender-specific forms of labour migration. Women in Bahir Dar tend to migrate permanently and do not return to their home areas once they have arrived in the city (Woldie Assaw et al. 2010: 62). The share of already resident population (stable population) out of total population by sex shows that 47.6% of males were firmly established, while this only held true for 44.1% of females (Golini et al. 2001: 177). In reverse, this means that 56.9% of females of Bahir Dar's population did not live in permanent household arrangements, 3.5% more than among men. One of the reasons that might be made out for such unestablished arrival in the city is that of conflict in the area of origin (Mekibib Kassa et al. 2013: 298). In the conservative rural societies of Amhara, marriage still has to be considered a form of securing a livelihood for females. However, the marriages are mostly arranged and in case of rupture, the elders of the village decide on how to solve the conflicts. Banning the wife from the village in order to rehabilitate the husband is thereby commonly practised and accepted. In 1994 the in-migrant females in Bahir Dar were almost 8.5 times more likely to be widowed or divorced than those females resident in Bahir Dar since birth (Golini et al. 2001: 180). The city hence has to serve as a refuge and offers alternative lifestyles to the traditional set-ups. How these can be described has so far also not been sufficiently questioned, while, due to under-representation, women are often not considered in decision-making for urban development.

However, all the new arrivals in Bahir Dar are confronted with a housing-backlog: with a calculated need of an additional 2,739 housing units per year between 2003 and 2012, the city would have had to almost double the housing stock within ten years to accommodate population growth and compensate for dilapidated houses. Thereby, effective demand cannot be expected to be met by formal housing arrangements, as only 27.36% of the city's entire population were in the financial position to obtain a loan that would allow them to construct the simplest possible officially acceptable housing unit (Gebeyaw Walle 2003: 42). So, despite Ethiopia's economic growth, the number of low-income households dependent on self-organisational housing arrangements will still have to be considered substantial. They have to seek cheaper forms of accommodation – rental houses, sub-letting, informal construction, etc. This proposes that while the growth of population caused a housing shortage, the critical points are the resulting overcrowded units and informal settlements in the centre and on the periphery of the city (ibid: 97) that cannot be reached by formal housing provision. It, hence, needs to be questioned how the low-income households are accommodated in urban development.

6.1 THE SUB-CASES

The history of urban development was traced and phased in order to contextualise the data on present urbanisation practice (see chapter 3).

Fig. 10: Sub-Case Selection according to Historical Phases of Urban Development

Sub-case selection

Period	Site	Specifics
Italian Occupation	Downtown	Historical centre: Harbour, road to Gondar, airfield (now Meskal Square), etc. De facto mixed use. Partly declared informal according to recent building regulations; redevelopment projects on the way (market, centre and waterfront).
Imperial Modernity	Textile worker's settlement	One of the oldest neighbourhoods, constructed along with the textile mill.
Socialist Rural Development	Informal settlements	Auto-construction of village-like structures with agriculture and subsistence activities on vacant land.
Decentralisation	University campus	The two university campuses house several thousand students and provide for almost all their needs. Although the technical college is older (from socialist times) the main campus can be considered more typical for the university programme conducted by the national government and GIZ.

Image by the author.

According to these phases, four sub-case sites were identified (see chapter 4.4). These four sub-cases (see map Fig.11) will be described in dense descriptions to account for the mundane urbanisation practices.

Fig. 11: Sub-Case Locations

SUB-CASE LOCATIONS

- 🟥 Inner-City
- ⬛ Textile worker's settle
- 🟨 Informalised Village
- 🟩 BDU main campus
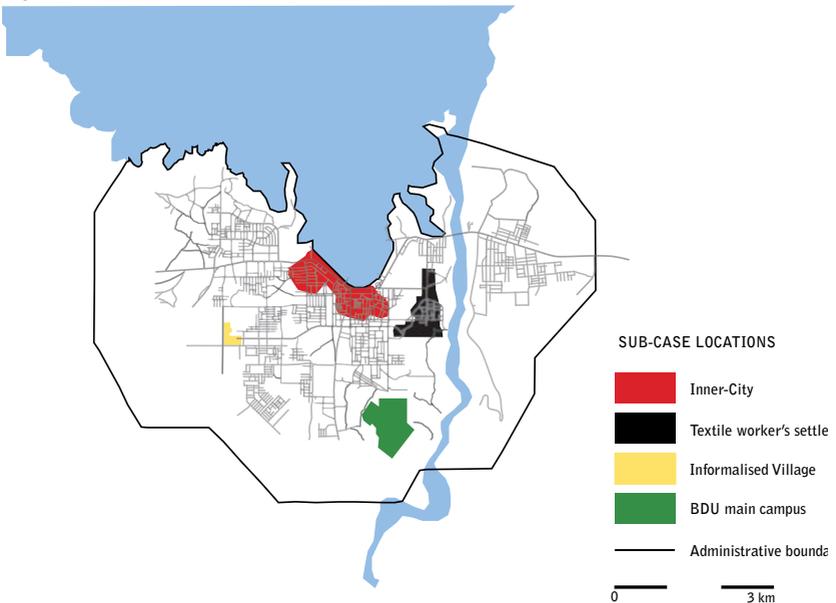- — Administrative bounda

0   3 km

Image by the author.

The four sites were determined as sub-cases, which were selected and studied to give an account of everyday urbanisation practice. The four different neighbourhoods that were chosen are: the inner city area, the textile workers' settlement, an informalised village and Bahir Dar University's main campus. The areas were chosen according to the different development phases of the city that were identified and described in chapter 5 (see fig 11). The sources for the description of the neighbourhoods and their everyday rationales of urbanisation are mainly the 22 in-depth interviews conducted on the sites, observations and material from the cross section walks and occasional complementation with material available from literature review. Biographical accounts of responding residents in regard to urbanisation in the different neighbourhoods is presented to give account on everyday life and access to the city. For each of the sub-cases, the material has been collected, systemised and will be presented as dense descriptions. Due to the exploratory nature of this approach, the results are incomplete because of the unstructured nature of the topic, which aims to identify whether there are general differences between the neighbourhoods but not attempting a comparison between the sub-cases. Based on the different historical planning rationales and local urbanisation practice on the different sites, the contingent urbanisation practices in the particular areas are meant to be revealed.

6.1.1 Inner City Area

The inner city is the oldest area of settlement in Bahir Dar and was the location of the first urban administration under Italian occupation (see chapter 5.2). Public spaces important for gathering and rituals (such as the old stadium and the former airfield, now known as Meskal Square) and the seats of various regional head offices, internationally frequented hotels as well as the close by market and bus station underline its central importance to the city. It was chosen as a sub-case site on the grounds of being the original node of settlement of Bahir Dar. The residential and commercial area are the historical core of the city. They were established long before the 1930s and have been subject to various waves and types of cultural and population influx. The area comprises what was the expansion of the entire town up to 1957, as described in chapter 5.1 and chapter 5.2.

The Kebeles in the town centre host a significant percentage of deteriorated housing stock. Overall, the living conditions in the inner city are often bad, and there is a lack of basic infrastructure (Tilahun 04.09.10). There are not many toilets in Kebele 05 and 06. These are provided by NGOs, which select the sites according to their own criteria (ibid). Much of these dilapidated housing structures are owned by the Kebele itself and rented out to private households (Gebeyaw Walle 2003: 32). One of these houses is occupied by F, a 26-year-old housewife and her family (see interview F). The Kebele owned houses currently have formal status.

Interview F

F is 26 years old and gained access to her Kebele house by a municipal scheme supporting HIV-positive people, through which her mother acquired the right to rent the house from the Kebele. At first, she lived there with her children, not having any furniture at all. After her mother died, F married and started her own family. Completing school up to grade nine, she took on a job as a cashier, making 300 Birr a month. Paired with the family's main income from her husband's work as a builder on construction sites, this allowed them to gradually acquire beds, a sofa, a table, chairs and eventually a TV. When she had her child she gave up working and describes the focus on tending to her child as the main difference in her life today to that of her mother's in the same location. She describes the community life as good and she takes an active role in a savings group. Thereby, the area has an "older" group and a "younger" group that differ in that the younger members rather use the funds for gifts and the group as a social platform, while the older members distribute money. There is, therefore, somewhat of a differentiation of socialising styles within the area. While F sees her life as improving over the years, the house has undergone no structural alterations and they have made no additions. All investments into the Kebele's house they made were for essential repairs such as leaks in the tin roof. F knows that she and her family will have to move soon. She assumes that all households in her community of 20 people will be moved together into Kebele 14, where they will receive plots of 105 m². As she does not own the house she lives in currently, she will only receive land and is still trying to organise a way of obtaining materials for the construction of a new home. For her, the prospect of gaining ownership of this new house is something very positive and fits into her narrative of self-improvement regarding living conditions.

Apart from Kebele houses, there are also up to 50-year-old chicka mud-houses remaining that belong to the residents. One of these is owned by H, a 67-year-old widow (see interview H).

Interview H

H moved to the city centre more than 51 years ago, when she married. Her husband's house that she first arrived to was a traditional tukul situated on the plot where she still lives. With the land reforms of the socialist government,

she and her husband lost their land and were expropriated. Clay buildings were constructed to house more people, of which H now owns only the one she lives in. Due to illness she cannot leave her bed and is dependent on support from her son and help of her neighbours.

Not all houses in the city centre are residential, as trade, catering and small-scale manufacturing are located here traditionally as well (see interview D).

Interview D

D's parents arrived in Bahir Dar as labourers in the textile factory but moved out of the centre when he was one year old. Today, he works at a carpentry workshop in the centre that he co-owns with another woman. This lady also owns the building that the workshop is housed in. D has a degree in accounting but decided to go into carpentry, as the work is better paid. He is living what he himself calls a "planned life". His fiancée is in Egypt as a labour migrant, and he himself can see himself marrying and following her, to make a better living abroad. Meanwhile, he spends his social time at the Protestant church close to his home in the condominiums of Kebele 14. D knows that the workshop will be relocated. He and his business partner will receive not only new land but also compensation for their loss of house ownership. He believes the move might be carried through together in the community and has heard the destination is Kebele 16. Here ,they will have to construct a new workshop themselves. D also sees the move as critical, mainly because the carpentry business will lose proximity to its customer base and has to re-establish.

In recent years, the inner city has come under large pressure to change and the formal status of the described houses are at threat by plans for new development. The centre is increasingly concentrating on commercial use, which is of regional importance and does not cater directly to the local population. Parts of the exist-ing mixed-use structure have been declared informal according to recent building regulations; currently ,redevelopment projects are on the way for the market area and the business district, as well as the waterfront. The impact of this can easily be seen in the location of the road lining the lakeshore park. It concentrates a number of large institutions and businesses. Yet, these are fairly recent and the small chicka structures containing private housing and cafés (bunna bet) are occasionally sand-wiched in between. This can be graphically illustrated on the block from the corner of St. George to the east, where a commercial centre is set next to a tourist shop, a large insurance company building with commercial use on the ground floor, three

adjacent chicka betocc, the electrical company's regional headquarter and Abbay Bank branch, the Dib Anbessa Hotel, a tourist stall, a building site, green area, Summerland Hotel, two souvenir shops and a café. At the same time, residential uses are changing quality. The long-term residents are all unlinked to this change of economic structure, but have made their income from local production. They are now being removed in favour of living space in the form of rental apartments that cater to employees with regular income. How these moves will take place is not always completely clear to the residents, and their prospects differ. F is expecting house ownership through the resettlement and sees the event positively. Her neighbour D with the carpentry workshop has a different view and different information. D sees the move rather critically, as he is aware that in a new neighbourhood, he will have to rebuild his business's customer base. Whether H knows about the move is unclear, but due to her ill health it seems certain that she is not in a position to re-build a house for herself.

Bahir Dar's inner-city hosts opportunities for subsistence activities. Most fallow land on the lake is occupied by subsistence agriculture. Beyond that, the natural resources of the city are exploited to generate income. In the city's forest areas, stones are excavated frequently and sold as building material, freshly caught fish are sold directly from tanqwa boats in the harbour and grass is collected to produce mats and to be sold for coffee ceremonies.

However, the inner city's concentration of various facilities, among them the central bus station, thereby furthers its central functions as the destination hub for in-migration. Various types of brokerage that await the arrivals and guide them to a variety of legal, illegal and informal businesses are connected to this. While the earlier population influx was often sustained by subsistence, the economic basis for many residents has shifted to making money on house ownership and sub-letting from current in-migration and a rental market has formed. According to Woldie Assaw et al. (2010: 67) the labour migrants coming into the city are desperate to find accommodation and are dependent on the sub-letting offers despite the bad hygienic conditions. Migrants arriving in Bahir Dar cannot enter the distribution programme for condominiums and housing plots by the city administration, as they have to be resident in the city for at least two years to do so (Interview Yirsaw 2013). This means that individuals and families migrating to Bahir Dar either need to be able to buy a house formally on the private market, have to enter the rental housing market or find sub-let accommodation. This situation has led to quite a number of the houses in the inner city being overcrowded, due to sub-letting or use as informal taverns and hostels. In the city centre new arrivals find such temporary accommodation easily accessible. Access to housing is often not made through formal markets and housing provision, but rather through personal arrangements in which one person takes in another. The results from Abeje Berhanu's study (2012: 46) show that 46% of the responding migrants owed their initial support to relatives that had already been resident in Bahir Dar. However, an interview in an

informal hostel reveals that these "supporting" structures for incoming migrants are not necessarily only family relations, but are also found in sub-letting arrangements and pick-up locations for informal work. One of these hostels is run by interviewee C and his wife (see interview C). The rural migrants C accommodates commonly face harassment by settled urban residents who consider them inferior (cf. Woldie Assaw et al. 2010: 67). As other informants also claimed, there is a distinction among the labour migrants between old and new arrivals. Conflicts between older waves of migration that came permanently and new waves that include seasonal migrants and non-permanent migration become noticeable in the form of hassle. The earlier settled migrants are said to spend more money in town than the recent seasonal ones who save on eating, drinking and accommodation in order to take what they earn back home to the countryside (Woldie Assaw et al. 2010: 68).

Interview C

C is 76 years old and living in a Kebele house made of mud with a tin roof near to the bus-station. He came to town about five years ago from the rural area near Gondar. He does not know the neighbourhood well but attends the Orthodox church and is a member in an Iqub and an Iddir. He left his farm, as he was on his own, because his cows got sick and his house there was deteriorating. He now lives in his new wife's house with a daughter. His other children have remained in the countryside, but there is no mutual support. At the beginning of our conversation, he claims to be a guard on another property, but after a while of questioning it turns out that a major source of income comes from the rural people who are crowding in the single room around us. They are travellers, who have to stay in the city overnight and have come from the nearby bus-station, or stay in the city as daily labourers and rent beds by the day. Many carry produce or large baggage. For staying overnight in the house's only room they pay 3-4 Birr. At the time of our visit, there were about eight additional people crowding into the house.

Further, downtown Kebeles 05 and 06 are especially known for their red-light district. Slipping into sex work sometimes happens casually and unplanned by the young females arriving via the bus-station, as they are escorted by brokers to older women, who sub-let Kebele houses to prostitutes and to whom they then pay half of the daily income (Abeje Berhanu 2012: 51). Earnings are about 150-200 Birr a day (ibid). Among the migrant sex-workers interviewed by Abeje Berhanu, a particularly high rate of illiterates was found (ibid: 36). They also tended to come from distant locations more often than other migrant groups (ibid: 39).

The access to infrastructure and sharing of resources makes downtown a home to many street children, whose main sources of income are carrying goods, petty-trade, vending of lottery tickets, shoe shining, begging and washing cars (Amare Sahile and Sinkinesh Takleargay 2008: 76). Many of the street children seem to have come into the city due to difficult family constellations. According to Amare Sahile and Sinkinesh Takleargay (ibid: 64), there are around 5,000 street children in Bahir Dar. Most of the children come from large families with poor economic backgrounds and many of the children come from homes that lost at least one parent to death, while only 20% had their parents still living together (ibid: 72). For almost 80% of the street children, the street is their only living place (ibid: 74). About two thirds of the children come from the rural areas surrounding Bahir Dar, while another third was brought up in Bahir Dar Town (ibid: 69). The typical street children in Bahir Dar are Orthodox Amhara boys aged between 11 and 15 (ibid: 68). Most of the street children are self-dependent and have to make their own living. About 40% of them attend school, while about 40% have never attended and the remaining proportion of children dropped out (ibid: 70). The street children face various forms of physical, economic and psychological abuse.

Due to the different times and modes of settlement in the centre, the population in the oldest part of town is very heterogeneous and, despite Amhara region being considered Christian Orthodox, Bahir Dar's inner city hosts a large diversity of religions. All of the respondents stressed their positive view on living together with Muslims and Christians. One of the Muslims of the area is A (see interview A). According to Golini et al., 47.7% of Muslim in-migrants in Bahir Dar are of urban origin, while 52.3% are of rural origin (Golini et al. 2001: 181).

INTERVIEW A

A is 21 years old and at his parents' house in downtown Bahir Dar for his course break at Arba Minch University, where he is a third-year student of computer sciences. He had to leave to study, due to the government's policy of sending Ethiopian students outside their regional states. He says meeting students from other parts of the country has taught him love and tolerance. Meanwhile, seven or eight people from three generations share his parents' house. The front room also houses a very tidy coffee house. It is a large Kebele-owned mud-house, for which they pay monthly rent since the parents came from Gondar and moved in more than 40 years ago. The house they moved into, and in which they still live, had only two rooms then, but the family added a third room, which now houses the kitchen. They have also painted the building's inside walls in lively colours. They keep contact with their family in Gondar City and unite for ceremonies, including weddings. There is no land in the family or other kind of subsistence

agriculture they practise, so all groceries for the household are bought on the market. According to A, the family is doing well financially and derives their income from various sources. Apart from the coffee house, they are also home-manufacturing a special kind of local drink called "kapchua", which they sell. A wide range of customers pass by the house because of this specialised offer. The oldest brother is employed by the Commercial Bank, another one works for the administration. When A finishes his course, he wants to come back and find work in Bahir Dar, where he hopes to be able to support his family. Overall, the family has a good relation to the neighbourhood. A notes that there are certain persons there who contact the government authorities in the event of crime or other incidents. It is unclear to A, however, how these people come to "control" the neighbourhood, as he puts it, although he suspects it has to do with govern-ment issues. He, further, says on should be "tolerantof these people". As Mus-lims, religion is important to their everyday life in the sense that they follow the rules of the Koran. But A maintains a good relationship with his Christian neighbours and schoolmates. He states that they are not defined by difference.

Bahir Dar's centre is the main trading location and gathers the largest diversity of occupations and skills in the city. Apart from traditional trade, the large market with agricultural produce and diverse skilled workers also sees changes in views on certain types of labour, such as craftsmanship. Craftsmanship has a very dif-ficult social standing in Ethiopian society and negative attitudes towards manual labour are widely spread. With regional variation, tasks such as welding and pot-tery are completed only by social groups that are marginalised even to the point of spatial segregation (Freeman and Pankhurst 2003). We see this change, in the inner city as D has gone into the crafts despite having completed a university de-gree (see interview D). He is, thereby, rejecting traditional Ethiopian stigmatisa-tion of manual labour and M's life choices are progressive and pragmatic. Such self-determined careers are mostly not available to recent migrants and a lot of the current influx of population depends on job opportunities in wage labour as a first entry point. These are available on the building sites of the city. Many migrants find employment work in the expanding construction sector in Bahir Dar. A sur-vey among construction workers of large-scale enterprises in Bahir Dar revealed that 60.1% of them had migrated to the city (Mekibib Kassa et al. 2013: 298). These building sites are all over town, including the inner-city but since cheap residence for the daily labourers is found in the city, and the bus station serves as a central arrival point, here their presence can frequently be observed beyond their places of work. On the building sites, the recent arrivals among the migrants are often more competitive than settled workers, because of the lower wages they demand (Woldie Assaw et al. 2010: 68). Fourteen dead workers in an accident on the university's new administration building site in 2012 suggest that the protective measures at

the workplace are not the focus of attention in the building industry, and that work is generally hard. Women earn half of a man's wage on building sites. Enterprises hiring these daily labourers come to pick up the workforce by truck outside of the area in groups far bigger than the limit of ten workers stated in the CSA survey's restrictive definition of what is monitored as informal labour (CSA 2003: 9). The work engagements are infrequent and, for those who earn nothing for a period, lack of income sometimes means sleeping in the street, as the hostels require daily payment.

6.1.2 Textile Settlement

At first sight, the settlement surrounding the textile factory resembles the classical set-up of an industrial workers' settlement and was, thus, chosen as the second sub-case site. The area around the textile factory is probably the first of Bahir Dar's settlements to have been constructed after Guther's master plan was devised. It surrounds the textile mill, which was installed with the help of Italian reparations (see chapter 5.2) and was opened in 1961 (Abeje Berhanu 2012: 29). At first, the workers of the factory came mainly from the surrounding rural regions, as the local population was uncomfortable working with the large machines and refused the work. In 1995 the textyile mill had 1,604 workers employed in eight-hour shifts in its spinning, weaving and finishing departments (Y. Abebe and M. Fantahun 1999: 407). In 2006 it is reported to have had a work force of about 1,700 (Abeje Berhanu 2012: 29), indicating an increase. A further 450 jobs have been created since, due to a process of expansion that the factory has undergone (ibid). Connected to the textile fabrication, a "Textile Institute" has been installed at Bahir Dar University with a professorship connected to the Bahir Dar University, funded by the GIZ. The diversity of employees and employment opportunities connected to textile manufacturing is, thus, relatively high. However, it must be assumed that the main source of labour comes from migrants from the surrounding rural areas of Bahir Dar and around 74% of the workforce have completed less than 12 years of school (ibid). Most of the positions they fill in the factory are thereby found in loading activities, as guards, gardeners and cleaners (ibid). Based on this, Abeje identified the textile factory as a site of destination for rural migrants mostly (ibid: 30). The factory workers are older than the average migrants to Bahir Dar (ibid: 36).

The area of the settlement is, thereby, divided into two parts: a residential compound on the fenced-off grounds of the textile mill, with official housing for employees and a surrounding area, where textile workers constructed houses in ownership and for their own residence, over time.

The enclosed housing compound officially in the hands of the factory has 63 houses and is divided into five sections named alphabetically from A to E. The factory's own area is fenced off and secured by guards. The high-ranking employees live in the large detached single-family homes in section A, the lower officials

in row houses in the following sections, accordingly. Some of the lower ranked areas have vegetable patches, on which the families grow for their own needs. Apart from religious activities pursued by the individuals outside of the compound, social life within the official residence is organised by associations, iqubs and iddirs (saving groups). There is a women's association, which has social gatherings, while the mixed association is limited to taking responsibility for members in need, in case of sickness or other (personal) problems. Not all residents are married, so there are only about 38 women in the compound. As access to the residences is gained through qualifications and the position at the factory, the compound is religiously mixed. A café was installed in 1975 (European calendar) according to the inscription. The facilities of the enclosed residence include a tennis court, swimming pool, a restaurant and a library. The library is not open to the general public, however the other facilities are not only used by the direct neighbours, but by also by residents from all over the city. Despite this comfortable set-up, the well-educated residents of this area are aware of their chances elsewhere and do not feel tied to the location (see interview M).

Interview M

M is a 22 year-old female health professional. She came to live in the area with her husband, who works in the textile factory, and her two children four years ago. They came from Dire Dawa, where her husband completed a master's degree in textile engineering and where their families remain. After graduating, he was offered a position at the textile factory in Bahir Dar, which was what made them decide to move here. M stays at home and does the housekeeping, while also studying for a further university degree. They buy their food at the market in town from her husband's salary. He has been promoted since he first started, which also allowed them to move into a bigger home within the compound. M is a member of a neighbourhood association and she describes her life in Bahir Dar as good. However, she and her husband are planning to move to Addis Ababa. They are just waiting for her to finish her degree, and then her husband will start searching for a job there.

The area surrounding the factory homes differs from the settlement, yet it is still closely connected to the factory historically. The land outside of the factory was subdivided and land-titles were given to the workers of the factory by the government more than 40 years ago. The workers were, thereby, enabled to build their own homes for themselves and their families in close proximity to their work place. This is why the ownership for the houses here is often in the hand of the occupants. The local population of Bahir Dar was largely afraid to work with the

large machines in the factory, which is why the labour force was constituted mainly from migrants from the surrounding areas and other towns, seeking work in the city. These were mainly Orthodox Christians so that many families resident here belong to this religion. The overall middle-income population of the neighbourhood is involved in upgrading and people own their houses. The textile settlement is, overall, much more homogeneous in its appearance and range of urbanisation practices, which are still strongly linked to the ideas of industrialisation. However, the diversification strategies within the households of the textile settlement are spatially and culturally very wide reaching. With the regular income from the textile factory, the households' networks now rely on higher education, costly skills such as driving licences and trans-continental migration practices of family members. The second generation living in the area can clearly be described as middle class. This will be illustrated by the narrative of K (see interview K), whose family partly draws its social status from the labour opportunities their father had in the factory, as well as their house ownership. By regarding the house not only as a home but also as an asset, the people owning their property outside of the compound have much more invested in their houses and, thus, the location than those provided with official housing.

Interview K

K is 25 and a driver for Bahir Dar University. He was born in the house in the neighbourhood of the textile factory, where his parents had built their home. His parents had come from villages some 40 km away from Bahir Dar, after his father had been told he would only be allowed to marry his mother if he could prove sufficient economic wealth. On his gaining a job at the textile factory, her family consented to the marriage and the couple moved to Bahir Dar more than 40 years ago. The family still keeps contact to their rural kin and, with the sons and daughters now having taken over the role of breadwinners from their deceased father, they also support their relatives. Thereby, the emigration of one of the elder sons to the United States of America is the family's main financial back-up. There is no engagement of any household members in trading or farming, nor do they sublet space. Over the years, they have continued to extend their home and added an extra room and an outside kitchen. According to K's description, the house forms an asset that the family wants to hold onto and protect.

Outside of lifestyles connected to the factory, there are few households that have no connection to the textile industry but still live in the area (see interview L).

Interview L

L came to the area 22 years ago and is originally from Eritrea. She is now 45 and lives in one of the few Kebele houses in the area, a building once used as a school. She has four children and makes her living from home production. She collects grass at the shore of Lake Tana and produces place mats that she is well known for in the neighbourhood. She also offers laundry services and bakes injera for sale. She has made a few alterations to her home. Most significantly, she added a shed from bamboo mats that now accommodates her kitchen. Despite her uprooted past, she feels comfortable in the two-room house, which for her is clean and large enough. By making the alterations she has, therefore, appropriated it for herself.

6.1.3 Informalised Village

Site number three is named the "informalised village" here, as it appears to be a "rural" structure with many traditional features, while having been declared an informal structure quite recently, due to competing land-use interests of the encroaching city. The growth of the village that will be described in the following can be attributed to a period of socialist rule in which urban development was not the focus of attention and traditional land practice was continued, as other land claims were not enforced.

Urban expansion is not purely a radial phenomenon occurring only on the fringes of the built up-area and administrative boundaries. On some inner-city plots, villages have been forming enclaves and are now situated almost in the centre of what is currently Bahir Dar. One of them has been chosen as a sub-case and will be portrayed here. While the city has expanded over former agricultural land, its low density has allowed the remains or formation of ethnic and cultural clustering into villages where the lifestyle can hardly be distinguished from that of rural communities. However, they do form a clear contrast to their surrounding neighbourhoods of concrete single-family units and multi-storey buildings, which is how the delimitation of the sub-case boundary was chosen. However, also these communities are densifying. Compared to the satellite image from 2004, the number of houses here had increased by 2013; a densification is especially visible along the street leading to the private clinic in the vicinity. The style of buildings is dependent on local materials and resembles that of the rural villages. Communal toilets are run as a private commercial enterprise in a mud-house, while the site is not otherwise serviced officially with water or electricity. The houses have stables for chickens; sometimes there are even cow stables between the houses. The cows are sent to graze during the day with cow herders collectively in the areas surroun-

ding the city and return in the evening. Many houses keep a dog for protection or donkeys to run transport businesses. Small fields are planted in the open spaces, spinach and cabbage being the vegetables in season at the time of the site visit. Below a small eucalyptus forest, there is even a coffee plantation. Some residents own fruit trees and, occasionally, there are private wells. Many of the homes have signboards indicating that they sell produce such as milk or injera.

The interviews in the location reveal that until about 70 years ago, the land on which the sub-case neighbourhood stands was bare and visited by cow herders with their cattle. Eventually some of the cow herders unofficially claimed the land and made their homes. The families occupying the land are all Orthodox Christians. The first houses in the location were made of grass and were later developed into steel sheet houses and expanded in size. Still today, the families whose children marry parcel-off land to them to build their own houses and live close to but independently from their parents. Due to this practice, the elders hold special importance for the communities, as they as first settlers are considered the owners of the land by the younger generations. The elders exercise influence by deciding who is granted a partition of the land. Currently, the fourth generation of settlers is resident on the site, still building their homes in auto-construction. Further outsiders were taken in by parcelling off areas over time as well. Community life is therefore mainly based on family ties, although the wider community is organised in iqubs and iddirs. These organisations offer support in times of crises to their members to a certain extent. However the families describe themselves largely as self-reliant. This can be illustrated by looking at the household of Q, one of the elders on the land (see interview Q).

Interview Q

Q is 66 years old and living on a small compound with three tukuls with his wife and his daughter. Their property has its own well. Q was born in Bahir Dar, and, after living in Kebele 03 with his mother, he was given this plot of land of 40 by 50 metres on the site by his brother. At the time, the monarchy was still in place and he remembers most areas of Bahir Dar as bare land, on which nomads grazed cows. The only fixed buildings were the Felege Hiwot Hospital, the palace and the Primary English School. Housing was eventually erected under the Derg Regime, while the area just around his village was only recently given to settlers by the current government. Q himself did not go to school, and all he can write is his signature. In the old time, he says, there was no need for education. They could live comfortably within their social network. Today, he says, learning has become more important, as things have become more complicated. He used to farm on his land and sell part of the produce. However, at the age of

40, he was chosen by the government to go to war alongside some other men. He caught a gunshot in his leg and could not work anymore after this injury. When he came back, he started selling his things, all the material and resources, until everything had gone. He then started collecting and selling wood to survive this way somehow, he says. He considers himself as very poor. The people settling around him are mostly his relatives, gradually having arrived after him. Q is an Orthodox Christian and goes to church regularly on Sundays. He used to be a member of iqubs and iddirs but stopped participation after losing his wealth. In times of crisis, in case his daughter cannot afford the money, the neighbourhood will collect and help with survival. Due to their precarious situation, his daughter could not continue to go to school, and at the moment his daughter's work is his only source of income. She is the only one who can regularly support him. She left school after grade eight to take up work on a construction site to help support her parents with the income. The family also practises subsistence farming, with modest success. They try to grow fruit on their compound, but

Also the younger generation describes receiving plots through subdivision from family members (see interview P and interview R). However, the sources of income have diversified from the initial cow-herder society.

Interview P

P is a 35-year-old Orthodox Christian who was born and raised in the location, following his family traditions. His grandparents came as cow-herders from a pastoralist life-style and resumed to stay. He lives here with his wife and one-year-old son. His parent's subdivided their land to allow him to construct his own house. His house has two rooms. His parents' house has grown over time and now numbers seven rooms, which he himself considers very spacious. The extra space allows them to sub-let and make some money, in addition to their cattle trade. P makes his living driving his own bajaj, since his grades were not that good when he left school after grade ten. His wife is a housewife and neither of them is involved in any trading activities. Additionally, the family owns farmlands outside of the city, meaning that he has a share of agricultural assets as well. The family hires a farm labourer to work on the field and obtains a proportion of the harvest from him. The amount is just supplementary, though, and the regular source of food for P and his family is the market, where they go shopping. They are members of the local savings groups, iqub and iddir. Despite his long working hours, P says he has a comfortable life in the location and has no plans to leave.

INTERVIEW R

R is a young female of 25 years who received the plot of land from her grandfather when she married. She built a house together with her husband. Due to her good grades at school she has managed to become a site engineer, meaning that she has to travel to the town of Shinti to work and spends lots of time there. Her husband is a bajaj driver in Bahir Dar, and, when she is home, she does the housekeeping for both of them. Additionally, they used to support themselves on food from agricultural land that they used to own. Now, the government has expulsed them and taken the land for other purposes.

Unlike the agriculturally dependent older generation, the younger, more educated generation is profiting from the institutions and educational facilities of the city. The two examples from interview P and interview R show how the households and their extended families have diversified their sources of income and livelihood strategies. Although agricultural practices remain a strong feature of the village, in the course of urbanisation, other income strategies have been adopted, and all the households interviewed rely on multiple sources of income. The younger households, thereby, described themselves as in comfortable situations. However, as resilient as these practices appear, the investment pressure and state-led development initiative will lead to eviction. While Q and P have heard rumours of conversion plans for the site and know that it will be obligatory to leave, R has actually already received notice from the government. This is all the more surprising, as it turns out that the houses directly neighbouring the sub-case delimitation do not fall under this qualification of informality. These newer mud houses were actually constructed after the government designated this place as a destination for resettlement from other inner-city sites. In contrast to the rental arrangements they came from, the relocated household interviewed claimed that it is now in a good situation being a house owner, as the construction of additional living space has enabled them to make an income from renting out space themselves now. What remains unclear is whether there is a clear policy on the type of building structure desired in the sub-case area, since although the old village and new resettlement communities might be divided, their building structures hardly differ. After decades of unexercised land rights on behalf of the government, criteria for resettling those designated to make room for a projected multi-storey commercial development therefore simply seem to lie in the differing legal status of the land title.

6.1.4 University Campus

The fourth sub-case site is the university's main campus, which was instituted under the current EPRDF rule. The site was chosen, as the university functions not only as an institution of academic training but as a venue of cultural learning and urban living for the many students attending from all parts of the country. It can be viewed as a city within the city.

In 1963, on what is now the technical campus of Bahir Dar University, a Polytechnic Institute was founded with funding from the Soviet Union (Boden 1962: 4c). In 1999 it was merged with the "Academy of Pedagogy" (founded in 1972) to form Bahir Dar University (BDU; Abeje Berhanu 2012: 30). Overall there were about 45,000 students enrolled at Bahir Dar University in 2012 (ibid). To enter, the prospective students have to gain good marks at school, allowing them to ask for a placement by the government. The courses they are assigned to and the city they will have to move to are, thereby, selected by a central national institution and announced shortly before the beginning of the first semester.

Today, Bahir Dar University is distributed across several campuses and single institutions across and even outside the city. The main campus is on the southern urban fringe and connected to the city by a main road. Most of the buildings are recent, as the university was fully established in the course of the TVET Programme, which saw the installation of 13 campus universities across Ethiopia in an attempt to decentralise higher education and promote technical education for development purposes (GIZ 2015).

The university campuses house several thousand students and provide for almost all their needs. The students get loans from the state, which cover food, board and tuition fees. Every student (even those from Bahir Dar) is provided with a bed in the dormitory. These dorms are shared by 6-8 students each, with communal bathrooms and toilets. The loans have to be paid back after the education from a future salary. For everyday expenses – such as clothes – it is often the families that step in. Only few students resume a job while studying. Religious activities are not permitted, however, which is why going to church or the mosque is an occasion to leave the campus.

The main campus forms the delimitation of the sub-case area that will be studied here. A further reason for choosing the site as a sub-case was because, as part of the greater decentralisation efforts of the current government and the installation of higher education facilities in the regional capitals, the university as an institution also acts as a project developer in Bahir Dar. When there was a necessity to expand and the idea for a legal campus arose, the university leadership spoke to the city administration. The city administration negotiated with the Regional Industry and Urban Development Bureau, after which a partial plan was devised for the site of the new campus on the road to Addis Ababa. At the time of fieldwork in 2013, BDU had its administrative headquarters on the main campus. A new high-

rise administrative headquarters was being constructed two blocks away from the campus, signalling that the university is still in the process of expansion and manifesting itself in the urban fabric.

However, there is a non-physical aspect of urbanisation that is strongly inherent in the concept of universities, too. Through the education acquired there, making a living in urban lifestyles becomes attainable. For students coming from the rural areas, getting a place to study at university is a big opportunity, as the case of W illustrates (see interview W).

Interview W

W is a 25-year-old third year student in the English department. He chose education to escape the hardship of life in his home in the Simian Mountains, 35 km from Debark. He is the firstborn of eight children on a farm. His family lives off their land, which provides enough to feed them. Their main produce is barley. To earn any small amount of cash, part of this produce would have to be sold. His parents are illiterate, like most in his village. As a child of about 10 years, W was meant to look after the sheep and cows. He says of himself, though, that he was a bad shepherd. He kept losing his animals and attracted his father's anger. In hindsight he says he was burdened with a lot of responsibility to perform as a good farmer, being his parents' firstborn, and compared to the children he now sees in town he views his own treatment as a child as inhuman. He was beaten, but he was not able to improve and recognise the lost sheep. His father eventually decided to send him to church school instead, so he could study to be a priest. He stayed for a year, and being a good student he says he was on the way to becoming a deacon. But he decided to switch to modern education instead. The primary school he visited from grade one to four was in his village. At the age of 12, W was engaged by his father to a girl from another village for an arranged marriage. They were meant to marry a year or two later. Seeing his teachers with their relatively good income, however, gave W the idea that he, too, could achieve this. He suggested to his father to postpone the marriage and to allow him to pursue education. He told him he would be able to support his parents only as a teacher, but not as a young husband trying to feed a family of his own on farming. His father seemed quite impressed with the idea and left his son W to it. He completed the 10th grade at his local school, but his father insisted that the engagement should stand. When he switched to high school, he had to walk to another village, between two and three hours' walk from home. He used to bring his own food from home, spend the week there and walk back home to his parents' at the end of the week. W had to become financially independent from grade five on, as his parents were neither willing nor able to support his further education. He made just enough money by car-

rying other people's groceries from the market to buy bread and pay for the dormitory. He says of himself that he suffered a lot during this time, with many ups and downs. According to him, it was his love for education and the wish not to return to farm life in the mountains that kept him going. For grade 7 to 12, he then moved to Debark. In grade 8 he took the exam to be a mountain guide. Out of 150 candidates, 16 passed, he being one. When W then first came to have coffee with a group of tourists at his parents' house, they were fundamentally confused. They had never heard human beings speaking English, and hearing W speak another language made his father question even whether he was his own son. W realised that the skills he acquired were earning him respect. With the tourists, he learned to speak better English even than his teachers. The job guiding tourists from all over the world paid him well, but he did not want to remain a guide in the mountains. While the other guides dropped out of education at grade 10 and now make their living in the mountains with tourists, he kept on rotating between guiding and studying for his university entry exam. He eventually passed with very good grades, allowing him to get English as his first choice of course and Bahir Dar as his first choice of university. He chose English for the respect it had earned him at school and how it made him a sought-after expert in the mountains. When he speaks Amharic with his mountain village accent in the city, he does not earn the same kind of admiration as he does for his English, where locals consider him knowledgeable. He chose Bahir Dar as it was reasonably close to his home and he would be able to pay for trips to see his family, but it is further than Gondar, which seemed to him too close to be something undiscovered.

Coming to Bahir Dar was a new world to W. He had not seen a television until he was 15 or 16. He had not seen a roof made of tin in the mountains. When he first arrived in Bahir Dar for university, he came by bus, did not know anyone in town and had difficulty in finding the campus. He took a room in the centre for a couple of days and took time to ask people where he was meant to go. He then moved to the campus. On arrival, he says, he had a good reception, which was organised by the second-year students. He thinks there were about 1,000 students starting fresh with him that year. It was the first year that the university received students from all over the country, rather than just the regional state. Many of them, though, have left the course in the meantime, as they were not considered fit to study. He enjoys life on campus, where he meets people his age from all over the country. It is his way of getting to know Ethiopia without travelling, just as he gets to know the world by guiding the tourists in the mountains. His friends are from the campus, from different faculties, but nearly all of them are his neighbours in the dorm. They like to stay on campus for consumption, for the low prices, rather than going into town. W finds the campus well managed. He told me he enjoys the learning environment there and that he

can engage with well-educated people, advancing his own progress. Coming to Bahir Dar, seeing the houses, starting to study and getting access to the internet he says was a good thing for him. In his vacation, W continues to travel home to the mountains to earn money as a tour guide. As a licensed guide W has earned a well-respected position there. Still he comes to Bahir Dar to study to get an even better education. Also, he now pays for his brother and sister to live in a dormitory in Debark, so that they can study in grade 10 in high school with the money he earns from being a guide. They are fed off the family's produce from the farm. Going home, he claims, it is difficult communicating with the other guides, as his world view has become so different, although the guides are doing relatively better than the farmers, such as the friends he knew when he was a shepherd. They are now married, have children and cannot read or write their names. W would not like that kind of life and jokes that he is happy he was a bad shepherd. When W completes his studies in a few months' time, he will have no more reason to stay in Bahir Dar. He will look for a job close to his home area, instead, or continue as a tour guide. In his hometown, doors will be opened for him. In Bahir Dar, he knows few people outside of the campus and there is no one to offer him a job. W wants to be an example to the people in his home area and says that, apart from missing some of the technology he got to know in town, it will not be difficult to return to the mountains for him. He wants to return to help improve the situation there, which reflects his awareness for the changing situation in tourism entering the mountains that were so far a "world of their own". W says of himself, that in his home village, he is special. Coming to Bahir Dar improved his position at home. Through his contacts to tourists he now receives requests by recommendation on the internet, making him an important gate-keeper. He is the only one to have made it out of his home village so far. For him, the harsh conditions he came out of helped him not to be spoilt and to know himself. Because of his education, his father is now highly respected for being the only one who sent his children to school. This respect has made him very proud of his son in the end. His fiancée's father still asks W's father from time to time about marrying his daughter. He is now an attractive match. But W is not willing. His choice for education has enabled his fiancée to pursue school up to grade 10 to keep up with him, but he rather sees himself marrying an even more educated woman.

As W's example illustrates, students from rural areas adapt certain "urban" life-styles, when coming to Bahir Dar, while maintaining their family ties in the countryside as well as possible. To do this, they have to take on a variety of identities. Students from other rural areas have similar stories to tell. For many students coming from rural areas, this is the first time they have experienced city life. The university contributes to this by creating a specific academic living environment.

As W described, the campus is an entry point into the city and a location determined to be clearly distinguished from any rural practices. On the other hand, it is viewed as a refuge from "dangers" of the city. Thereby the campus is described not only as a gateway to city life, as W put it, but as a sanctuary of learning for others (see interview U). As children from other urban contexts are pursuing education as a means of entering or staying in the newly forming middle class, which is largely urban, their stay on the BDU campus is often their first stay away from home or outside the family.

Interview U

One of the first things U, an 18-year-old female student from Dila, mentioned when I spoke to her, were the dangers she expected outside the campus, especially after dark. She describes the campus as a place where there is female participation and organisation in associations, support for problems by student unions, and where she can live what she calls a "harmonious type of life". She describes her best friend as similar to herself and also the other relationships she has formed seem to be based on principles of sharing. She points out this perspective on her fellow students, even though she has an aunt in the city on whom she can rely on for support in times of crisis. Besides that and her regular visits to church, she has little other contact to the city and spends most of her time on campus with her friends from university. As soon as she has obtained her degree in management, she wants to return to her hometown and start her own enterprise. Staying in Bahir Dar is not an option for her, as she says it is due to the support of her village that she got where she is now, and she feels she wants to repay this support by going back.

This way, the stay on the campus is considered temporary by staff and students, as the largest magnet of population influx is de facto disconnected from the surrounding city and has developed its own set of practices.

The university campus, which houses several thousand students and should actually be contributing to a cultural urbanisation process through its educational programme and the differentiated origin of the students, is extremely regulated and a closed system. As university entry is highly selective and random at the same time, many students find themselves studying subjects that they struggle with personally or professionally. This has led to a flourishing landscape of private universities attracting students from all parts of the country as well. Studying outside the BDU campus also illustrates how the state university functions in creating an integrative environment (see interview X).

Interview X

X, a 24-year-old nursing student at a private university, moved into the city to follow her sister, who initially came to study and was now able to support her younger sibling with a job as a secretary at an international NGO. As they did not qualify to live on the BDU's campus (any longer), the two of them had to find private accommodation by knocking on the doors of houses in several neighbourhoods. When doing so, they were faced with severe discrimination on the grounds of being of Protestant faith. They eventually found two rooms in a converted servant's quarter in Kebele 13, but did not disclose their faith on arrival, leaving the landlord to believe they were Orthodox. They were threatened with eviction, since he found out, and eventually moved away to sub-let with a more liberal foreigner.

The protectionist living environment of the BDU campus is also expanded to the teaching staff, which is partly accommodated on the campus in special staff residences (see interview T). All in all, there are four apartment buildings and a number of row houses to accommodate the staff.

Interview T

Lecturer T comes from a place 30 km outside of Bahir Dar, where his parents still live. He lives with his wife in a 1.5-bedroom apartment on campus that the university management provided on the basis of a one-off evaluation. The criteria for getting into the residences are based on several factors such as qualifications, academic output and publications, social engagement and evaluation of the teaching performance by students. If a better house is vacated, a competition is undertaken in the same manner to access the available house. T considers this living arrangement a privilege, as all in all not more than 100 members of the staff live in these facilities. The community on the campus is good he says, he has social contacts with his neighbours. He is an Orthodox Christian, but he does not have any friends based on his religion. He is very assertive saying that his friends are of all faiths, including Muslims. He considers the homogenous status of residents as teaching staff a good influence and environment for those raising children. They are also in the good situation of being able to use the facilities, such as a play-ground, on campus. He can also use the other campus facilities, such as the lounges, but generally he and his wife buy and prepare their own food, like in regular neighbourhoods. The staff on campus are soci-

ally and economically organised in iqubs and iddirs, although he himself is not a member. However, just as the students pass through living on the campus, the protected environment is not a permanent set-up for T and other staff. With the help of an architect, he has started building his own home in Kebele 11 and plans to leave the campus. He considers housing in the cities as a very difficult issue in the urban areas, especially in Addis, but also in Bahir Dar. According to him, if you get the chance to move to your own house, you do it. He says that relocation within the city is not a common phenomenon, but building your own house, finding a better home or disagreements with the landlord are reasons to move. He found the plot because of connections he has within the city and avoided the common application process. To construct his house, he himself hires craftsmen personally and makes the pay arrangements. He has no general contractor. He says the speed of construction depends "on the pocket". For such undertakings, generally a step-by-step process of up to 10 years is expected. However, this investment does not mean that he is no longer mobile. T would like to stay in Bahir Dar, but would leave at any time for a better job. As he puts it, "I would even go to Dafur, depending on what they pay me".

Despite these provisions, T's account reflects the high mobility and low social ties of the very educated population group towards Bahir Dar as a city. The criteria for choosing the site of living remain almost solely in the job. Overall, living conditions on the campus are somewhat isolated from life in the town. There is hardly any exchange of the students with the rest of the city, because all meals, sports and leisure activities can be found on campus. However, the workers catering in the cafés do not live on the campus, but rather come in for their daylong shift every second day (see interview V).

Interview V

As the coordinator of one of the shifts, V says the income from her job has allowed her to incrementally construct additional rooms to her house. But entering these stable jobs at BDU has become more difficult than her informal entry 35 years ago. Today, a formal qualification is also required for BDU workers.

Meanwhile, the newly arising influx of students that have qualified for university arrives in Bahir Dar on account of a national distribution system. Through education, they are entering and will contribute to the political development agenda.

Many of these students will work in the cities as experts in their fields of education and as government officials. The probability that they will return to live in the countryside is low, unless they can find or create adequate working opportunities. Those with urban backgrounds and those accepting the novelties of city life even try to distance themselves from what they perceive as rural backwardness by expressing their open hostility towards it or distancing themselves from the predetermined path their families expect them to follow. Other than that, those students coming from well off backgrounds show little connection to Bahir Dar as a city and seek to return to their family networks. For staff, the focus is on questions of pay and work content when deciding to move, rather than on aspects of living quality in the city. The campus is, thus, relatively disconnected from city life; there is little exchange with the population not linked to the university. Yet, there is a cultural process of urbanisation through the educational programme that the students undergo here (rather than one of physical construction).

6.2 Ordinary Practices of Making the City

Urban life in Bahir Dar can be portrayed as highly diverse, and urbanism reaches far beyond the account of marginalisation due to landlessness. The accounts show that urbanisation as growth but also as a cultural and socio-economic transformation is triggered by more than just push-factors in the countryside. Thereby, the results from this chapter show that a diverse spectrum of distinct urban development trajectories is found across the neighbourhoods. The differing constellations dependent on the changing planning paradigms and resulting structures, as well as their mutual shaping of and with urbanisation practices, are reflected in the findings from the sub-case studies. They show how the contemporary neighbourhoods have developed specific practices of the everyday and relations between varieties of everyday urbanisation, according to their specific drivers of urbanisation and path-dependencies. These have to be considered as contextual realities in the course of further urbanisation.

   The empirical findings of this chapter, further, display the significance of everyday practices in urban development under rapid urbanisation. These practices provide a range of accommodation and are responsible for a wide range of building activities and income generation within the city. Thereby, the different structural outcomes and networks of local urbanisms are created in interchange between and among the statutory and everyday practices. While even within the normative ethic of the "developed" city found in statutory planning (see chapter 5), local understandings of adequate infrastructure provision vary according to context and are subjective; the empirical data suggests that civil society has an even more diverse understanding of normative ethics guiding urban development. Beyond the neighbourhood typologies focused on by statutory planning (see chapter 5.6), eve-

ryday practices of urbanisation have formed neighbourhoods with distinct properties, dependent on the local constellations of formal and informal urban practice and co-producing urban structures. A majority of the urban population depend on incremental practices of urbanisation that are compatible with low incomes or irregular availability of building material. Thereby, the material gathered for this research shows that urban villages, historical mixed-use, industrial dormitory towns (as the forerunners of today's expansion areas) and informal shacks form typologies of neighbourhoods in Bahir Dar. And while some ideas inherent in these sites reach beyond the proposals of the "developed" city and guide citizens' understandings of improving the urban systems, these might not be explicitly formulated and have so far not been considered the status quo from which to inform policy and take on further development. Until now, everyday practices of urbanisation, including informal housing and traditional living arrangements, are poorly documented. Their guiding ideas, however, are not a simple "anti-position" to the idea of the "developed" city, just as all actions rendered informal by statutory planning cannot be reduced to an understanding of "anti-planning". The narrative of the interviewees suggests that the engagement with local space and materials is strongly defined by the desire to secure the household's livelihood and improve the living situation for the immediate family. While urban residence offers an opportunity to engage in income generation and constitutes a strong and recurring motive in the interviews for having moved to the city, the different neighbourhoods the residents live in offer different types of opportunity for income generation and differ in their accessibility to newcomers. Consequently, the amendments, appropriations, exploitation of resources and installation of building structures strongly depend on the neighbourhood's location and the existing facilities in the area. These are, however, mostly not the opportunities of formal employment labour anticipated by ideas of a "modern" city.

Historical diversity

The historical centre is prominently located and under strong land-use pressure. Despite the zoning as "commercial", downtown Bahir Dar is historically a mixed-use area in which a large variety of building styles has accumulated. The shoreline with the ferry harbour and tourism facilities, the markets, retail, ritual spaces and large religious buildings, regional head offices, the entertainment and red-light district and the bus station with its related activities are some of the most defining features of the area.

The area displays a wide array of social, ethnic and religious groups and income typologies across all scales. While some families have been residing here for several generations and live in municipal houses or their own property, the recent arrivals are dependent on other living arrangements. With the bus stop nearby and the ferry landing in its centre, it is also the arrival point for many rural-urban migrants and students coming into town. While the latter move on to campus, the

former find shelter here in a number of informal hostels and add to the strain on infrastructure and space. These informal arrangements substitute for the lack of formal accommodation for the urban poor.

However, from the viewpoint of all kinds of migration, the inner city can be simultaneously viewed as a dense historic structure with a high frequency and diversity of opportunities and, also as a hub, thus a highly fluctuant space of temporary residence. Beyond formal work for the highly skilled and business opportunities for traders and investors, the area provides opportunity for ambulant business (vending and service) and daily labourers, as well as small-scale workshops and catering businesses. Often working and living are thereby conducted within the same space. Hence, the household members are often engaged in multiple activities of income generation and combine formal work (as employees or shop owners) with informal income generation (e.g. in home production). However, existing micro-economic practices are due to change on the impetus of development through larger investment. The diversity of urban livelihoods and dwellings is to be succeeded by developments suited to new development criteria. Thereby, the long-standing neighbourhood ties forming social bonds are in danger of losing out on relocation. The grown community is in threat of being dispersed, and traditional building practice will be discontinued in favour of intensified commercial use.

Housing area

The textile village is still a residence for many textile workers and their offspring. In its purely residential function, it can be seen as a forerunner of the housing areas in today's expansion areas. However, it is a dormitory town connected to an industrial development with a history. As a workers' settlement, the design of the city structures is based on assumptions of employed wage labour. The residents can enjoy the various learning and leisure facilities of the area and the single or two-storey family homes are constructed from quality material (stone foundations, clay or concrete structures). The main wave of migration to this area was connected to the establishment of the factory and the neighbourhood has since been in a process of consolidation. It has remained relatively unchanged since its erection and lacks the material development dynamic that can be observed, for example, in the inner city.

The settlers' structure is rather homogenous with a majority of middle-income Amhara Orthodox residents and qualified workers of other ethnicities. The residents' status is legally sound and long established. The long-term residents, however, are socially and economically established through work in the factory, are well engaged with their location and have appropriated their living space. For this group of residents, the site can be seen as the destination of permanent residence in town. The (relatively few) new arrivals to the area are often highly skilled experts for the textile mill and their families. Rental housing is accessible for these factory-related new arrivals, but the residents see this as a temporary set-up and aim for

their own houses. However, entering the ownership model for new arrivals – even highly educated employees of the textile factory itself – is difficult, as the historical arrangements of access to plots have been discontinued in this area and there is no present equivalent to the former worker's privilege to housing. However, this does not seem to be a large problem in the context of highly qualified career paths in the industrial sector, as the stays for career purposes are considered temporary and the well trained professionals are willing to move on to other cities in pursuit of work.

Urban village

Traditional building structures and layouts are mixed with more recent chicka and eucalyptus houses, forming small scale settlement structures that are still governed by the traditional rules of land sub-division. Thereby the system relies on the decision of elders that are recognised as community leaders by the residents. While this neighbourhood is an Amhara structure, there are also variants of the typology as Wayto villages in other locations.

Although land is sometimes temporarily granted formally (as in the case of the Wayto), by standards of the current law, the land is mostly informally occupied. While traditional livelihoods and family-related settlement patterns continue in these locations, the high permeability of these structures due to the low cost of living also makes it receptive to urban arrivals with low financial backing. They settle in vacant houses or find space to insert new informal structures. However, settlement here was sometimes undertaken more than four generations ago. The older occupants mainly use the land for subsistence activities, which are complemented by incomes from trade, services, foraging/mining and gathering, home production or revenues from agricultural land held in the countryside. The continuous traditions are, thereby, complemented by and receptive to modernity. The younger generation has diversified its livelihood strategy and also engages in formal and qualified wage labour outside the village-like neighbourhood.

In comparison to the modern developments, the urban villages display a high flexibility towards changing environmental conditions. They are not dependent on imported material such as concrete and rely largely on renewable resources. However, the sites where these villages are located are increasingly attractive to rationales of commercial investment that also have to be counted as everyday practices of urbanisation. There is, hence, not only competition for the land use between subsistence strategies, but also an encroachment of formal development on the village location considered prime land by developers.

Academic compound

Next to the informal labour market, the schools, universities and churches have to be seen as important reception structures for incoming migrants. Thereby, the university is rapidly expanding and can itself be seen as one of the major project developers in Bahir Dar.

The students come to Bahir Dar as temporary residents, with the fixed idea of completing a task (a degree, a qualification, a career step) and then moving either back to their places of origin or to places considered to offer even better opportunities and which are accessible with the qualifications gained in Bahir Dar. While the students are homogenous in their age group as recent high-school graduates, their cultural and economic backgrounds are highly diverse, covering all status groups and regions of the country. During their stay, students spend most of their time on campus and are fed and housed on the compound. Teaching staff members are highly qualified and can also live on campus. Residence on campus is, hence, geared towards achieving a certain aim or taking advantage of an employment or education opportunity currently provided here. The opportunity could have just as well arisen in another urban location within or outside Ethiopia, and the engagement with the city as such is, thus, low for many students and academic university employees. Exceptions can be found among students who either come from Bahir Dar and have family ties in the city, where they spend their free time, or who have a particular agency, seeking additional income or exchange with people off campus. Due to the lack of off-campus relationships, explicit statements that they would limit their stay in the city to a defined period of time were, consequently, made by students and academics at BDU.

The university campus, hence, stands for an enclosed neighbourhood typology for which the building practice does not form an everyday practice. Instead, urbanisation here is practised through cohabitation, as well as cultural and formal education. The campus, thus functions as a sanctuary. It is, thereby, not dissimilar to the compounds of churches, which house significant numbers of novices, even if the underlying ideology cannot be compared. Thereby, entering the programmes and being awarded a place on the compound – each by its own standards – is highly selective. The stay is, by definition, temporary. However, consecutive residence in the town is not actively encouraged and, thus, the BDU campus especially, as a compound typology, remains somewhat isolated from the rest of Bahir Dar City, also restricting the diffusion of knowledge.

The settlement strategies found in the neighbourhoods are not linear patterns of movement from the rural to the urban but rather recursive and "messy". Different reasons for coming to the city are followed by a range of actions that are partly formal, partly informal. The motives for coming to the city and also the opportunities taken up are very heterogeneous – they are somewhat diffuse in their formulation as aspirations and depend on context-specific opportunity. While there was a time when the textile mill provided a lot of formal employment, the opportunities to arrive in Bahir Dar are now mainly accessible through higher education and skilled labour or informal arrival systems.

For those who qualified in school or have completed their studies, establishment in Bahir Dar is formally regulated. The students of BDU are housed on cam-

pus and are considered temporary residents in town, while the administration and industry workers often have access to company housing, can afford rental housing and have the possibility to apply for a building plot after two years of residence. Meanwhile, informal networking and illegal bribes are also common here, although they have rarely been accounted for as success factors in processes of socio-cultural urbanisation until now. These are not practices on the margin of society: Even those coming into the city as a result of formal job recruitment make use of these actions to improve their own and their family's living situation, for example for gaining access to preferred building plots. Such ambivalent approaches were found in all of the accounts and, thus, range across the various status groups and locations included in the data collection.

Those without formal qualifications and economic resources have to depend on chances given in the city without much pre-knowledge. While access to housing is often not made through formal markets and housing provision but rather through personal arrangements in which one takes in another person, these are not necessarily only family relations but also business relations in sub-letting. Work opportunities are often a mixture of (temporary) employment in the micro-economy and subsistence activities. Further, learning and qualification (even certificates) depend on circumstance. Hence the opportunities actually taken are not concentrated on opportunities available in formal employment but are rather widely diverse in the range of finding incomes and subsistence strategies. The decision to move to the city is, thus, also influenced by unanticipated, irrational choice. These individual rationales might not be strategic due to the high uncertainty of environmental and economic set-ups, but based on chances and opportunities they are highly tactical in aiming for improved living-conditions for the person and often for household or family members.

Overall, data from the sub-cases, hence, show that a combination of formal and informal actions constitutes the rationales of the civil population. The outcomes vary between meeting formal requirements, remaining informal and anticipating legalisation. Looking at the practices in the location of Bahir Dar reveals that random opportunities, risk-taking, uninformed decisions and acting on impulse are important factors that open opportunities for establishment in the city. Thereby, the micro-economy with its low-thresholds for employment plays a crucial role as an integrator into city life for the population majority. However, there is competition between everyday practices, and, while some strategies are favoured by statutory planning, other rationales are disregarded and sanctioned, raising questions of injustice. Based on the findings presented in this chapter and the previous chapter 5, the next chapter (7) will discuss in what relation practices of everyday urbanisation stand in relation to urban policies within the described neighbourhood typologies.