Navigating Urban Housing Dynamics: Exploring the Interplay Between Real Estate Development and Housing Demand in Post-1991 Ethiopia

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Abstract

This study specifically focused on real estate development and the sector’s role in fulfilling the housing demand in metropolitan areas, substantially in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. In order to achieve the intended objectives of the study, the author employed descriptive phenomenology by considering secondary data. The extensive academic literature, policy and strategy documents, and annual reports of the National Bank of Ethiopia, as well as Central Statistics Agency publications, were analyzed in detail in order to show the practice, the historical land administration scheme of real estate, the demand and supply of housing, the private-public partnership program, as well as the investment prospects and drawbacks which hinder the well-functioning in the macroeconomy, addressed from a policy perspective as well as putting some important concluding remarks for stakeholders in the business. Whereas the practice indicated, based on the findings, the sector is still in its infancy and needs special attention and modifications on the policy and strategy side to meet the public need for housing, as most of the indicators pointed out that the approaches implemented by the governing body have already failed.

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I. Introduction

The necessity for housing in the metropolitan segment of Ethiopia, principally in the capital, Addis Ababa, has disturbingly risen over the last three decades due to numerous factors. Furthermore, according to the Ethiopian urbanization assessment report in 2015, a projection from 70% to 80% of the urban population inhabits what may be categorized as slum areas, below an ordinarily recognized global description, such as dearth of strength, suitable plot, sufficient safe water and sanitation, and security of tenancy. Besides, there are impulsive relocations to metropolises and municipalities, placing a burden on the administration to fulfil shelter needs. It has become unclear for the public sector to meet a mounting urban shelter requirement along with an expansion of the existing population in the country. To address the housing difficulties, Ethiopia has initiated several housing improvement schemes where condominium housing is the leading approach, with the key purpose of decreasing disparities, safeguarding access to decent and affordable shelter for the deprived urban inhabitants. However, the cost of condominium houses is nevertheless soaring and becoming progressively challenging to afford. Elevated demand for residential shelter on the one hand, and a limited quantity of real estate houses on the other, have pushed prices beyond the financial capability of the majority of urban dwellers in the nation. With the rising urban housing demand, the private sector has also engaged in building real estate housing in the urban parts of Ethiopia, but its contribution is very minor in satisfying the demand for housing. However, evidence illustrates that numerous urban Ethiopians still live in houses that are not conducive to living safely in terms of health and sanitation (Mekuriya 2022).

Additionally, it is essential to analyse and evaluate the significance of modifying the urban land strategy of the nation. The Ethiopian urban land policy that has been adopted by the administration of the country is the urban land lease holding scheme, which is a single method of land occupancy that allows the administration to reallocate land use rights and benefits from the public to private investors and developers (Urban Land Lease Holding First Proclamation 1993). Notwithstanding this policy intervention, the public did not have consistent and predictable land access for housing development and investment purposes. Therefore, it is crucial to consider the eminence of urban land law, that is, urban land tenancy policy, with regard to efficiency and equitable distribution of land, in particular terms for housing needs and real estate development.

1.1. Statement of the Problem

Housing needs are becoming increasingly predominant in the metropolitan parts of Ethiopia. Evidence about forthcoming housing needs is indispensable for forecasting by administrations at all levels and the concerned participants. Although there is no common definition of housing demand, Hablemitoglu (2010) described housing demand as an organised set of physiological and psychological needs in addition to housing desires. The physical needs might comprise corporeal, social, and economic needs, whereas the psychological needs include protection, affiliation, esteem, and actualisation (Maslow, 1943). Housing demand is a market-focused view and relates to the kind and number of houses that families will choose to inhabit based on preference and the ability to recompense. However, housing need is an indicator of a prevailing shortfall, the number of families that do not have access to housing that meets certain prescriptive standards.
This intervention mostly indicates the level of necessity for additional and improved communal housing. The term housing necessity is sometimes used to combine these two-fold processes to produce a comprehensive portrait of the housing market.

The families in Ethiopia are expected to grow, and additional shelter will need to be built to accommodate not only the demands but also the essential needs of households. Consequently, the administration uses intermediate to long-term estimates of population and household size progression to generate approximations of the number of new houses that will be needed for living in cities. In the context of Ethiopia, the housing development sector is a very important employment area and requires considerable volumes of capital; it also drives and is conducive to further socioeconomic subdivision growth. Consequently, a concerted effort of participants is essential to satisfy the fundamental housing needs beyond the administration. The sector contains stakeholders including financial and economic organisations, land administrators, the building sector, and basic infrastructure and facility-providing stakeholders which require data concerning upcoming housing needs for forecasting purposes (King, 2000).

1.2. Objectives of the Study

The central goal of this study is to review and supply demand for land and real estate housing markets in metropolitan Ethiopia. Also, this paper intends to provide a detailed review of real estate sector development since 1991 with its challenges and opportunities.

II. Methodology of the Study

The inquiry and blended observation of this expository paper were founded on the wide-ranging review of numerous government legislative policies, strategies, and procedural papers, scholarly articles, and theses by giving emphasis on the analysis of secondary data. Like various emerging nations, the obtainability and excellence of the information are a main challenge for performing verification-founded research. This paper mainly implemented a descriptive phenomenological research method to review existing literature and annual reports from different stakeholders. The investigation encompassed the external risks and the internal organisational drawbacks that confront land and real estate housing development. This descriptive study is intended to advance how to reduce the restraints while endorsing the utilisation of current prospects, which produce a favourable condition for real estate housing development and progress the land-dwelling stock means.

III. Results and Discussions

This section deals with the major reviews on real estate development dynamics since 1991 and the housing demand and supply within an urbanisation context, resolutions on policy perspectives, challenges, as well as the financial side of real estate sector development.

The Socialist administration had straightforwardly participated in the allocation of real estates and prearranged associations’ shelter distribution scheme. The administration used to deliver land, construction supplies, and housing funds on an endowed basis. Moreover, it released real estate proclamation number 47/1974, by which the rule stated that all urban plots and additional residential and commercial houses were owned by the state; consequently, the function of the private sector in real estate development was restricted, and conversely, the enactment of the public sector was discouraged. Following the downfall of the communist government in 1991, the Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) commenced a new market-oriented method that integrates the private sector’s role in real estate growth. A series of programmes was also ratified on a steady basis, in which it removed grants on housing construction supplies and set interest rates on housing credits at market rates. The administration thus revised the urban and tenancies allotment decree in 1993, which clearly outlined holding licence delivery, with a maximum period of ninety-nine years and a minimum of fifty years. However, land for societal amenities and religious worship owned by the community is free from tenancy charges. The government, in 2002, released a fresh proclamation (Proclamation No. 272/02) that cancelled the former proclamation and presented novel parts that were not integrated earlier. Because of the usual rise in migration results and with additional influences, housing shortage has emerged as one of the issues that demand the consideration of the administration. As the former EPRDF established its land leasing policy, introduced in 1993 but changed over time (Adam, 2014), private housing contractors began to show a rising role. After the Ethiopian Millennium, Ayat Real Estate was the first developer to provide residential villa houses in the Eastern outskirts of Addis Ababa, sold at fees reachable to the superior classes. Meanwhile, the presence of the principal metropolis for the African Union and other international organisations, Addis Ababa’s international public grew to considerable shares, requiring office space in dominant parts and quality homes in the latest districts. Novel systems of socioeconomic exclusion therefore began to emerge that were not typical in Ethiopia’s past. Lastly, the role of the diaspora has been vital. Ethiopia’s diaspora, estimated at two million citizens, mostly resides in the United States of America, who deliver an estimated sum of twenty billion dollars annually to the nation (Lefort, 2015). After the 2008 economic crisis, the diaspora citizens were more likely to invest in real estate development in the Ethiopian capital. The sequence of events, involving several particularly high-profile scandals connecting the developer Access Real Estate and the capital, intensified distrust between real estate developers and the administration pre the millennium. The government, which was previously doubtful of the sector, therefore became actively antagonistic, particularly concerning those who, similar to Access Real Estate, intended to sell properties out of agreement, accepting a larger fraction of payment before they had actually been developed. This absence of trust and the strategies it produced have had nearly unintentional consequences. Partly because of the Access Real Estate scandal, a series of complex regulations since around 2010 aimed to prevent land speculation. These introduced a restricted six-month period during which individuals who have acquired land are permitted to trade it undeveloped. Afterwards, for residential properties, developers have to have constructed fifty percent of the building delineated in approved plans, thirty percent for commercial properties. Moreover, if real estate developers want to split a parcel into separate plots, then they must complete seventy percent of the construction before they can obtain separate titles (PCW 2020).
When Ethiopia shifted towards a market-regulated economic growth model, the opportunity to participate in major real estate projects, comparatively unimpeded by taxation, helped to attract the potentially enterprising diaspora, many of whom do not support the ruling government. The agreement between the administration and the nation's 'new industrialists', many of whom resided abroad, was acknowledged (Lefort, 2015). It is clear which option most diaspora have chosen in their pursuit of investment; despite numerous official government incentives to invest in productivity and none for real estate, the reality is that many diasporas have emerged as independent industrialists in the metropolis. Sixty percent of all investment by the diaspora in the period between 1994 and 2014 was in real estate development and related businesses, which was four times more than the sum they invested in manufacturing and factory plants, and ninety-one percent of all diaspora investment was located in the capital, Addis Ababa. It, therefore, comes as little surprise that even in Ethiopia, where the government has pursued a policy of industrialization, manufacturing still constitutes just five percent of Gross Domestic Product (Duroyaume, 2017).

b. Resolutions on Land Policy Perspective

Taking into account the rapid expansion of metropolises, competition for secure and developed land increases. This puts pressure on existing tenure structures and necessitates governments to devise strategies that encourage efficient land use and improve access to property, without excluding the urban poor. The fundamental policy question, therefore, becomes what forms of land tenure are best suited to achieve the stated objectives of productivity and equity.

Among the varied methods regarding land tenancy, public land possession, as opposed to private estate proprietorship, became common in numerous nations, particularly in the early 1980s. Several countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, for example, had state-owned all lands at the stated period. Yet, the amplified burden that public possession places upon the public has, in numerous cases, proven to be beyond the ability to manage, and allocate lands according to needs. In nations where governments favoured private land possession, exorbitant charges and unsuitable regulatory agendas limited access to land. The need to resolve both the issues of land tenancy and, where state possession is the preferred style, endure the burden that public possession places by creating the necessary capacity to manage; and allocate lands according to needs and in a manner that such a strategy aims to achieve, hence becomes of paramount importance. Through land use planning, enhanced and sustainable land practices are identified which benefit the purposes of the individual land handler and those of the public at large. Nationwide, regional, and local governments may impose levies on certain land distribution methods, including official and unofficial land market transactions in urban as well as semi-urban areas. They may create restrictions on the rental, owning, buying, and selling of land, if this is deemed to be detrimental to reasonable land use and communal benefits. They may also provide incentives, such as grants and facilitation activities, to ensure more equitable, productive, or environmentally friendly use of the land (Bacry, Sileshi, Admit 2009).

The assessment of land use projection for diverse factual and potential purposes necessitates a sequence of steps incorporating the following points:

- The establishment of attainable objectives and purposes with participants in the sector;
The association and categorisation of land use at the centre of similar features into districts;

The evaluation of recognised land parcels for the planned objectives, involving restrictions and prospects;

The appraisal of the unconventional land uses alongside the necessities and desires of all population groups concerned and affected, with the participants; and

The documentation of procedures, tactics and actions to be taken to transition from the present to the proposed land use, with the dynamic participation of all participants.

When consensus has been reached through discussion and collaboration on the matters of a land use strategy, its implementation encompasses a number of activities. These comprise political decisions to proceed with the identification and acquisition of the necessary finances for realisation; the legal, administrative and organisational implementation; delineation on the land; and finally, the review, monitoring and control of adherence to the decisions acquired. Renewing and reworking of the strategy at various stages of implementation is also required.

The objective of a combined approach to forecasting the use and management of land resources is to make informed and knowledgeable decisions on the future uses of the land. This would enable all participants to be involved in the decision-making process on the sustainable, equitable and economical use of the land and to carry it through to a successful completion (Bacry, Sileshi, Admit 2009).

c. Housing Demand and Supply in Ethiopia

Ethiopia has a diverse history of internal resettlement and population movement. In view of the impact of famine, governmental survival strategies, and strong cultural identities, population movement in the nation has been significant and has thus increased the demand for housing in urban areas. The extent of the need for social amenities and infrastructure such as housing varies, depending on the size of the population and its growth. The population of the capital, Addis Ababa, is expected to reach around 4.5 million at the end of the plan period in 2027 (Lia, 2017). Meanwhile, urbanisation is inevitable, mostly in terms of the transition the nation is making from a predominantly rural to an urban-structured economy. Housing difficulty is more prominent in urban areas than in rural parts of the country. Therefore, urbanisation can lead to the growth of suburbs, informal settlements, inadequate housing, and homelessness.

As publicized in 2019 by the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, urbanization in Ethiopia is rising and is projected to triple, with the urban population predicted to surpass forty-two million by 2037. Such progression in urbanization within the nation, largely, and in Addis Ababa specifically, has been forming a housing shortfall. Addis Ababa’s housing segment has been a longstanding difficulty.

The need for proper housing is acute, as confirmed by the peculiar contribution rates for the Integrated Housing Development Program and administration housing, as well as the thriving leasing and subsidiary markets within Integrated Housing Development Program extensions. Numerous Integrated Housing Development Program recipients lease out their plots. Findings from the World Bank Housing Review suggest that there is a significantly higher amount of private tenant families than owners in Integrated Housing Development Program compared to any other type of housing. The enormous requirement for proper shelter is also shown by the exceptional families that are ready to pay for an Integrated
Housing Development Program. Families shall compensate over six times more than the original draw winner when purchasing an Integrated Housing Development Program plot. Administration strategy and interventions in recent years have focused on ownership and Integrated Housing Development Program. Consequently, more than a quarter of a million condo units have been built and distributed under the Integrated Housing Development Program between 2004 and 2022. Notwithstanding the rate at which houses are being constructed and transferred to purchasers, stock is short of addressing the need for housing. The Integrated Housing Development Program’s effect regarding the number of condos constructed is substantial, however, literature indicates that the administration’s capability to construct approximately forty thousand homes at a maximum level per annum means that it is incapable of managing housing needs. Given that for the past decade, only two hundred eighty thousand houses were delivered, this suggests only 28 percent of the total requirement, and over 2 percent per year, has been achieved (WBG Country Report, 2019/20).

d. Challenges for the Practical Development of the Real Estate Sector

The real estate developer might be a firm that is involved in changing a thought on paper into something possessing physical material, real assets. The primary aim of real estate is to build houses for residential and commercial use in order to generate revenue. Generally, a real estate developer is the sole creator of the development, in which case they shall either be involved in the construction of the structure. Then, real estate developer firms face diverse challenges. Figures show deteriorated housing stock conditions in the country and in the capital city, Addis Ababa, particularly. The real challenges include:

- Absence of admission to reasonable land and the extensively practised market-centred land administration scheme (Tesfaye, 2012). Largely, the available parcels of land which can be rented by the municipal government and that are best positioned are difficult to secure. Also, they are frequently reasonable with regard to the investment requirements and are associated with wealth.
- Deficiency in varied home distribution systems;
- Lack of a robust and affordable housing construction sector;
- Dearth of differentiated housing finance techniques;
- Specifically, for the urban underprivileged, inadequate access to civilised and affordable housing has led to rapidly growing informal and squatter settlements within the city.
- Recent commentary on land and property by Access Capital shows that there is an array of challenges in the real estate sector of Ethiopia. The significant hurdles facing stakeholders in the nation include:
  - Inadequate and poor infrastructure and a lack of real estate financing, predominantly for the private sector, due to the absence of specialised financial institutions in the nation, such as a loan bank for housing and property-related bank. The financial sector of the nation is dominated by the savings banks, mostly the commercial banks which are primarily intended for short-term credit.
  - Likewise, according to the research conducted by Zerayehu and Kagnew (2015), there are daunting challenges in relation to financing. Notably, issues of land administration, limited construction capacity, insufficient facilities and amenities, reduced credit capacity, inflation, and low cost-effectiveness are significantly evident.
Additionally, the challenge that businesses face in the country is ineffective demand. Not all needs and willingness to own homes amongst the general public translate into real demand for the significant real estate sector. This is often because only operational demand can serve as an actual market for the sector.

Correspondingly, Ethiopia ranks among the lowest nations with regard to registering houses and buildings as well as managing building permits. While the time required to acquire building permits in Ethiopia is somewhat longer compared to that of other developing nations, the cost is comparatively high.

Likewise, in many of the emerging nations, and particularly in Ethiopia, the stock of construction resources and the proliferation of innovative building knowledge, expertise, and machinery are significantly limited. For instance, the cost of accessible supplies is tremendously pricey, and its portion is around seventy percent of the total expenditure of the construction (Tamiru, 2009).

Another significant difficulty for real estate developers in Ethiopia commonly involves a deficiency of foreign exchange. The foreign exchange deficiency has disturbed numerous sectors of the economy. Several individuals have been forced to exit their businesses.

The emergence of conflicts has affected the overall health and capability of the economy. In recent times, most real estate developers were unable to survive the hyperinflation and deal with customers’ disputes as they had to cope with and share the peak of construction material price escalation.

3.5. Prospects of the Real Estate Investment

The real estate business and investment in most developing nations have been undergoing significant progress. Presently, half a billion African people reside in urban areas, accounting for forty percent of the population. In the previous five decades, this was about only three percent, and it is expected to reach over two billion after twenty-seven years. Attaining a house for a household might be an essential need for people and a responsibility for every government in a developing nation, particularly in Sub-Saharan regions. The African continent’s exodus represents significantly over thirty million individuals globally. Their remittances account for forty billion dollars annually to their native nations. This currency is typically utilized for disaster relief for relatives, as well as for investments. For these diasporas’ communities, real estate is the first asset class, underlining the desire to own a space in their home nation. The speed of expansion of towns is directly proportional to the demand for houses. It is predicted that as a rural area develops into more urban, additional houses will be needed to accommodate the growing population in urban hubs.

1. The activity, hence the quickening in urbanization, is not due to a stock of satisfactory reasonable accommodation. This is frequently one of the explanations for the occurrence of unofficial relocations, which provide housing to the poorest segment of society (UN Habitat, 2012). Hereafter, if real estate contractors aggressively engage in housing commercialization, real estate developers shall exploit their market portion through mass intervention in the economy.

2. Relatedly, following the malfunction of the administration to deliver its condo developments on the intended period, which is projected to reach directed clients within the lowest and middle-income class. Still, the government has not met and delivered the houses for Ethiopians who were agreed and paid a portion of the fee as per their contract.
3. Quite the reverse, the need for inhabited houses in the capital city has continued to increase in the past decades. Most dwellers are moving to the metropolis, putting a burden on the administration to fulfil the shelter needs. However, the private investment segment has actually stepped up a while to provide for a limited of the need, notably demand for complete housing. The private housing investment is facing an inspiring sound advance as most dwellers, prosperous citizens need a good and luxury house. Real estate developers, for instance, Metropolitan Real Estate and Tsehay Real Estate, as well as many more new entrants in the business, are continuously leading when it comes to the significant real estate house market within the nation. The aforementioned private real estate developers have managed to establish billions of birr companies by trading both luxury and affordable residential as well as commercial units.

4. Besides, the condos are frequently in absence of sufficient water, which is an evident and factual drawback for those dwelling in condos. The absence of appropriate techniques for the management of waste has left numerous parts within the condos crowded with foothill loads of garbage that dominate areas labelled for open space.

5. According to the Addis Ababa Municipal Systematized Plan, the administration has projected numerous systems and alternatives to supply housing. The portion of business enterprise in the housing division might reach fifty percent, which is a chance for companies that are looking forward to snagging the business.

6. In view of the countrywide resolution to be executed then, there would be giant prospects afterward, and society’s chances are approximately valued at half a trillion birr. This shows abundant openings for private real estate developers to take advantage of, and therefore the latter should prepare to exploit them properly.

7. The imperative thought is the undeniable fact that the administration makes a resolution to renovate and industrialize local district administrations and commences actions in harmony accordingly. This creates additional loads of chances for the estate business segment (Addis Business Review 2017).

8. Regarding the other prospects in real estate investment in Ethiopia, the gigantic number of people moving into the city from diverse areas of the nation. There is a prerequisite to also project affordable houses for this portion of the population.

3.6. The Benefits of Public-Private Partnership in Housing Development

The article published on the real estate sector by Access Capital in 2016 shows that there are multiple prospects in the real estate market in the country. The prospective real estate business portions include business centres, inhabited residential houses, comprising residences, dedicated for mid-revenue-generating citizens, and industrial parking units. Since the inception of a market-leaning economy in 1991, venture undertakings by the private division have been inspired, though the administration has made determinations to craft a favourable and heartening business mood. The regime’s venture on facility and amenities expansion, like electricity, technology and communication, and other important infrastructures, boosts the spiralling of trade undertakings. The attendance of a vacant market and possible venture parts, admission fences for overseas financial institutions, thriving in real estate improvement, accessibility of progressive expertise, motivating rivalry, altering diaspora’s attitude to participate domestically, and the detail that the capital is a political capital seat of Africa are all visible prospects for flourishing in the accommodation business and insistently driving
its need (Zerayehu and Kagnew 2015).

There is abundant evidence which shows that countries with market-centred arrangements are not capable on their own to gratify the rising and altering common necessities in techniques that are cost-effectively and ecologically sustainable. The mounting consciousness is developing in nations at each level of monetary progress that novel habits need to be originated to equalize wants and resources. Whereas this matter touches all important evolving segments, none is more affected than parcel and shelter. The need for parcels within the quickly expanding metropolises of emerging nations is substantial. Unavoidably, this has placed traditional methods of supply under extreme pressure. Public sector organisations have sought to regulate urban land markets through land localisation, agendas of direct delivery, and controlling the undertakings of other providers, like the private sector. Despite these efforts, barely any urban area in the region can claim to have met demand on a sustainable basis. This impasse has heightened consciousness that neither the community nor private sectors on their own are capable of success. Public and private partnerships are therefore being promoted as the way forward. Notwithstanding the general acknowledgement that land is a prerequisite for any urban development strategy, surprisingly inadequate attention has been paid to collaboration plans in the arena of land development. Collaboration is more than a simple connection and contact among actors in the housing development. Rather, collaborations are:

- Dynamic and thoughtful routes, yet the associates are not vigorous in assuming responsibility, including stately regulations on land and rental fees.
- Procedures of operation composed in a communally codependent style, frequently with joint duties. The most fruitful collaborations are those in which each associate contributes something useful and gains access to something that it does not have from the other associate in the association;
- Shared programme and purpose, despite the interests, profits, and controls of the associates varying; and
- Connections in which accountability and transparency are vital.

The task of administration in motivating, empowering, and facilitating effective private sector initiative through a suitable policy agenda, rather than engaging directly in scheme operation, would assist in transforming the situation. Methods for proper private sector participation must also take into consideration the safeguarding of access to land for the urban poor and underprivileged segments, and affiliations must take account of inhibitions affecting several specific groups. Successful government-private collaborations would, therefore, need to include one or more public powers and private associates, to work jointly and achieve a mutually agreed objective within a particular structural framework established by the parties concerned, each absorbing its own uniqueness. This requires the parties involved to invest in resources and bear the risks of the development jointly and share revenues (Bacry, Sileshi, Admit 2009).

IV. Concluding Remarks

The real estate sector in Ethiopia is by default characterized as being in its early infant stage due to several factors. As the nation has passed many land reform policies since the notable Imperial regime led by Haile Selassie I, which
characterized the land for the bourgeois landlords by ignoring peasants and local farmers. After the overthrow of the government by the military junta called Derg, using the slogan “Land to the Tiller,” the aim was to provide the land to locals and distribute extra houses as per the tenets of socialist ideology. However, after the downfall of the Derg regime, with extensive and almost two decades of military operations from the North and the overtaking of the Arat Killo palace in 1991, the political and economic paradigm changed under the EPRDF led by Meles Zenawi, who was a prime supporter of a market-oriented economy. After reforms on major policy issues, land was liberalized, and the real estate sector opened for investment, with many developers engaging in the business. Besides, the sector has shown progress statistically over the previous twenty-five years, with a lot of challenges and prospects. The housing demand and supply still show a huge discrepancy, especially in metropolis areas, including the capital, Addis Ababa. In order to overcome this, the government of Ethiopia has designed several approaches based on the need, like constructing condos for fellow citizens who dwell in major cities, while the need has yet not been fulfilled by this supply. The construction sector has also been hit by inflation, and this problem creates difficulty for developers to deliver houses as per the agreement with customers. The main issues raised by scholars and researchers are that the housing issues in countries like Ethiopia need proper attention from the policy and strategy side, considering the likes of public-private partnerships and creating more space for private real estate developers.

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