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## **The Policy Paradox of Metropolitan Compact Development: The Historical and Socio-Cultural Dimensions in Addis Ababa's Modernization**

**By**

**Matiyas Bekele Fantaye**

**Chair of Urban and Regional Planning, Ethiopian Institute of Architecture,  
Building Construction and City Development (EiABC),**

**Addis Ababa University**

**Supervisors:**

**Dr. Tibebe Assefa (Assoc. Prof.) and Dr. Liku Workalemahu (Ass. Prof.)**

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**SIGNATURE PAGE**

**EiABC, Addis Ababa University**

This is to certify that the thesis prepared by Matiyas Bekele Fantaye, entitled: **The Policy Paradox of Metropolitan Compact Development: The Historical and Socio-Cultural Dimensions in Addis Ababa’s Modernization**, and submitted in fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Urban and Regional Planning) compiles with the regulations of the University and meets the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.

Signed by the Examining Committee:

<u>Dr. Tibebe Assefa (Assoc. Prof.)</u>	_____	_____
Supervisor	Signature	Date
<u>Dr. Liku Workalemahu (Ass. Prof.)</u>	_____	_____
Co Supervisor	Signature	Date
<u>Dr. Mathewos Assefaw Bekele</u>	_____	_____
External Examiner	Signature	Date
<u>Dr. Elias Yitbarek (Assoc. Prof.)</u>	_____	_____
Internal Examiner	Signature	Date
<u>Dr. Abunu Arega</u>	_____	_____
Chair Person	Signature	Date
<u>Dr. Dagnachew Adugna (Assoc. Prof.)</u>	_____	_____
Post-Graduate Office Director	Signature	Date

**DECLARATION**

I, the undersigned doctoral candidate, declare that this thesis is my own and original work, and has not been submitted for a degree in any other university and that all sources of material used for the thesis have been duly acknowledged, following the scientific guidelines of the University.

PhD Candidate's Name: Matiyas Bekele Fantaye

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_

Confirmation

The thesis can be submitted for examination with my approval as the Institute's supervisor.

Supervisor's Name: Dr. Tibebe Assefa (Assoc. Prof.)

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_

**The Policy Paradox of Metropolitan Compact Development: The Historical and Socio-Cultural Dimensions in Addis Ababa's Modernization**

Matiyas Bekele Fantaye, Addis Ababa University, July 2024

**ABSTRACT**

*The critiques of metropolitan modernization sideline the nexus of the global and national policy constraint for adapting socio-culturally sustainable and landscape-based models in the context of capital city planning. Addis Ababa's context is relevant due to its exemplary historical and contemporary cases: The earlier modernization endeavors fulfilled against the medieval model foundation of the traditional settlement have still continued devoid of a strong moral basis. This doctoral essay aims to argue that the Compact City policy intensified in the last two decades will have dire socio-cultural implications, owing to the city's radical image-building historical legacy as well as the global pressure. The criticism necessitated to meet three objectives: the first was to elaborate how the medieval traditions by which the city was formed resisted the early modernization trends (Westernization, capitalistic); whereas the second characterized the post-War architectural marvels from the international historical perspective. The third examined the current policy implications in relation to the previous two. For this purpose, a flexible multi-method and multiple case-studies research design was employed to generate the relevant data from primary and secondary sources, including historical documents, city plans, accessible (authoritative) evaluation reports, and site observations. The analogical induction between the main concern of the contemporarily adapted model of sustainability and the motives of the historical modernization policy infer the*

*problematic position of the diplomatic, capital city, as pressured to ambitiously look modern. In conclusion, such radical urban transformation drives (i.e. city image building obsession devoid of the optimal development rate) will undermine the local community, urban heritage conservation-based development as well as institutional resilience (capacity building). The insight is significant for the debate on the Sub-Saharan political economy of metropolitan modernity, suggesting the real intentions of the preference to certain types of 'sustainability' strategies, in addition to the predicaments of globalization (late capitalism) for equitable urban transition.*

**Key:** Metropolitan Modernization Sustainability, Historical-Institutional Challenges, Socio-Cultural Challenges, Addis Ababa City Plans, Urban Sustainability Models, Compact City Policy, Equitable Urban Transition

## MOTIVATION

The critiques of urban (planning) theory are often inspired by the researchers' own life experiences; mine is certainly the case. Motivated by the progression of my professional career in architecture and heritage conservation, I was frequently urged to inquire the moral economy basis of Addis Ababa's architectural modernity. The fact that this trend has continued for the whole century and that it has, I believed, looked down over the local community, has repeatedly left me with the question whether this urban phenomenon is a transitional time predicament or a recurrent, vicious cycle.

Fortunately, there were always good, critical instances to examine the whys and wherefores of these pickles: For more than a decade, I have in the first place lived in the various neighborhoods of the recently built modern condominiums, to witness the longitude of social life's transition from a bachelor to a husband and a father, passing through the diversified challenges and opportunities that these ambitious modernity projects produced. This also meant that living in the good-looking districts that ironically suffer from frequent electricity and water supply shortages, in addition to the dire waste management difficulties, while actually surrounded by even futuristic skyscrapers and well-furnished public spaces, under the ever increasing cost of living that push residents to the peripheries....

I have to admit, however, that I became more critical only after I was exposed to the bulk of critiques that already warned against such rapid modernization programs and mega-projects, often accomplished for global image-building reasons while spun by 'political-economy-induced' hastes and scales, and eventually heading to appallingly upset the local community.

My participation in the preparation of the 2017 city plan of Addis Ababa between 2014 and 2016 also widened my perceptions on the planning process, whereas my involvements with the Scientific Committees of ICOMOS International since 2019 has been instrumental in understanding the unavoidable role of the international level policymaking, not merely for reasons of the climate change or global security, but also for the development of the global south metropolis as equitable socio-cultural entity.

This dissertation is thus the outcome of all of these exposures and experiences, queries and quests, that led to critically approach Addis Ababa's modernization sustainability from the broader global perspective, for such is the spirit of criticism and academic striving, paving the way for more to investigate in the future, while assuring that all those involved in this process must be credited for the accomplishments, not for my mistakes.

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**LIST OF ACRONYMS**

AACPPO: Addis Ababa City Planning Project Office

AAPC: Addis Ababa Plan Commission

BHR: Building Height Regulation

HUL: Historic Urban Landscape

ICOMOS: International Council on Monuments and Sites

LDP: Local Development Plan

ORAAMP: Office for the Revision of Addis Ababa Master Plan

SP: Structure Plan (Urban)

UNESCO: United Nation Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

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# CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

## 1.0: Introduction

This introductory chapter exposes the essential elements of the research context and its rationale. The logical argumentation of the fundamental remarks can be abstracted as follows:

- (1) The General Premise (Abstraction): There is a policy paradox (a fallacy in the assumption of sustainability) with the global south metropolitan (capital city) modernization objective through the Compact City model because the model sidelines:
  - i) the international political pressure (diplomatic, geopolitical, global capitalism) and the national (security, economic) priorities, which envisions the urban context as predominantly political/diplomatic and macroeconomic entity, much less as socio-cultural; and
  - ii) the pressure for rapid modernization through large scale (mega-) projects undermine the very objective of energy efficiency and economic feasibility as well as the moral economy basis; whereas,
  - iii) Such a constraint is a threat for transitional social equity and the local community (social capital, participation, identity), discouraging the adoption of urban heritage conservation models or the cultural landscape-based approach of development (of the robust, holistic, social and physical urban fabric).
- (2) The Local Premise (Conceptualization): Addis Ababa as a capital city (as well as a primate and diplomatic hub) is a relevant case to concretely examine the Compact City fallacy (e.g. the metropolitan version of the model) because:
  - i) both of the historical and current policy contexts have urged rapid (often too radical) urban modernization policies; and
  - ii) Both of these contexts were severely criticized: for example, the post-War imperial modernization policy as of “façade and hollow”, whereas

the contemporarily undergoing large scale mega projects as of “violent”; and because,

- iii) Such criticisms have also marginalized the wider historical and global contexts, as well as the transitional dilemma associated with the adopted sustainability model (Compact City), envisioned through “Vertically-High-Density and Mixed Use, Corridor and Transit oriented Development”. In this regard:
- (3) The Hypothesis (the proposed theoretical approach to critically frame the urban problem) contained that there is a recurrence of capital city image building as an historical issue in the Ethiopian national policymaking predicament, while such historical urge for urban modernization projects must explain the true motives (political economy) of the contemporarily adopted metropolitan compact sustainability model. Consequently,
  - (4) The Main Objectives: the argument that ‘city image-building endeavors intensified in the last two decades have strong historical parallels implied from the national and international political developments’ necessitated to critically approach the policymaking trends through three interrelated phenomena, as well as case study units of analyses of :
    - i) the medieval tradition by which the city was established in connection with how the early modernization efforts were challenging as well as challenged by the traditional system; and
    - ii) The post-War modernization trends in the broader global political context, rather than merely based on the national regime changes;
    - iii) The contemporary sustainability model critically: socio-historically, structurally as well as analogically.
  - 5) The Central Argument: the analogy between the historical challenges and the current trend infer the problematic position of Addis Ababa as a diplomatic city pressured to ambitiously look modern, undermining urban heritage and the local community. In this regard, there is a moral economy challenge because: i) modernization-without-industrialization trend leads to global financial dependency, and ii) Global financial dependency for large scale infrastructure development leads to national debt crisis, which mainly affect

the majority of the poor with a vicious cycle of urban slumization and political image crisis that will again lead to rapid modernization, global financial dependency and national debt crisis.

- 6) The Significance: Such perspective is relevant to further examine the Sub-Saharan metropolitan modernization political economy as well as the planning model prejudice against locally available resources and community.

### **1.1. Background**

The policy paradox criticism with regard to the dilemmas of metropolitan planning objectives is very well established since Ebenezer Howard's Garden City model. There are also plenty of such urban planning model debates since the 1920s disputes of the protagonists and antagonists of urban decentralization and urban renewals, to the attack on urban postmodernism, notably, Jane Jacobs's critique on the complexity of development against the urban community. More recent aspects of this policy dilemma debate include the movements of the New Regionalists, urging urban planners to holistically as well as specifically examine the particularities of the city region (Fishman, 2000; Jacobs, 1961; Wheeler, 2002; see also Fainstein and DeFilipps, 2016 for the underling questions and diverse concepts in urban planning theory).

When it comes to the Compact City policy debate, several researchers argue for the values, motives and process of urban development rather than the urban form: "...the rush by cities and regions to win foreign investment and gain world status engenders aspirations for modernity and gigantism, while ignoring the sustainability of such forms" in addition to its appropriateness to developing countries (Jenks, 2000). In addition, the criticism emphasizes that "conceiving the city in terms of its form is neither necessary nor sufficient..., [as] process holds more promise in attaining the elusive goal of a sustainable city" (Neuman, 2005). In general, various aspects of the Compact City such as globalization, large scale infrastructure development, mass housing affordability, sprawl and environmental viability suggest fallacies (Jenks, 2000; 2003; 2005; Jenks, et. al., 2005; Neuman, 2005; van Niekerk, 2018; Wheeler, 2002)

Such a theoretical point of view also suggests that a general fallacy exists in the assumption of sustainability in the context of the global south metropolitan (capital city) modernization through the Compact City model. For example, there is a particular global south context that the model sidelines, such as the international political pressure (diplomatic, geopolitical) and the national (security, economic) priorities. These are significant when evaluated from the historical perspective of the post-War development miracle of several African countries, which envisioned their metropolis as political and economic entity to have soon experienced social crisis (see, for example, Bamba, 1976, for the West African mess). In fact, this predicament was stressed in the 2008 *Social Policy Framework for Africa*, which affirmed that: “social development is a goal by its own”, citing the undesirable social impacts of the 1960s and 70s large-scale infrastructural development boom. In this regard, the historically well-established predicament of rapid metropolitan modernization trend will most likely add up to undermine the very objective of energy efficiency and moral economy basis of the Compact City policy. Such is also a threat for social equity and the local community, and for the adoption of urban heritage conservation models or a cultural landscape approach of urban development (the robust, holistic social and physical fabric progress), as will further be discussed.

This background, therefore, justifies the need to know more about the nexus of the international and national political constraints for the preference and adoption of certain types of sustainability models over others in capital cities of the global south. In other words, what urges and costs a capital city to obsessively look modern rather than socio-culturally vibrant remains a question, while researchable from the historical planning perspective of the city, as well as in relation to the contemporary policy framework. Pertinent for this purpose is Addis Ababa’s case, owing both to its historical and existing policy contexts. Historically, the city was founded by indigenous planning model, while urban modernization programs were implemented regardless of these traditional foundation and institutionalization, which faced predicaments in at least two successive stages: In the first, the pre-Italian occupation period of urban modernization programs were neither appreciated by the majority of the urban community together with the conservative traditionalist elites (e.g. the unpopular capitalist model of municipal land reforms of the 1920s), nor was the traditional settlement pattern favorable for modern transportation system, as will later

be explained more (see also Johnson, 1974; Zewde, 1986; 1991; 2005). In the second, Addis Ababa's imperial (post-1941, or better said, post-War (Cold War), as will later become clear) metropolitan modernization trend was severely criticized as merely of "hollow architecture", which resulted from 'misguided motives' of "façade" and "defensive modernization" (Levine, 1960; 2007). The trend was even styled as a 'byproduct' of "survival modernization" that lacked any "cultural or material cause" (Kebede, 1994; 1999). Others added that the urban modernization policy was devoid of a strong moral economy basis, in that agricultural modernization was not prioritized, claiming that the rural hinterlands were marginalized (Kissi, 2000; Wolde-Mariyam, 1995).

When it comes to the last two decades policy of rapid metropolitan modernization of Addis Ababa as well, it is still as much as the subject of criticism, for which the city has undertaken intensive building, road and infrastructure constructions, including mass transit and mass housing provision. These interventions were also labeled as of "residential marginalization" (Mihretu & Geber-Egizabher, 2012), while also depicted as a form of "violent" and "radical urbanization" (Pedrazzini et.al., 2014). In addition, small-scale business firms were destroyed due to community relocation plans that subsequently led to the degeneration of social capitals (Asfaw, et.al., 2011; Keller & Mukudi-Omwami, 2017). Interestingly, such difficulties were also generally associated to Addis Ababa's 'unfortunate' setting in the national policy landscape of modernity, land reform and capital city challenges, as well as for motives of a middle class urban politics (see also, for example, Bonsa, 2012; 2013; 2017; Planel & Bridonneau, 2017; Wubneh, 2013; 2018).

There is thus a strong similarity between the historical and the current policy contexts of Addis Ababa's metropolitan modernization, additionally to the need to criticize the broader context of the capital city in the wider global frameworks, and of modernization theory, such as the adaptation and efficacy of sustainability models. In other words, the policy contexts that have since the post-War urged rapid (often too radical) urban modernization were criticized as limited to only the local (internal) challenge.

## 1.2. Problem statement

Addis Ababa as a capital city (as well as a primate and diplomatic hub) is, therefore, a relevant case to concretely examine the Compact City fallacy (e.g. the metropolitan version of the global south model, envisioned through “Vertically-High-Density and Mixed Use, Corridor and Transit oriented Development”), on top of that previous critiques have marginalized the wider historical global-local nexus, as also associated to the dilemma with the adoption of sustainability models.

An essential problem of capital city sustainability in the global south context is thus the examination of its urban planning model (e.g. Compact City) as linked to the historical modernization legacy (e.g. the predicaments of the Consumption City). For the purpose of such a holistic examination, the analyses had to comprise the historical urbanization of the city in relation to the international political developments, along with the contemporary trend and its sustainability model. This also meant to develop the chronological classification of the city based on the international political developments, rather than simply based on regime changes. Said this, more often neglected aspect is the challenge to differentiate Modern Addis from the Traditional one, in terms of the particular indigenous system. Besides this need for a clearer historical perspective, the current modernization policy and its particular Compact City approach had to be examined from the transitional equity (social sustainability) perspective. This also required a look at the historical modernization challenges against the traditional institutional setting (with its socio-cultural implications) on one hand, and the compatibility of such approach with urban heritage conservation models on the other hand.

A hypothesis was therefore proposed, which contained that the historical (urge for the) recurrence of capital city image building policies must explain the true motives (political economy) of the contemporarily adopted model. This argues against the socio-cultural advantages of the present policy, along with the dilemma associated with the existing international sustainability models (particularly with the Compact City strategy), as of rather a globalization predicament comparable to the postcolonial modernization endeavors of the 1960s and 1970s, but also of the post-War imperial trends in Addis, as will later be elaborated in detail.

### 1.3. The main objectives

The argument that the city image-building endeavors intensified in the last two decades have strong historical parallels, as relevant to the problem with the adaptation of sustainability models in the present, necessitated to theoretically frame, as well as historically examine, the policy challenge of the city. Additionally, such historical parallels, implicating that the ongoing mega projects will have dire socio-cultural impacts as a matter of the historical legacy, required explanations at various levels and through three main objectives that:

- i) examined the medieval tradition by which the city was established in connection with the early modernization efforts, which were challenging, as well as challenged, by the traditional system;
- ii) characterized the post-War modernization trends in the broader global political context rather than merely based on the national regime changes framework, while
- iii) Critically compared the present locally adapted Compact City model with the historical modernization parallels, to argue for the dire socio-cultural implications.

These main objectives also necessitated to clarify and articulate the associated relevant details by corroborating relevant sources at the relevant stages: In the case of the first, it was first necessary to understand the traditional (medieval) Ethiopian urban development frameworks, which were employed to regulate the foundation, urban formation and administration of the city, before erupted by the modernist reforms. This also included understanding the challenges of and for the early urban modernization trend, including the motives, the nature of the socio-physical fabrics and the institutional frameworks (elites, communities, values) of the early landscape, as well as the, the social impact and the legacy of the then modernist reforms.

In the second, the characterization of the post-War urban modernization trend urged to examine the nexus of the national and international political pressures beyond the nation's regime changes. This also meant to critically enquire the prominent post-War and Cold War turning points that affected the national modernization policy, as well as the capital city's development priorities and the true motives, in such a way that it could imply a lesson for the present.

Consequently, the third objective as central to the criticism of the thesis needed to meet two specific objectives related to the recent metropolitan modernization trend, notably the examination of the recent two city plans. These specific objectives were pursued in relation to the findings of the previous two main objectives, and in the framework of the sustainability model theoretical debate: What would the historical trends mean to the social and cultural implications of the present more ambitious metropolitan compact modernization policy? To what extent will the present Structure Plan of the city succeed in meeting the objective of socially-sustainable urban transition, and which components of the SP are critical in this regard? In this regard, the proposed BHR of the SP treated as a critical case in ensuring socio-cultural sustainability, as well as its compatibility to the other sustainable heritage development models.

#### **1.4. Research questions**

In other words, there are four main research questions:

- What was the pre-modernist traditional urban planning and institutional context of the early Addis Ababa?
- What was the motive of the post-War modernization policy of Addis Ababa, and its nature in the context of the broader global political setting?
- How did the historical legacy of the urban modernization trends affect the current metropolitan modernization planning (sustainability models)? And,
- What does this implicate to the socio-cultural stability and urban heritage of Addis Ababa?

#### **1.5. The significance of the study and limitations**

The main significances of this research are twofold: In the first instance, the compact urban development sustainability model debate will widen its paradigm to the global political economy of capital city planning in the global south. This is in fact due simply to the very conception of the very sustainability model. For example, Frantzeskaki et al., (2012) remarked that:

“Sustainable development is an open-ended process that challenges policymakers by proposing a development agenda that remains largely open; [as it] can translate differently in different contexts and societies, ... [its] definition is ambiguous about future needs, since these future needs are determined by cultural, ecological and economic developments that can be weighted in more than one way (Martens and Rotmans, 2002; United Nations, 1997), [though not] a concept devoid of content... [which] initiated both research and research-policy dialogue that has lasted for 30 years”.

In this regard, this thesis has outlined that the viability of sustainability models relies on the extent to which they consider the urban entity as a socio-cultural landscape, as well as the transitional equity. Furthermore, the issue addresses that capital cities of the global south need to carefully adopt development models, reaffirming the importance of global ideological consensus. This is also due simply to the very complex nature of globalization and the global capitalism paradox that leads to national debt crisis. For example, Zajontz (2021) argues that:

“The hegemonic infrastructure-led development regime [... has] sustained Africa’s financial dependency into the 2020s. As the International Monetary Fund is yet again shuttling between Addis Ababa, Lusaka, and Nairobi to resurrect fiscal discipline and to ensure debtor compliance for the post-pandemic ‘payback period’, it is argued that (i) periodic cycles of debt financing, debt distress and structural adjustment are a systemic feature of the mal-integration of Africa into the global capitalist economy, and (ii) critical research on the social costs and economic beneficiaries of renewed rounds of austerity and privatization in Africa’s current debt cycle is needed.”

In the second, the modernization critiques of Addis have to encompass the urban history of the city together with the global colonial and post-colonial African historical parallels. In other words, the modernization history of Ethiopia is inseparable to the wider colonial history of Africa, including the political economy and moral economy debates. This geographical aspect of development paradox illustrates the global status quo predicament, recalling Thomas Sankara (2019)’s “united front against debt.”

## **1.6. Limitations and delimitation**

It is worth to disclose here that some planned research projects were affected by several unforeseen temporal and financial circumstances including the corona pandemic, which broke out in the academic years of the doctoral program. Moreover, the increasing inflation and devaluation of the local currency had undermined the allocated research grant, which was already insignificant to almost nothing. As a result, some empirical investigations and publications were delayed, thus orienting the project fundamentally towards theoretical and critical research aspects. Some challenges were also successfully delimited by self-financing and research collaborations.

The limitations related to data generation to some extent arise from the nature of the overall research strategy, in which the multi-method case study research design required extensive resources as well as intensive assessments. In other words, the balance between conceptualization and investigation was the main difficulty. Thus, the historical analysis of artifacts and texts had to be conducted in-depth, while the policy case studies, were in-width, and yet a careful framing of relevant theories as well as the precise scoping of the criticism closed these gaps (of evidence substantiation). To this end, the professional experiences of the researcher in the previous city's planning project office, was instrumental.

## **1.7. Thesis organization and list of research papers**

The main body of the thesis is structured in seven chapters. The discussion part starts with chapter four that deals about the historical-institutional and technical aspects of the early urbanization and the subsequent modernization in the decades of the pre-Italian occupation. This chapter is a synthesis of two published articles (Paper 1 and 2) in addition to a critical synthesis and reflection on the city's historical foundation as supervised by the queen Empress Tayitu. Chapter 5, adapted from Paper 5, aims to narrate the post-War period challenges of Addis Ababa's urban modernization from

the global perspective. The following chapter 6 is dedicated to the assessment of the socio-cultural implications (a synthesis of Paper 3 and 4 with additional critical reflection), while Chapter 7 aims to discuss the concluding remarks.

### List of papers

- **Paper 1:** Some Aspects of Medieval Historic Town Management Tradition in the Book of Aksum. MB Fantaye, AG Beaman, A Patruno, CP Echter (2022); *Ethiopian Journal of the Social Sciences and Humanities* 18 (1), 145-156
- **Paper 2:** The Fibonacci Rectangles in Lalibela and Their Significance for the Reconstruction of the Vanished Cathedral of Aksum. MB Fantaye, T Assefa (2022); *Nexus Network Journal*, 1-21, 2022
- **Paper 3:** Urban Conservation Frameworks under a Compact City Policy: The 2017 Structure Plan of Addis Ababa and the Valletta Principles. MB Fantaye, T Assefa (2022); *CIVVIH Scientific Symposium Paper November 2022*
- **Paper 4:** The Public Space Dynamics in the Transitional Compact City: Addis Ababa's Spatial Plans from 2002 to 2022. M Fantaye, T Assefa (2022). *SSRN e-Journal*
- **Paper 5** (forthcoming): International Politics and the Political Economy of City Image Building in Addis Ababa: Decoding the Paradox of Radical Urban Modernization

### 1.8. Operational definition of key terms

- **Consumption City:** a city that advances its urban modernization policy through the import of expensive industrial imports (construction materials, machines, vehicles and fuels, etc.) by exporting cheap natural/agricultural products (coffee, oil seeds, minerals, etc.) leading gradually to national debt crisis.

- **International politics:** geopolitical, colonial, post-colonial and ideological political pressures that began with the history of modern Ethiopia with Tewodros II.
- **Medieval Spatial Model:** the pre-motorized transportation period model of urban settlement tradition that existed until the 1920s urban land reform and capitalistic municipal system.
- **Medieval period:** In this dissertation, it is used as a broader period encompassing the events between the foundation of the historic towns of Lalibela and Addis Ababa.
- **Metropolitan compact development:** the urban modernization trend that began with the 2002 Master Plan of Addis Ababa for urban decentralization and densification through mixed-use land use intensification, high-density mass housing and mass transit systems.
- **Modern period:** In this dissertation, it is used as a narrower period marked by the establishment of international embassies/legations following the Victory of Adwa.
- **Post-War period:** the urbanization trend that began with the end of the First World War, and ended with the collapse of the Soviet Union.
- **Socio-cultural instability:** any form of urban community instability that emerges from urban modernization, rapid rural migration, urban relocation and social capital degradation, social fabric and intangible heritage destruction, rapid change of urban landscape and public space, policy bias towards social protection and equity
- **Urban heritage conservation:** the conservation of the social and physical fabric of the urban landscape beyond the architectural and the tangible, as well as the instrument of community participation and social justice.
- **Urban (modernity) modernization:** Westernization or rapid transformation of urban landscape through large-scale infrastructure construction and architectural modernity.
- **Urban (planning) theory:** a critical approach to the history of urban planning and modernization model, much discussed owing to the crisis that followed the industrial revolution. In this thesis, the emphasis is on the particular problematization of urban sustainability models in the global south capital

cities in the framework of critical theory.

- **Urban critique:** a historical-theoretical approach to understand the urban modernization problem through a critical (social theory) research involving a variety of research methods as well as through the analogical induction (or simply analogy) of the historical trend to the current implications (based on primary and secondary evidences)

## CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

### 2.0: The Theoretical and Conceptual Frameworks (Abstraction and Conceptualization)

Key concepts and grand theories that underpin the metropolitan paradox (dilemma) critiques entail various perspectives and categories as well as the generalities and particularities related to history, geography and ideology. Such criticism of metropolitan planning are remarkable since Ebenezer Howard's Garden City model, including the 1920s disputes between the protagonists and antagonists of urban decentralization and urban renewal. The 1960s attack on urban postmodernism, notably since Jane Jacobs's notion of the complexity of development against the very urban community, has led to the recent forms of policy dilemma debate. This includes the movements of the New Regionalists that urge architects and urban planners to holistically as well as specifically examine the particularities of the city region (Fishman, 2000; Jacobs, 1961; Wheeler, 2002; see also Fainstein and DeFilipps, 2016 for the underling questions and diverse concepts in urban planning theory).

The literature review in this chapter emphasizes the relevant themes of the urban (planning model) theory debate, framed based on Addis Ababa's historical and current context. The city's problem is conceptualized in relation to the global perspective as well. The frameworks were thus developed as theoretical abstraction and local problem conceptualization, so as to facilitate the later elaborations in more concrete social and historical terms (see, for example, Harvey, 2022; Muncie, 2006).

## 2.1. The compact metropolitan modernization policy dilemma debate

### 2.1.1. *The Compact City transitional sustainability debate*

A precise definition of the Compact City is problematic, as strategic implementation aspects remain even more argumentative. The Compact City, as promoted by such international organization as the UN and OECD, is generally regarded as one with a compact spatial urban form, having dense and proximate land use patterns linked by public transport systems, so that public services, residence areas and jobs are as much accessible as possible. The strategic model fundamentally assumes that sprawl is mitigated, while energy waste and air pollutions are minimized with the compaction and intensification of building structures as well as public infrastructures by means of urban design approach aimed at vertical-densification of mixed land uses along with infill constructions, which involves high-density vertical construction and mixed-use development along mass transit corridors and inside activity nodes. Efficiency and accessibility are the two most vital concerns of the Compact City policy. Thus, urban mega projects are envisioned through transit-oriented and corridor-oriented development proposals (Jenks, 2000; Jenks, et.al., 1996; Jenks, et. al., 2005; OECD, 2012; Wheeler, 2002).

Several related researchers have also claimed the importance of densification/intensification within compact urban forms. For example, Jabareen (2006) presented a matrix of sustainable urban forms and densities; and Cheshmehzangi and Butters (2016) discussed the available options particularly for the lower income groups. Others argued for the significance of the ecological footprint, the length of infrastructure lines and the length of commutes, claiming on that the population density of cities and their compactness (urban footprints with more circular in shape) can contribute to mitigating climate change (Angel et al. , 2018; Holden, 2004). Thus, the assumption is that achieving a fair balance of employment and dwelling densities is important along with the provision of green and public spaces through the model of the high-rise business districts networked by mass transit systems in a walk-able distance (Jenks, 2000; Jenks, et. al., 2005; van Niekerk, 2018; Wheeler, 2002).

However, this model is controversial from the perspective of its actual implementation and transition. Neuman (2005), for example, argued “the compact city fallacy” in that: “conceiving the city in terms of its form is neither necessary nor sufficient to achieve the goals ascribed to the compact city. [...] Process holds more promise in attaining the elusive goal of a sustainable city”. According to Artmann et al., 2019, the complexity with such urban transitional dynamics is too difficult to manage because of the: “robust conceptualization and empirical evidence of...its specific spatial pattern<sup>1</sup>”. They add that:

“Urban systems are expanding at very fast rates as a complex and controversial issue of research. [...]. The need to manage urban sprawl and its manifold adverse consequences by promoting compact urban development and urban densification/re-utilization [...while] ensuring a high quality of life for urbanites demands integrative points-of-view for the types of compact development to promote, in particular regarding urban green spaces within densification processes. It is essential to consider the effects of compact development not only at larger scales, but also at neighborhood and household scales to pursue moderated and qualified densification [...]. Urban sprawl and compact green cities require adequate and robust multi-dimensional spatially explicit indicators to support urban planners and policy makers.

As will later be elaborated further, the housing affordability is already challenging the Sub-Saharan African before realizing the compact metropolis, which results from the very nature of the urban modernization planned through mega-projects. Under these circumstances, the housing problem is obliged to increase simultaneously with the increment of land and property value that will benefit from the opportunities with the mega-projects. Based on Jenks, 2000<sup>2</sup>, Kasim (2018) and Gurrán (2008), such paradoxes can be explained in certain critical phases of the urban dynamics. First, the land value of an urban area under rapid development increases with the new locational advantage with the higher population density. Then, (b) the subsequent

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<sup>1</sup> In this regard, Addis Ababa’s very modernization in relation to its morphological origin in the medieval model needs careful examination, as is the purpose of Chapter 4.

<sup>2</sup> “...the rush by cities and regions to win foreign investment and gain world status engenders aspirations for modernity and gigantism, while ignoring the sustainability of such forms.”

policy will aim to exploit the market advantage from the population increase, intensifying the commercialization of the residential neighborhoods. Next, the commercial businesses will create the flow of more people (largely the working class from far) to work in the area, as opposed to the relatively fewer business projects (largely the high-middle class people who wish to stay there). Later, house rent becomes expensive or otherwise congested and slumized. Consequently, the objectives of the Compact City for providing affordable housing and accessible infrastructures will end to cause economic crisis as well as socio-cultural insecurity.

### *2.1.2. A Compact-Consumption City fallacy: pseudo-industrial urban modernization*

The impact of metropolitan compact development can be much worse in developing countries, whose cities are centers of predominantly consumption and cheap labor, undertaking rapid rural migration and urbanization without any significant progress on industrialization (Gollin et al., 2016; Jedwab, 2013). Gollin et al., 2016, for example, argued that the urbanization of developing countries should be differentiated from industrialization, and characterized them as Consumption Cities. Consumption Cities are dependent on the export of cheap natural resources (mainly agricultural products) so as to import expensive industrial products that will largely serve the metropolitan modernization agenda. Shivji (2009, 59, cited in Zajontz, 2021), for example, characterizes such modernization context as the “disarticulation between the structure of production and the structure of consumption. What is produced is not consumed and what is consumed is not produced.” Such urbanization will eventually face social and economic unsustainability as a matter of the national debt crisis resulting from the export-import imbalance. According to Zajontz (2021), for example:

“States like Angola, Cameroon, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Nigeria, Republic of Congo and Zambia have since struggled to service their external debts, both Chinese and non-Chinese in origin [... which] has been fuelled by ‘infrastructure-led development’, which is promoted by a ‘global growth coalition’ that advocates ‘financing and financializing infrastructure’ to get African ‘territories right’ for their seamless integration into global markets.” (Zajontz, 2021).

Such financial crisis owing to the structural transformation failures will have to be paid back through ‘detrimental’ structural adjustments policies, as was historically witnessed (see, also, African Union, 2008a; Bamba, 1976; Zajontz, 2021). In this regard, what remains as a fallacy of the Compact City model is the global financial predicament for large scale infrastructure development in the context of the Consumption City, as is evident from the case of housing unaffordability.

Housing unaffordability in the context of the Consumption City is associated to such dependency on the import of expensive construction materials that are not produced domestically. This has been the case with mass housing development planned as governmental mega-projects, together with the other large scale infrastructures vital for compact development, which will eventually face financial challenges and delayed progress as well as low investment returns because of the rapid pace of transformation that lack the necessary industrialization. In the short run, such metropolises appear to benefit from the mega-projects, owing to the rapidly expanding services as well as the exploitation of cheap labor from rural migration. In the long run, however, the rural migration will gradually stimulate informal urban sprawls and ‘illegal’ means of land acquisition.

This is interesting in that several metropolises in the Sub-Saharan Africa are rapidly sprawling (both formally and informally) on account of the housing challenge, in contrary to their governments’ effort for low-cost mass housing development. For example, Kasim (2018) discussed the challenges that Lagos, a megapolis in Nigeria, faced in the aftermath of the low cost mass housing projects. The large-scale construction trend through cheap labor work force resulted in the attraction of rapid rural migration. In the end, the condition of the residential districts gradually turned to that of a kind of a slum. This case is exemplary of the urban policy paradox: The government actually planned for high-density development mass-housing programs intended to be affordable, and yet the scale was so large that it demanded much cheap labor from the rural areas, with the subsequent urban dynamics ending up in further rural migration and slumization.

It is thus important to underline the basic fallacy of such urban modernization through mega-projects favored by the Compact City model in the industrially underdeveloped regions---the anticipation of rapid and large-scale infrastructure by importing expensive industrial products, while exploiting cheap labor for the sake of affordable

housing to the majority of low-income groups, is certainly a policy paradox deeply structured in the international political economy crisis (see also, Cox, 1995; Gollin et al., 2016; Zajontz, 2021).

*2.1.3. The promotion of urban heritage conservation and a culture sensitive planning approach for social equity*

On top of the said local translation challenge of the Compact City lays another fundamental question linked to urban heritage conservation, social equity and transitional sustainability: The planning of sustainable urban transition must be examined in light of the compatibility of certain urban sustainability models, such as the Compact City and the Historic Urban Landscape Recommendation<sup>3</sup>. For example, the 2011 Historic Urban Landscape Recommendation by UNESCO as well as the cultural-landscape-based approaches of urban development in general (Bandarin & van Oers, 2012; 2015; van Oers & Roders, 2012; Veldpaus, 2015; UNESCO, 2011; 2016)<sup>4</sup> prioritize environmental and social protection. The purpose is that, strategically as well as tactically, cities as holistic social, economic and environmental entity can benefit from the conservation of urban heritages, integrating both of the tangible as well as the intangible, the physical and social fabrics. Thus, architects and urban planners have increasingly inclined towards embracing the landscape-based approach of metropolitan planning since the 1990s professional activism, which gained momentum with movements such as the New Urbanism and the New Regionalism (Wheeler, 2002).

The 2011 *Valletta Principles for the Safeguarding and Management of Historic Cities, Towns and Urban Areas* (the Valletta) was developed in this context. Yet it is the most internationally recognized policy as UNESCO adapted it as the *Historic Urban Landscape* (HUL) recommendation in the same year. Both versions promote a landscape approach of urban heritage conservation as an integral element of the

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<sup>3</sup> In this regard, Chapter 6 further examines the particular planning context of Addis Ababa.

<sup>4</sup> The cultural landscape model is also well established in the NEW URBAN AGENDA framework, despite the dedication of some UN bodies with certain development approaches as preferable over others.

broader urban planning framework, which was already established in the 1987 Washington Charter (ICOMOS 1987; UNESCO 2016; Wheeler 2002; OECD 2012). According to Veldpaus and Roders (2014):

“development pressures in urban areas reinvigorated the need for understanding and protecting the urban landscape as a social construct [as] an important part of (inter)national, regional, and local identity, as well as morphology, history, and memory [...] what experts would now call a landscape-based approach, an approach that reconsiders, reuses, and retains heritage not only from an object perspective, but also from a cultural, socioeconomic, ecological, and urban perspective [...] as a driver for sustainable development. Thus, departing from a strong intolerance to change, change is now being managed using heritage as a driver for urban development [...] to simulate the integration of heritage management into the larger framework of urban development through its socioeconomic and urban policies.”

The notion of urban heritage is thus different from the architectural one in that local community participation is at the center. Culture and heritage conservation must play a significant role in the process of urban modernization to ensure social equity and public participation through landscape-based approaches at many layers: “A holistic integration of planning specialties for the broader context of the urban landscape as redefined by the normative activism of planners” (UNESCO, 2011) is necessary for maintaining social and cultural capitals, as well as urban heritage at the very center of the very urban modernization process, serving as a tool as well as indicator of sustainability (UNESCO, 2011; UNGA, 2015).

Such a model is clearly significant from the historical perspective of the post-colonial African predicament--that was the 1960s and 70s infrastructure-development-led rapid modernization success that seemed a miracle to simply deteriorate soon after (see also Bamba (1976)'s African Paradox of Modernization). This mess is also emphasized in the 2008 *Social Policy Framework for Africa*, which affirms the role of culture for equitable development: “social development is a goal by its own”. This Framework mentions these undesirable post-colonial social impacts from the large-scale infrastructural boom as a lesson for the contemporary development planning. The following 2012 *National Social Protection of Ethiopia*, though somewhat

equivocally, is also concerned with the same social difficulties of rapid urbanization (African Union, 2008a; 2008b; MOLSA, 2012; Wright and Noble, 2010).

At the core of the landscape-approach is the notion that culture should play the role of the fourth pillar of sustainability so that the social, the economic and the environmental ones can be harmonized and integrated firmly. However, the difficulty for local adaptation was already stated in the Valletta in explicit terms:

“Questions around the role of landscape as common ground, or conceptualizing the townscape, including its topography and skyline, as a whole, seem more important than before. Another important modification, particularly in fast- growing cities, takes into account the problems of large-scale developments, which alter the traditional lot sizes that help to define historic urban morphology.” (ICOMOS, 2011)

As noted earlier, the situation of the Consumption City undermines urban conservation as well as Cultural Landscape approach. Rather, the compact city approach of urban development is preferred in such contexts because rapid rural migration leads to urban sprawl and the degradation of inner-city neighborhoods. Thus, the existing urban growth management practices prioritize population densification and construction intensification. This model assumes the city as a physical form that should be transformed for a more efficient consumption of the available resources (i.e., in principle). In practice, it will nonetheless ignore heritage as a resource, as well as the urban landscape, as cultural entity, undermining the social fabric that entails its values of authenticity and integrity with the integration of the intangible, social capital of a place, through which public participation and social equity are ensured.

### *Summary*

The theoretical abstraction of the metropolitan modernization policy paradox involves four inter-related social phenomena (trends), which rooted in the historical planning dilemmas (the social mess resulted from unanticipated transitional dynamics). Accordingly, the analogy implicates a fallacy with the recent sustainability models that ignore the pressuring global context as a challenge, as illustrated in Fig. 1.

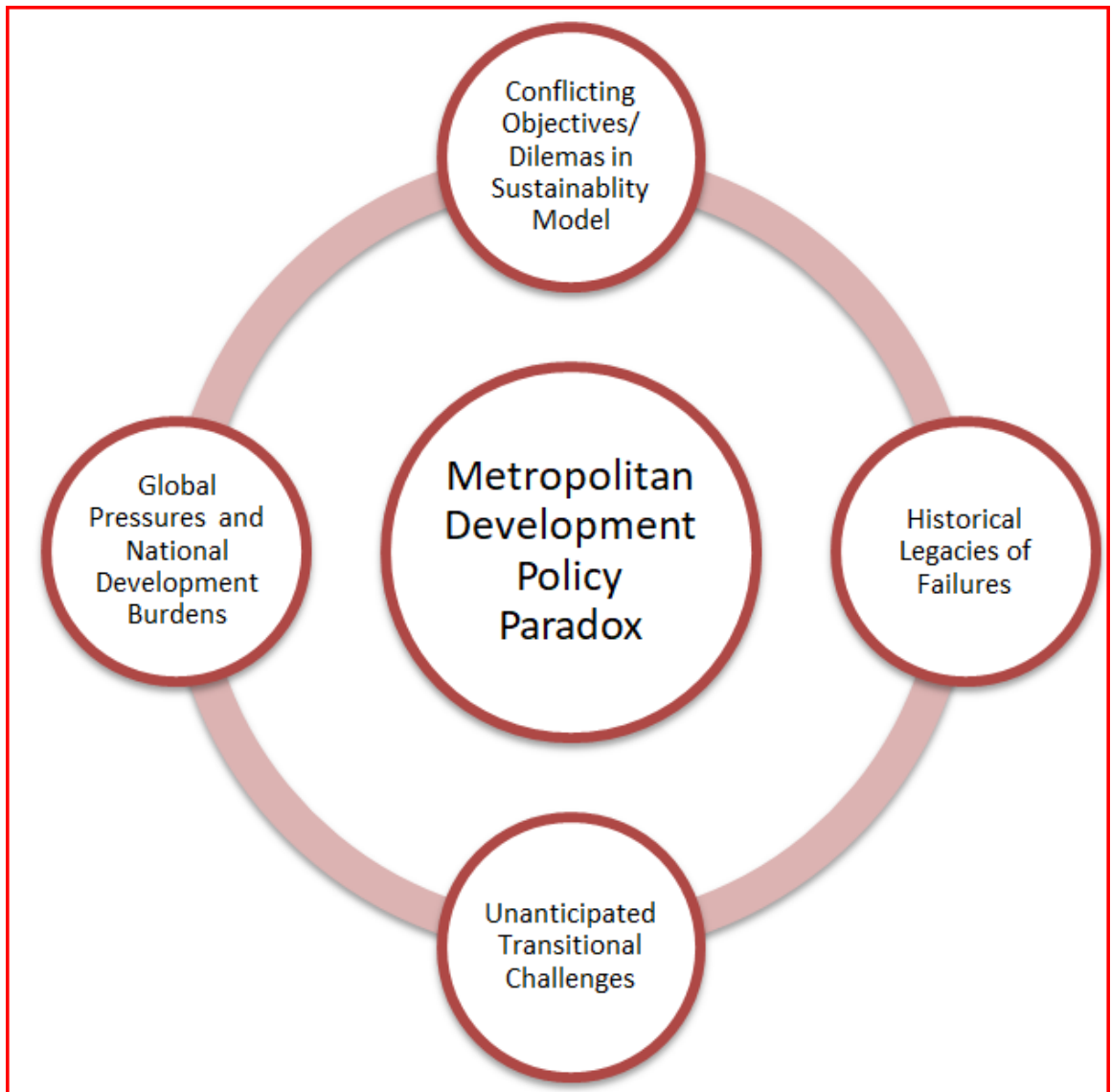


Figure 1 a theoretical abstraction of the metropolitan policy paradox

## 2.2. A socio-historical conceptualization of the modernization sustainability challenge

### 2.2.1. An overview of the contemporary urban planning trend

The last two decades have witnessed the rapid metropolitan modernization of Addis Ababa: The city has undertaken intensive building, road and infrastructure constructions, including a dramatic population increase, challenging the urban management, administration and housing provision (ORAMMP 2002). As showed in

Table 1, Addis Ababa became a chartered City Government in 1995, while continued as a diplomatically significant primate capital city of since its establishment in 1886. Large scale construction projects and the rural migration that took place subsequently have since then contributed for the rapid urbanization and growth of the city, with a population increase that reached more the two millions in the 1990s (ORAMMP 2002).

Consequently, the 2002 Master plan provided a framework for urban decentralization (through ten Sub-cities) in addition to large-scale mega-projects of mass housing and mass transit systems. In 2006, the Addis Ababa City Road Authority (funded by the World Bank) revised the mass transportation project as the *Comprehensive Transportation Master plan- Addis Ababa 2020*, which modified the LRT (Light Rail Transit) and BRT (Rapid Bus Transit) projects. The recommendation included pedestrian facilities development including an immediate improvement plan for the East-West corridor and a traffic management plan for the Merkato area (AACPPO & ONLY-LYON, 2012). A decade later, the trend was officially evaluated as challenging for future integration of transportation with the land use system, describing the city as one in dire need of the “coordination of the mass transit network and urban development” (AACPPO & ONLY-LYON, 2012).

According to this evaluation report (AACPPO & ONLY-LYON, 2012), “The 2002 City Development Plan has been implemented for the whole ten years. During the first eight years, the degree of implementation of the different issues varied greatly from rather good (transportation, housing, etc.) to rather weak (centrality, etc.)”. The Report thus suggested for compact and polycentric goals. Later, in 2014, the urban modernization trend was clearly diagnosed and recommended by the Master Plan Revision Office (i.e., AACPPO, now the Addis Ababa Plan Commission) to further expand development through compact urban centers and corridors. Before its political termination after a brief turmoil, the project was initially an Integrated Regional Development Plan that included five satellite towns and rural *Woredas* (districts) in the surrounding regional state (AACPPO, 2017; Alem, 2021).

In 2017, the City Council adopted the new Structure Plan as effective for a period of a decade (proclamation NO. 49/2017), which proposed a policy of mixed-use densification and intensification, termed as “Vertical and High-Density Mixed Use Development” through a flexible growth management strategy that is “easier for

implementation”. The SP thus devised a comprehensive Building Height Regulation (BHR) to control the bulk of building construction and residential density according to certain designated metropolitan zones (AACPPO, 2017). The policy vindicated that a building intensification approach around the development corridors and urban district centers was vital for the on-going large scale mass housing and mass transit projects by integrating them through a transit-oriented high-density and vertical mixed-land use strategy.

This policy aims at ensuring hierarchical development of urban centers in several districts according to their classification as primary, secondary and tertiary level service provision status. As will be further elaborated in chapter six, interestingly more remarkable is the prioritized component of the SP, proposed as the “Main City Center” (modernization) LDP (local area development plans or proposals for mega projects that aim to build the city image of central business and administrative districts with world class skyscrapers and ambitiously designed parks and public spaces.

**Table 1 an outline of metropolitan political and legal development overview**

<b>Chronology</b>	<b>Development Trend</b>
1995-2001	Addis Ababa as a City Government (FDRE Constitution article 85); Rapid Urban Construction ad Area Growth;
2002-2007	administrative decentralization and urban renewals; mass housing programs; post-election crisis; mass transit programs delayed;
2008-2013	Federal Planning Proclamation no. 574/2008 limits structure plans to ten years; Grand Transformation Plan (GTP 1) and mega projects initiated; Regulation No. 43/2011 for the city plan revision of Addis; AACPPO and LYON evaluated the 2002 Master Plan;
2014-2016	A new SP for coordinating developments toward Vertical and High Density & Transit-oriented goals initiated and proposed;
2017-2022	Proclamation no.49/2017; City Plan Commission to monitor implementation; political turmoil; New leadership and government reform; measures to control the rebellious group in northern Ethiopia; National election took place;

(Source: Adapted from AACPPO and LYON, 2012; AACPPO, 2017)

### 2.2.2. *The contemporary modernization challenge*

From the urban sustainability model perspective, such a policy of intensive urban (largely architectural) modernization falls under the category of the Compact City model, a version that is mostly promoted in developing countries. However, as noted

earlier, the true motive of such countries for adopting this particular model suggests objectives other than the urban energy efficiency agenda acclaimed by the developed countries; in contrast, it appeals more for the intention of advertising a city image of modernity for the global spectators. In fact, the post-2002 developments of the city have been criticized strongly as of “residential marginalization” (Mihretu & Geber-Egizabher, 2012), while other authors pointed out that small-scale business firms were disadvantaged by community relocation and social capital degeneration that accompanied the urban renewal projects (Asfaw et. al., 2011). In addition, this predicament of the local business, community, as well as the relocation process was styled as of “violent” form of urbanization (Pedrazzini et.al. 2014; see also Keller & Mukudi-Omwami, 2017; Wubneh, 2013; 2018).

The sustainability criticism of Addis Ababa in this regard necessitates to examine the recent two decades of spatial policy developments in terms of the gaps of the Compact City strategy, but also in relation to the urban heritage conservation or the cultural landscape approach. This is particularly important for Addis Ababa in that the 2012 National Social Protection of Ethiopia affirms the role of culture for equitable urban development. As will be further elaborated in Chapter 6 and 7, the much criticized socio-cultural predicament will be aggravated for several reasons including the global-local constraint nexus.

### *2.2.3. The historical modernization challenge*

In this regard, the socio-cultural dilemma of the popular sustainability models, particularly of the Compact City strategy that entails an ‘urban renewal’ as well as an intensive infrastructure-development-led urban modernization approach, is comparable to the globally witnessed postcolonial metropolitan modernization endeavors of the 1960s and 70s. Interestingly, the cotemporary trends of the city in fact meaningfully align with historical parallels in the imperial post-1941 modernization policy. Notable incidents in the late imperial city include the construction of modern high-rise buildings and apartments, the decentralization into five municipalities, as well as the preparation of a vast number of development proposals including for mass transit (LRT), most of which were not accomplished. The

accomplished ones had nonetheless better efficacy as compared today, as will later become clear (see, also, Levin, 2016).

However, the imperial modernization policy on the nation and its capital city has been severely criticized since the 1960s, as one too paradoxical. For example, the capital city's modernization was labeled as one of a "mythical, façade progress" that merely comprised "hollow architecture" (Levine, 1961), while the nation's, as of a "defensive modernization", as was also lastly remarked by Levine (2007). Furthermore, such 'bold' characterizations as of a "survival modernization" (Kebede, 1994; 1999) and as one devoid of a moral economy basis were also indicative of the Western diplomatic position of the post-colonial and Cold War period in relation to the Imperial Government of Ethiopia/IGE (Kissi, 2000). In addition, this Catch-22 with the modernization policy (of the IGE) was associated to the very failure in the very conception of the national modernization agenda that began since the emperor Tewodros II (see, for example, Kebede, 1994; 1999; Zewde, 1991; 2002). Further elaborations in the context of the wider national and global historical context are the objectives of chapter 4 and 5.

### *Summary*

In conclusion, the examination of the wider historical context is important due to certain similar aspects of the current mega-projects, as well as categorical nature of the capital as a Consumption City in light of the global context: A rapidly urbanizing and modernizing metropolis unmatched by the appropriate level of industrialization and structural transformation. Discussed earlier was that Addis Ababa can be regarded as a hub of 'consumption', rather than 'production', in that very expensive industrial products are more 'consumed' (imported goods construction materials, machines, vehicles, fuels, etc., for the sake of the city's modernity) than the 'city' can 'produce' (or export in exchange to balance its consumption), which is in contrast due to the country's relatively very cheaper agricultural/mineral exports. As will later become clear, housing unaffordability will have to continue as a critical challenge because the construction sector has largely depended on the exploitation of cheap labor and higher as well as governmental budgetary support, leading to increase the national debt crisis.

For the purpose of this dissertation, the current urban modernization ‘sustainability’ model is styled as a ‘metropolitan compact development’ policy, as characteristic of the local policy of capital city planning and the development trend. As noted earlier, a paradox exists in the examination of the policy from the perspective of its actual implementation (transitional social sustainability). Based on this theoretical abstraction (i.e. metropolitan modernization sustainability paradox), a conceptualization of Addis Ababa’s challenge was proposed (deconstructed and reconstructed historically from the global and social structure perspective), as illustrated in Fig. 2 (based on Fig. 1.). It shows the main components of the investigation for concrete examples in the case of the city (the essentials of the criticism), through the substantiation of historical and contemporary, as well as the local and global challenges.



Figure 2 a conceptualization of Addis Ababa’s modernization sustainability challenge

## CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

### 3.0: The Research Design and Critical Approach

This methodological section aspires to first introduce the overall research strategy, which assumed the essential nature of the central argument of thesis as a category of urban planning theory pursued in critical research, and which thus led to propose a flexible multi-method multiple case studies approach. It also presents how the selection of cases were made for study, as well as the data generation and validity issues, for the purposes of the critical approach toward the research questions.

#### 3.1. The overall research design strategy

Urban (planning) theory studies including the examination of sustainability models (e.g. local adaptation efficacy, praxis) necessitate flexible and multi-method research methodology. This is commonly employed in critical (social) research designs because the critical enquiry is more important as a process than the data collection techniques. To critically approach the modernization sustainability of a capital city (e.g. the policy paradox of the metropolitan compact development in Addis Ababa) means to research and enquire the trend socio-historically as well structurally. According to Harvey (2022), for example, “What is involved is a process of deconstructing a dominant understanding and reconstructing an alternative understanding that lays bare the social and historical interrelationships.” He adds that:

“The elements of critical social research methodology are not simple building blocks that can be built up into a solution [... as] a mere theoretical exercise but involves a dialectical process grounded in empirical evidence. [...It is] a way of approaching the empirical world that necessitates addressing the interrelationship between data, theory, epistemological presuppositions and socio-political context. [... The] method of collecting data [such as] official statistics, surveys, document analysis, media analysis, in-depth interviewing, participant and non-participant observation have all been used to different degrees...”

This meant that the crucial themes of the local policy paradox (i.e. the Compact City) had to be redefined critically (structurally and historically as well from other critical perspectives), which included the examination of traditional planning models, historical and current modernization trends, social impacts and alternative sustainability models, in addition to political economy basis. As elaborated later, this purpose of searching for concrete examples was served by a multi-method and multiple case studies research design strategy (Harvey, 2022; Munice, 2006; see also Fainstein and DeFilipps, 2016).

Because the operationalized research questions fell under conceptual and applied the categories of researches, they urged to generate descriptive, explanatory and prescriptive types of data, which were finally approached critically. To this end, a multi-method and multiple case-studies research approach was designed for the purpose of investigating and triangulating the macroscopic and microscopic level of the urban setting, as well as the historical and the current trends including the social and the structural. The accomplishment of conducting such several research projects to meet the three main objectives thus employed several tactics including historical documents, city plans, evaluation reports, site observations and case-studies, through independent research designs required to meet the specific operationalized questions (see, for example, Farthing, 2016; Groat and Wang, 2013; Fainstein and DeFilipps, 2016; Harvey, 2022; Munice, 2006; Turabian, 2007).

### 3.2. The selection of cases, units of analysis and logical argumentation

The investigation on the socio-cultural implications of the present metropolitan development trend necessitated to consider various thematic and spatial aspects. The major components included the four critical dimensions mentioned in the conceptual framework, namely: the historical-institutional, the global-national, socio-cultural and contemporary urbanization dimensions. These dimensions are also related to different cases and units of analysis, which can be grouped into three:

- i) The case of the pre-modern Ethiopian historical urbanization (units of analysis included the medieval Aksum, Lalibela, and the early Addis Ababa urban landscape s),
- ii) The case of the city's historical modernization legacies (units of analysis included the Early, the Modernist, and Socialist period approach of Addis Ababa's modernization), and
- iii) The case of the contemporary urban planning of the city (units of analysis included policy documents, evaluation reports, residential neighborhoods, public spaces as well and stakeholder).

The main unit of analysis included the issue with the present planning trend (mainly, the SP and the related policy documents) in relation to the historical legacy (traditional settlements, modernization motives and challenges). The examination of the historical modernization challenge related to the early landscape of required a wider urban historical characterization of medieval Ethiopia. For this purpose, the cases of medieval Aksum and Lalibela were selected because of the availability of various types of historical documents including texts and artifacts, in addition to their relevance the medieval spatial (planning and management system) model, particularly to the traditional policy (*Ser'ata Mangest*) by which the empress Tayitu is believed to have applied it when founding the city.

In this regard, the analysis of various historical sources included texts, artifacts, sites and historical drawings and photos of various periods and places, historic roles (social structures, actors and legends, which shaded light on the historical institutional context of the early urbanization and modernization of Addis Ababa. The analysis of the pertinent present policy data involved the city plans, relevant monographs, accessible national and international evaluation reports, which were complemented by

site observations (semi-ethnographical) to develop a new critical perspective on Addis Ababa's social sustainability predicament on one hand, and the Sub-Saharan capital city planning paradox on the other.

In addition, the sampling of major cases of the case study involved two broader categories of thematic and spatial of investigations and examinations, which were consistently framed by analogical induction.

- A. The thematic category of examination was limited to historical issues from various periods such as medieval models, traditional institutions, cultural landscapes, and the historical legacy of urban modernization failure/success) and theoretical issues (sustainability models, urban heritage, social protection, modernization and socio-cultural stability). The details include: i) the traditional urbanization of Ethiopia; ii) the traditional foundation and urbanization of Addis Ababa; iii) the early modernization of Addis Ababa before the Italian Occupation; iv) the imperial and socialist period of urban modernization (1945-91); v) the recent metropolitan modernization trend that began with the 2002 Master Plan; vi) the social implication of present legally-binding Structure Plan including its envisioned Compact City scenarios;
  
- B. The spatial category of examination was limited to sites of thematic relevance within and outside Addis Ababa. Though the main case-study are was the city of Addis Ababa, the spatial framework of the investigation about was broader than the city, involving its historical institutional development that was inferred from the medieval towns in northern Ethiopia, in relation to peculiar modernization incidence. Relevant sites for developing insight on the traditional urbanization frameworks included: i) the historic town of Aksum in relation to its institutions for the management and preservation of the landscape of the historic cathedral; ii) the traditional wisdom involved with the historical design and construction of the rock hewn churches of Lalibela and the sacred landscape, which was assumed in relation to the medieval policy document of urban planning and foundation of the city by the Queen; and iii) the traditional institutional foundation and evolution of the old centers in Addis Ababa; iv) the quality of the recent residential areas and the dynamics of the public space modernization.

C. The logical argumentation of the investigations/examinations was framed by analogical induction. The general questions were approached critically: socio-historically, structurally and theoretically, i.e. a historical perspective was used to meet the general objective through inferences from the past events and supported by the relevant theoretical lens. This approach justified and provided a criticism framework of the recent development trends, which were characterized as a form of extensive urban modernization through intensive constructions based on the relevant theoretical debate.

### 3.3. Types of sources, techniques of data generation and analysis

#### 3.3.1. Sources and data generation

The primary and secondary sources have two main categories: historical and social (policy) documents. Such a socio-historical examination and case-studies of Addis Ababa, Aksum and Lalibela encompassed primary, empirical spatial surveys comprising aided and unaided site observations, whereas the historical case study on Aksum included analysis of relevant primary medieval texts.

**Table 2 primary sources, techniques of data generation and analysis**

No	Primary sources	Data generation techniques	Remarks
1	Old centers and public spaces in Addis Ababa	Aided (recordings) and unaided site observations (semi-ethnographic analysis)	Used as complimentary data for corroborations with secondary sources; see Table 3.
2	Residential neighborhoods in Addis	Aided (recordings) and unaided site observations (semi-ethnographic analysis )	
3	The design of the historic landscape of Lalibela	Site survey (qualitative/quantitative) and architectural documentation; geometric, thematic analysis	The findings from these sources were published as (Papers 1 and 2) major contributions for understanding the medieval spatial planning and management traditions. See also the annexed materials.
4	The traditional town management themes of the <i>Book of Aksum</i>	Textual analysis and historical commentary on the Ethiopic manuscript	
5	The Final draft Summary Report of the	Critical review of themes/concepts,	These three primary sources were examined as

	Structure Plan of Addis Ababa: 2017 -2027	contents/topics in relation to the general practice, challenges and prospects of outcomes	complements to one other, as well as for methodological triangulation necessity. This accounts for the overall critical research process guided by the relevant theories/development models. See also Table 4 for further information.
6	Informants from the Addis Ababa Plan Commission	Structured and semi-structures interviews with experts; frequent informal discussions and updates on certain implementation aspects	
7	Public and expert opinions	Structured and semi-structures interviews with experts; informal discussions with community members	

(Source: Own)

In addition to the details of primary data listed in Table 2, Table 3 presents the secondary data as complement and for corroborations with the primary ones. See also the design validity section for the strength of the internal and external consistency of sources.

**Table 3 secondary sources, techniques of data generation and analysis**

No	Secondary sources	Data generation techniques	Remarks
1	Old photographs of the early centers and neighborhoods of Addis Ababa and other towns	Assessment of the social and morphological evolutions mostly from the monograph by Giorghis and Gerard (2007), as well as from the Imperial Municipal Magazine <i>Mestawut</i>	These complemented the traditional historical-institutional data generated from the primary researches.
2	<i>The Order of Kingdom</i> (the Ethiopic <i>Se'rata Mangest</i> )	Critical review of the translation works and commentaries	
3	Relevant Literature and monographs; (modernization history and theory) by Bahru Zewde, Donald Levine, Edward Kissi, Mesay Kebede, Shimelis Bonga, Samuel Huntington; (urban theory ad sustainability model) ICOMOS 2011; UNESCO 2011; 2016; OECD 2012;	Critical synthesis and logical argumentation of concepts as well as reclassification of notable historical periods;  Critical reflections on the early urbanization and post-War modernization trend in Addis Ababa and Ethiopia.	The 1986 Centenary Addis Ababa Scientific Symposium Papers and the monograph by Garretson also guided the selection of contents in the subsequent literature review.

4	Accessible policy evaluation reports and documents from several federal authorities and international bodies including legal documents and proclamations	Critical review/analysis of themes/concepts, contents/topics in relation to the general practice as well as the present Structure Plan. Most of them are can be downloaded from the internet	Excluded from the reference list are those written in Amharic and the numerous Proclamations of the Federal <i>Negarit Gazetta</i> ?
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(Source: Own)

### 3.3.2. The historical sources and their particular study design

The historical primary and secondary sources have three main categories in terms of their particular research design, elaborated as follows:

- i) The historical artifacts: these included the various kinds of first-hand documents consisting of architectural monuments. The architectural survey of the historical site of Lalibela was conducted through a particular research design, which involved the geometrical analyses of seven photogrammetrically rendered orthogonal views, selected from three churches that were externally recorded: St. George (Biete Ghiorgis) was the research focus, whereas St. Emmanuel (Biete Ammanuel) and St. Mary (Biete Mariam) were selected for corroboration purposes. The criteria included the outstanding shape (famous for its cruciform basilica,) with the former, as well as symmetry and exceptionality (a two-bay entrance portico) with the latter two structures. As free-standing monoliths, they were conveniently recorded photogrammetrically inside the narrow trenches, adding relevant details with a horizontal and vertical precision of 99.94% and 99.86% respectively, for the purpose of producing relevant orthogonal renderings from any desired angle, with the help of fifteen graduating architecture students that conveniently used smart phone cameras adjusted with grid screen (74.9% alignments of consecutive while revolving around 360° to 405° and elevating over 90° to 180° from a distance of 2 to 8 m).

Agisoft PhotoScan Professional was used to render the 3D models in average capacity computers (16 GB RAM), which had undergone almost

all phases of the ‘Workflow’ (i.e., the point/dense cloud, mesh and texture building). Also, re-recording through a digital camera was necessary when poor quality photos were discarded after screening. Afterwards, geometrical analysis and overlay tests were conducted on the relevant renderings (scaled between 1:6 and 1:12) that were partly digitized with AutoCAD 18 (zoomed in 10,000%). Tactical in the process of overlaying the proposed ideal geometric system to test the façades was the rescaling of the length of their plinth to the closest Fibonacci units and ratios because elevation heights show variations with the sloping topography. A series of trials and errors were required before locating the centers of the façades, which are challenging due to the surface weathering on some places in addition to their inherent inexactness. Also instrumental were the orthogonal top views in identifying that the left sides of the basilicas were more distorted, suggesting to use the overlay tests and precision calculations in the right part of the façades including the main entrances, whose inherent distortions are relatively lower. The results are remarkable for such millennia old structures, though the remarks had to be corroborated with the broader medieval context. Therefore, similar analysis continued with the literary proportions of the vanished Aksum cathedral from the book of Aksum (a contemporaneous and independent source) as an antithesis, and a schematic site plan was thus reconstructed.

- ii) Historical texts: these include primary and secondary sources such as the medieval manuscripts of the *Book of Aksum and the Order of the Kingdom (Ser'ata Mangest)*. In the analysis of these two independent texts from the medieval period, the insights have proved the significance of ontological and theoretical frameworks with regard to the indigenous architectural design and urban planning traditions. The medieval text about Aksum revealed some aspects of medieval heritage management traditions that protected the historic town. The interpretation is based on a preliminary textual analysis of some relevant themes and topics from Conti Rossini (1954). Textual familiarization began with the understanding of some relevant sections of the English translations by Amsalu (2011) and

Beckingham and Huntingford (appendix in Munro-Hay, 2005). Additional translation and modification was made for developing certain topical summaries when necessary. The attempt was limited to making reflections through inferences from the broader medieval context of Ethiopia.

- iii) Historical visual documents: these were treated as secondary documents of old photographs of the early Addis Ababa neighborhoods and structures, which revealed some aspects of the indigenous pattern of the settlement in addition to the socio-economic and cultural fabric, which was affected by the early modernization. Social, cultural and spatial interpretation of the visual sources involved selection of contents of the image in relation to common themes of urban modernization and social dynamics. For example, some photographs were found to be impressive for their illustrations of certain contrasts in culture, social class and technology, owing to the fact that they were taken by foreigners according to exotic tastes. See also Tables 2 and 3 for further details of the corroboration and triangulation mechanisms.

### *3.3.3 The policy sources and their particular study design*

This component of the research design comprised an investigatory qualitative case study approach (Farthing, 2016; Harvey; 2002; Gerring, 2007; Wainwright,1997) because identifying a relationship between the transitional context and the phenomenon of implementation of the Structure Plan such the certain land use dynamics and the awaited revision of the BHR was the main objective. The units of analysis primarily included those themes of the 2017 SP Summary Report and its key proposals for the land use proportion and the building height regulation (BHR).

- i. The policy documents: these included the SP additional relevant policy documents (excluded from the reference table are those written in Amharic and the proclamations), complemented by a preliminary evaluation of some implementation aspects to enhance the internal validity of the design. Accordingly, the developed insights (an issue of external validity) will be

discussed against the relevant theoretical and conceptual background of the Compact City strategy (also a question of construct validity) including the notion of the street as a public space“ (as promoted by the UN Habitat). Subsequently, this theoretically informed synthesis of critical reviews (Pawson 2002; 2012) helped the characterization of the transitional context of Addis Ababa, which is also a conceptualization of the delayed metropolitan infrastructure construction in relation to the equitable use of public spaces (and vice versa, see for example Ravitch and Riggan 2017, p.167; Wainwright, 1997). Thus, the preliminary evaluation based on the selected themes helped to modify the original case study findings. The semi-structured interviews with key informants were limited to assessing the four years implementation of few related projects (Table 1).

- ii. The key informants: these included experts from the Spatial Plan Preparation and Monitoring departments of the Plan Commission. Informal discussions were taking place for about two years until a last one was formally arranged on February 15, 2022 at the head quarter office. In addition, the opinions of the independent experts and the local community have contributed for building a certain level of confidence (which is a relevant issue in the levels of analysis in urban research; see Andranovich, 1993). Public opinion gathering (random) related to the noise pollution of the local streets (i.e. from the groceries and cafes/restaurant businesses at the ground floor of the apartments) involved both an earlier and newer mass housing neighborhood (the Lideta and Kilinto condominium sites) with more of an ethnographic approach (site observation). The previous experience of the authors in the parent office of the Commission (the Addis Ababa City Planning Project Office) was also helpful in facilitating the research (which is a quality assurance aspect in subjective qualitative data generation: Spiers et al. 2017). See also Table 1 to inspect how the in-depth interviews helped identify the major challenges.

**Table 4 key informants (including independent expert opinions)**

Relevant Development Projects	Key Expert Informants on the Levels of Implementation Success							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Frequently stressed phrases
BHR Revision Study	VD	VD	NC	VD	VD	D	D	Regulation ambiguity; revision delay; local implementation
MCC	D	E	E	E	E	D	E	Plan integrity; Federal intervention; investment opportunity
Green Space/Parks	VD	E	NC	VD	NC	NC	E	Plan integrity; Federal intervention; commitment
The Churchill Avenue and the Meskel Square	D	E	NC	D	E	NC	VD	Walkability enhancement; ownership dispute;
Level of Political Commitment	VD	NC	D	VD	VD	VD	NC	Proclamation No. 49/2017; Plan commission experience lack;
Level of Professional Commitment	NC	VD	NC	NC	D	E	NC	Quality of advice; research quality;
Level of the SP ambition (number of implementable goals)	NA	A	OA	NA	A	NC	NC	Orientation to international standards; diplomatic city;

Legend: VD, D, E, ED, NC, A, OA, NA stands respectively for very discouraging; discouraging; encouraging; very encouraging; no comment; ambitious; over ambitious;

(Source: Paper 4)

### 3.4. The overall research design validity

Several researches were conducted in such a way that they were designed to consistently serve one main purpose: the theoretical abstraction of sustainability models framed the local problem conceptualization and the hypothesis (i.e., construct validity), while the credibility of the data generation at various levels (i.e., internal validity) was significant enough to support the central topic of thesis/arguments (i.e. external validity). In addition, Table 5 presents the details of the accomplished tasks and the relevant outcomes used to organize the thesis. See also the graphical abstraction of the research design in Fig.3

**Table 5 accomplished tasks and their design components**

<b>Design elements</b>	<b>The required tasks and Accomplished projects</b>	<b>Chapter-zation</b>
The historical research design	-medieval texts and sites surveys analyzed; -secondary sources for historic roles interpreted; -two publications produced;	Chapter four on the historical-institutional analysis of the early urbanization of the city;
The case study research design	-policy document reviewed; -site observations and stakeholder analysis conducted; -one publication and two papers produced;	Chapter five and six on the political, cultural and social implications of the historical and existing spatial policy documents ;
The criticism framework	-selected theories and theoretically- guided discussion produced; -analogical-induction-based logical argumentation conducted;	The thesis structure and the concluding remarks were the output in Chapter seven

(Source: own)

#### *3.4.1. The construct validity of the overall design*

Efforts were exerted towards strengthening the construct validity (i.e., relationship between the research problem and the hypothetical proposition) through intensive literature reviews, local and international experiences (theoretical abstraction), while a historical perspective of the contemporary sustainability model of Addis Ababa was conceptualized as a global modernization problem. As illustrated in the research design diagram, such a construct is common in critical urban studies or socio-historical criticism (urban history and policy criticism).

#### *3.4.2. The internal validity of the overall design*

Efforts were also exerted towards strengthening the internal validity of the researches (i.e., relationship between the research objectives and the reliable methods), by which several sources and methods, primary and secondary data were considered for triangulations and corroborations. In the framework of the overall multi-method case study approach, desk reviews were tested against observation (site surveys, public and expert opinions) as presented in Table 2 and Table 3. See also Table 5 for the accomplished research projects and relevance of the finding.

#### *3.4.3. The external validity of the overall design*

The external validity of the design depends on the framework of the criticism against the significances of the findings with regard to the research questions, theory and practice in general (see also Table 5). Furthermore, Fig. 3 depicts the process of the

insights developed as significant to the findings, the methodology and the objectives. To this end, the criticism had to frame such essential elements and themes that substantiate Addis Ababa's sustainability model as some form or extension from the historical urban modernization paradox. Based on a new look at this historical legacy of modernization challenges, it was possible to meaningfully infer (or analogically induct) the city's policy constraint as well as the dire social and cultural implications of the city's urban policy.

Such a critical social (urban) research had to deconstruct and reconstruct the city's historical modernization through concrete examples in the totality of the socio-historical phenomena (Harvey, 2002; Wainwright, 1997). Thus, the process examines the essences of the historical perspectives to the contemporary, through the analogical induction (or simply analogy) between the historical modernization policy motives and the main concern of the contemporary sustainability model, which infer the socio-cultural implications of the present trend. The characterization of the traditional institutions as constraint to rapid modernization is thus the main essence of the critical framework, as illustrated below (Fig. 3) to further visualize this abstraction of the criticism.

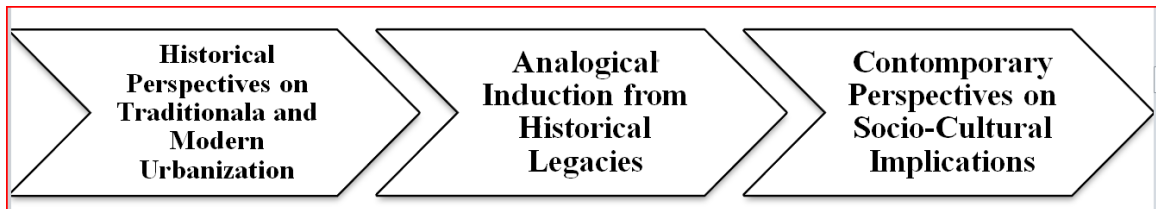


Figure 3 the criticism framework

Analogical induction, here, is simply the comparison between the events/occurrences that are essentially the similar in contexts that are not identical. In the sociology of the agency of the historical legacy, the similarity is sought from the socio-historical essences or structures that are critical in producing similar effects. The analogy thus strives to look for such patterns that implicate historical recurrences or cycles. Such analogy is part of the wider dialectical examination of social history, which investigates social contrasts in the prominent stages of the social dynamics. In other words, inferences are made when the recurrences are consistently related to certain

socio-historical structures. See also Fig. 4 for the overall validity of the research design.

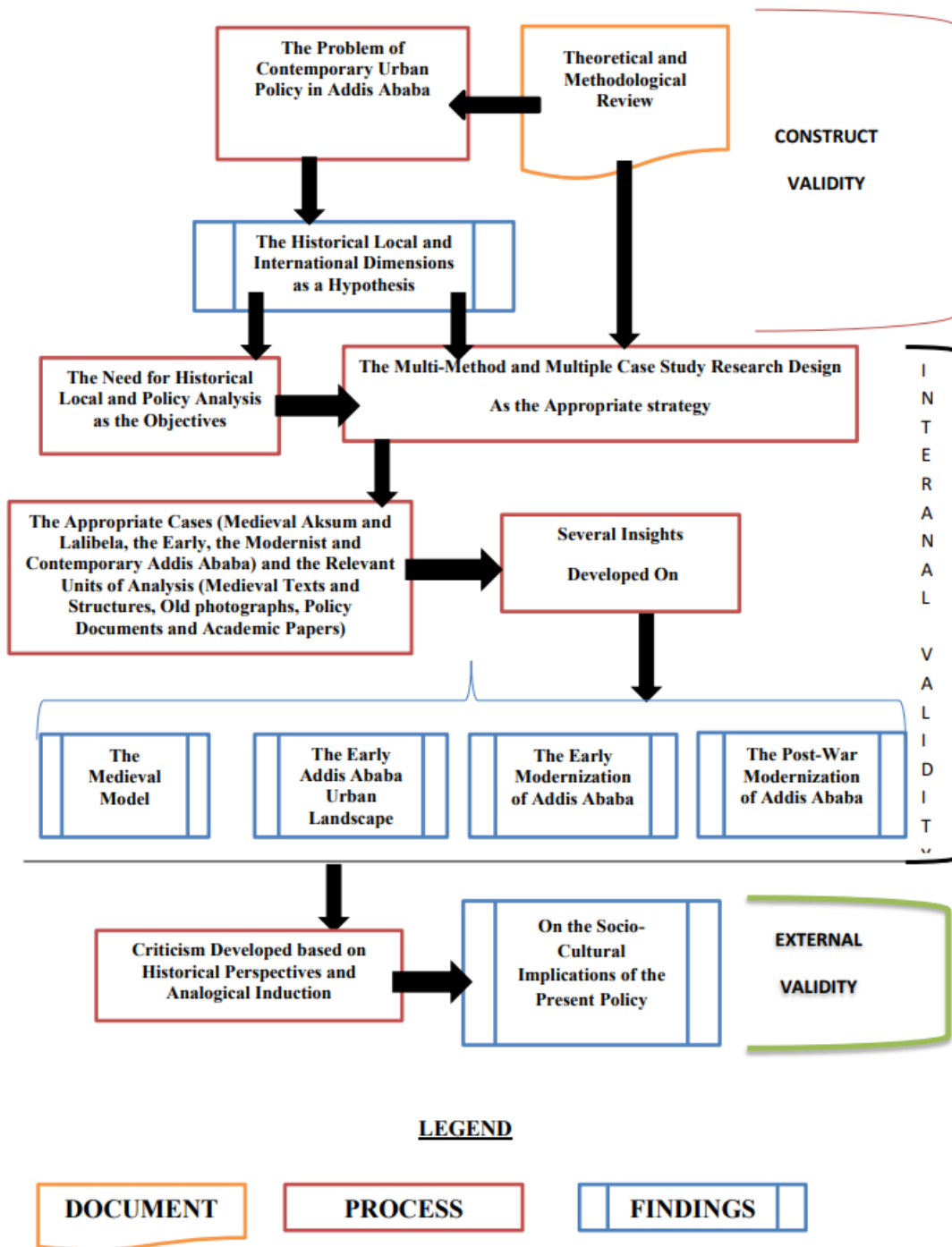


Figure 4 the research design Validity

## CHAPTER FOUR: THE EARLY HISTORICAL-INSTITUTIONAL DIMENSION

### 4.0: The Medieval Model of Addis Ababa's Early Urbanization and the Challenge of/for Modernization: The Historical-Institutional Dimension

This chapter aims to present a historical analysis of the early Addis Ababa's institutional challenge experienced in the course of the modernization and Westernization of the historic urban fabric. This challenge was, as will be elaborated here, due to the fact that early urban landscape was founded as a medieval model traditional settlement that entailed traditional (pre-industrial) planning and administrative systems. Such medieval model traditional settlements were planned as centers of religious social administration, commerce and security, as opposed to the industrial model settlement whose design is meant for the functioning of the motorized land use. For the purpose of the elaboration of the early fabric and tradition of the city, a historical research was conducted on:

- i) The medieval urban history of Aksum and Lalibela, which gave new insights on the relevant aspects of the spatial and institutional traditions. These two cases are selected because their relevance to the typical medieval period in which foreign influence was relatively lower, as well as regarding the two medieval urban planning related documents, namely the *Book of Aksum* and the *Order of the Kingdom*, by which the empress Tayitu must have employed to plan/found the city. In light of these findings:

- ii) A new historical commentary of the early planning, foundation and traditional administration of Addis Ababa (through the medieval spatial model) is provided;
- iii) The historical legacy (challenge) of the early modernization will be discussed as significant to weakening the subsequent modern urban planning tradition, as well as contributing for urban institutional capacity building challenge and ineffective implementation of modern city plans.

In conclusion, the chapter argues that early landscape of Addis Ababa was very difficult to modernize because:

- i) The early traditional system had strong social and administrative institutions in favor of security and religious identity, rather than capitalist-municipal requirements;
- ii) The traditional settlement pattern and the organic streetscape was difficult to introduce the modern means of transportation, and because
- iii) The traditional role and agency could not undergo real structural transformation (e.g. industrial, capitalist). Therefore, the subsequent urban planning and institutional modernization endeavors were badly affected by this historical legacy.

#### **4.1. The significance of medieval Ethiopian urban tradition for Addis Ababa**

Much is not known about the traditional model of town planning and institutions of the medieval Ethiopian civilization by which Addis Ababa was founded and administered before the 1920s. The decade between city's foundation in 1886 as the capital of the Shewan kingdom and its prominence in 1996 as a national capital following the Victory of Adwa is of much significance to the medieval spatial model, despite most of the literature related to Addis Ababa's early urbanization is based on the original urban morphology, historic structures and the evolutions of the districts. To this end, old photographs of the early settlement facilitated this endeavor, including historical drawings of other settlements by European travellers. However, little emphasis was given to the traditional knowledge systems and institutions (the medieval model of *Order of the kingdom*) by which the city was founded. The city

flourished in that ‘medieval’ Ethiopian socio-cultural and political landscape, which is important to examine the early modernization challenges, so as to reflect on the subsequent historical legacy.

In other words, there are only few details about the administrative and technical planning aspects of the traditional knowledge system. For example, Zewde (1987; 2005) were largely limited to discuss the early traditional settlement and evolution of the early *Säfärs* (neighborhoods), whereas Dagne (1987) discussed to some extent the administrative significance of the simultaneously established cathedrals that managed the growth of their *Attbiya* (surrounding village, parish). Garretson’s (2000) also provided details of the early tradition such as that the locals’ involvement in the incremental construction of the urban landscape, though largely stressed on the national economic transformation that took place between 1980s and 1910. However, such are hardly sufficient details about how these activities were coordinated and guided the traditional institutional frameworks, including how the empress Tayitu prepared the first foundational ‘master plan’. For example, Tufa (2008) doubted if the empress could have actually prepared a formal town plan:

“The idea of the queen on the location of the settlement sites of the officials is said to be Tayitu's 'Plan'...This original settlement layout was based on a traditional land use system that was derived from the settlement structure of the northern part of Ethiopia.”

In contrary, Lagopoulos and Stylianoudi (2001) had remarked:

“The [medieval] spatial model [(based on the *Order of the Kingdom*) ...] for at least six centuries...was applied to all kinds of military camps; it also influenced the process of urbanization, since these camps were frequently the initial nuclei of later capitals and towns. Historically, this model resulted from the superimposition on an indigenous model of the Christian model of heavenly Jerusalem. The model had a wide scope: it was also applied to

palaces, to churches starting in the sixteenth century or earlier<sup>5</sup>, and to the country as a whole.”

Consequently, the traditional expertise and institutions that created the early urban morphology are equally important. Even less discussed are the challenges such institutions and socio-cultural fabric had posed on the early modernization of the city, and vice versa. For instance, how has urban modernization since affected social equity and institutional resilience in the ever rapidly changing urban landscape of Addis Ababa?

The purpose of this chapter is, therefore, twofold: First, it elaborates the indigenous traditions based on recent researches conducted for this dissertation, complemented with further insights from the assumed role of the empress Tayitu in the early urbanization of the city. Second, it remarks on how these well-established institutional frameworks were first a challenge for Addis Ababa’s modernization, and later, for social resilience. As will also become further clear in chapter 5, this challenge is particularly important in that the common belief up to now has been something like: ‘modernization is all good, though dictators have manipulated for their own personal advantage that has since caused the African predicament, whereas the Western world is all innocent in this as well as in the transfer of modernity to Africa’. See, for example, such an underlying assumption in conception of the Ethiopian modernization in Garretson, 2000:17; Levin, 2016; Levine, 1960; 2007, as opposed to the detrimental “foreign intervention in Africa” (Schmidt, 2013).

Such critical and social theory perspectives will also help elaborate how the destruction of indigenous institutions by the adoption of the less compatible Western model laid the foundation for the contemporary public participation/resource mobilization constraint, from the urban perspective. As will be elaborated later, potential primary sources for the purpose of urban institutional history include such medieval documents as the *Book of Aksum*, and the *Order of the Kingdom*, in

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<sup>5</sup> Concerning such ambiguities related to the historical origin of the model and scope of application, the papers (1 and 2) already published for this dissertation have solved some of the problems, and advanced the knowledge on the subject.

comparison to historic sites and historic roles. The discussions in coming chapters will also benefit from such characterization of Addis Ababa's historical background, which shade light on the cotemporary challenges of the rapid construction boom that is taking place without the optimal rate of urban carrying capacity as well as industrialization<sup>6</sup>.

#### **4.2. The medieval traditions of town planning, foundation and administration**

This section is a compilation and synthesis of the findings from the two medieval traditions case studies researched for the purpose of this dissertation (noted earlier in the introduction chapter as Paper 1 and 2): the medieval historic town management of Aksum; and the medieval design technique of Lalibela.

The findings suggest that the traditional knowledge system and the associated urban development institutional setting were more firmly established, technically feasible and philosophically justified than were previously thought. As a planning model, the 14<sup>th</sup> century legal document *Ser'ata Mangest* (the Order of the Kingdom) guided town planning and administrative institutional framing for various purposes including security, national and regional resource mobilization, and the local urban landscape management. This document is remarked as a national policy document to such level as the "first constitution of Ethiopia" (Lagopoulos and Stylianoudi, 2001).

##### *4.2.1. The medieval urban context of Lalibela*

As discussed in Paper 2, the medieval custom of spatial design and planning was applicable universally at various levels, for religious-cosmic and cultural reasons, but also in a functional ('sustainable') and regular manner at the same time. For example, radial geometric organizations and cosmological symbolism were common in the medieval site planning and architectural design practice, in addition to the liturgical cross designs. The custom largely originated in the functionality (technicality) of the regulation of the royal military camp development, which consistently involved the construction of circular and axial alignments that must start from the central tent of

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<sup>6</sup> That is, as was recently proposed by the 2017 to 2027 Structure Plan of Addis Ababa (compact city policy).

the king, while it is also related to cosmological values and symbolism. In addition, such spatial models were applied at varied scales and scopes in the framework of the said guiding medieval document, to the extent that the need for consistency required a proportioning system that regulated certain geometries (a version of the Fibonacci rectangles) and techniques (a guide to rock-hewing process). Thus, when it comes to the traditional wisdom of architectural design and spatial proportioning, modular systems were used for various purposes. For example, the design of the basilicas and the façade elements of the Lalibela rock hew churches were regulated by geometrical principles while contextual considerations were met. Accordingly, the façades of St. Emmanuel, St. Mary, and St. George are fundamentally Fibonacci squares of 5, 8, and 13 units, respectively. This tradition of design and construction (e.g. “the exclusion of the ornamental frameworks as opposed to the voids by the inner Fibonacci Squares”) also indicate that there was a technological sophistication of a medieval custom such as the involvement of a great deal of construction workers (e.g. locals, soldiers, etc.) in a short period of time through modular techniques, as is also evidenced in certain construction pattern, such as “the doorframes were usually proportioned as 2×3 or 3×5 while the door voids are 3×8 or 1×3” (Fantaye and Assefa, 2022).

It is also interesting to note that the location of new urban settlements was traditionally regulated from the regional economic stand point of view and from the national security perspective, according to the *Order of the Kigdom*. The mobile court system was the instrument to implement these objectives and ensure political stability through the appropriate keeping of hierarchical regional order. The mobile court system also served the spatial regulation of tax collection, budget/resource allocation and land chartering.<sup>7</sup> Only cities and towns that were established at regional level through these considerations appear to be feasible and viable. Many prominent historical urban areas are evidenced to have been located through such processes, and accommodated large public buildings. Public buildings such as significant palaces and cathedrals were central in the development of the earlier urban morphology, which followed elevated grounds for security purposes and strategic locations for

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<sup>7</sup> For example, fund raising through land chartering and renewal including artifacts and land grants seemed to be the main source of resource mobilization and capital accumulation.

commercial purposes in the framework of the broader national and regional geography. They were also instrumental in the administration and management of the communities and the resources. There were instances when historic structures and urban landscape features were carefully listed, documented and preserved when they added sacred and architectural heritage values, in such towns as Aksum and Lalibela (Fantaye 2017; Fantaye et al., 2022; Lagopoulos and Stylianoudi, 2001).

#### 4.2.2. *The medieval urban context of Aksum*

The book of Aksum is a good evidence for such insights, as pointed out in Paper 1. As is inferred from the medieval case, the historic town of Aksum was protected owing to its historical cathedral and its sacred landscape by through the existed institutional frameworks. It seems an indigenous approach of formal sacred landscape protection was known in medieval Ethiopia, which entailed the justification of the religious, historical and architectural values of a heritage for particular protection. Formal site protection techniques were implemented through the strategic frameworks of land chartering and its careful record by the clergy.

This aspect of the medieval urban management tradition and technical expertise is even comparable to contemporary practices for two main reasons: First, the tradition was based on various justifications and frameworks of legal and financial instruments. Second, the traditional knowledge system entailed a technical framework as well, including ‘outstanding’ heritage valuing, a form of architectural documentation, and basic inventorying of landscape features. Most of the historic preservation approach was related to the religious significances of the landscape and the historical monuments, which included restriction of animal entry as a landscape preservation strategy. The stakeholders involved for the related implementation aspects included the appointees and representatives of the kings, the nobilities, the local community and the clergy, through the financing mechanism of land chartering, labor service and material grants (Fantaye et al., 2022).

The medieval conception of heritage valuing was also relevant as a rationale for institutional protection of heritage, as implicated from the case of Aksum. The *Book of Aksum* mentions the historical, architectural, legendary, antique, and religious significance of the site of the historic cathedral. The significance of the place and its

historical context was narrated from a seemingly modern heritage-valuing point of view. The ancient ancestral roots and sacredness of the landscape as a place of continually inhabited was given a considerable value. This valuing also appears to have been extended to a tradition of heritage inventorying and description of status of monuments; the tradition was not only intended for preserving the historic cathedral but also for protecting the surrounding landscape. The purpose of such valuing was unmistakably to justify and promote a continual protection tradition, suggesting the establishment and reestablishment of urban institutional values with rules of land grant and protection.

Consequently, a landscape approach of town management was a significant strategy; and in today's terms, it meant basically an operational definition set out for management purposes with an objective of maintaining the integrity of diverse values of a historic landscape. In addition, there was a tradition for the detailed description of landscape features, a list of monuments, locations, and the physical status of several artifacts is often revealed in addition to how the style, form, and elements of the vanished cathedral resembled. The depiction of the style comprises quantitative information such as the number and dimensions of architectural components. The institutional framework of medieval heritage protection in fact existed in the broader multi-level administration of the cathedrals, the vicinities and in all of the granted lands. As noted earlier, the clergy and the appointed nobilities were responsible, and the local communities (peasants and soldiers) of the Attbiya were the direct participants. The clergy kept the records and other resources; and the *Dabtaras* seemed to report to the emperors when violations happened by their superiors (Fantaye et al., 2022).

In general, these new insights from the medieval cases of Aksum and Lalibela are valuable to understand that the traditional town planning, development and administration practice, which were firmly institutionalized as a manifestation of the Ethiopian 'pre-modernist' urban society. This medieval urban society sustained on a medieval spatial and institutional model, and continued to exist until Addis Ababa's foundation and early urbanization until the 1920s.

More interesting is thus to review Addis Ababa's early urban institutional landscapes and urbanization trends through the lens of this medieval model, as will be elaborated in the following sections, particularly in sections 4.3 and 4.4, ad chapter 5.

### 4.3. The medieval model foundation of Addis Ababa

Empress Tayitu is already credited for the technical foundational planning, settlement construction, as well as the related urban development projects, which must have had, as elaborated earlier, required detailed legal and technical justification, presented to the imperial court, based on the *Order of the Kingdom*. It is also possible to assume her proposal as was accepted for its strong merits and due to her expertise for strategic implementation, not merely as a wife of an emperor: Having already had come as an urbanite from Gondar, a well-developed metropolitan area at the time, to the less ‘urbanized’ province of Shewa, she (was) already divorced four times before she married Menelik II.

Her importance to the court was thus obviously not only as a court queen, but also as an empress and military general. Suffice to say that her successful military leadership in the Battle of Adwa was linked to her operational leadership excellence in logistics and counter strategic tactics against the advanced Italian fortifications by, for example, effectively blocking the water supply system.

The role of the empress as an ‘operational officer’ had also proved excellent in assignment for the selection and development of a new settlement site around a hot spring area (called Finfine), a plan that must have included contents both in text and drawing formats. Such was also a custom for other higher rank military generals, as elaborated in Table 2.

The traditional institutional frameworks had also benefited much from the other legal and policy documents such as the *Ser’ata Geber* ad the *Fateha Nagast*, while the contribution of the clergy was central. Table 2 also lists some of the main project tasks and activities that were used to be implemented by the responsible stakeholders, which illustrates the importance of the traditional mobile court system as the instrument of regional development integration, territorial integrity as well as nation building, as well is known in the Solomonic dynasty restoration period between the 13<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> century.

**Table 6 the traditional urban planning and administration frameworks**

<b>Project Phases</b>	<b>Institutional/ Legal Frameworks</b>	<b>Authorities and Stakeholders</b>	<b>Project components / tasks</b>
Site planning stage	The <i>Order of the Kingdom</i>	Higher military rank generals	Site survey and planning; location of flag poles and benchmark constructions; allocation of tract of lands for cluster chiefs;
Settlement foundation stage	High rank officers' order for the royal camping of the mobile court	Low level military officers and soldiers	Camping in tents; land ownership grants; articulation of land use pattern ; following of incremental housing construction;
District/Town administration stage	Land charters and the <i>Feteha Nagast</i>	The nobilities and the clergy, but also gradually the <i>Kentiba</i>	Construction of cathedrals/public buildings, office and legal works; security, law and order keeping; heritage protection

(Source: based on Fantaye et al., 2022; Garretson, 2000; Lagopoulos and Stylianoudi, 2001)

As presented in the last row of Table 6, the gradual transformation of settlements that began as royal camps toward spiritually or commercially relevant towns would benefit from land charters and city administration, even if not necessarily at a status of regional or national capital. However, the rapid expansion of such urban centers is impossible, and majority of the agrarian society had often lived in small villages, for such is the medieval and pre-industrial period of slow urbanization. Such cities in northern Ethiopia were often smaller in size and density as trade routes and commodities largely excluded commercial slavery, in contrast to those bigger urban centers of slave trade in east and west Africa such as Stone Town in Zanzibar and Sokoto in Nigeria (see also Garretson, 2000: XIX-XX, for Ethiopia's urban historical comparison to the Middle East and West Africa).

In this regard, the very conception of the very *Katama in the Order of the Kingdom* of medieval urban Ethiopia should be further examined as a concept essentially different from the rest of the usual garrisons worldwide, owing to the particular role of the former for national resource distributive justice reasons: "Let Thy Kingdom Come". For example, regions and provinces of the medieval empire often revolted against the central governments on the grounds that they were not visited by the king of kings, a case, for instance, well known in the Gondarine period.

#### **4.4. The traditional institutional challenge for the modernization of the early landscape**

Whereas the early urbanization of Addis Ababa was ‘harmoniously’ administered by those medieval model institutions, as well as the traditional knowledge systems inherited from the medieval civilization, the country was, however, pressured to undertake national modernization projects in accordance with the Western model, due to international, colonial and geopolitical threats that aroused from the comparative military disadvantage. Tewodros II is noted for his military modernization policy that initiated unpopular land reform policy for the purpose of financing military industrial projects, which had finally drawn him into conflict with the clergy and the nobilities in 1960s. The modernization policy advisors of Tewodros II that included foreigners could not anticipate the challenges of the radical policy-based institutional crisis, which severely went out of control before the reforms could finance the intended development of modern army that could crash the protest.

Again, the Ethiopian urban modernization policy that included pilot modernity projects in Addis Ababa was also related to the national security policy agenda for two main reasons: In the first, the city had to serve as a primate capital of modern communication and transportation systems in an attempt to build a stronger central government. According to Garretson (2000: 17), Menelik II’s priority was more of security than economic modernization in the conception of the city as a capital. In the second, the urban districts of Addis Ababa were intended as pilot architectural modernity project locations after the famous victory of Adwa for diplomatic purposes, which attracted the establishment of international embassies and legations, which also meant to go for rapidly ‘modernizing’, or more precisely, Westernizing the traditional cultural landscape.

For such diplomatic goals, the physical fabric of the centers and streets had to undergo superficial architectural modernity, despite the necessary economic structural reforms and industrialization. International merchants, modern construction engineers, contractors and other professionals were all thus flooding into Addis Ababa from Europe and Asia for this as well as the import-export business. The modernity projects were so expensive that they demanded a huge import of industrial products and machineries; as well as a huge export of natural resources and agricultural products, contributing to rapid rural migration as well. Accordingly, the traditional

urban land and municipality had to be reformed. The then Ethiopian urban community was for the first time exposed to the unusual registration and taxation of urban land. The decree for the commodification of municipal urban land was issued in 1907 and yet the *Awaj* (the proclamation) was without a practical effect until the 19920s (Zewde, 1986), as that traditional urban community was not ready to accept the commodification of urban land as a capitalistic asset, which thus, they felt, had undermined other social and religious values. Such social hindrance to the earlier capitalistic urbanization trend was also apparent in the physical: the modernization interventions to transform the organically-paved traditional streetscape into asphalt roads and avenues for motorization purpose meant a challenge because of the medieval model settlement that entailed sloppy topography, as well as such irregular and smaller lots that had to accommodative the construction of larger modern buildings. Then further widening of the asphalt streets took place in order to install infrastructures necessary for the development of high-rise buildings.

Traditional Addis Ababa's characteristic urban fabric entailed sloppy, radially connected streets that led to culturally significant structures. These structures were surrounded by densely built commercial houses in organic lots. This earlier landscape entailed traditional streetscapes rooted in the medieval model of planning, which thus entailed compact settlement forms. The market-area squares and the streets around cathedrals played the role of the vibrant public space. Except for the brief Italian Occupation of the capital and the subsequent racially motivated relocation programs, the socio-cultural fabric remained largely intact for several decades despite the construction of asphalt pavements over the traditional network of streets in addition to the construction of public buildings largely contemporary to the international styles (Fantaye, 2017; Garretson, 2000; Lagopoulos and Stylianoudi, 2001; Zewde, 1986). In other words, the early modernization simply meant to superimpose the industrial urban model over the medieval spatial model.

It might not be appropriate to idealize or romanticize all forms of historical and traditional practices or customs. Nevertheless, any progress made against the traditional is not acceptable as long as it fails to lead to a substantial social improvement. In the early modernization of Addis Ababa, such impacts seemed to have been insignificant because the community was able to resist rapid changes planned by the government before the 1920s. With the coming in control of the brief

Italian occupation period, however, all forms of rapid development changes against the communities was possible to undertake by colonialist forces (as was the case in Asmara), whose legacy continued after independence. As will be discussed in the next chapter, the subsequent trends of modernization in Addis Ababa have continued to be increasingly marginalizing the social community.

## **CHAPTER FIVE: THE POST-WAR (COLD-WAR) PERIOD MODERNIZATION DIMENTION**

### **5.0. The Post-War (Cold War) Trend of Addis Ababa's Modernization: The International Political and National Policy Dimensions**

This chapter aims to examine the post-War urban modernization of the city as stated in the second objective of the research, which is an adaptation of the forthcoming Paper 5, prepared based on this dissertation. The purpose is thus to extend the historical analysis discussion that started in chapter four.

The essay is categorized in four sections, elaborating four main issues including: i) an overview of the dialectical synthesis of the global and local development nexus; ii) the burden of the national policy over the capital city; iii) the noticeable global-national policy patterns in the overall trend of the city's urbanization; as well as iv) an overview of the resultant political economy that led to city image building as a historical legacy. These critical issues are also the essentials for examining the recent modernization trend, which will be discussed in the following chapter.

#### **5.1. The (post-) colonialist (modernity) thesis, the nationalist (sovereignty) antithesis, and the capital city image-building (identity crisis) synthesis**

Much was discussed in general about the unsuccessful adoption of the Western approach of urban modernization in Addis Ababa, or whether that was really modernization or modernity, which nonetheless has been, a process set to continue. However, little is known about the associated international political influence

favorable for the continuing of this trend, in addition to the political economy that this trend favors certain local policy. In this chapter, the emphasis is on how the city planning process and policymaking trend in Addis Ababa was largely determined by the international political pressure via the national policy, and how the capital city planning has been affected by such rapid rate of urbanization, which also challenged the effective implementation of the city plans. These questions have thus to be approached historically. The main argument in this chapter is that capital cities like Addis Ababa, which is also primate and diplomatic have to carry both the national policy burden as well as the international political pressure. In this regard, it would be interesting quote some authors:

“The nineteenth century in Ethiopia saw the shaping of a modern state and a modern nation. Addis Ababa, the country’s capital, served as the crucible for and signifier of this formative process, a critical space in and through which a modern state/nation was imagined, constituted, reinforced, and reflected. Ethiopia’s emerging urbanism, centered in the capital, was thus inextricably linked with its most important political “project” of the century—modernization and nation building. This [...] modernist “project” that included innovations in the spheres of politics, economy, education, and culture, [...] was a process that was pioneering but also exclusionary and contradictory. The fundamental fault lines of the project included the failure to reinvent the capital (or cities in general), and by extension the nation, as democratic, pluralistic, and inclusive spaces. The capital and the towns that eventually evolved after a century or so of urbanization were urban centers in tension, shaped more by the practices of ordinary residents than by the designs of architects and politicians” (Bonsa, 2013).

Thus, here is argued why such a national policy burden has been the cause of Addis Ababa’s urban modernization failure in the post-colonial period. This rapid (thus radical) modernization policy burden in Addis Ababa is also related to the international political pressure and the followed national image crisis. Such international political pressure began in the colonial era, but it continued to be more intensive and decisive after the Second World War. The Post-War period reinforced

the national image of Ethiopia as a backward state, and as a primitive society with uncivilized culture, more strongly than ever was. Surprisingly, though not officially stated, it appears that the Ethiopian regimes have often accepted that image imposed by ‘foreign propaganda’ as a fact, which is still promoted ‘regularly’ by antagonists. However, this situation gradually caused a national identity crisis that manifested itself through various forms, including in the way that urban modernization has been practiced: First, it became too Western, then too rapid; but latter, it became politically too radical (see also, for example, Bonsa, 2012; 2013; 2017; Levine, 1960; Levin, 2016; Pedrazzini et.al., 2014; Planel & Bridonneau, 2017).

The earlier drives of the imperial modernization of the city can be considered as reactions designed for national security and diplomatic concerns, which necessitated the Westernization of the capital’s historic urban landscape. The capital already became a diplomatic hub following the Victory against Italy, though such modernization efforts exerted toward the nation in the general, and particularly the capital, also led to ideological split between the “Traditionalists and Modernists” over the very purpose, intensity and essence of the modernization objectives. According to Zewde (1991), the pro-modernist political elite comprised that of the promoters of the modernization ideology of Tewodros II, sheltered around or inside the camp of Haile Selassie I. The pro-traditionalists on the hand comprised groups of the old guards of the emperor Menelik II. Soon after the battle for a specific policy direction toward modernization was championed by the pro-modernists, a rapid urban westernization policy was pursued in the capital, as part of the ‘national policy framework’ that had to respond to global changes.

In fact, this very interpretation of the very policy of modernization of Addis Ababa can be used to reclassify its urban history, as opposed to the traditional regimes change-based classification that includes the (pre- and post-) Italian Occupation, as well as the Dergue and EPRDF periods (see for example, Zewde, 1991, 1987, 2005). Such classification of the city’s history is to some extent problematic because it sidelines the global context of capital, as if an absolutely isolated system; nevertheless, the very authors who employed the very classification have also intensively discussed the importance of the capital as an international diplomatic center, as well as a primate city significant to the national and global modernization agenda.

This new classification of the urban history of Addis Ababa, used in this chapter is, however, based on some prominent international political patterns. They are associated to the colonial, geopolitical, and ideological pressures, which accordingly influenced the transformation of the landscape of the city via the national policy dynamics. In fact, a capital city is always affected by the national policy, particularly in the context of lopsided international relations. In this regard, a prominent feature of modern Ethiopia has been that its national policy is fundamentally bowed to the global pressures, which has significantly left its marks in the architectural history of the city. Such architectural interventions are noticeable in relation to at least four major national image crises and response: insecurity and westernization, backwardness and modernity, starvation and socialism, as well as poverty and post-modernity, which can also be classified in four broader and flexible categories, as relevant to the postcolonial context of Africa, namely:

- The Colonial-World War Period (1870s to 1940s),
- The Post-War-Pan-Africanist Period (1950s to 1960s),
- The Radical-Socialism Period (1970s to 1980s), and
- The Post-Cold War-Developmental Period (1990s to present),

These global developments have contributed for the national image crisis, which are also accordingly categorized under those four major periods:

- The National Image of Insecurity (1870s to 1940s),
- The National Image of Backwardness (1950s to 1960s),
- The National Image of Starvation (1970s to 1980s), and
- The National Image of Poverty (1990s to present).

The introduction of such classification is also relevant to examine the political economy of the city's urban modernization in relation to the global trends. In this regard, it is worth noting to mention the earlier attempts to decode radical urbanization patterns with respect to international and transnational developments of the 1960s and 70s case of West Africa (see, for example, Bamba, 1976). Nevertheless, most of the political economy critiques of the global south metropolitan modernization are largely limited to the globalization phenomena of city branding. Little is thus known about the harsher 'diplomatic' political forces related to geopolitical (strategic) and national (image) securities. Even more relevant to

understand is how such security issues affect the wider national policymaking trend and the specific urban modernization objectives of capital cities. Addis Ababa is an excellent example of a capital city with greater national policy burden, whose city image has been produced by the agency of foreign influence and national image crisis, as will later become clear.

## **5.2. The national image crisis burden over Addis Ababa's urbanization**

The diplomatic drive for fixing the 'right image of Ethiopia' to international spectators has since been a burden in the sustainable urbanization policy of the capital, undermining the local community and the exploitation of endogenic resources. This has for long influenced the urban policymaking trends in the capital city, as well as the nature of its political economy. When examined from a historical perspective, international politics, particularly that of the Western colonial propaganda, often depicted Ethiopia as a 'dysfunctional and backward state' following the nation's much acclaimed defense against colonial imperialism. Ethiopia successfully stopped the colonial aggressors who surrounded her territories and occupied some, but she could not succeed in maintaining her historic sphere of influence, neither in preventing the Western influence against the traditional consumption mode, and finally thus submitted to the ideals and values of Westernization without industrial technological capability.

Both Menelik II and Haile Selassie I saw the importance of using the latest industrial products of the day, such as the automobile and the airplane; they were nonetheless unable to produce them domestically. Such a modernization endeavor has since then been laid down devoid of a moral economy basis, achieved at the expense of its urban community as well as the rural, cultural heritage and social capital, as particularly evident in the capital city's urban modernization (Levine, 1960; Kissi, 2000).

This modernity image gap has yet emerged as terrible 'scars' in the diplomatic face of the post-War-Cold War city, with much 'cosmetics' in an effort to cover it up, at a time the West had frequently accused of it as hypocrisy and myth of modernization, in Levine's (1960) own terms:

"Perhaps in no other "under-developed" country have so much thought and energy gone into producing the appearance of progress. Embellishment of the capital city has epitomized this concern. Millions have been spent on broad

boulevards to approach the palaces, while large numbers of diseased and unemployed still beg on the streets. A large commercial school was constructed on the airport road in order to confront the visitor at once with the signs of civilization, against the advice of planners who rightly predicted that classwork would be impaired by the sounds of heavy traffic. For the sake of Addis Ababa the provinces have been heavily taxed and left relatively undeveloped. [...] In nearly every area of Ethiopian public life a progressive facade has been erected to cover the status quo. [...]. If the façade of progress was built with empty words and hollow architecture, the facade of stability was achieved through the system of *shumshir*, appoint-demot.”

Levine (1960) also ‘harshly’ criticized the predicaments with which the other sectors of the national modernization, particularly the agricultural and industrial ones, were driven:

“Land reform, which American and Yugoslav advisers agree to be the prerequisite for any significant increase in agricultural production, was achieved in September 1959 by a proclamation promising land to all who have none, but which in fact meant that some hundreds of peasants were permitted to borrow money from the Government to be paid back with interest after five years. Plans for industrial development were often announced on high, but foreign investors were given conditions which none but the most dim-witted would accept; A massive program to develop the arts got as far as the construction of Haile Selassie I Theater, whose staff has had to limit its functions to the preparation of spurious folk-lore spectacles to impress foreign dignitaries.”

Surprisingly, the adoption of the Western education system also helped to reinforce this national image crisis, mainly to the greatest frustration of the university students (see also, for example, Kebede, 2008; 2011; Weldeyes, 2017). The students of the University of Haile Selassie I (renamed Addis Ababa University) were quick to internalize the concern with the General Mangestu Neway, the 1960’s *December Coup Attempt* leader: “Ethiopia has been standing still, while our African brothers are moving ahead in the struggle to overcome poverty." Today, however, it is well known that “our African brothers [were] moving ahead” toward the social injustice and national debt crisis trap of the 1960s and 70s, as discussed in chapter 2 (see also,

African Union, 2008a; Bamba, 1976; Gollin et al., 2016; Jedwab, 2013; Sankara, 2019; Zajontz, 2021).

For Haile Selassie I, capital city modernity was perhaps a short term diplomatic priority for tactical purposes, whereas national security or sovereignty was the strategic one, meaning that securing international military cooperation could benefit from such city image building. Nevertheless, the position was very refuted by the USA in favor of agricultural modernization, which aimed at exploiting it as a strategy that would prevent the spread of communism. US diplomats also later ‘threatened’ the Imperial Government of Ethiopia/IEG through the “politics of famine”. Thus, according to Kissi (2000):

“The United States saw the aid program as essential to bolster Ethiopia's ability to eradicate poverty and hunger, which President Truman viewed as containing the seeds of communism. On its part, the imperial Ethiopian government refused to admit that Ethiopia had fallen into misery requiring American economic assistance to prevent communism. While Emperor Haile Selassie agreed that "communism posed a grave danger to world peace," he denied that the Ethiopian empire was poor and so prone to hunger as to make Communism attractive to its subjects. As the emperor forthrightly stated, "Communism thrives where there is poverty. Thank God we are not so poor. Our people own their own land and have enough food." But any serious investigation of the condition of peasants in rural Ethiopia reveals a completely different picture. Arguably, the IEG promoted the idea of Ethiopia as a rich and fertile empire to focus attention on its military security rather than its food needs.”

The image of capital city's architectural modernity as a national policy was thus the result of such a tension between diplomacy and security, which led to the development of the imperial Cold War political economy of city image building, while consolidating toward the cycles of more radical urbanization patterns, as abstracted in the diagram below (Fig. 5). This national image crisis has manifested itself through various architectural projects at various stages, which is instrumental in reclassifying the urban history of Addis Ababa based on international political changes and geopolitical developments. The subsequent political economy of city image building projects are thus related to certain radical urbanization patterns.

As noted earlier, this national image crisis was caused by various conflicting identities that resulted from a diplomatic tension between: sovereignty and modernization, as well as nationalism and Westernization, manifested in the policy paradox of Addis Ababa's urban planning model.

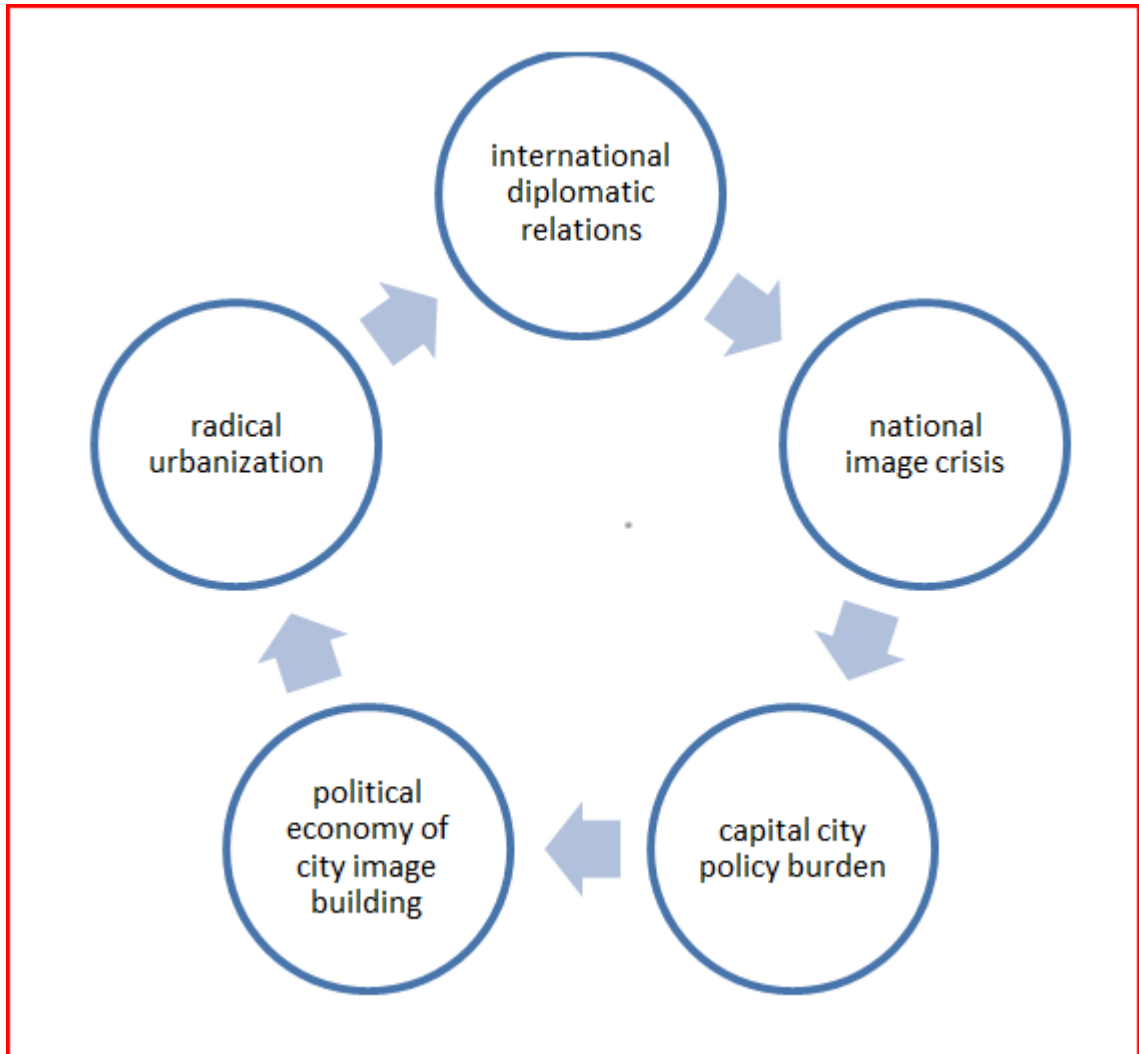


Figure 5 the international-national policy nexus of radical urbanization cycles

As explained earlier, the well-noted urban development policy paradox with regard to the development of global south metropolises is due mainly to the dilemma between urban renewal approaches and urban decentralist priorities, or between the conflicting objectives of affordable mass housing and the increment of urban land value at same time; or it is due to the usual predicament of transitional social sustainability through metropolitan polycentrism and compactness. Nevertheless, as

presented in Fig. 5, the international-national policy nexus illustrates that much remains to investigate about the ability of the global south nations in making their own choices. Urban modernization in such situation largely depends on the international political-economic (cyclic) dynamics. For example, the radical urban modernization of Addis Ababa that led to social injustice (devoid of moral economy) was because of the city image building projects that demanded a price too high of the time, as compared to the petroleum-rich Middle-Eastern or South-East Asian countries in the global south, as opposed to the agricultural product exporters.

### **5.3. The patterns of the national image crisis and the capital's radical urbanization**

As noted earlier, the urban history of Addis Ababa is traditionally classified based on regime changes (as the (pre-/post-) Italian, the Socialist and the Federal period of urbanization). However, the patterns of the national image crisis that affected the capital are best explained with a new reclassification based on international political trends (the developments in (post-) colonialism, geopolitics and ideologies). These developments gave the country its particular image in the international diplomatic context, while at the same time influenced the national policy priority toward the modernization of the capital. In this regard, four developments are noticeable in relation to at least four major national image crises and response: the first one is related to the period of the colonial threat, which spanned between the battle of Adwa and the brief Italian Occupation to the end of the World War: 1896-1945, depicted as the period of insecurity.

The second one started in 1945 with end of the World War II, but more visibly in the 1952 federation of Eritrea, whose beautiful capital, Asmara, gave Addis Ababa a 'backward' look. The period occupies the following two decades including the remarkable failed coup d'état, in addition to the formation of the African Organization Unity/ OAU in 1963: an extremely challenging and yet very successful period in most respects. The third period can be marked with the 1970s worldwide communist revolutions that shadowed the national 'image of starvation', while the last and the existing started with the end of the Cold War that tailed the ethnic federation and its "fight against poverty". In other words, four important national images of Ethiopia are

identified in the international context: ‘Ethiopia the Unsecured, Ethiopia the Backward, Ethiopia the Starved, and Ethiopia the Poor’.

Fig. 6 illustrates the international political pressures in light of the three main historical trends through the colonial, the geopolitical and the ideological phases, which threatened the national image through their portrait of the country as unsecured, backward starved and poor.

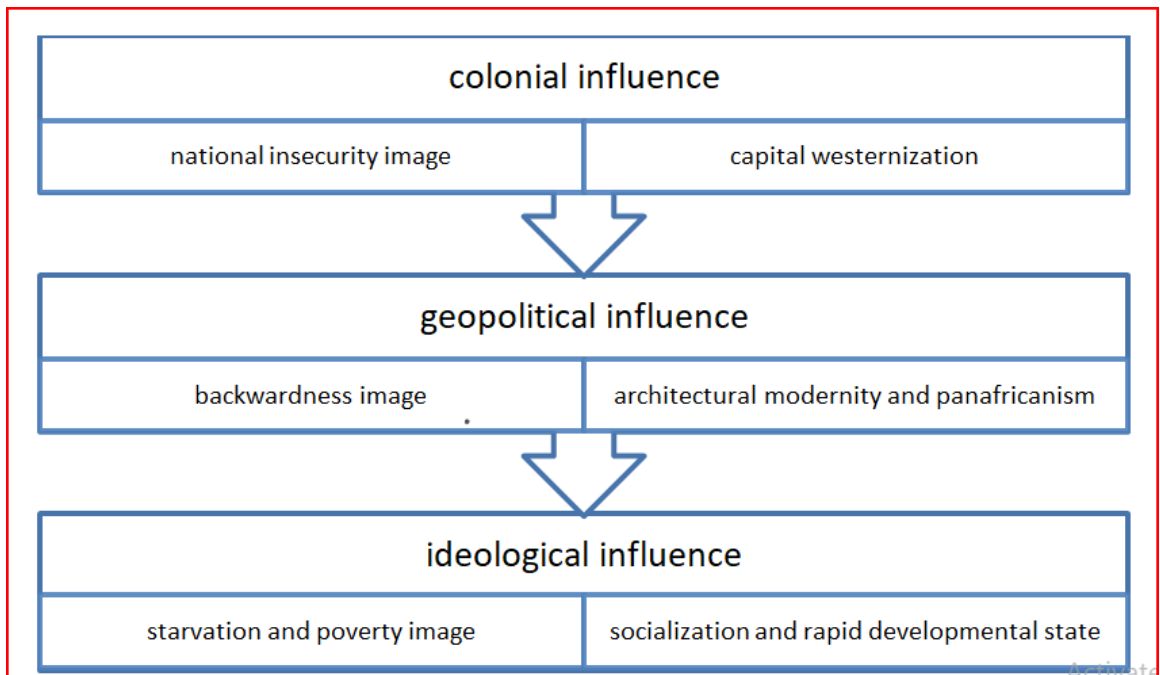


Figure 6 international influences and radical urbanization of the capital city

A. *Ethiopia the Unsecured and the Policy of Urban Landscape ‘Westernization’*

This period roughly covers the developments between the establishment of the capital as diplomatic city following the Victory of Adwa and the end of the War, though it can be extended to encompass the period of the British Occupation of Eritrea, and the indirect colonial influence over Ethiopia. This insecurity was the product of the Western propaganda campaign that aimed to colonize or otherwise disintegrate the country for colonial purpose, which began with the Berlin Conference on the Scramble for Africa.

Despite the obvious legal contrast between direct colonial occupations and sovereignty threats, almost all the decades between 1896 and 1952 were all decades of national insecurity and humility, even when the empire seemed sovereign owing to its success in the Victory of Adwa and the Federation of Eritrea to Ethiopia. In fact, these truly marked the period with two most outstanding achievements in the modern history of Imperial Ethiopia.

However, this success did not lead to a permanent national stability, and the colonial justification to conquer Ethiopia remained as mantra of the time: a ‘primitive civilization’ too “dangerous” to be left independent, threatening the other colonies. The justification also entailed that most of the tribes and ethnic groups were ‘oppressed’ under the ‘primitive empire of Abyssinia’, and would ‘prefer to accept the civilizing mission’ of Europe that had ‘enlightened’ the rest of their African brothers. The counter strategy was that of ‘diplomatic measure’ intended to ‘impress’ foreigners through various city image modernity projects.

These were manifested in the modernization and westernization of the urban landscape of Addis Ababa, in addition to other political interventions such as Ethiopia’s entry into the League of Nation, establishment of a modern army, modern bureaucratic systems, modern education system and the expansion of the capital city as a diplomatic city.

As discussed in the previous chapter, these also meant to undermine the local community, as the rapid modernization endeavor altered the earlier traditional settlement that entailed organic fabrics, since then considering them as more of a sign of backwardness than as of a value of heritage.

Fig. 7 illustrates the westernization of the Arada historic center as a social contrast of public space, in which the people who wore traditional garments and walked bare foots were learning to adapt the Western mode of consumption without the necessary knowhow for industrial production. This intervention for diplomatic reasons rather than for social development purpose, laid the foundation for the later enlargement of the capital as a Consumption City.



Figure 7 the westernization of the pre-Italian occupation landscape; from Giorghis and Gerard 2007

### *B. Ethiopia the Backward and the Policy of Urban Landscape Architectural Modernity*

This period is both a part and extension from the period *Ethiopia the Unsecured* in that the colonial threats and aggression that challenged the country directly (1896-1941) was indirectly felt through two stages: First, through the pressure of the British Administration of Eritrea (1941-1952), threatening to disintegrate the territorial integrity of the empire, and second through the federation of Eritrea, a former Italian colony now a province under the less modernized Imperial administration. This was particularly true to its capital city Asmara, whose beautiful image outshined over the less ‘Westernized’ national capital city, full of organic streetscapes according to the medieval settlement tradition.

The IGE thus failed to consider the city center of the capital as a heritage that should be preserved. This led to redevelop it in the model of Asmara, whose very inception was conceived as ‘a true experimental city of colonial modernist architecture’, entailing more than four hundred seventy iconic buildings that were radically

constructed against the interests of the natives.<sup>8</sup> These developments were reinforcing in the feeling of many Ethiopians to internalize the fact that the colonial narration of Ethiopia's backwardness was real and accurate. It was partly this narration of the national image that motivated the unsuccessful coup d'état in 1960.<sup>9</sup> In addition, the federation of Eritrea added another layer of the geopolitical predicament related to the Red Sea, as well as the associated complex US-Ethiopia relations in Eritrea.

This image of backwardness of was also consolidating following the unsuccessful coup d'état in 1960. Politically motivated radical urban modernization programs and large-scale projects also considerably modified the city centers and public spaces after 1961. The establishment of the Organization of African Unity and similar other international headquarters were completely changing the traditional urban landscape, which was progressing with the rapid construction of several high-rise buildings, by expatriate architects, as well as the remarkable monumetalist architecture by Arturo Mezzedimi (see also, for example, Levin, 2016). The trend was nonetheless under control, compared to the later decades, in which 'modernist' Addis enjoyed a polycentric municipality and accessible green infrastructure before the 1974 revolution.

The main criticism against this form of development trend was that it entailed so much of the architectural modernity devoid of the comic structural change. Thus, not only was the import of industrial products increasing in large quantities, but also foreign architects, engineers and consultants were involved in the development process, implying thus an insignificant level of public participation (Levin, 2016). It seemed the existed level of social equity and cultural stability could not deteriorate further just because the government was carefully adjusting the financial expenditure and the monetary mechanism. For example, the USD to the Ethiopian currency exchange rate remained more or less stable.

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<sup>8</sup> The area was recently listed as a World heritage Site

<sup>9</sup> There are also some indications that both the USA and Egypt supported the December coup attempt in 1960.

Unfortunately, all these achievements still meant very little to the international community with regard to the national image of the country, beyond building the image of Haile Selassie, who won several honorary doctorates, distinguished official visits by royals and field marshals, including welcome ceremonies in numerous countries from the White House to Beijing.

*C. Ethiopia the Starved and the Policy of Urban Landscape 'Socialization'*

Haile Selassie was already warned by Western diplomats of the danger of recurrent famines in bringing a socialist revolution in Ethiopia. It also seemed that the West was at the same time being prepared to deal with the future Socialist Ethiopia. According to Kissi (2000):

“From 1955 on, U.S. officials in Addis Ababa were deeply concerned with famine, the poor living conditions of peasants, and the revolutionary ideas of a section of Ethiopia's educated elite. Ambassador Joseph Simonson drew the attention of the State Department to "the strong desire for progress and change" among Ethiopia's educated class and the possibility that it would attempt to accomplish "by revolution what evolution was unable to bring about." He stressed that "the anachronistic state of Ethiopian society with its inequality in the distribution of wealth" made Ethiopia a fertile field for revolution or "communist subversion." In hindsight, Ambassador Simonson was very prescient in his anticipation of imminent revolution in imperial Ethiopia. His dispatch of 21 April 1955 to the State Department warned that "In twenty years the feudal organization that characterizes Ethiopia will be in definitive dissolution and a whole new group of self-made men may occupy the positions of power." He cautioned that should the emperor be deposed, a government under the "new group of self-made" Ethiopians "would be ... difficult to work with" because of the strong nationalist feelings of its members.' Simonson's predictions came to pass on 12 September 1974.”

Before the 1974 Socialist Revolution took place in Ethiopia, or even before the coup makers 'predicted' the level and the outcome of the famine in northern Ethiopia, the BBC, in contrast, repeatedly reported the "hidden famine" in an 'exaggerated' manner, including the transmission of documentary movies. The journalist Jonathan

Dimbilby became the champions of exposing the Ethiopian famine to the world, while the news was propagated to such an extent that the Oxford English Dictionary cited Ethiopia as an example of famine. All these incidences were already portraying the near to come demise of the emperor- “the Dying Lion of Judah”, and the ‘step forward’ with the ‘radical’ students of the AAU in favor of socialism.

Eventually, this image of *Ethiopia the Starved* was instrumental in the socialization of the urban landscape by the Socialist government. Soon, the communist revolution was involved with several radical measures against individual property and housing ownership. Extra houses were confiscated, while occupied by disproportionate number of residents, gradually transforming the neighborhoods into slum areas<sup>10</sup>.

In addition, this socialization of urban landscape was also expressed through the making of Communist public spaces. The traditional religious squares, the *Maskal Adebabay* for example, was baptized in the name of the new Revolution, and was renamed as the *Revolution Square*. These changes before the demise of the regime in 1991 also contributed for the dilapidation of the inner city centers, as the municipal service was overburdened following the termination of the metropolitan decentralization process.

#### *D. Ethiopia the Poor and the Policy of Urban Skyscraper ‘Intensification’*

Following the end of the Cold War in 1991, the EPRDF took power and installed ethnic federalism with a constitutional framework that gave cultural regions such autonomy to the extent of secession in a short process (in two or three years). By that, the ruling party meant that it has closed the historical ethnic conflict chapter for once and for all (while still bothered of future outcomes from ethnic tension). It then seemed to be the time to propagate for the “Fight against Poverty” policy, which the

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<sup>10</sup> It is also worth to note here that a similar case was already observed in Stone Town, Zanzibar, following the communist revolution of Tanzania, ten years earlier before the Ethiopian revolution. The communist government thus confiscated extra house and other individual property, which were transferred to the poor to be congested and left to dilapidate.

supreme political leaders styled it as “the true ever enemy of the nations, nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia”.

This propagation did not only reinforce the already well-established Western narration of the national image of Ethiopia as a poor and starved, but also created new myths and themes of its own. First, it promoted the Developmental State approach, which had to baptize everything politically important as “developmental”: *Limatawi Balahabt*, *Limatawi Mihur*, *Limatawi Ketema* and so on. Second, this was also meant to radically deal with the city image building of Addis Ababa, thus frequently calling for the *Gatseta Ginbata*, program. The *Limatawi* (Developmental) diaspora and foreign investors were warmly invited to participate. Large tracts of land were prepared for the financial and international Hotel sectors, encouraging building skyscrapers. International headquarters such as the African Union were constructed with such city image building obsession that attracted foreign financial sources and consultants.

The result was that the rapid transformation of the urban landscape took place without effective controlling mechanism, and the capacity building of urban institutional frameworks. A progress was made, however, by not only sharing the greatest burden to the urban community, but to the extent of the bankruptcy of the national economy due to foreign currency debt. As will be remarked in the coming sections, this obsession of image building will continue for long with dire social implication.

#### **5.4. The political economy of city image building: concluding remarks**

This historical perspective on the post-war urbanization of capital city in relation to international politics and political economy is relevant for the criticism of the metropolitan policy paradox, as much was not previously said about the impact of national image crisis on the development of capital city policy. Such radical urbanization policy patterns in the city have always had a political economy base related to international politics since the establishment of the capital as a diplomatic city following the Victory of Adwa.

This chapter reviewed the urbanization policy of Addis Ababa in relation to the national diplomatic efforts and the geopolitical trends. The conceptualization of the critical historical developments is illustrated in the abstract diagram (Fig.8). The national image crisis has thus always been the urban policy burden over the capital, and has led to cycles of radical land use changes starting from the westernization, modernization, and socialization of the cultural landscape to the intensification of the skyscrapers. In the meantime, however, little place was given to institutionalize the local development and the community. The case presents a critical issue beyond the general complexity of a capital city that international frameworks should address.

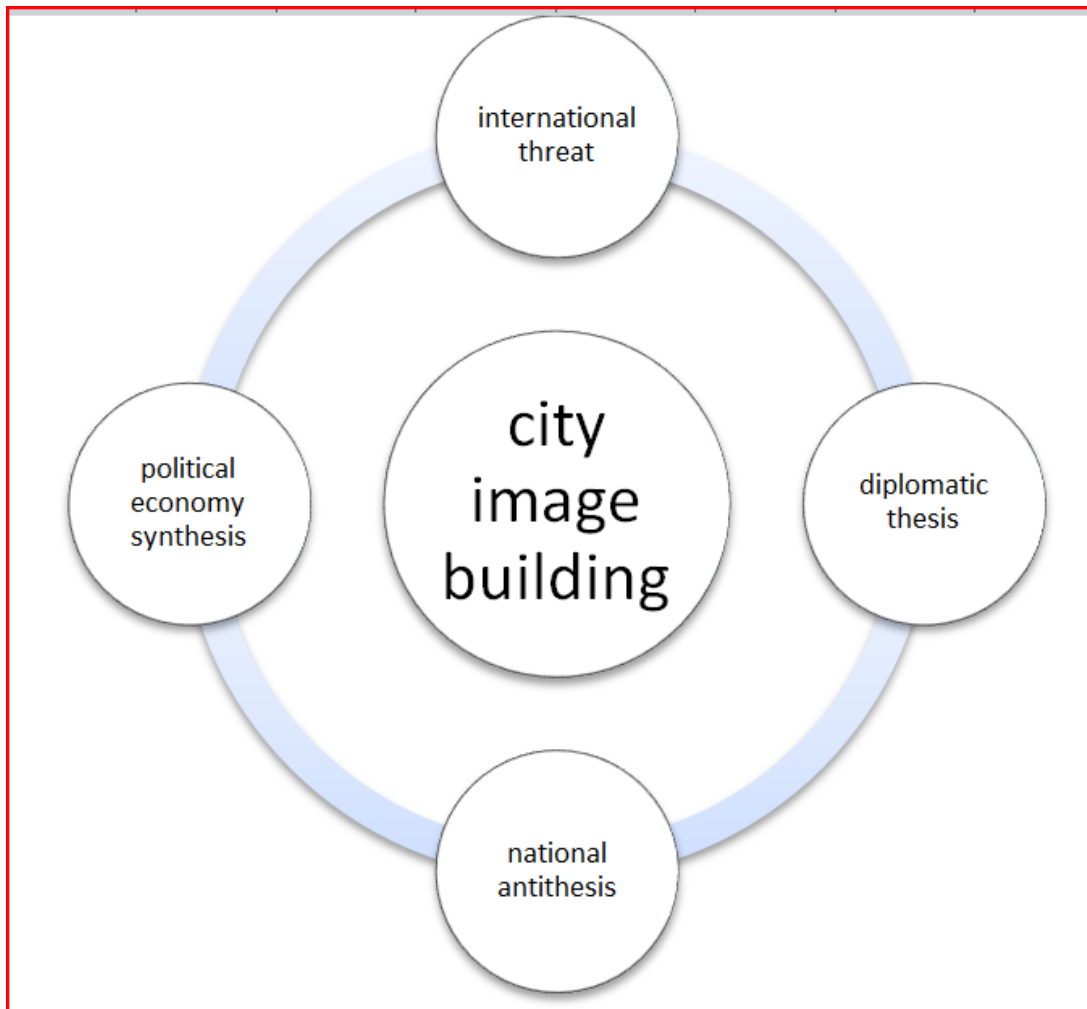


Figure 8 the political economy of city image building

## **CHAPTER SIX: THE SOCIO-CULTURAL DIMENTION**

### **6.0: The Compact City Model of Addis Ababa's Urbanization and the Challenge of Radical Modernization: The Socio-Cultural Dimension**

This final section of the dissertation's findings and discussion part aims to examine the socio-cultural implications of the last two decades modernization of the city, as was the third objective of the research. This chapter is the synthesis and adaptation of the two articles: Paper 3 and 4, published for this dissertation. It aims to analyze the recent two city plans in the light of the historical analysis discussion that started in chapter five.

The essay is categorized in four sections, elaborating various critical issues based on the city's Structure Plan, including: i) the cultural implications of the recent modernization trends as well as the adapted sustainability model, as well as ii) the related social implications of rapid modernization devoid of the urban carrying capacity . These two critical issues (urban carrying capacity and sustainability model) are the essentials of the examination of the socio-cultural implications of the recent trend as related to the city's historical legacy, which will also further be critically remarked in the concluding chapter.

#### **6.1. The metropolitan growth management strategy through the BHR: An overview**

The metropolitan growth management strategy through the proposed BHR (Building Height Regulation) is a key feature of the 2017 SP, with regard to realizing compact and polycentric Addis Ababa by the end of 2027. The Building Height

Regulation/BHR is serving as a grand land use strategy. This zonal development-based BHR is an instrument for the management of the metropolitan growth (Fig.1). The vertical growth of centers to their “optimal size” is most desirable in the situation of the severe “land shortage” and high ‘development pressure’ from the private sector in Addis Ababa (AACPPPO 2017, pp. 102, 208-17). In practice, the BHR controls the building bulks through a floor area ratio/FAR-based zonal classification system, as illustrated in Fig. 9.

Fig. 9 illustrates that the identified six zones for mixed use and vertical development regulation include the historic and environmental protection, and the aviation-restricted areas with various limits of construction, subject to revision every two and half years. The assumed advantages of the BHR include flexibility for both administrative implementation and timely modification in the context of rapid developments with vacant land shortage, investment pressure from the private sector in addition to the simplicity of using the Floor Area Ratio or FAR system as a tool.

The justification entailed two reasons. First, the land suitability assessment suggested that developable land in Addis Ababa should not exceed 40% of the city’s total 52,000 hectares of land. Second, the population forecast of about six million<sup>11</sup> in 2027 implied for an average urban bulk density (average FAR) approximately equal to 2<sup>12</sup>.

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<sup>11</sup> The estimations are in fact dependent on national planning sources such as the National Statistical Agency and the National Plan Schemes. Though some figures are arguable, yet they are legally binding for SP preparation according to Proclamation No. 574/2008.

<sup>12</sup> i.e. with an assumed per capita land consumption of a 90 mt. sq. per household, with additional 40% for commercial mixity, and assumed hierarchical distribution in *four* major zones, in a total of about 8, 000 hectares of developable land for building construction, excluding green and gray areas.

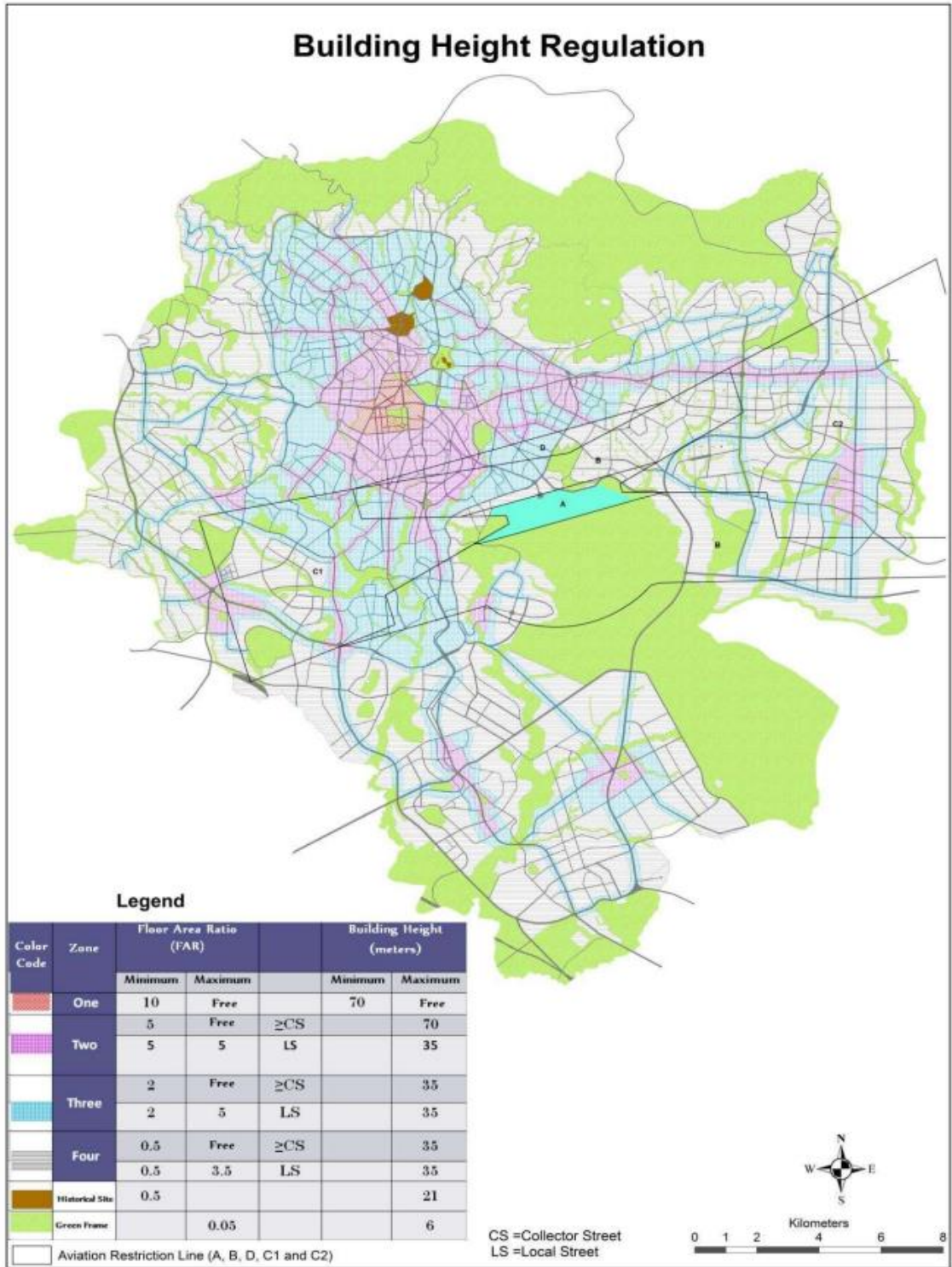


Figure 9: Building Height Regulation zones for the 2017-27 term, subject to revision every 2.5 years

This is because new challenges were emerging with the hierarchical order of the city centers. Urban centrality came to be an issue while ‘affordable’ housing and transportation continue to impact urban livability (AACPPO & ONLY-LYON 2012).

Thus, the SP proposed a transit-oriented and corridor-oriented high-density development policy (i.e. a version of the Compact City Model), which assumed that vertical densification along development corridors is tactically viable to mix residential and commercial uses close to public spaces and public transport. The integration of efficient land use and transportation through a strategic Building Height Regulation (BHR) was thus proposed as a priority (AACPPO 2017).

The BHR is zonally implementable over the vast metropolitan region as a key growth management strategy. It is instrumental to limit the bulk of buildings as well as the population density of urban centers, corridors, and neighborhoods including historic sites and green parks in addition to their hierarchical organization and zoning (AACPPO 2017: pp. 102, 208-217).

The Floor Area Ratio/FAR and the Land-Use Proportion (specified for both vertical and horizontal development) are the basic regulators in the designated four hierarchical zones. The other special zones include the historic, the environmental and the aviation restriction areas (see Fig. 1). The BHR is subject to revision every two and half years. However, six years have already passed without undertaking the proposed (legally- binding) revision. As will be elaborated in the next section, the pressure of the private sector for intense development plays its own role.

As complementary to the BHR, the land-use proportion was proposed to standardize a 40% share for the built-up, a 30% share for the open space/street and 30% for the green. This regulation in addition provides a standard for the vertical mixed-use percentage: a share of at least 40% of a newly constructed building must be reserved for residential use, except in the central business district (designated as zone one).

## 6.2. Cultural implications of the 2017 Structure Plan of Addis Ababa<sup>13</sup>

### 6.2.1. The conception of cultural heritage in the Structure Plan

Addis Ababa had several historic sites traditionally established in the model of the medieval settlement pattern, concomitant to the royal camping (a standard site plan of the then mobile court), which was founded as a traditional political capital in 1886. Even though Addis Ababa may not be a considerable historical city as compared to the several ancient and medieval settlements and towns like Aksum, Lalibela, Harar, Ankober, Gondar, etc., the city has always had remarkable centers in its ever-changing traditional urban landscape. Most of historic areas of Addis have significantly been altered or even forgotten at all, but a few such as Arada (now part of the Piazza cultural area, an area that had developed as a racially segregated quarter in the brief Italian Occupation period from 1936 to 1941) remain to be significant, despite considerable alterations, while still exist under the extreme of danger to completely alter at all.

Fig.2 illustrates the historic original center of the city that was established between the two important nodes of the palace and the cathedral, which was forming a cultural landscape for the following decade. In the later years between the 1900s and 1920s, the area referred as the Arada-Piazza was rapidly developing. This area was also subject to a policy of radical community relocation under the Fascist Italian Occupation (1936-1941), which led to create a racist quarter while moving the native market toward the West, in the area subsequently called it as the *Merkato Indigino*, or the actives' market.

The Arat Kilo-to-Sidist Kilo axis (around the National Palace) and the Merkato market area (often refereed in the media as the largest open market in Africa) have also survived regardless of their original integrity. These are urban heritages different from the other merely architectural types of heritage such as monuments and archaeological sites of the city because of their intangible values and social fabrics. The memories of these places have always lived in the minds of the dwellers and their

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<sup>13</sup> NB: this section of the chapter contains several extracts from a research conducted for this dissertation (Paper 3).

spirits are still present at least in the form of many photographs and fictional works. The original settlement pattern (with its several traditional lot sizes) was altered by the construction of high and middle-rise buildings over demolished old structures, in addition to the damage caused by the motorization (with asphalt pavements) of the original organic streetscape. This rapid trend of urban renewal has also gradually loosened the social fabric and social capital of the places as a result of community relocations.

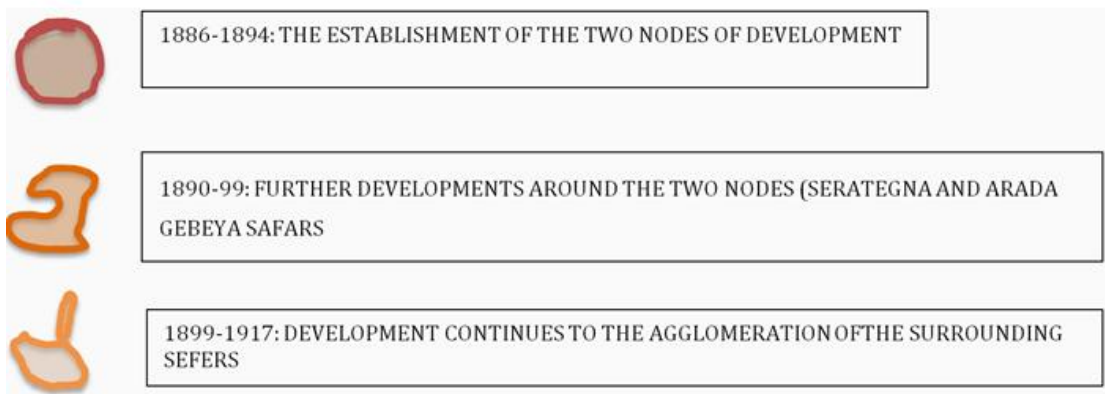


Figure 10 the historical development of the historic centers, from Fantaye 2017

It appears that the urban heritage of the city (as a concept different from the architectural one) came to attention only after the publication of the 1986's centenary scientific symposium organized by the municipality. Monuments and public squares are often considered for protection at least for political motives. However, old neighborhoods, and to some extent, even their communities, are often perceived as uncomfortable for the 'intended look' of the city's modernity. Thus, the rapid urban modernization trend has not only undermined urban heritage, but also approached the protection of individual monuments without considering their broader landscape.

The 2002 Master Plan Revision Project Office (ORAAMP 2001) pointed out the lack of clear identification and delineation mechanism as a challenge for the conservation of urban heritage. This Plan was thus limited to protect a number of monuments and sites as the priority was for urban decentralization and renewal. Since then, the city has been implementing 'affordable' housing programs for two decades through the construction of condominiums for low and middle-income groups in many central and peripheral districts, which involved radical measures of urban renewal projects; the devastating impact of these were already discussed in chapter 2.

The 2017 SP of Addis Ababa can be remarked as progressive for its introduction of a well-defined concept of urban heritage. It acknowledges, "The limited experience in handling historical sites, buildings and structures registered as historical and cultural heritages may pose its own challenges". Therefore, in theory, it has proposed to approach the conservation of urban heritage as a historic urban landscape because it recognizes "place identity" (as a fabric, p. 210) by addressing the multiple layers of identity and pattern:

The presence of a unique character/s and identity are the basis for creating distinguishable urban centers. This will also enhance their attractiveness. Historical heritages, emblematic buildings and monuments, street pattern, streetscape and street- building interaction as well as cultural activities to be preserved and built are essential factors that give a given center its identity. Similarly, there are particular districts in Addis Ababa with their own identity such as Arada-Piassa, Churchill Road, Merkato, Shiromeda, etc. which should always be considered in the planning and re-planning of Addis

Ababa...Heritage items contribute to the richness of urban areas and should be protected and adaptively reused to help shape the urban renewal of centers. Good urban design can contribute to place making and community identity...: Arada, as the historic center preserving historical structures and settlement pattern; Merkato as the main market and economic hub. Churchill Avenue, as the ‘Champs Elysees’ of Addis with interlinked greens enhancing the character of a promenade on the southern section by adding, amongst other amenities, a second row of trees. (And) Menelik II to King George Street as a major civic avenue; (and to) develop realistic implementation strategies for these proposals; and setup an independent institution that will manage the whole city center development (p.59-61).

#### 6.2.2. *The urban conservation frameworks of the Structure Plan*

Accordingly, the SP recommends the exploitation of such heritage resources as part of the grand tourism development strategy, which has proposed certain sites for adaptive reuse, redevelopment, renovation or restoration projects through public and private partnership. These are also resources listed by the *Addis Ababa City Culture and Tourism Bureau* as one-hundred and twenty-eight residences of former prominent personalities, twenty-six public buildings, sixteen caves, sixteen historical and worship places, twelve monuments and three bridges (pp-197-206).

Nonetheless, the metropolitan planning strategic priority set for compact and hierarchal centers through a mass transit-oriented approach leads to ambiguity when it comes to clear urban conservation frameworks. This metropolitan level urgency has thus led to the delineation of few sites as historic, in which the SP contradicts its definition (conception, perception, and operationalization) of heritage as a resource to be both protected and redeveloped:

‘...This new Building Height Regulation is specially tailored to simplify the process of implementation and to reduce some of the challenges faced in implementing the previous regulations. Some of the shortcomings of the 2010 Building Height Regulation, for instance, included (the fact that) it had given little consideration to the limited capacity and the ever changing demands of local developers and the market; and in view of the shortage of new area for

expansion, it had delineated large tracts with no significant heritage value as historical. (Also) It failed to produce skylines and streetscape with block identity and character (p.209).



**Figure 11 monuments of Addis Ababa, location map, from ACCPPO, 2017**

Subsequently, when it comes to the most notable historical site, it states:

Arada-Piassa (Piazza) is one of the old districts in the city with their own histories worth preserving. The existing urban form of Piassa (Piazza) requires maintenance rather than changing. Building heights in Piassa, especially close to the Addis Ababa municipality (head office building) and the St. George church is limited to a maximum of 21m (p.216).

Such proposals with much emphasis given to the physical fabric are contrary to the historic urban landscape approach from the perspectives of the 2011 Valletta Principles, as well as the 2011 UESCO Recommendation. The SP has compromised urban heritage as a mere historic quarter devoid of a social fabric. Still worse is the fact that only few sites were delineated as historic or cultural (see Fig. 2). The

emphasis over the control of rapid growth by a means of the skyline thus contradicts the notion of the city as a cultural landscape, at least in this case.

### *Summary*

The SP has succeeded in the incorporation of various international standards under the Compact City strategy, including the concept of urban heritage. However, it has failed to implement urban heritage conservation through the Cultural Landscape approach, and has thus only delineated few historic sites for a special building height regulation. Owing to the grand principle of the BHR, the SP has led to compromise urban conservation as a mere protection of architectural ensembles, giving little emphasis to the social fabric.

This is in fact due to the prevailing rapid development pressure, which required a grand growth management strategy applicable over the whole metropolis (through a zonal approach of development regulation or the BHR). The fact that the inner part of the city is preferable for business (infrastructure availability or development convenience) has contributed to the delineation of very few sites as protected historic areas. Consequently, the SP can be said to have proposed the “conceptualization of the (future) townscape” (ICOMOS, 2011) of Addis Ababa (contrary to the socio-cultural and historical fabric). Moreover, the pressure for rapid development as well as the delaying of local area plan preparation will certainly tackle the revision and modification of the BHR as suitable for heritage conservation.

## **6.3. Social implications of the 2017 Structure Plan of Addis Ababa**

### *6.3.1. The meaning and use shift towards the street as a vibrant public space*

The 2017 SP has demonstrated a meaningful shift towards the regulation of the mixed land use proportion proportioning system that included 60% allocation rule for the public, green space and the street. Aiming to ensure environmental viability (i.e. temperature, flooding and pollution regulation) and public space accessibility at various levels, the rest of the land use (40%) is allocated construction (mainly for residential purposes). The proposed hierarchy of city centers at various levels aspires to actualize district-level green areas. The assumption in these aspirations of the street

development as a public space is that vibrant streets are more accessible than the citywide-level parks are. According to the SP (p. 84), the situation of the street has been desperate in Addis Ababa for long:

The city does not have comprehensive and safe pedestrian facilities. The total length of the pedestrian pathways constructed in the last 10 years in the city is about 440km, which is almost 12% of total road length. 53% of streets in the city core do not have enough pedestrian facilities. Existing walkways and streets are congested due to on-street parking, passenger and goods loading/unloading activities, and informal trading activities.

This prominence of the street as a public space can be corroborated through the content analysis of the SP. The terminological use of the Street is mentioned in the SP with a relative frequency of about 70% (Table 3).

**Table 7 content analysis (public space, street concept) in 2017 SP**

Codes	Total Word Count	Relative Frequency	Associated codes
public space	17	2.43%	public area
street	362	52%	avenue, corridor, square, open space
corridor	21	3%	Development/business/transport/high density/TOD corridor, -re/development
avenue	6	0.86%	avenue
square	21	3%	square
green space	313	45%	green space/area/, park, plaza,
city park	16	2.3%	city/sub-city/neighborhood/ <i>woreda</i> park
city center	123	17.7%	Urban/city/cultural center/'centre'/node

(Source: based on AACPPO 2017)

Furthermore, as opposed to several implementation failures, the street-centered beautification projects undertaken between 2018 and 2022 are rather successful. According to the media (verified with some key informants), successful projects include the beautification of a few city-level parks, squares and avenues. Nevertheless, the successes are largely the result of interventions from the federal government. The chartered city of Addis being the seat of the federal government as well, such interventions were justified as not only that the local institutional capacity is weak but also that the exploitation of federal level investment opportunities is indispensable especially when ‘sufficient’ foreign currency is not easily available.

Remarkable in this regard are the Churchill Avenue and the Meskel Square projects<sup>14</sup>. These projects were initially parts of the SP proposal for the *Main City Center Development Plan* that incorporated a vast area and several components. Despite the partial implementation of the project, the Churchill Avenue now is an enjoyable public space facilitating seating areas and enhancing walkability (Fig. 2). These developments may suggest that the street is more promising to advance, as the resource mobilization has proved to be relatively easier as well.



a

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<sup>14</sup> The Ethiopian Orthodox Church primarily relates the recent controversy with the Meskel Square project to ownership claims; the square is a ritual site designated as an intangible world heritage.



b

**Figure 12: street view towards the North (a) and South (b) direction of the Churchill Avenue, photo taken in February 2022**

### *6.3.2. The threat of congestion in the unknown optimal development scale and rate*

As already remarked in the SP, identifying the “optimum size” (p. 39) of the city centers remains a significant challenge for two main reasons. First, the trend up to now has resulted in the decrease of the city’s built-up density and the urban extent density (measured with persons per hectare) implying sprawling. A rapid increase (at world standard) in road density has also been observed, implying severe traffic congestion in the future because of the widely dispersed mass housing sites (Habitat, 2020, Larsen et al., 2019). Second, despite the proposed periodical revision of the BHR, the SP did not include a mechanism for the assessment of the optimal rate of development in the hierarchically zoned urban centers (i.e. there is need for a comprehensive carrying capacity assessment framework). In addition, it is not clear how the SP has provided detailed land-use and building height regulation by merely assuming the rapid development of the city centers without identifying their

“optimum size” (p.39). For example, the proposed Main City Center Plan (a sample area plan of the SP including parts of the areas of the Arada-Piazza quarter) did not provide a strong justification based on such grounds of optimum development size/scale (carrying capacity study).

Therefore, assuming the continuation of public space provision under such situation will aggravate the increasing traffic congestion and pollution as potential threats in the future. Urban congestion and pollutions already exist; and the delays associated with the study and revision of the Building Height Regulation can worsen the problem. For example, according to some key informants, the private sector’s demand for additional intensification of the centers and corridors <sup>15</sup> has also unnecessarily influenced the on-going process of revising the Building Height Regulation. This is because the development pressure from the business community prefers to propose larger construction projects (also partly related to the financial (baking) institutions) than available infrastructural capacity.

According to some independent experts, Addis Ababa’s development through the construction of high-rise buildings <sup>16</sup> is also problematic for two main reasons. In the first instance, the rapid development of the city centers is worsening the already existing challenges for the provision of water, sanitation and electricity in the high-density neighborhoods. This situation will certainly affect the hygiene of the public spaces and can lead to other cycles sprawl in the future against the very objectives. In the second, the economic feasibility of high-rise buildings has not been yet encouraging. Investment returns are slower, while the country is in desperate deficit of export-import imbalance.<sup>17</sup> In this regard, much input is required from the barely researched area of Addis Ababa’s economic aggregate carrying capacity (see, for example Changliang & Lina, 2012; Rees, 2017; Wei, et al., 2016).

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<sup>15</sup> The real estate developers are free from the burden of providing basic services (water, electricity, etc.) while they benefit from the available cheap labor due to the continual rural migration.

<sup>16</sup> The methodology is also supported in the policy analysis documents (mostly in Amharic) of the Ministry of Urban Development and Construction ([www.mudho.gov.et](http://www.mudho.gov.et))

<sup>17</sup> The media currently say much about Ethiopia’s international and national debt crisis owing to the delayed mega projects. In addition, several construction projects in the capital are not in progress.

Additionally, the local public opinions and recent site photos from new and old neighborhoods confirm the threats with the congestion of the local street as well. As observed from the cases of the local streets of two different neighborhoods: the redeveloped Lideta (city center) and the new Kilinto (peripheral) have the potential of vibrant public space, while at the same time, are increasingly attracting noise and air pollution. In Lideta, for example, noisy music disturbs residents from the morning until the mid-night, coming out from not only the cafes and restaurants that turn out to be nightclubs in the evenings, but also from the groceries in the ground floor apartments. Frequent attempts by the residents to prevent such pollutions were not successful. Unable to swiftly remove solid wastes, some street corners ‘allocated’ for solid waste collection smell bad while inviting several and often-dangerous dogs. The situation may not improve swiftly as the newly established local administrations (committees assigned for the apartment-blocks) lack coordination and effectiveness for several reasons. According to Pedrazzini et al., (2014), the new phenomena of social-class segregation in the old districts caused by the newly built condos have aggravated such problem.



**Figure 13 : the streets of the Kilinto low-income condominium neighborhood- (a recent peripheral settlement)**



**Figure 14: the streets of the Lideta middle-income condominium neighborhood- redevelopment of an old city center**

### *Summary*

The transitional social sustainability of the last two decades metropolitan modernization is uncertain if not already a failure, when examined from the public space development and use dynamics. Public life largely remained unstable while public spaces hardly stayed accessible owing to the numerous large-scale infrastructure constructions in addition to frequent delays. The sustainable improvement of city centers and streets thus necessitates the optimization of their carrying capacity (development rate and scale), or dire consequences of heritage loss and socio-cultural instability will continue to take place. This kind of pessimist and bold criticism is in fact well established in the Western theoretical and historical literature, notably since the remarkable work of Jane Jacob's *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* in 1961. In this regard, whether developing countries have to repeat the past mistakes of the developed and developing ones (e.g. the Manhattan-like mass housing projects, or the 1960s rapid modernization of West Africa) nonetheless remains to be a significant question. Such a discussion will be relevant for identifying gaps with several other models of urban transitional sustainability including the Compact City and the Cultural Landscape approach.

## CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSION

### 7.0. The Global-Local Nexus of the Metropolitan Compact Development Policy Paradox

This concluding chapter aims to summarize the findings of the research conducted through three objectives, and as well aims to make generalizations and critical reflections in the broader theoretical perspective. The discussion in this dissertation has already underlined the significance of understanding the nexus of the global and national policy constraint for adapting socio-culturally sustainable and landscape-based models in the context of capital city planning. This is particularly an exemplary of the case of Addis Ababa's historical and contemporary urbanization. The criticism thus entailed that the earlier modernization endeavors fulfilled against the medieval model foundation of the traditional settlement have still continued devoid of a strong moral basis. In addition, it was argued that the Compact City policy intensified in the last two decades would thus have dire socio-cultural implications, owing to the city's radical image-building historical legacy, as well as the related global pressure.

These also necessitated elaborating three premises of the argument: the first was how the medieval traditions by which the city was formed resisted the early modernization trends, whereas the second characterized the post-War architectural marvels from the international historical perspective. The third examined the current policy implications in relation to the previous two. Accordingly, the analogical induction between the main concern of the contemporary sustainability model and the motives of the historical modernization policy of the city infer the problematic position of the diplomatic, capital city, as pressured to ambitiously look modern. Such has been the case with the political economy of city image building, a historical legacy of a

national political obsession that has since continue devoid of the optimal development rate, which can also be critically reflected in the contrast between the conceptions of modernization ad sustainability.

### **7.1. The historical legacy, dynamics and dialectics of metropolitan modernization**

As discussed earlier, the case of Addis Ababa presents additional unique aspects of the global economic and political challenges in the study of metropolitan modernization policy, as well as of the criticism of the models of development sustainability. This criticism on the modernization of Addis Abba has surveyed most of the critical issues involved since the early foundation as well as the motives: The imperial government hurried the modernization of its capital due to external (colonial, geopolitical ad ideological) pressures rather than from the domestic dilemma. Rapid modernization was pursued in a situation where the cultural, institutional and legal setup was unfavorable, in addition to the unmatched rate of industrialization. There were good preparations with the previous battles for national sovereignty against colonialists, but not as such with the battles for national modernization. The later has thus failed to differentiate the modernization of the production system from the Westernization of the consumption pattern, which led to the urban modernization phenomena as parasitic process devoid of moral economy. No wonder then if this trend will lead to national debt crisis and economic sovereignty threats.

Such modernization trend has still continued in the form of the recent metropolitan modernization and growth management strategy, akin to the Compact City model. This contemporary trend will certainly have serious implications to social equity (housing unaffordability, socio-cultural instability) and cultural integrity (weak institutional capacity, heritage conservation) as well as economic unsustainability (foreign financial loan dependency, national debt crisis, and inflation cycles).

The case of Addis also illustrates the constraints in relation to the preference over certain sustainability models over the others, additionally to their compatibility as significant to the general capital city planning ad metropolitan modernization of the global south, due to its historical and existing policy contexts: The earlier modernization endeavors were fulfilled against the traditional (medieval model)

foundation, urbanization as well as administration of the city. And yet, such rapid or radical modernization has still continued devoid of a strong moral basis.

Addis Ababa's century of urban modernization and city image building obsession have been a predicament to the cultural (historical, traditional values), the social (economic and moral) and institutional (capacity building) resilience. In this regard, a critical issue was identified with the historically established national modernization policy burden over the capital city planning: The national modernization drive was caused by the need for national security (a mere "defensive modernization" that lacks either "cultural or material causes"), which rather explains the persistent trend of "radical" city image-building endeavors. This was the case with the past, as well as with the present trend; that is to say, the Compact City policy intensified in the last two decades will have dire socio-cultural implications, owing to the city's radical image-building historical legacy.

The increasingly developing socio-economic crisis (e.g. foreign currency shortages, low investment returns, etc.,) showcases the metropolitan modernization paradox that is predominantly framed by the national priority as an antithetic both to the international pressure and as a contradiction to the cultural urban landscape. In other words, the traditional as well as the slow industrialization' structural transformation process have since been challenging the architectural-infrastructure modernity intended for the diplomatic gesture, whereas the national debt crisis (economic sovereignty challenge) will at the same time continue as an extension of the historical colonial threat. The synthesis is that severe socio-cultural instabilities adding extreme foreign aid dependency (as part of the post-colonial, neo-colonial scheme of the global capitalism) will emerge as recurrent, vicious cycles.

Such critical issues are beyond the scope of the general complexity of the particular city, which should be of a concern that international frameworks should address. In this regard, what is significant for further research is the view towards sustainability as a historical dialectics of certain forms of modernization against colonialism, while modernization against as certain forms of westernization.

## 7.2. The socio-cultural implications of metropolitan compact development

Additionally interesting to remark based on Addis Ababa's case includes the hostilities that the Compact City model presents with regard to the metropolitan modernization agenda. The analogical induction of the currently adopted planning sustainability model from the historical modernization tendencies infer the problematic position of the diplomatic, capital city as pressured to ambitiously look modern.

Such radical transformation drives (rapid development devoid of the optimal scale ad pattern) will undermine the local community, the urban heritage and institutional resilience (capacity building). The soundness of this argument is based on three premises:

- i) Capital city planning models are strongly related to the national modernization agenda;
- ii) Primate metropolises and diplomatic centers are hubs of global (political economy) challenges;
- iii) Effective urban heritage management and socio-cultural protection policies are determinants of social sustainability. Therefore,
- iv) A compact metropolitan development policy tends to be a global-politically motivated project of national image building, detrimental to heritage and community.

This characterization of the metropolitan compact development paradox is supported by the concrete examples of the contemporary trend, which illustrated the relevant dialectics of the development dynamics, as well as the socio-cultural contradiction of the planning model at six stages. The model has confirmed its suitability to reinforce:

- a. The perpetuation of the historical city image-building obsession, while
- b. The loss of urban heritage and the associated social fabrics were not appropriately emphasized in the detrimental situation of
- c. The persistent challenge of institutional resilience, as well as
- d. The delaying-progress of large scale infrastructural development, which is also significant to the increasingly challenging task of studying

- e. The optimal scale and rate of urban development, as well implicating
- f. A delayed transition towards a compact urban form

Such a delayed urban transition to whatever kind of urban form scenario is meant to be a social injustice, for it is a process against the very conception of the very social sustainability. If the “Just City” is thought of as a modest place where the “small is [considered] beautiful”, then such an image-building drive ironically reminds this century the notion in the previous one: “ornamentation is a crime”. Certainly, that was said by Adolf Loos from a Eurocentric point of view, but the question is if the same applies for African modernization (Samuel Huntington?). In fact this thesis has one again conformed that Addis Ababa’s sustainability model is nothing less paradoxical than the usual African “hypocrite” modernization policy, whereas this hypocrisy can be better understood through the dialectical synthesis of the global north capitalism thesis and the global south antithesis of national identity crisis. Perhaps, this would be preferable expressed through the much acclaimed conclusion by an African author: “African miracle is [always] a mirage”

### **7.3. Implications for global policy and further research**

What these perspectives suggest is to further critically research and explain the broader global (capitalist) political economy of the African metropolitan (compact urban) modernization. The global south has already suffered from colonialism, while still suffering from the post-colonial global financial system. From inception to implementation, the adoption, local translation and adaptation of such sustainability models (conceived by the developed world, Bigon and Langenthal, 2023) are no different from the historical modernization paradox, except in the new climate change concern. Perhaps, it is the time to revisit Samuel Huntington (1996)’s Clash of Civilization/COC theory that implicated certain forms of modernization of the non-Western nations could threaten the post-Cold War World Order. Ironically, the decades just flew as much was said about the merits of modernization/globalization sustainability. Nevertheless, the consensus for such sustainable forms of modernization, or of the ‘pacific’ forms of civilizations, as advocated in the COC theory, remains a challenge that needs the attention of global research and policymaking!

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## Appendices

### Appendix A the first page of Paper 1

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### Some Aspects of Medieval Historic Town Management Tradition in the Book of Aksum

Matiyas Bekele Fantaye<sup>1</sup>, Abba Girum Beaman<sup>2</sup>, Antonio Patrino<sup>3</sup> and Claus-  
Peter Echter<sup>4</sup>

#### The significance of medieval historic town management traditions

Historical practices and traditional wisdoms of historic town management are vital elements of the contemporary landscape-based heritage management practice. For example, the 2011 UNESCO Recommendation adopted a Historic Urban Landscape (HUL) approach which emphasizes the importance of traditional knowledge for the conservation of historic landscapes (World Heritage Centre, 2011). The integrity of the authentic fabrics (tangible and intangible) of a historic landscape is inseparable to its traditional institutions. Thus several authors have claimed the significance of understanding such traditions with regard to framing operational definitions required for the management, financing and protection of heritages in the context of rapid urbanization, tourism impacts, and economic development pressure ( Echter, 2020; ICOMOS, 2011; Martínez, 2017; Nelson & Shelling, 2018; Orbasli, 2000; 2017; Plieninger & Bieling, 2012; Sykes & Ludwig, 2015).

Traditional wisdoms, and the theoretical/intellectual bases on which they are founded (ICOMOS, 2011; Turner, 1994), can be conceptualized by understanding specific cultural contexts and distinct historical roots. Much is not

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<sup>1</sup> Corresponding author: Lecturer, College of Architecture and Civil Engineering, Addis Ababa Science and Technology University, Email: [matiways@gmail.com](mailto:matiways@gmail.com), Tel.: +251910779695, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

<sup>2</sup> Philologist, Department of Geez Language and Literature, Bahr Dar University, Email: [beamangirum@gmail.com](mailto:beamangirum@gmail.com), Bahr Dar, Ethiopia

<sup>3</sup> Lecturer, Adama Science and Technology University, Email: [gmp19102013@gmail.com](mailto:gmp19102013@gmail.com), Adama, Ethiopia,

<sup>4</sup>President of CIVVIH ICOMOS, Honorary Member of Europa Nostra, Email: [cpechter@gmx.de](mailto:cpechter@gmx.de), Germany

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RESEARCH



## The Fibonacci Rectangles in Lalibela and Their Significance for the Reconstruction of the Vanished Cathedral of Aksum

Matiyas Bekele Fantaye<sup>1</sup> · Tibebu Assefa<sup>2</sup>

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### Abstract

The Lalibela rock-hewn churches have been characterized as examples of the equal-equal proportioning system. This paper advances the characterization through the medieval royal camping traditions and what are now called Fibonacci Rectangles. The study is based on geometrical analyses of seven photogrammetrically rendered orthogonal views from three selected structures. The overlay analysis compared an ideal geometric system to inherently inexact artifacts. Accordingly, the comparison was tested against a literary architectural proportioning system mentioned in the medieval Book of Aksum, and a schematic site plan of the vanished Aksum cathedral was thus reconstructed as an antithesis. There appears to be an intention by the medieval designers to have adhered to patterns of concentric circles and rectangles in the Fibonacci sequence. The patterns appear to radiate from the centers of the façades and from the main entrances as well, suggesting a solar system based cosmological symbolism.

**Keywords** Lalibela churches · Architectural proportion · Geometrical analysis · Façade design · Medieval techniques · Fibonacci rectangles · Vanished Aksum cathedral

### The Study of Architectural Proportions and the Lalibela Edifices

The study of historical architectural proportioning traditions encompasses the vast body of chronological, typological and analogical premises central in art history and archaeology. To this end, the probable application of ratios such as the golden

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✉ Matiyas Bekele Fantaye  
[matiyas.bekele@aastu.edu.et](mailto:matiyas.bekele@aastu.edu.et)  
Tibebu Assefa  
[asstib2011@gmail.com](mailto:asstib2011@gmail.com)

<sup>1</sup> Department of Architecture, Addis Ababa Science and Technology University, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

<sup>2</sup> EIABC, Addis Ababa University, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

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<https://ssrn.com/abstract=4168251>

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The Public Space Dynamics, April 2022

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**The Public Space Dynamics in the Transitional Compact City: Addis Ababa's Spatial Plans from 2002 to 2022**

Matiyas Bekele Fantaye<sup>1</sup> and Tibebe Assesfa<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Lecturer, Department of Architecture, Addis Ababa Science and Technology University, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, [matiyas.bekele@aastu.edu.et](mailto:matiyas.bekele@aastu.edu.et)

<sup>2</sup>Assistant Professor (PhD), EIABC, Addis Ababa University, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, [asstib2011@gmail.com](mailto:asstib2011@gmail.com)

(First drafted in April 2022)

**Abstract**

*Vibrant public spaces are the essential elements of the socially sustainable city characterized as equitable, accessible and efficient, which are similarly underlined in the Compact City strategy. The public space use instabilities is thus fundamentally indispensable for the sustainable transition towards compact urban forms. This paper, therefore, analyzes the two-decades long metropolitan growth of Addis Ababa planned to meet compact, polycentric and transit-oriented objectives. Based on a preliminary evaluation of the four years implementation of the recent city structure plan, the case study emphasized the changing aspects of the public space provision frameworks in relation to social equity. The study found that the frameworks that had initially entailed the metropolitan decentralization policy later shifted to embracing regulations for high-density and vertical development policy adding the public importance of the street. In the meantime, however, public life largely remained unstable while public spaces hardly stayed accessible owing to the numerous large-scale constructions in addition to frequent delays. There is an exception to few successfully implemented projects recently due primarily to federal level involvement. The study suggests that the sustainable improvement of city centers and streets in Addis Ababa necessitates the optimization of their carrying capacity (development rate and scale).*

*Key: metropolitan transition; compact city; public space; street improvement; spatial plans; preliminary evaluation*

**1. The Study on Public Spaces in the Context of Sustainable Urbanization**

Vibrant public spaces are elements of the sustainable city characterized as equitable, accessible and efficient (UNGA, 2015). According to the recommendation by the UN Habitat (2015, p.49), rapidly urbanizing and poor-resource countries should frame their public space development policies as additional layers of resources that need to be exploited. The 2017 to 2027 Structure Plan of Addis Ababa (hence forward SP) has in fact reflected this kind of policy (AACPPPO, 2017). The various proposals of the SP have particularly stressed 'the planning of public spaces as a system and through a city-wide street-led approach (i.e. Policy Tools 6 and 7; Habitat 2015)'. Nevertheless, the SP is primarily a compact metropolitan growth management plan intended to regulate the two-decade long construction of mass housing and mass transit infrastructures by integrating the high-density residential urban peripheries through public transport and with the provision of multi-level city centers

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<https://civvih.icomos.org/2022-brussels-belgium-annual-meeting-scientific-symposium-june-15-19/>

ICOMOS CIVVIH SCIENTIFIC SYMPOSEUM BRUSSELS June 15-16, 2022

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**Urban Conservation Frameworks under a Compact City Policy: The 2017-2027 Addis Ababa's Structure Plan in the Light of the Valletta Recommendation<sup>1</sup>**

Matiyas Bekele Fantaye<sup>1</sup> and Tibebe Assefa<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Lecturer, Department of Architecture, AASTU, Addis Ababa

<sup>2</sup>Assistant Professor (PhD), EIABC, AAU, Addis Ababa

**Abstract**

Understanding to what extent the models of the Compact City and the Historic Urban Landscape approach are compatible is relevant to the planning of sustainable urban transition. The recent structure plan of Addis Ababa, for example, promotes a compact city development policy, which approaches historic sites through zonally oriented building height regulations. This paper, therefore, reviews the structure plan from the Valletta perspective (for urban conservation). It remarks on that the Plan has successfully incorporated various international standards including the conservation of urban heritage. However, it has failed to consider urban heritage as a cultural landscape and has thus merely delineated few historic sites for a special height regulation purpose, giving little emphasis to their social fabric. This case also suggests the need for further explaining the role of the landscape in fast-growing cities, signifying what should complement to such recommendations as the Valletta as well.

**1. INTRODUCTION**

Understanding to what extent the models of the Compact City and the Historic Urban Landscape approach are compatible is relevant to plan and implement sustainable urban transition. Culture and heritage conservation must play a significant role in the process to ensure social equity and public participation through the protection of the social fabric of an urban area. Thus, architects and urban planners have increasingly inclined towards embracing the Cultural Urban Landscape approach of metropolitan development planning since the 1990s professional activism, which gained momentum with movements such as the New Urbanism and the New Regionalism. The 2011 *Valletta Principles for the Safeguarding and Management of Historic Cities, Towns and Urban Areas* (the Valletta) was developed in this

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<sup>1</sup> This paper was presented in the 2022 ICOMOS CIVVIH Scientific Symposium in Brussels: <https://civvih.icomos.org/2022-brussels-belgium-annual-meeting-scientific-symposium-june-15-19/>

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**ANNEXD**  
**MATERIALS**  
**And**  
**PUBLICATIONS**