

***IMPLEMENTATION OF LOCAL
DEVELOPMENT PLANS IN ADDIS
ABABA***

THE CASE OF ECA LDP

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ABBREVIATIONS

AACG	Addis Ababa City Government
AACRA	Addis Ababa City Roads Authority
AAWSA	Addis Ababa Water and Sewerage Authority
BAR	Built-up Area Ratio
BWUD	Bureau of Works and Urban Development
CBD	Central Business District
CBO	Community Based Organization
ECA	Economic Commission for Africa
ECSC	Ethiopian Civil Service College
EEPCO	Ethiopian Electric Power Corporation
EOC	Ethiopian Orthodox Church
FAR	Floor Area Ratio
GTZ	German Technical Cooperation
KG	Kindergarten
LAA	Land Administration Authority
LDA	Land Development Agency
LDP	Local Development Plan
MP	Master Plan
NGO	Non Governmental Organization
ORAAMP	Office for the Revision of Addis Ababa Master Plan
RHA	Rental Housing Administration
SWOT	Strength-Weakness-Opportunities and Threats
UN	United Nations

ABSTRACT

Urban development especially planned urban development is a recent phenomena in the history of urban development in the Ethiopian context in general and particularly in Addis Ababa. Various attempts were made to guide the development of Addis Ababa in a planned manner. Starting from the more traditional city organization of Empress 'Taitu', implementation of portions of the other successive Master Plans have contributed their share for the birth of the present urban form of Addis Ababa.

The preparation and implementation of Local development plans has become a very visible phenomenon as a means to implement the Master Plans of Addis Ababa since the 1986 MP. Since then various LDPs have been prepared and implemented. As described in the introductory part the purpose of this thesis is to conduct a research on the two main areas concerning the LDPs of Addis Ababa, namely, the challenges and the impacts of implementing LDPs in Addis Ababa.

In trying to answer the posed research questions an effort was made to make the research as comprehensive as possible. Hence, possible areas that are linked to LDP implementation such as plan preparation trends, institutional and legal setup for LDP preparation and implementation and the socio-economic impacts of implementing LDPs in Addis Ababa are touched upon in a fairly detailed manner. In the case study section, the case of kaza-INCHIS / ECA LDP is researched to show to the reader the impact and the challenges of LDP implementation in the inner-city areas of Addis Ababa.

In the final analysis the research has concluded that the introduction of LDPs has brought about a positive change in creating planned urban development in spite of the problems created in the process of implementing the LDPs in both the physical and socio-economic arenas. Problems are seen in the area of the nature of the plans prepared in that the plans are only two dimensionally conceived, prepared and implemented and that the three dimensional aspect of them is left to grow by chance. Socio-economically it was found out that implementing LDPs in the inner-city areas of Addis Ababa such as the ECA LDP has caused the disruption of the socio-economic

life of the low and middle income inner-city residents of Addis Ababa. Financial, institutional and legal problems are also seen as the major problems that hinder the implementation of LDPs in Addis Ababa.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Urban development, social, physical, economic and other development, is guided by a number of ways in different countries whose socio-economic and political conditions differ according to the specific situation of the country in question.

The history of developing a city according to plan is a recent history in Ethiopia in general and in Addis Ababa in particular. The city used to be guided initially by the intents and visions of its governors. Later a number of master plans were introduced at different times to guide the development of the city. The lack of enough details to implement the master plans and the dissatisfaction with the ease of implementation of master plans gave rise to local development plans that are believed will help to realize the master/structure plan of the city.

Local development plans are prepared for the specific areas of the city and are meant to facilitate the realization of the structure plan and speed up the development of the city. Local development plans are also legal documents that have to be observed in the areas of their application.

This thesis proposal is made with the intention of looking into the aspect of urban plan implementation in Addis Ababa with a special focus on the implementation of local development plans in the capital. The purpose of the research is by examining the problems of urban plan implementation in Addis Ababa to investigate the challenges and the impacts of implementing LDPs on the social and economic lives of the residents of the city of Addis Ababa.

Research Questions

The main research questions to the proposed research agenda, Challenges of Implementing Local Development Plans, are twin questions. These twin questions are stated as: what are the challenges of implementing local development plans in the context of Addis Ababa? How does the process of implementing Local Development Plans affect the residents of the city of Addis Ababa?

As it is made evident with the title, the research will investigate the implementation of Local Development Plans in the endeavor to answer some additional research questions that includes what the nature of urban plan execution is in Addis Ababa. What are the types of urban plans studied and implemented historically in Addis Ababa? How are the residents of the city made to benefit from the implementation of some kind of urban plans and public participation promoted and enhanced in the study and implementation of LDPs? How are decisions taken to prepare and implement urban plans? The study shall also consider the gaps in plan preparation and implementation and will focus on the necessary inputs of plan implementation.

The research shall also consider how compensation and relocation issues are dealt within the scope of the implementation of LDPs. By way of asking such question the research shall try to investigate the success and failures of LDP preparation and implementation in Addis Ababa.

Other questions relate to urban development finance (finance for implementation) how it is acquired and expended. The role of the public in the allocation, management and administration of resources for the implementation of local development plans in Addis Ababa will also be considered.

Relevance and Justification for the Research

Nowadays, the culture of planned development is becoming familiar than any other time in the history of Addis Ababa. The types of the plans prepared have crossed beyond the borders of general plans to a more detailed and specific plans, called local development plans, that are believed to enhance and facilitate urban development. But it is observed that these plans are not easy to implement for they overlook important aspects of implementation.

Most of the LDPs cannot be easily implemented for they did not consider local capacity (financial, professional etc.)Moreover, since these are statutory plans on their own, their inflexible character makes them hard for implementation.

This is also the time in the history of the city of Addis Ababa that quite a significant proportion of redevelopment activity takes place in the city; the issue of appropriate compensation and relocation procedures is becoming very much crucial. As little attention is paid to these issues on the LDPs the plans are facing the danger of remaining on the shelf. Hence, the subject of LDP implementation is an area to be researched and appropriate answers must be put forward.

Justification for the Research

- Urban physical plans are usually prepared and we usually do not see their implementation

- When urban plans are prepared little attention is paid to the sources of finance for the implementation

As officially admitted by the authorities of the federal government, urban issues have not been the concern of the FDRE until recently. The resulting engagement of the city government in massive urban renewal activities coupled with the lack of attention for an integrated solution of the physical, social and economic problems of the city has brought about huge disturbances of the socio economic lives of the low income families of the city.

Objectives of the Research

The general objective of this research is to look for better ways of plan preparation and implementation that suits the socio-economic and political (policy) environment of the country at large and the city in particular. The specific objectives include:

- To deal with the practical problems that arise in the implementation of local development plans and to propose corresponding solutions to the identified problems
- To explore whether local development plans have facilitated urban development in Addis Ababa
- To propose appropriate and less costly (economically, socially, and perhaps politically) ways of plan implementation mechanisms.

The research will further investigate the conflict between plan preparation and implementation and the extent to which such conflicts have affected urban development in Addis Ababa.

Research Methodology

In the endeavor to answer the posed research questions, the study adopted a combination of research methods. Hence, an effort was made to understand from pertinent literature the international practice, by way of a case study of some countries.

Our main case, the case of Addis Ababa with respect to plan preparation and implementation is dealt with in a much deeper detail.

As was being put forward by the research proposal the intention was to investigate the implementation aspects of at least two LDPs of different characters. But time did not allow going in depth in more than one LDP. Discussions were made with my advisor as to which LDP we need to stick to in trying to answer the posed research questions. In the end we have agreed that representative case study from an inner city LDP, i.e. The Kasa-INCHIS /ECA LDP, is selected and research is being conducted.

The methodology used to conduct the research is a comparative case study method. This method is employed at both the qualitative and empirical levels. Qualitative research is done to investigate the quality of the LDP study. Comparison is made between the 1998 ECA detail plan and the 2002 ECA LDP. The qualitative case study includes the nature and character of the detail plan and ECA LDP in particular. How the area was chosen for redevelopment, what the initial and other subsequent studies suggested for the area and the processes and nature in which land preparation and delivery for redevelopment was undertaken.

The nature, type, and characteristics of plan making bodies in the present Addis Ababa City Administration is also assessed in this part of the study. Relevant data concerning the case study from government offices is collected and analyzed. Informal discussions are held with the respective LDP preparation teams and implementers at both city and sub-city levels.

In the empirical part of the research, comparative case studies are made on the situation of the relocatees between old and new neighborhoods. We have learned that a total of about 927 families were relocated from the ECA area to two different expansion sites of the city, namely “Gergi” and the CMC areas. Of these 70% were government house dwellers, Kebele and AARH housing, and 30% were private house owners. Government house dwellers are also relocated in ‘Gergi’ and CMC areas according to their capacity to pay monthly house rent. The majority of those who cannot afford to pay over 100 Birr of monthly house rent were given houses at the Gergi area and the rest with an economic capacity to pay over 100 birr /month for house rent are resettled in the city administrations houses in front of the ECSC whereas private house owners are allotted land and compensation money at the CMC area adjacent to the ALTAD neighborhood.

Random sampling of about 101 resettled households was made who are grouped in the category of both government and private house owners according to their proportions in order to deal with the socio-economic and the empirical part of the research. Hence, about 23 private home owners were interviewed from the CMC neighborhood, 20 government house renters from the city government housing in front of the ECSC and about 78 low income households were interviewed from the Gergi government housing dwellers. These households the samples are taken randomly to administer the structured interviews. Since the house holds are grouped in about 11 blocks in the Gergi government housing, an average of 6 families are interviewed from each block. we have planned to interview about 30 households from the ALTAD private home owners but we could only interview about 23 of them due to the fact that some of them have not started construction of their houses, some others have sold their plots and left the area and a few of them were not willing to be interviewed.

Limiting the number of interviewees of the middle income government house renters in front of the ECSC to 20 is only a matter of decision. The data collection work is done by hiring four third year students of the department of Architecture and urban planning.

An opportunity was created to attend a workshop organized by the Addis Ababa management institute which deals among other things with the Local development plans. The workshop was instrumental to discuss on the issues of Local development plans implementation with the implementers at both city and sub-city levels. The discussion helped to get an in depth insight into the strengths and weaknesses of the LDPs at work in Addis Ababa and has given an impetus for the further development of the research.

The first survey of the planning area confirms that there were about 329 businesses in the action area, where 93 are mixed with residences and 239 are purely commercial activities. But the exact number of businesses in the demolished (action) area is not clearly known yet. To investigate and understand the situation of businesses at the ECA area it was very difficult to meet members of the business community in order to be able to assess their situation since such businesses were not treated separately during the process of resettlement. Hence, secondary data is used to assess their situation.

Some comparison of the implementation of the ECA area LDP with other LDPs is also made here and there in the analysis part to give the picture of LDP implementation in Addis Ababa in general and at the ECA area in particular.

Criteria for the Selection of Case Study

At the proposal stage of this research it was intended to make case studies for two types of LDPs but for reasons discussed above we can not handle more than one case, the case of ECA LDP, in the allocated time. The following criteria were considered in order to select the case study area:

- An LDP whose implementation has already started
- An LDP located in inner city areas, because such LDPs, if studied properly, can explain the implementation problems associated with an existing settlement
- An LDP where the probability of acquiring data is highest

Hence Kaza-INCHIS/ECA LDP was the one that qualified to be the case study LDP.

Scope and Limitations of the Research

The scope of the research shall be limited in space and time. The research will investigate plan preparation and implementation trends in Addis Ababa and the impacts of the implementation on the socio-economic life of the residents of the case study area in particular and that of the inner-city in general. In doing so the study is limited to a specific case study area with a special focus on inner-city areas. The scope of the study in time perspective shall be limited to those local development plans prepared after 1991 with due emphasis on those LDPs prepared during the revision process of the Addis Ababa Master plan.

The scope of the study in terms of subject shall be limited to physical, socio economic, institutional and legal issues that are strongly linked with the implementation of Local Development Plans. Since plan implementation is at times part and

parcel of plan preparation the general conditions of plan making and implementing bodies is assessed. Resettlement and compensation issues are also dealt with in connection with LDP implementation. Concerning the physical aspect of plan preparation and implementation the scope is limited to the quality of the plans to achieve an excellent urban environment and form.

The following list of limitations is encountered during the various stages of the development of the research.

- Limitations of time
- Financial limitations
- Problems in terms of acquiring relevant data due to the unavailability and unwillingness of the relevant people
- Limitations of available literature

CHAPTER 2 - LITERATURE REVIEW

Urban Growth and its Impact on the City

Like any living organism cities are born or established, grow in all of the aspects they need to grow and if proper care is not taken to control and guide their development they are doomed to decay and ultimately to die.

Eliel Saarinen (1943) attributes the decay of inner city areas with the extreme growth and expansion of the city. He outlines in his book 'the city' that ' Villages have become towns; towns have become large cities; and in countless cases neighboring townships have been swallowed by the expanding force of the nucleus city, in which process these expanded areas have become a solidly packed heterogeneous mass.' He also attributes the dilapidation, decay, blighted areas and the slums to the lack of leadership and the expansion of the nucleus of the city and this decay and withering away of the inner city according to him happened due to the phenomena of the overgrowing of the city. Hence he calls for a 'new' approach to tackle the phenomena of urban growth which in his opinion is the cause for the decay of inner city areas.

He also likens the situation of the inner part of the overgrown city with that of the inner organs of the human body and describes the situation as saying;

"If the inner organs of the human body were mingled in as chaotic a manner as is the organism of the overgrown city, the result undoubtedly would be sickness and death. In any organism in nature, such a lack of order would ultimately result in disintegration. Nature is aware of such dangers, and therefore she has instituted basic laws to prevent this" (p. 144)

He further goes on to say that "Any growing organism in nature is a body containing a countless number of cells, each of them located in its proper relative position. By constant cellular multiplication, the organism grows, each new cell

expanding into that adjacent space which is provided for growth. This provided space brings flexibility into the growth, and at the same time it protects the organism from internal frictions such as would hinder healthy growth." His belief is that like any living organism in nature the city, being an organism, should apply the principles of flexibility and protection to prevent itself from the negative consequences of overgrowth.

Saarinen cautions that in the cases where flexibility and protection are not provided, decay is the result. Equating the case of the city with the situation of the deep forest he says that "when in the tight growth of the deep forest, those branches, stems, and trees which are smothered by lack of space are doomed to wither. Such is the case in any cramped circumstance, whether this happens in cellular life or in the life of peoples and nations. For, in order to be able to live, one must have space in which to live. So must be the case, for "flexibility"; in growth, and "protection" of growth, are fundamental issues in any manifestation that lives and grows."

According to Saarinen (1943) the principles of flexibility and protection interpreted in terms of the growth of cities means first, to plan any section of the city so as to make the city's normal growth possible without disturbing other sections; and second, to undertake such measures so as to guarantee the protection of established values i.e. to safeguard continuous healthy growth through "flexible" planning; and to stabilize values by taking "protective" measures, for new civic developments.

In those cities which are already overgrown, however, flexibility and protection must be instrumental in so organizing conditions that any development toward the future must happen in accordance with the demands of protection and flexibility. To obtain this presupposes a well-studied, comprehensive and gradual surgery according to a pre-established scheme, The objectives of this surgery must be three-fold: first, to transfer activities from decayed areas to such locations as are functionally suitable for these activities (implies relocation), and in accord with the pre- established scheme;

second, to rehabilitate those areas by the foregoing action vacated for such purposes as are best suited here, and in accord with the pre-established scheme; and third, to protect all values, old and new.

This is a typical way of handling/rehabilitating the problems of inner city decay during the urban renewal days that took place in the USA Over 50 years ago. All the functions of a city coming together and taking place in the inner city areas has created dilapidation, decay and slums. To solve such a problem the thinkers of the day proposed the relocation of the different functions that concentrate in the inner city areas to other appropriate places in the city and to rehabilitate the inner city with appropriate functions and activities that best suits the inner city, in accordance with the principles of protection and flexibility discussed above.

Rationale for Inner City Renewal in Addis Ababa

In his effort to describe the need for inner city renewal Ayalew (2003) discusses a number of reasons to reinforce his argument for inner city renewal in the manner described below:

He starts his argument by explaining that the phenomena of inner-city decay and urban sprawl in the expansion areas is taking place parallel in the present Addis Ababa. When he justifies that the inner city is decaying, though not substantiated with data, he says that over the years bulks of the building stocks in the inner-city have experienced a continuing process of severe dilapidation. Apart from physical dilapidation, congestion and overcrowding, lack of open spaces and basic facilities are chronic problems in the inner-city areas; In general, he argues that the urban environment is woefully deteriorating.

When describing the phenomena of urban sprawl in Addis Ababa he says that the rapidly growing urban population that is in great demand for land and the associated socio-economic expansion has put great pressure on the demand for inner

city land. In response to this demand efforts are being made to cater in the peripheral areas by converting farmlands into urban function without seeking any other alternatives, which in turn hastens the sprawl of the City. As a result, these days, the degree of urban sprawl in Addis has surpassed the manageable limit of the City.

He further goes on to explain that in the inner city areas, as the size of population and urban activities have grown several times over the years, basic urban facilities did not show any kind of significant improvement over the years . In some areas alignment and size of streets as well as pattern of settlements are in their original form while populations of traffic and type of activities have shown tremendous changes.

Also the private sector that has been unleashed very recently seeks bulk of land for different development activities. As this sector is expected to play central role in development of the city, meeting its demand for land would be key development agenda for Addis Ababa. This demand, on the other hand, would not be accommodated anymore only in peripheral areas as used to be hitherto, for reasons mentioned above and due to existence of strong demand for centrally located urban land among majority of private developers.

Thus the prevailing gap between the demand for central areas and carrying capacity of the city centers calls for urgent interventions. Moreover, horizontal expansion is the major form of development that Addis hitherto followed throughout its history thus stretching 97% of building stock on the ground. This trend still continues in the face of limited capacity of the City Government to extend necessary infrastructure and social services to peripheral areas.

Therefore, catering for redevelopment activities in inner-city areas is not avoidable. On the other hand, since open spaces that can accommodate additional development are not available, such development can hardly take place in inner-city

areas without demolishing existing structures. From this the need for urban renewal would be evident. Thus, urban renewal is an inescapable development necessity which Addis would extensively be engaged in the future.

Hence, the problem of inner city deterioration in Addis Ababa is receiving a steadily growing attention both from urban planners and policy makers. These days, improving the physical and economic fabrics of the inner city areas has been one of the key development concerns of the City Government. This concern stems mainly from the need to improve the living environment of residents, improving image of the city and exploiting economic potentials of the city center.

To these ends, therefore, public investment in strategic areas enhanced private investment in inner city areas and participation of the community in urban improvement activities are supposed to be emphasized in the future (ORAAMP, 2002). Strong functionally and environmentally vibrant city center is also envisaged to be created through an integrated development effort of government, community and the private sector.

Definitions

Ashenafi (2001) affirms that the nature of urban renewal is complex and it is very difficult to attribute a satisfactory definition for the term. Hence its definition is given various meanings in different contexts. According to Wilson (1996) in Asenafi 2001 the meaning of urban renewal is rendered various meanings depending on the place where it is practiced:

- 'Erecting a civic monument in a downtown plaza'
- Rehabilitating sound but decaying homes;
- Getting "undesirables" out of "desirable" neighborhoods by spot clearance;
- Stabilizing blighted neighborhoods and encouraging residents to improve their properties;
- Developing land that will attract new businesses into the community;

- Assembling tracts on which subsidized low or middle income housing might be built.

It is argued by the same source that some writers have suggested that the term urban renewal is of American origin which is used to refer to the redevelopment or rehabilitation of the older parts of towns and cities, including their central business areas.

Other definitions of urban renewal relate to the *comprehensive activity designed to counteract functional obsolescence of the urban structures as a whole and of the parts and elements of it, and to revitalize continually all elements and parts of the urban area,*(at the First International Seminar on Urban Renewal, 1958 quoted in Ashenafi 2001.) Also Couch (1990) is referred to on the same source as saying that urban renewal is a process which is seen as "*the physical change, or change in the use or intensity of use of land and buildings, that is the inevitable outcome of the action of economic and social forces upon urban areas*".

Hence, as a result of the analysis of the above definitions of urban renewal Ashenafi (2001) goes on to conclude that urban renewal is the act of improvement of human settlements that includes a wide range of actions such as the modernization, repair and maintenance of the building stock and infrastructure, the improvement of the urban environment, the upgrading of social and commercial services and related facilities, the improvement of urban and regional transport networks, and the preservation of the architectural and cultural heritage in urban areas.

Ayalew (2003) is of the opinion that Urban renewal projects contribute to expansion of future municipal revenue in terms of property taxes. Since forthcoming buildings would have a higher value than the present ones, successful implementation of proposed urban renewal projects would lead to an increase in municipal revenue from property taxes. Though, data are not available, these projects would also generate a substantial employment opportunities.

LDPs as Vehicles for Urban Renewal

With regard to urban renewal in Addis Ababa, two approaches are practiced. These are area-wise renewal and plot-wise renewal. The initiative of area-wise urban renewal comes from the City Government. In this approach, a specific area is designated for urban renewal program, as per the set criteria, and then the necessary Local Development Plans are prepared under the supervision of the Planning Commission. As the preparation of LDPs for the designated areas are completed the process of implementing the plans will commence i.e. shifting existing residents and demolishing existing structures. Finally, the vacant plots are put into auction for leasing. After the winners of the respective plots acquire their plots they are supposed to start constructing the buildings as per the requirement of the LDPs.

This approach can be categorized as a conventional slum clearance activity, which belongs to the first generation of urban renewal approach. As envisaged Local Development Plans show, in most cases, forthcoming activities and structures that follow from this approach are largely different from what exists, this implies a fundamental functional and structural change to the respective project areas.

As opposed to area wise renewal plot-wise renewal, on the other hand takes place on the basis of private developers initiatives. Recent information from the authorities of the planning commission has revealed that plot wise renewal could either follow a predetermined Local Development Plan or they are handled as per the provisions of the structure plan. As mentioned earlier, these days in Addis Ababa private investors can designate any area for urban renewal and submit project proposal to the City Administration to lease the land in question. The current occupation of the site, whether under the occupation of the promoter or not, doesn't matter or not taken into account in designating an area for this purpose. This approach is close to a selective slum clearance approach, in which mass eviction and major functional changes are seldom.

LDPs as Urban Design Plans

Citizens of differing cities in the world have practiced different methods to solve the problems of inner city decay in their respective constituencies. Most of the countries have integrated the planned approach, physically or otherwise, to create healthy, attractive and beautiful inner city areas. One of the tools extensively used is the tool of urban design. The following portion deals with the history, meaning, and scope of this tool called urban design.

In order for the reader to decide whether LDPs belong to the category of urban design plans it is important to carefully investigate the meaning, schools of thought, and the methods of producing urban design plans that follows next.

Meaning of Urban Design

The term 'urban design' was coined in North America in the late 1950s, and replaced the narrower and somewhat outmoded term 'civic design' typified by the City Beautiful Movement, civic design and their relationship to open spaces. Urban design denotes a more expansive approach evolving from an initial, predominantly aesthetic, concern with the distribution of building masses and the space between buildings, it has become primarily concerned with the quality of the public realm -both physical and socio-culturally and the making of places for people to enjoy and use (Matthew Carmona et. al., 2003)

Carmona et. al., 2003 also suggests some relational definitions of urban design. According to him urban design is typically defined in terms of architecture and town planning - Carmona (2003) from Gosling and Maitland (1984) describe it as the 'common ground' between them, while the UK's Social Science Research Council located urban design at 'the interface between architecture, landscape architecture and town planning, drawing on the design tradition of architecture and landscape architecture, and the environmental management and social science tradition of contemporary planning' (Carmona et. al.,2003 from Bentley and Butina 1991). Carmona also suggests that Urban design is not, however, simply an interface. It encompasses and sometimes subsumes a number of disciplines and activities.

Urban design is inherently collaborative and interdisciplinary, involving an integrated approach, and the skills and expertise of a wide range of professionals and others.

Scale has also been used as a means of defining urban design. Urban design has commonly been considered to function at an intermediate scale between planning (the settlement) and architecture (individual buildings). Carmona et. al. (2003 from Reyner Banham 1976) defined its field of concern as 'urban situations about half a mile square'. This definition is useful only if we see urban design as an activity mediating between architecture and planning.

Kevin Lynch (1981, p. 291) defined it more broadly as encompassing a wide range of concerns across different spatial scales, arguing that urban designers may be engaged in preparing a comprehensive regional access study, a new town, a regional park system, and equally, 'may seek to protect neighborhood streets, revitalize a public square, set regulations for conservation or development, build a participatory process, write an interpretative guide or plan a city celebration'. It is important to appreciate that urban design operates at and across a variety of spatial scales rather than at any particular one.

Although consideration of urban design at a particular scale is a convenient device, it detracts from the fact that urban environments are vertically integrated 'wholes'. Urban designers need to be constantly aware of scales both above and below that at which they are working, and also of the relationship of the parts to the whole, and the whole to the parts.

In a necessary reminder to the built environment professions, Francis Tibbalds (1992, p. 9) argued that 'places matter most': 'We seem to be losing the ability to stand back and look-at what we are producing as a whole. ..We need to stop worrying quite so much about individual buildings and other physical artifacts and think instead about places in their entirety.' In broad terms, Christopher Alexander's 'pattern language' illustrates the range of scales at which urban design

operates, with the patterns being ordered in terms of scale, beginning with patterns for strategic (city- wide) design, and working down to interior design. Alexander *et. al.* (1977, p. xiii), however, stressed that no pattern was an 'isolated entity':

Schools of Thought in Urban Design

Matthew Carmona *et. al.* (2003) have tried to outline in an elaborate manner three traditions of thought in urban design:

(I) The visual-artistic tradition:

The visual-artistic tradition was that *of* an earlier, more 'architectural' and narrower understanding *of* urban design. Predominantly product oriented, it focused *on* the visual qualities and aesthetic experience *of* urban spaces, rather than *on* the cultural, social, economic, political and spatial factors and processes contributing to successful urban places. From among the proponents of this tradition of urban design are Camillo Sitte, Raymond Unwin, Le Corbusier, Frederik Gibbered, Gordon Cullen and others in the late 1940s and the 1950s.

(II) The social usage tradition

The social usage tradition emphasized the way in which people use and colonize space. It encompassed issues *of* perception and sense *of* place. Identifying Kevin Lynch (1960)

Among the key proponents of this approach to urban design was Jane Jacobs -whose book *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* attacked many of the fundamental concepts of 'Modernist' urban planning and heralded many aspects of contemporary urban design arguing that the city could never be a work of art because art was made by 'selection from life', while a city was 'life at its most vital, complex and intense' (1961, p.386). Concentrating on the socio-functional aspects of streets, sidewalks and parks, Jacobs emphasized their role as containers of human activity and places of social interaction. Other proponents of this tradition of urban design include Kevin Lynch, Jan Gehl's in his studies of public

space in Scandinavia (1971), William H. Whyte's (1980) in his book entitled *The Social Life of Small Urban Spaces*, Christopher Alexander whose works also epitomizes the social usage tradition.

As Jarvis (1980, p. 59) notes in *Notes on the Synthesis of Form* (Alexander, 1964) and *A City is Not a Tree* (Alexander, 1965), Alexander identified both the failings of design philosophies that considered 'form without context' and the dangers of approaching city design in ways that did not allow for a rich diversity of cross connections between activities and places. Alexander's ideas were developed further in *A Pattern Language* (Alexander et al., 1977) and *The Timeless Way of Building* (Alexander et al., 1979), in which he set out a range of 'patterns'. Rather than 'complete designs', For Alexander, the patterns are intended to provide the designer with a usable -but not predetermined -series of relationships between activities and spaces.

(III)The making places tradition

This is a recent approach to urban design as Carmona et.al., 2003 discusses it, over the past twenty years the concept of urban design that has become dominant is one of making places for people. This evolution of urban design thought is nicely summed up in the following definitions: (Carmona et.al., 2003 p.7)

- In 1953, Frederick Gibbered argued that the purpose of town design is to see that [the urban] composition not only functions properly, but is pleasing in appearance'.
- In 1961, Jane Jacobs asserted that: ' *To approach the city or neighborhood as if it were a larger architectural problem is to substitute art for life.*'
- In 1988, Peter Buchanan argued that urban design was 'essentially about place making, where places are not just a specific space, but all the activities and events that make it possible'.
- Synthesizing the earlier traditions, contemporary urban design is simultaneously concerned with the design of urban space as an aesthetic entity and as a behavioral setting. It focuses on the diversity and activity which help to create

successful urban places, and, in particular, on how well the physical milieu supports the functions and activities taking place there.

How the planning should be

In the opinion of Eliel Saarinen (1943) he has outlined which he calls some misconceptions about town-planning that must be cleared before proceeding further to the planning methods to bring about the desired urban environment.

Misconception About Town-Planning:

Saarinen argues that unless town-planning is animated with the ideals of town-design and professed in its spirit of dynamic vigilance, it is deceptive. It is deceptive because it assumes a virtue which it does not possess, the virtue of bringing order into the city, which order it is unable to accomplish. This, he affirms, is similar to selling merchandise under a false label.

The first misconception is that the mere gathering of statistical material is not planning; it is only the first step on which planning must be based. Not to use this material for constructive planning, but only to pigeonhole it, is much the same as to fill one's store-rooms with food, and food, and more food, and then to starve while the food lies there putrefying. planning officials, after having gathered a great quantity of material pertaining to the city's past, are seemingly exhausted because of this work, and end by doing nothing more about it with the exception perhaps of effecting a few improvements of local nature. Yet the immense material collected has created the widespread impression among the town people that the city's planning affairs are running satisfactorily; obviously, whether intentionally or not, this is deception, for it lulls the population into a false content that planning matters are in safe hands.

The Second misconception about town planning is the production of elaborate street maps, zoning regulations, pamphlets, pretty renderings of this and that, and once all this has been put on paper, properly and nicely, everyone seems to be satisfied, and that's the end of that story.

Saarinen says that One needs but little of imagination to forecast the city's fate under this kind of a procedure. This once done, such blunders are hard and costly to rectify later on. Those parts of the city which have become saddled with this kind of legalized blunder are doomed to suffer for years to come. It so happens that such regions as stand most in need of intelligent treatment are the ones usually ruined in this manner.

The making of sterile maps like these described, is definitely harmful. It creates an illusion of planning, yet it is nothing more than routine map-making. It is the best of sleeping medicines, for it puts the officials and the population alike into a contented slumber of confidence in the proper care of their city. Through this slumber of confidence, real planning is postponed or entirely forgotten.

The third misconception about town planning is about the practical planner who is concerned particularly with traffic problems. Accordingly, he builds roads and arteries wherever he finds a likely opportunity, regardless of the detrimental effects of his action upon the neighborhood. He cautions on such kind of 'practical planning' as saying, "...this kind of approach to planning problems is commonly believed to be planning. Still more curious is the fact that this procedure originates with planning boards and civic officials. Surely, this is not planning. It is only a tardy effort to correct something which should have been planned in the beginning and which now is corrected by utterly dangerous methods" (p. 358-359)

Eliel Saarinen concludes his discussion on the misconceptions of planning as saying "The reason for these misconceptions is the superficial attitude toward the city and toward its vital problems. Although those concerned are often

regarded as reputed authorities in planning matters, their superficial efforts have failed to bring necessary order into the city. Their work, we repeat, is deceptive" (p. 359)

On the contrary Eliel Saarinen admits that "There have been and are sincere endeavors, not only to produce plans, but even steadily to see that these plans are followed, and that they are kept dynamically up-to-date with changing conditions. ... We cannot sympathize with them when the aim is too concentrated on practical matters-of-fact, and when a mere two-dimensional plan indicates a lay-out of streets and a stereotyped land-use only. Such a mode of planning, we think, cannot accomplish a satisfactory three-dimensional form-relation. It rather makes impossible the spiritual expression of the community's cultural aims" (p. 360)

Eliel Saarinen also argues how one can expect to have a good building done by conceiving only a two-dimensional plan of rooms, and letting the rest grow by chance? He says that, the building must be three-dimensionally conceived from the very start. ... So it must be, for two-dimensional "planning," as such, is inadequate unless it is an integral part of "design" which has been three-dimensionally conceived.

Here we have two tendencies to compare: the half measure of two-dimensional planning which considers primarily practical technicalities; and the complete three-dimensional design, which considers, besides practical technicalities even spiritual problems so as to achieve a satisfactory architectural atmosphere in the city. The former is the matter-of-fact understanding of planning which calls for the practical mind. The latter is the architectural understanding of design, which calls for the creative mind.

Techniques in Urban Design

This portion is included in this thesis to highlight some of the methods of doing urban design projects when projects are built over long time spans, over large urban areas, and when all clients are not known, Paul D. Spreiregen (1965) elaborates on some of the techniques of urban design which are discussed below.

The Open Space Technique

This technique bases itself on "*The essential question of planning,*" wrote architect-planner S. B. Zisman recently, "*is not where to build but where not to build.*" The essential question to the planner is where to create open space reserves. In an open space plan he would include every conceivable use and type of open space--open space for parks, watersheds, public transit lines, airports, community buildings, urban plazas, greenbelts, green wedges, avenues, sidewalks, etc. ... open space itself would be recognized as the essential classification of public land use. Clear distinction would be made between open spaces for active uses and for more passive uses.

The Transportation System Technique

The premise of this concept is that circulation can be controlled because it is the prime effort in public works projects, from urban to state to national scale. As such it is the chief determinant of urban form. Once a reasonable urban form is laid out, a circulation network can be planned to fit it, and the urban form itself, with all its parts, can be left to develop as an inevitable result.

In the 1950's Louis Kahn, FAIA, made a plan of patterns of movement in central Philadelphia. His plan was unlike any that had previously been made for a city. Instead of showing fixed buildings and static urban spaces as a composition it showed motion circulation. In many ways it resembled a drawing by Paul Klee, in which forces and ideas are represented rather than objects.

Alvar Aalto uses it as a network which resembles in plan the branches of a tree. Through routes are progressively branched into even slower streets.

The Capital Network Technique

A public transportation network is obviously not the only thing the public can determine. Any urban development of any consequence requires considerable coordination, not only between private parties but also public agencies. Further, the public itself builds civic centers, transport terminals, and public utility systems. When these controllable elements are added together the result is a functional framework of urban circulation, service lines, and urban centers or nodes. The circulation and utility lines are the lifeblood arteries of the city. The nodes are its vital organs. Having established these in plan, it remains to build them under a coordinated schedule.

The prime example of this technique in action is the story of Philadelphia's renewal. A number of American cities have long used the capital budgeting technique to create a network of capital improvements. It is a principal tool for reshaping the city and for clarifying its form. In Philadelphia this technique consists of relating programs for urban circulation to urban renewal programs. The circulation programs involve all modes of transport from car to bus to subway to foot. The urban renewal projects are carefully related to the overall circulation network-Penn Center, Society Hill, the Waterfront.

The renewal projects can vary between total clearance projects to conservation and rehabilitation. Or they may include both residential renewal and efforts to create civic centers or institutional campuses. The balance between public works programs and area renewal efforts can be readjusted each year. The programs under way in Boston in the last several years are of this nature.

The Public Policies Technique

In 1964 a report for planning central Chicago was published entitled *Basic Policies for the Comprehensive Plan of Chicago*. The thesis of this plan was that the city operates as a net of interlocking systems. The "Policies Plan" proposed that public policies be based on the logic of these vital relationships.

A series of twelve diagrams showed how a rundown area would be subjected to a policy for improving its streets; improving its public transit lines; locating industry in relation to rail and arterial roads; density changes; public facilities; business location; recreation areas; and lakefront development. The policies were based on determining logical locations for related facilities. In a city as complex as Chicago it is more useful to have a clear-cut program of policies and responsibilities than a specific plan for each neighborhood in the more traditional plan form. The policies can effectively guide the city's many decision-making departments. The policies are in fact a plan, but a plan of action and responsibility geared realistically to a complex city's management to produce functional and amenable physical results.

The Physical Design Technique

About eighty years ago H. P. Berlage, architect of the extension of Amsterdam, prepared plans for new housing areas which were to be designed and built in stages. Berlage's study included a physical design in which buildings were shown as blocks in relation to open spaces, transportation, and other building blocks representing schools, churches, and community facilities.

The physical design studies were an assurance that concentrations of people could be accommodated in the space shown. The designs were then translated into maps showing density, open space, community facilities, and transport lines. This was a legal statement of requirements to the developer and architect of the individual sectors. They wished they could subscribe exactly to Berlage's design. Otherwise they could make their own design while fulfilling the requirements

of the plan. There are, after all, several ways to slice a cake. Berlage's technique assured that the slices were reasonable. The use of space, mass, activity areas, etc., as a *modus operandi* is obvious here.

Not long after a more rigid technique was attempted in Sweden. The entire city was designed as blocks, and a model was prepared to show exactly how the city would be when fully developed. On one hand some avenue bordering Lake Malaren, the Strandvagen, a row of seven or eight apartment units was built, each with exactly the same form but with different facades. The result was architecturally awkward.

In the postwar satellite town of Vallingby a design model again was made but this time more latitude was given. Sections were specified for house type, density, and population. Individual architects could interpret the specifications as they saw fit. In the center of town the model, which showed high-rise buildings, strategically placed for reasons of overall visual composition, had to be more closely followed. In effect the physical design plan was specific where it had to be specific and relaxed wherever possible.

In the Government Center of Boston this system of form control was also used. The essence of the site plan was to create a main urban plaza as a setting for a key focal building, the city hall itself. The design problem-and it was an extremely difficult one-was to assure that this key building would always be the main feature. By giving it the prime location on this new plaza and by specifying that it be kept lower than the future buildings around the plaza, the city hall would always be the featured building.

Another application of this technique is to be found in Detroit, a horizontal city of great extent. Detroit has several clusters of high vertical buildings, the most prominent of which is at the city's center. Several lesser vertical clusters are to be found at outlying locations. These are mutually inter-visible; enjoying what Renaissance designers would term "reciprocity of

view."... To direct its formation, renewal projects are chosen and developed with these visual principles in mind. Close coordination with developers is, of course, necessary for success; but the vital visual relationships inherent in such a design can be specified as part of the redevelopment regulations. Indeed, they can be drafted in a form similar to that used by Berlage in Holland. More directly, they can be specified as requirements to keep certain vistas open or framed by flanking buildings.

The Plug-in Technique

This technique is demonstrated in a competition for a master plan for the University of Berlin the French architects Josic, Candilis, and Woods proposed a design that resembles a panel for electronic components. Evenly spaced and parallel corridors, perhaps a hundred or two hundred feet apart, act as circulation corridors and contain utility trunk lines. Between these parallel corridors can be inserted or "plugged in," a classroom block, auditorium, dormitory, laboratory, library, or whatever else might be needed as the university grows. Of course, the initial units would be built according to the university's needs, but later buildings could be added as needed, with a maximum of choice and convenience. Courts of varying sizes are formed between the inserted buildings.

The Individual Building

Every building in an urban setting is an element of urban design. A tower building may accent a prominence. A curvilinear building may emphasize a terrain contour. A special building can act as a focus. Plain buildings can act as modest background architecture. A plain building can also be a visual link, filling a gap between rows of existing structures.

Any of the techniques of urban design discussed here have definite implications for individual buildings which require careful examination. Without such study an urban design plan could conceivably raise great difficulties for the design of later buildings.

Good architecture in urban design calls for good manners. A good work of architecture in urban design is one among many fellows, joined with them and not striving to outdo them. One or two works may stand out as special pieces, the others acting as background setting for them, but for most buildings architectural humility is the basis of urban design distinction (Paul D. Spreiregen, 1965).

Implementation of urban design projects

Clients and Consumers of Urban Design

Given their role in the urban environment, urban design practitioners serve a wide range of 'client' interests. The processes and outcomes of urban design involve and affect people and interests in different ways: as individuals; as members of

local groups, communities and society as a whole; as occupiers and users; and as members of present and future generations. Carmona et. al, (2003, from Lang 1994, pp. 459-62) makes the distinction between 'paying' and 'non- paying' clients of urban design. Paying clients include entrepreneurs and their financial backers. In the public sector, the entrepreneurs are government agencies and politicians and their financial backers are the taxpayers. In the private sector, the entrepreneurs are developers, and their financial backers are the bankers and lending institutions. As Lang notes, these actors often act as surrogates for the people purchasers, tenants, users -who will ultimately pay for the buildings and environments produced. Carmona et. al, (2003, from Lang) identifies several types of non- paying clients, the main two groups of which are:

Occupiers and users: Non-paying in the sense that they do not hire or interact with the professionals designing for them, thus leaving an administrative and experiential gap between professional and user-client. Users are often represented in the development process by, for example, public agencies or marketing experts, whose professional skills include an understanding of users' needs and how they can be met.

The public interest: While it is easy to assert that urban designers should serve the public interest, ascertaining and defining that interest, in any particular situation, is difficult. Participants in the development process have different, sometimes competing, interests, while built environment professionals' assumptions about the public interest are often based on narrow professional and/or class factors. In practice, defining the public interest often involves bargaining and negotiation among vying parties.

Carmona also asserts that in discussing the clients and consumers for urban design, it is important to note the possibility of a number of 'gaps'. They say that there are, for example, typically gaps between the producers and the users or consumers of the urban environment. There are also communication and social gaps between the designer and the user

and the professional and the layperson. If their desire is to make places for people, urban designers should attempt to narrow rather than exacerbate these gaps. .

Actors and Roles of Stake Holders in Urban Design Implementation

Once the area needed for redevelopment is cleared and made ready for redevelopment, the roles of the actors of development and the appropriate handling of the interests of the actors will have a significant contribution for the implementation and thus the realization of urban renewal/design proposals.

As the reality on the ground and the available literature, (such as Carmona,2003) show different actors perform different roles in the implementation/development process. Although, for the purpose of analysis, roles are considered individually, in practice a single actor often performs several roles. Carmona indicates that each development role can be considered in terms of five generalized criteria:

- *Financial objectives* -whether the actor's primary concern is for cost minimization or for profit maximization.
- *Time-span* -whether the actor's involvement and interest in the development is primarily short- or long-term.
- *Design: functionality* -whether an actor has a *specific* concern for the development's ability to serve its functional purpose (i.e. to be used as an office).
- *Design: external appearance* -whether an actor is *primarily* concerned with the development's external appearance.
- *Design: relation to context* -whether a development's relation to its context is a primary concern to the development actor.

The authors of the book go on to say that achieving high quality urban design may not be a criterion shared by all participants in the process, while 'quality' may mean different things to different actors. The objective can be constrained

by a wide variety of factors, many of which lie outside the designer's or developer's sphere of influence. These factors might include.

- the requirements and preferences of clients/customers, which may conflict with those of the wider community;
- market conditions;
- limitations and costs imposed by the site; the need for various consents (legal, planning, development, highways adoption, etc.), and public sector regulatory and statutory requirements;

- limits on the rents that can be achieved in particular locations;
- The short-termism often inherent in investment decisions (longer-term exposure increases the risk involved).

Successful developers and urban designers are however, skilled in confronting and overcoming constraints and obstacles
Carmona (ibid.)

Developers

The term 'developer' embraces a wide range of agencies, from, for example, volume house builders to small local house builders and self builders, and with levels of profit motivation ranging from the most profit-driven private sector' developers, through central and local government, to non-profit organizations, such as housing associations. Some developers specialize in particular market sectors such as retail, office, industrial *or*; residential, while others operate across a range of markets. Some establish a niche market, such as the conversion of historic buildings. Some concentrate upon projects in or around a particular town or city, while others operate regionally, nationally and internationally.

Carmona identified three types of developers (referring to Logan and Molotcji (1987, from Knox and Ozolins, 2000, p. 220) based on how they operate:

- 'Serendipitous entrepreneurs' who acquire land and property in various ways perhaps through inheritance or as a sideline to their regular business and then find that it would be more valuable sold or rented for some other use.
- 'Active entrepreneurs' who anticipate changing patterns of land use and land values, and sell land accordingly
- 'Structural speculators' operate strategically anticipating changing patterns and seeking influence or engineer change for their own, benefit (e.g. by influencing the route of a road, changing the zoning ordinance or development plan, or encouraging public expenditure in certain locations)

All developers are motivated by the opportunity to appropriate the development value of sites. Development value is a function of the gap between the value of the property and/or land in its existing use, and its value in a 'higher and better' use, less the costs of acquiring the land and producing the higher use. Rather than being fixed to a particular site piece of land, development value often 'floats' a wider area and may 'shift' from one site to other.

In the context of the developed countries as most of their populace is informed, especially the business community, individual developers are often very concerned with the quality of the development and strongly support urban design guidelines where their value in maintaining environmental quality -and thereby property values -is clear. Some developers look beyond immediate market pressures and consider broader civic responsibilities and obligations. Many derive psychic benefits through their close association with certain buildings and developments. Furthermore, due to the discipline of operating in a market economy, developers may often have a greater awareness of consumers' needs and preferences than many designers.

Landowners

In countries where land is private property, unlike the case of Ethiopia, landowners own land prior to the commencement of development. With the exception of those holding land in expectation of developing it, such as builders or developers with land banks, landowners do not normally take an active role in the development process, and simply release land for development when offered a sufficient price (Adams, 1994 in Carmona et. al., 2003). Their objectives are therefore usually short term and financial.

The case of land transfer for development in the Ethiopian context is quite different from that of other countries due to the difference in the land policies of the nations. In the current practice in Addis Ababa where urban land is public property people have a use right to exercise over the land on which their private property rests. Whenever an area is designated for renewal and thus urban design implementation purposes, which is accompanied by Local Development Plans, private property owners are compensated for their properties they built on the public land and the government sales out the land for development. Such issues are further dealt with in detail in the case study section of this thesis.

Where land is private property every parcel of land is unique at least by dint of its location. As location is fixed, ownership is a source of power, particularly where spatial monopolies can be created. Housing developers, for example, compete for land in particular locations. Where readily developable land is in short supply, once a developer has acquired the land or purchased an 'option' -an agreement to buy the land at a specified price before a specified date or upon some specified event occurring -and has gained consent for development, she effectively has a local monopoly, providing greater freedom to set quality levels and prices in their own interest(Carmona (ibid.).

Funders and Investors

Unless developers use their own capital, they arrange finance on the most favorable terms with regard to cost and flexibility of borrowing money; they must take these concerns into consideration. Developers normally arrange two types of finance: short-term development funding, and longer-term investment finance.

Funders

Carmona (ibid.) suggests that short-term finance -development funding -is needed to cover costs during the development period (i.e. costs associated with land acquisition, construction and professional services). The principal short-term funders are clearing and merchant banks. On completion, when long-term finance is raised, the development finance is repaid. Funding for a development is typically raised through a combination of equity and debt finance. Lenders of debt finance will, however, be repaid with interest, but do not normally have a legal interest in the project (except as security in the event of default) or an entitlement to share in profits. Lenders of equity finance participate in the risks and rewards of development, are entitled to share in profits, and have a legal interest in the project. To assist their funding package, developers sometimes seek government or other subsidy schemes, which often take the form of low interest Loans, grants, subsidies, or -less commonly -joint ventures.

Discussing on the availability of finance for development in Addis Ababa Ayalew (2003) complains on the lack of access to long term loan as the constraining factor that hinders Implementation of many urban renewal projects in Addis Ababa. He admittedly attributes the slow pace of private investment and the inability of entrepreneurs to carry out their projects to the current credit squeeze, which favors short term trading operations rather than long term investment like in real estate projects. He thus concludes that, prospects for genuine long-term investment seem rather bleak under the current credit market in Addis.

As witnessed by experiences of many investors the financial market in Ethiopia is less supportive for real estate activities. In practice, long-term mortgage loan is not available in the formal banking sector. Apart from this, no special credit scheme is arranged to support initiative of private developers in the area of urban renewal activities (ibid.).

Investors

The second type of finance, as Carmona et. al (2003) explains is longer-term, covering the cost of holding the completed development as investment. Investors are the purchasers (and subsequently sellers) of completed schemes. As Investment essentially requires foregoing the current use of resources for enhanced benefit at a later date, investors in property are primarily interested in the (potential) income flow from its user, which is capitalized into the property's change or investment value. For commercial and, industrial development, the principal investors are insurance companies and pension funds.

Investors generally look for investment opportunities that satisfy the following criteria:

- *Security of capital and income* (i.e. low risk) -in general, the more secure an investment, the lower the risk that capital invested will be lost, or that expected income will not arise. Investors may diversify their investment through the development of portfolios that balance risk.
- *Potential growth of income and capital* (i.e. high returns) -although high returns may be achieved through income growth, capital growth, or both combined, capital growth and high overall returns ultimately depend on the prospects for income growth (i.e. from user rents).
- *Flexibility* (i.e. high liquidity) -investors look for the ability to change their investments to produce the best returns. Liquidity depends on such factors as the existence of potential purchasers, transfer costs, the investment's overall size and its capacity for subdivision; in general, the more liquid an investment, the easier it is to sell, in whole or in part. (Carmona et. al ,2003, from Adams, 1994)

Development Advisers

Advisers provide professional advice and services to developers and other development agents. They include marketing consultants, estate agents, solicitors, planners, architects, engineers, facility managers, site agents, quantity surveyors, cost consultants, etc. As most advisers earn one-off profits in the form of fees, their *objectives* are typically short-term and financial. Some advisers - such as management agents of investment properties -earn fees for continuing involvement: their *objectives* are typically long-term, financial and functional. Some such as architects and urban design practitioners earn one-off profits in the form of fees, and may also use the completed project as an advertisement for their services. They may also derive significant psychic benefits from their involvement in the project. Their objectives are therefore typically long-term, financial and design-related (ibid.)

Builders

Builders -or contractors (and subcontractors)-seek to make a profit by constructing the development at a cost lower than the price paid by the client for the work and materials involved. Their objectives are primarily short-term and financial. Builders may also use the development as an advertisement for their services; they have an interest in its design. Many builders also engage in development, operating as developers.

Occupiers

Occupiers -those who rent or buy space -den direct use and benefit from completed development. They are primarily interested in its use value especially in matters affecting business productivity and operating costs, such as appearance, comfort, convenience and efficiency. Their objectives are typically long-term, financial and design-related with respect to functionality and perhaps also external appearance.

The public Sector

The public sector (government bodies, regulatory agencies and planning authorities) seeks to regulate the development and use of land through the planning system, other means of regulation, provision of infrastructure and services, and involvement in land assembly and development. In general, it does not act directly on private sector actors (developers, landowners, etc.), but by establishing the public policy and regulatory framework, it provides the context for private sector investment decision-making, it influences the incentives and distinctions available, thus making some actions more likely than others.

The public sector in the context of Addis Ababa has similar duties with that of the public sectors in other countries. Due to the differences in the policies of nations such as land policy the public sector in Addis Ababa seems to burden itself with additional responsibilities. For instance, the city government of Addis Ababa is involved in the transaction of land for development as the major provider of urban land. The public sector in Addis also involves in the preparation and implementation of policies and regulations that relate with urban development. In addition to the preparation of policies and regulations to the effective functioning of the private sector, the public sector also involves in the preparation of urban plans, which could have shared its responsibility with the private sector. This aspect of the local situation is dealt with further detail in the forthcoming chapters.

As Carmona (*ibid.*) indicates public sector bodies generally negotiate with developers over the principle and detail of development proposals. As well as meeting the planning authority's basic requirements (those that are negotiable), there will often be scope for negotiation and bargaining. The planning authorities might require certain 'planning gains' (e.g. public open space, or contributions to infrastructure), while the developer might offer certain gains make the scheme more acceptable to the authority and/or the local community.

In the case of Addis Ababa the public sector also negotiates at times when developers come with their own planning proposals. As sources from the LDA of Addis Ababa disclosed it was their offices duty to handle the task of development marketing on behalf of the city government, but due to the lack of clear guidelines they could not effectively deliver their duty.

Ayalew (2003), while discussing on the role of the public sector to facilitate the private sectors initiative for urban development he sympathizes for the private sector as being 'the victim of the unavailing call made by government for urban renewal projects. He further goes on to say that due to their response *to* this call they are loosing money and time. As a result of this their interest *to* engage in redevelopment activities is being eroded' (p. 88)

He also outlines what he calls five 'host of constraints' that entangle the development efforts of the private sector by being embedded in the public sector;

- Initiative of the City Government to mobilize private investment into the development activity is not matched with the necessary public resources, institutional arrangements and legal instruments.
- What is being said, envisaged or planned could not be translated into action due to absence of clearly defined policy direction, earmark resources, motivated and result-oriented executive agencies in the public sector,
- The generality of existing policies leave a wide discretion for bureaucrats and officials. Such wide discretion combined with the pervasive apathy and inefficiencies among many of the executing agencies make the public sector less supportive to the development initiatives of the private sector.

- Lifting some restrictions imposed on private investment and making a call *for* its participation could not make the role of private sector effective in urban renewal activities in Addis Ababa,
- The complexity and challenging nature of urban renewal don't seem properly perceived in Addis Ababa. What the current practice proves is that it seems that the efforts of the private sector considered as any other routine

development activities, *for* this it is deemed *to* be handled by sectoral agencies along with other regular activities, (p.93)

The Community (General Public)

The community at large -residents, businesses and general public -consume the products of the development process directly and indirectly (i.e. to the extent that the development is visible from or is part of the public realm). They therefore represent a further part of the demand side of the development process. As they consume developments in aggregate (i.e. across property lines), concern is for each development's contribution to the greater whole. The community's objectives are typically long-term and design-related in terms of external appearance and contribution to context.

As well as being (passive) recipients of the products of the development process, the community and individuals thereof may actively affect the development process through, for example, protests over specific development projects, participation or consultation on particular projects, and/or involvement in interest groups and organizations. Community participation in general in Addis Ababa and in particular at the ECA area is dealt with in the forthcoming chapters of this thesis.

The Market Context of Urban Redevelopment

To operate effectively, urban design practitioners (who involve in urban redevelopment activities) need to understand the financial and economic processes by which places and developments come about. Market economies are driven by the search for profit and by the prospect of reward mediated by associated risks. They are often characterized by strategies or regimes of capital accumulation. As the development and redevelopment of the built environment is a means of making profits and accumulating capital, urban design and the production of the built environment are often key components of

such strategies (Carmona (ibid.) from Harvey, 1989b). In discussing architects, but making a more general point that applies to urban designers, Knox (1984, cc p. 115) argues that, by helping to stimulate consumption and the constant circulation of capital, designers have an instrumental role in the development process in, for example, the constant search for novelty and innovation(ibid.).

While urban designers need to recognize and appreciate the processes that drive development, two common misconceptions must be noted: that built environment professionals are the main agents in shaping urban space; and that developers make the main decisions, with designers merely providing 'packaging' for those decisions (Madanipour, 1996, p. 119). The first overstates the role of designers and exposes them to criticism for aspects of development that are outside their control; the second understates their role in shaping the urban environment. The overstating of the architect's role and indeed, those of other professionals in the development process -has been called the 'fetishising of design' (Dickens, 1980) (i.e. focusing on buildings and architects rather than on the broader social processes and relations surrounding the production and meaning of the urban environment).

Urban development is substantially determined by those in control of -or in control of access to resources. As buildings and urban developments are typically expensive to produce, those financing them do so for their own purposes, usually concerned with making profits. As Carmona from Bentley (1998, p. 31) observes, most major property developers are not interested in 'art for art's sake', and have shareholders who will invest elsewhere if acceptable profits are not achieved. Economic and market power lies, therefore, in the hands of those groups with the power and resources to initiate development. Carmona (ibid.) from Cowan (2000, p. 24) also asserts that, 'it is markets that lead investment, not design'. Urban design is itself intrinsically limited: while its initiatives and actions can assist trends that are under way, attempts to channel market activity to other than where it wants to be are unlikely to be successful. As Cadman and Austin-Crowe

(1991, p. 19) warn: 'No amount of careful design or promotion can totally overcome the disadvantage of a poor location or a lack of demand for the accommodation at an economic price irrespective of location.'

Subject to appropriate considerations of value, cost, risk/reward and uncertainty, development has to be economically viable before it is undertaken. The potential rewards and risks attached to any development opportunity reflect both the complexity of the process, and the wider economic context within which it occurs. In the private sector, viability is considered in terms of the balance between risk and reward, with reward seen primarily in terms of profits. A major barrier to achieving urban design quality is the argument that such development 'does not pay', at least not on the time scale required by investors. In the public sector, viability is considered both in terms of value for public (or taxpayers') money and in terms of the broader objective of achieving and maintaining a healthy economy (Carmona et. al., 2003.).

Controls and Regulations

Although planning controls are often seen as constraints on development, this is a narrow view. While they may reduce the reward for the development of a particular site, they protect the context and composite property values of the area or neighborhood, and provide a more secure investment environment (i.e. by limiting what can be done to adjacent sites). Typically, developers favor planning controls but to - reduce their development risk - want greater certainty and clarity in their operation. Environmental improvements also create a more secure investment environment.

The Background of Controls and Regulations

As technology and the waves of immigration advanced in the developed world, urban problem was compounded, and the nineteenth century saw the inception of many public regulatory measures. Laws were drafted for fireproof building construction after fires leveled extensive portions of several crowded cities. Measures were established for obtaining

drinking water and for carrying away sewage when the dangers of polluted water were recognized. Franchises were issued to public transportation companies to keep the city moving. When living conditions in crowded areas became intolerable and the public at large was aroused by inhuman slum conditions, housing codes were adopted, forerunners of zoning. The city government itself, having surrendered its landholdings to the public and with them its source of revenue, began to tax landholders and revenue-producing enterprises. Land taxes replaced land rents. Municipal revenue regulated municipal service in accord with the public's approval (Paul D. Spreiregen, 1965).

The Control Process

As different means to implement broad policy objectives, 'design' and 'regulation' are considered together. Design is taken first because, in the public sector context, it offers a refinement of policy mechanisms as well as being the first stage of implementation. The process of policy writing for development plans, zoning ordinances or design guides is part of the wider design process and is a creative problem-solving process in itself. As they relate to future development proposals, which at the time of writing are usually unknown, most design policies are abstract in nature. Those in British local plans, for example, are intended to guide development over a projected ten-year period. Thus, beyond broad spatial design strategies indicating how an authority's plan area will develop over the long-term, development plans have not tended to indicate design proposals. To ensure that design principles are considered at the site-specific level, many public authorities provide design guidance for particular sites through the use of design briefs, frameworks and codes. These are the next stage in a hierarchy of design guidance, and relate the broad design policies and guidance in development plans, zoning ordinances and design guides, to site-specific development. Although resource intensive to prepare, such guidance is widely regarded as effective both in making public design aspirations explicit, and in securing better design (Carmona et. al. (2003) from Carmona, 2001, pp. 284-8).

Design (Development) Briefs

In the UK, design briefs are the usual means of providing site-specific design guidance. Depending on local circumstances, briefs may emphasize design concerns, broad planning issues, or development/management issues. Hence, 'development brief' is the generic term for 'design', 'planning' and development' briefs According to Carmona et. al. (2003) Design briefs are of particular value in a variety of ways, including:

- Providing a positive and proactive approach to planning and design.
- Ensuring that important design issues are considered.
- Offering a basis from which to promote sites and negotiate on development proposals; encouraging collaborative approaches to design.
- Ensuring that the public interest is considered alongside private interests (particularly the leveraging of public amenities from developments).
- Offering a quick and straightforward means of providing greater certainty and transparency in the design decision-making process.

As design briefs bring public design guidance to its most prescriptive level, authorities have to be aware that to avoid stifling innovation or creativity guidance should be market aware and flexible. Formats vary widely, depending on a site's nature and sensitivity, the range of issues to be addressed, political considerations, and the past practice of authorities. Depending on the resources available for their preparation, some use flexible site-specific formats, while others use similar checklists for all sites.

Briefs generally include a mix of 'descriptive' elements (i.e. information on site characteristics and context), 'procedural' elements (i.e. outlining the application procedures) and 'prescriptive' elements (i.e. spelling out the authority's intentions).

Design Frameworks and Design Codes:

Design frameworks and design codes provide similarly positive planning tools; although neither these nor design briefs necessarily have to be produced by the public sector. Design frameworks can be used to guide major development by coordinating its key design features and by setting out a spatial framework for infrastructure, landscape and distribution of land uses.

The Official City Plat

The official city plat in the USA regulates urban design directly. It is a legal document showing public streets and private land, with dimensions. It also shows easements (setbacks) on private land-rights of access to alleys or underground utilities. It designates public lands for parks, police stations, hospitals, schools, and libraries. The official city plat is the basis for describing private properties physically for legal documents, such as ownership titles or deeds. Some cities have compiled their plats into official city maps overall official maps of the city taking in all the separate plat areas.

The major difficulty with plats is that anyone can file one, even very poor ones, and once filed, they become indelibly stamped on the land (Paul D. Spreiregen, 1965).

The Zoning Ordinance

Closely allied to the official city plat or map as a regulator of urban design is the zoning ordinance. It specifies the uses to which property may be legally put and the intensity of development allowed, stated in terms of floor area. A zoning plan may often specify off-street parking requirements or off-street truck loading facilities as a ratio of floor area. Zoning designations have become more and more elaborate, with numerous sub classifications to encompass complex variations and combinations. The legal profession has been concerned that the *ad hoc* treatment of zoning problems, as in zoning variance requests, may be undermining zoning because of inept administration and inequity in practice. At the heart of the problem is the lack of a clear public objective -a plan-which would guide judgment in various requests. Our profession must recognize that zoning is no substitute for design and that too often it freezes the design of a city.

Zoning is, by its nature, negative. It can prevent property owners from burdening the public with an ill-suited development. But it cannot plan school locations, traffic movements, or parkland-nor can it create beauty, order, or amenity. Zoning is neither planning nor design. Ideally it is a set of specifications that accompany a plan. Zoning should be regarded like a set of architects' specifications: a binding description of his blueprints. A zoning ordinance is supposed to be a product of a city plan. But city plans are seldom officially "adopted" and, when they are, they have no legal status. They are only guides and descriptions of an idea. Zoning, on the other hand, has legal status. However, even as a second-best control, zoning serves a purpose. One can readily imagine the chaos that would result if all zoning were abolished. Nevertheless, zoning without a full-blown plan is as silly as a set of building specifications without working drawings or a list of culinary ingredients without a recipe. Zoning falls into proper place as the legal enforcement of an overall urban concept. For the time being we must recognize the powerful role of zoning as a control. As things now stand, it is the single most powerful

factor. The appearance of Washington, D.C., and Manhattan are the best evidence of the effects of zoning on the appearance of the city. Zoning ordinances for height and setback in these cities have set their urban design-for better and for worse. In most American cities zoning ordinances have been given a decisive design role by default; that is, out of lack of a city plan.

Land Value

Intimately related to zoning ordinance is land value, as assessed by the city and as determined by the market. Land value is largely controlled by the use to which a property can be put according to the zoning ordinance. Of course, the particular area of a city and its general uses influence land values even more. Critics often point out the flaw that zoning is often adjusted to accommodate the changing circumstances of the market. Hence, it is less a tool for urban design than for speculative enterprise-and fails to maintain order since it can be changed so easily. The problem lays not so much in the restriction of private commerce as in the unreliability of the tool for serving public purpose.

Land value largely determines the uses to which land can be put. Few uses can be tolerated which are not financially feasible. Since land is sold at the highest price obtainable, its market value is usually overstated. Inflated land values are one of the most restricting elements of urban design. Many central city rebuilding projects are therefore impossible without some form of cost "write-down," a process whereby some portion of the cost of land in a project is paid for by the public.

The justification for this action lies in the overall return to the city which the project brings, socially, economically, and physically. This can more than repay the public at large, although the return may be difficult to measure. This is the cost to the public of curing an urban disease. In fact, it is somewhat inaccurate to speak of the process as a cost "write-down" since private developers must pay the fair market value of the land-this determined objectively by disinterested appraisers. The public cost, the so-called "write-down," is the cost of urban repair. The obvious alternative to land value as a capricious determinant of urban design is public control bordering on public ownership, such as is practiced in England. This idea is anathema here. In its place we compensate private owners for their loss in a public taking when a definite program is adopted. This is a cost we have come to accept for the continuance of our attitude toward the rights of private property owners. Legal critics have pointed out that if it is fair to compensate owners for loss in value through public action, we should, by the same reasoning assess them for value gained through some public action-such as building a new highway along a previously inaccessible property.

Property Taxes

From land and building values tax revenues are computed. *Ad valorem* taxes are based on some fraction of the total assessed value of a property and its building. In real estate language a building is termed an "improvement" since it adds to the value of a piece of property. This value is determined not on the basis of the land and its building in the total community picture, but on its market value. Appraisers (who are professional valuation experts) determine market value. Profit potential thus becomes the basis of taxation. Critics assail this practice vigorously, some suggesting that cost to the city directly would be a far more equitable basis of taxation. How this would be determined is not easy to say.

Covenants

Restrictive Covenants have generally been negative in nature to restrict sale to a person of unpopular ethnic or religious background. Yet covenants have been written into deeds to ensure property maintenance, sound use and, hence, community health. Property owners around Louisburg Square in Boston and Gramercy Square in New York agree through covenant to support the cost of their private talks. Suburban residents of Houston, Texas, employ private deed covenants rather than public zoning ordinances. The covenants, however, can only be imposed with the concurrence of the individual property owner, or a developer in the case of a new development project. They can work on a small community basis, but cannot come close to controlling the city as a whole.

Much creative work remains to be done in the positive use of covenants. For example, in the creation of new towns there is a critical period of transition from developer ownership to occupant control. This occurs before the whole community is built-perhaps a third of it is erected-which means that its inhabitants are somewhat homogeneous as a class. They may decide, through legislation, to impose alterations on the original plan which precludes the final development of a socially and commercially balanced "new town." In fact, they may do this out of unwitting shortsightedness. Certainly the inhabitants should have the prerogatives enjoyed by the citizens of other communities. Here is where a new form of covenant might enter in. Covenants could be drafted in the form of development policies that would allow flexibility while assuring that the social rudiments of the new town would be realized more or less as originally planned.

Subdivision Regulations

Subdivision regulations are a physical extension of zoning for forming the character of an area, usually residential. Subdivision regulations state building form and community character more specifically than zoning, specifying the sizes of front and rear yards, minimum lot size, and sometimes minimum house size and materials.

A most helpful job could be undertaken by local architects in examining their own subdivision regulations and evaluating them on the basis of the products to which they lead. Every subdivision regulation, for example, should have the option of an unspecified alternative. There should always be room for innovation when accompanied by a satisfactory demonstration of proof of validity and the fulfillment of the public's interests.

Building, Housing and Sanitary Codes

To complete the list of regulatory factors, building codes must be added. They ensure the satisfaction of minimum standards to produce sound building. They also affect community design and appearance with their specifications of the use of certain materials and certain mechanical features. Sometimes they may be obsolete. Some plumbing codes, for example, specify elements in such a way as to rule out new advances which would bring cost down to a level where more modest-priced houses could be built in a community. Building codes may specify window-opening areas which do not make sense when considering the relationship between one house and another. Codes are essential in general, but many could be examined from the point of view of the relation between buildings.

Here, again, allowance must be made for innovation supported by proof of validity. Some building codes do not allow the construction of modest row houses, particularly narrow ones. They also may be so burdened with semantic complexities that the deft 5'arid unscrupulous find ways of fulfilling the letter of the law while outing its intent. One attempt to correct this deficiency has been the use of performance standards which state the *requirements* to be satisfied, leaving the *methods* up to the designer. For example, rather than specifying that the area of a window shall be such- and-such a percentage of a room's floor area, it is sufficient to say that the window shall provide ample light and air.

The Basic Problem The main regulators of the city's design thus include its official street plats, zoning, land values, taxation plan, covenants, subdivision regulations, and building codes. Within these institutions of regulation and control there are also an array of subordinate regulators. Utility layout, for example, is a by-product of the official city map. Obviously, the city's economic base and sense of civic pride control any actions for civic improvement. Transportation patterns regulate value in urban and sub-urban land. Fine arts commissions, historical commissions, and ad hoc committees regulate the creation and maintenance of the city's higher values.

The missing link in our present regulatory practices is full consideration of urban design. Although our current measures in fact control the city's appearance, we have failed to inject design into the rules of city building. We cannot revolutionize these rules, but we can extend them to incorporate design goals.

Injecting Urban Design into Regulations *Conservation and Upgrading*

A major task in building urban America lies in preserving areas that are healthy: physically, socially, and financially. Preservation and rehabilitation of this stock can be achieved through sound housekeeping on an urban scale, accomplished through the judicious exercise of current regulations, while recognizing that all individual buildings are in an environmental context which has a considerable regulatory effect in itself.

In the case of urban housing, for example, almost every city and town has a large proportion of row and semidetached houses two or three generations old. These are the old streetcar suburbs of yesterday, the comfortable houses of the former middle-class suburbanites. Unlike the huge pre-income tax mansions, the old middle-class family dwellings can

handily accommodate a contemporary family, or sometimes two. Although the heating and plumbing may not be up-to-date, they are up-ta-par. The rooms are often of good size, the gardens ample although not large, and the street trees mature. It is to the interests of the community to ensure that none of its policies in taxing, road building, or other indirect and inadvertent practices threaten these areas, for policy largely regulates their health.

If, for example, municipal finances result in a boost in residential real estate taxes, the owners of these old properties may forsake them for a suburban alternative. The result may be an increase in the city's commuter load, a reduction in public transit passengers, and a decrease in responsible citizenry in the central city. If the quality of local schools in central cities is on the down- grade, one can be sure of an accompanying degree of middle-class exodus.

CHAPTER 3

THE PLANNING BODIES, INSTITUTIONAL AND LEGAL FRAMEWORK SINCE APRIL 2002

The planning bodies and planning Practices since April 2002

This period is characterized by three main incidents, assignment of a new mayor to the city, completion of the revision of the Addis Ababa Master Plan which was started in 1998, and the fact that urban renewal and upgrading are top on the agenda of the city government. The discussion below will focus on the nature, characteristics, and responsibilities of the currently existing planning bodies in Addis Ababa.

The Planning Commission

With the completion of the revision of the Addis Ababa Master Plan in 2002 the Policy Study and Planning Commission was established to oversee the planning affairs of the city. Preparation of Local Development plans and the provision of policy and planning assistance for the institutions of the city government for the implementation of the Revised Master Plan were the major tasks assigned to the commission.

In the current municipal planning process in Addis Ababa, initiations for planning have either a top-down or horizontal orientation. Executive bodies, other parallel institutions, or the commission itself often recommend an area to be studied as an LDP. It seems that the community doesn't have a role in the initiation of an LDP study for an area; hence, the contemporary bottom-up approach is far from reality in terms of initiation for planning in today's context of Addis Ababa.

Further, the planning process is undertaken in a closed atmosphere where a team of architects, economists and sociologists along with data collectors do the planning on their own. Regular in house presentations are normally held a number of times and the LDP will be completed and sent to the implementing institutions, the building permits section and/or the LDA. The public is not purposefully and intentionally made aware of the planning process and is not invited to participate in the planning of a local area. Awareness to the public is made through unintentional and in informal ways may be due to the presence of data collectors in the planning area.

The planning model adopted by the planning commission was similar to that adopted by the ORAAMP¹ which is the Comprehensive-Strategic planning model. Existing situation analysis, SWOT analysis, Vision formation, and proposals are the formal procedures adopted in the plan making process of the commission. The study out put consists of physical plans

and reports. The physical component of the out put consists of land use plans, blocking, green and open spaces, building height regulations, three dimensional images, Models and the like. Other elements of urban design like landscaping elements, texture and colour of surfaces, the architectural styles and elements to be implanted in the forthcoming buildings are not evident from the studies.

LDPs prepared by the commission envisage implementation to be on the block level. Due to the absence of block subdivision regulations of the LDPs of the commission, implementation has often encountered serious problems. Developers with title deeds in the LDP areas have to wait for new title deeds to realize their investment. Due to this the Building Permit Section of the municipality does not issue permits until property owners receive adjusted title deeds from the Land Administration Authority of the city government.

Each LDP team in the Planning commission is composed of a socio-economic and a physical planning task force. The amount of compensation and the socio economic impact of the LDPs is analysed and recommendations are put forward by the socio-economic task force.

In the present municipal Administration the Land Development Agency is in charge of the implementation of Local Development Plans. Often disputes arise between the planning commission and the LDA, concerning adjustments or revision needed in the implementation process. This is mainly due to the absence of clear guidelines, regulations and job descriptions.

If we look into the purpose of the LDPs prepared by the planning commission, it seems that they play the role of both guiding the development of an area (on piece meal basis), like the east-west axis LDP, and also serve as tools for the total

¹ This could be due to the background of the planners of the planning commission and their participation in the ORAAMP. It is a well known fact that the

renewal of a local area as is the case with the Kasa-INCHIS LDP². Implementation of the plans prepared by the planning commission also envisages the private- public partnership mode. While the public sector is the producer of the plans and land developer, and the private sector is the investor through whom the plans are realized.

When we consider the scope of LDPs in terms of the physical areas they cover, we observe variations both in planning and action areas. In this respect, though proclamation number 17/2004 of the city government limits the minimum area for an LDP not to be less than 10 hectares without specifying whether this belongs to the planning or action areas. The methodology as how to decide the scale of urban renewal (urban design) is not clearly put forward by any sort of acceptable legal means. The decision of delineating the action or planning areas is left to the discretion of the planners who involve in the preparation of the LDPs.

The Housing Development Project

Established in 2003, the project considers housing development as one of the tools for the renewal of the inner city of Addis. It prepares renewal plans (mainly physical plans), in addition to the large scale renewal plans prepared by the Planning Commission. It primarily uses open spaces in inner city areas and even in expansion areas including sport fields, former kebele offices, areas dominated by kebele houses. There are no socio economic dimensions to the physical plans prepared by this body. This planning body exists at city and sub city levels

Those who are displaced from inner city areas due to the redevelopment programmes are scattered in the expansion areas of the city. The case of a relocated neighbourhood from 'Arada' Sub City shows that households were resettled in

planning approach adopted by the ORAAMP is a hybrid of comprehensive and strategic (action oriented) planning approaches.

² The currently demolished area around the ECA, the Kasa-INCHIS area redevelopment scheme, is as a result of the Kasa-INCHIS LDP which was a revised version of the ECA area detail plan prepared in 1998. The Revision of the Addis Ababa master plan took place for four years between 1998-2002.

three different expansion areas of the city namely 'Akaki', 'Ferensay' Legasion, and the CMC areas. This was done due to the city government's relocation scheme. Those who were relocated to the Akaki and Fernsay low cost houses were the low income groups who cannot afford to pay more than 70 birr per month for house rent. A few of these families in the neighbourhood who were relocated to the CMC AACG houses were middle income that could afford to pay about 232 birr for monthly rent.

Discussion with some of the relocatees reveals that the economic life of the low-income families is highly tied to their old neighbourhood that they cannot sustain their families in the new neighbourhood. Hence during the early days of their relocation they tried to come back to their old neighbourhood to continue with their old businesses. But after a few days it was very difficult for them to come back to their old neighbourhood for lack of money to cover their transportation costs. Their old neighbours testified a number of those who were relocated to the Akaki and Ferensay area used to sustain their lives by selling local drinks such as 'Tella' and 'Arekie'. Neighbourhood members used to support each other at times of difficulties. Now that the relocatees are in a totally new physical and socioeconomic setup and it has become a challenge for them to cope with the new situation.

Recently, the city government announced to the public that it has allocated 1.5 Billion Birr for housing development aiming to construct about 45,000 condominium housing units for the middle and low income section of the city dwellers, in a period of one year.

Those who criticize the condominium housing project argue that the City Government should concentrate its efforts on the provision of infrastructure for the expansion areas housing projects implemented during the last seven years with the public money. They also recommend the government to play the role of facilitator and enabler, while the public organizes itself into cooperatives and take over the responsibility of housing development through its community based

organizations. By providing technical assistance and facilitating research on low-cost materials and techniques government can support the housing cooperatives that involve in the inner-city renewal programs.

Many question the feasibility of the housing scheme for the low-income group since it demands down payment of 30% which would be unaffordable to the low income groups, hence provision of housing finance would assure the feasibility of the project. The low income group are the politically weak section of the society. As experiences of most developing countries show, in most cases low-cost housing projects are in the end inhabited by the middle and high income groups unless appropriate strategies and mechanisms are devised. Hence, there is a greater chance for the project to miss the target population for whom it is intended.

It is also important to consider the impact of such a huge city wide housing construction project on the image of the city. The unfinished hollow concrete blocks, in the name of a low-cost housing, will characterize the city, the inner and most important part of it, as a city whose construction is not yet complete. In the near future this will require another intervention to correct today's mistakes.

The housing project intends to take advantage of the existing infrastructure in the inner-city areas, rather than to implement the project in the expansion areas where the availability of infrastructure is limited. However as there is no limit on the size of the land developed by the project, one would expect a huge pressure such a huge city wide development would bring on the existing inner city infrastructure.

Social services are not provided in the 'planned' neighbourhoods regardless of the size of development. For instance, the 'Mikilayland' condominium project, which is located around 'Asco' area that accommodates about 3000 (three thousand)

families is under construction without due consideration for the pressure this would have on the existing social services in the surrounding neighbourhood.

The project has combined both the planning, though only physical, and implementation aspects of the process. It is learned that the project is not controlled by the central planning body, the Planning Commission, and is directly accountable to the Mayor of the city.

The Sub-Cities' Eco-City Projects

The sub cities are the other planning bodies in the city government. Two types of planning are conducted at the sub city level in Addis Ababa, Eco-city projects and planning by the Land development team. Eco-city projects are basically upgrading projects designed to improve the physical and socioeconomic situation of dilapidated areas of the respective sub-cities. It is planned to prepare eco-city studies for 60 kebeles in Addis Ababa, at a rate of 6 kebeles per sub-city.

The Eco-city study team is composed of an architect- planner, an economist, a sociologist and data collectors all of whom work on free lance basis. During the preparation of the study meetings are held with community representatives, CBOs, government institutions, the business community and different stake holders to integrate their ideas into the study. Hence, one can observe that eco-city projects are more participatory as compared to other planning endeavours of the city administration.

At the city level the planning commission coordinates and supports the study by providing graphical and socio economic data and in evaluating the final out put of the study. At the sub city level, steering committees are established to reinforce

the team logistically and coordinate the study. In most kebeles, implementation of eco-city projects has not yet started, except in one kebele of the 'Arada' sub-city. Eco-city projects are financed by a UN agency.

The Land development team is another planning body that exists at the sub city level in today's Addis Ababa. The main objective of this planning body is to supply land to interested developers. Full fledged and comprehensive studies are not conducted by the land development team at the sub city level. Rather it simply refers to the structure plan of the city for land use and building height or an LDP (if any) for the area intended to be developed. If an LDP is prepared for the area it will be parcelled in accordance with the regulations of the LDP. If the area has no LDP, the structure plan is consulted to check for land use and building height and then land is parcelled accordingly. This is followed by an announcement for auction which is publicly made to invite potential developers. The sale of land is the main means for generation of revenue to the city administration. In this connection, the available open and breathing spaces are eaten up in most parts of the city due to the fact that such spaces are not legally protected and administered by the community.

In the sub cities, it is observed that there is a limitation of trained personnel for the preparation of urban plans. Eco-city projects are an exception to this situation. As discussed above Eco-city projects have a special budget allocated for plan preparation which is better than the regular salary scale of the members of the land development team in each sub city. Also in the planning commission the institution faces serious problems in terms of maintaining its professional work force due to the salary scale it pays to professionals. The housing project seems in better position in these terms. The monthly salary it pays to professionals is relatively higher than the planning commission and the sub cities. Generally there is a tendency of contracting out planning projects to freelance professionals to fill the gap.

The private Sector and NGOs in Plan Preparation and Implementation

It is believed that in the past most of the master plans of the city were prepared by foreign consultants except the 1986 Master plan, which was prepared jointly by Ethiopian and Italian professionals. The Revised Master Plan of Addis Ababa (1998-2002), was also prepared with a limited foreign assistance. Currently in Addis Ababa, the participation of the private sector in urban plan preparation and implementation is not a common phenomenon. In most cases urban plans are prepared and implemented by the public sector and the private sector is rarely invited to participate in the preparation of any form and scale of urban plans. The participation of the private sector is limited to architectural design projects and construction works. Hence, it is evident that the private sector has not been given the opportunity to build its capacity for the preparation and implementation of urban plans.

In the current practice in Addis Ababa, Some NGOs like the GTZ are involved in plan preparation and implementation. For instance, the GTZ involves in two types of plan preparation. The first type is the preparation of renewal plans for areas like 'piassa' area and the second is the production of condominium housing typologies and their implementation in various parts of the city. The architectural design of the condominiums and neighbourhood designs involves local consultants and freelance architects in the city.

Institutional and Legal Framework for the Implementation of LDPs

After the completion of the revision of the master plan in 2002, the next step was the preparation of legal and institutional instruments for the realization and implementation of the revised master plan. With the restructuring of the Addis Ababa city administration in April 2003, a new charter was put in place and new institutions were created for the administration of the city and for the implementation of the Revised Master Plan in general and the LDPs in particular. Following the establishment of the institutions the Revised Master Plan and the LDPs were declared, in 2004, as legal planning documents and instruments to be observed in the jurisdiction of the city. This portion of the chapter will assess the legal and institutional framework for the planning and implementation of local development plans in Addis Ababa.

Purposes of Local Development Plans

Two main purposes³ of LDPs are envisaged: to provide detailed directions for the necessary undertaking of development projects and to indicate the details of selected areas for development based on the conditions of land use models and other relevant criteria.

Request/initiation for the Preparation of the LDPs

The same proclamation⁴ in article 20 indicates two ways in which request for the preparation of local development plans should come from.

- 1) from the 'concerned body' based on the strategic lands of investment (20/1) in the structural plan and by the long and medium term development plan of the city (20/2)
- 2) LDPs may be prepared when a request is submitted by the residents, developers, the municipal organs or the executive offices and when this is accepted by the City Manager or the Sub-City Manager (20/3). In practice, however most of the time initiations for the preparation of local development plans do not come from the residents of the city. It usually comes from the planning bodies and the different organs of the city government.

Undertaking Study and Preparation of Plan

³ article number 18 of the proclamation no 17/2004 for the preparation issuance and implementation of Addis Ababa Master Plan

⁴ this refers to proclamation no 17/2004 of the City Government

The plan making bodies identified by the proclamation number 17/'04 are the city and sub-city managers⁵, who are responsible to undertake the study and preparation of local development plans. Furthermore, local plans to be prepared by managers should indicate the matters where the executive offices are allowed to make changes.

One of the main problems that create sharp disagreement between the plan making and implementing bodies is the extent to which implementers are given the mandate to revise the plans when the need arises. Though article 21/3 of the proclamation demands that LDPs should indicate the matters where the executive offices are allowed to make changes to the plans, most of the prepared LDPs are short of such indications. Hence, this has created additional problems to the implementation of most LDPs.

The proclamation also limits that local development plans should cover at least 10 hectares of land. In cases where smaller areas than 10 hectares are to be studied as LDP, the declaration recommends such cases to be investigated by the 'authority'⁶.

So far, all local development plans in the city were prepared by the planning body under the City Managers Office. The delineation of a minimum of 10 hectares of land is not a common practice of the plan making bodies most of the local development plans cover areas of varied sizes, between 20-100 hectares as their action areas, and are far greater than 10 hectares due to the fact that the maximum area limit of the LDPs is not specified. The common practice to delineate the areas for LDP study is by using roads and other features such as gorges, rivers and hills. The author of this thesis is of the

⁵ It is important to note here that the Planning Commission of the City Government functions under the city managers office and the proclamation assumes plan preparation is under the supervision of the city and sub-city managers.

⁶ The 'authority' is not clearly defined on the proclamation

opinion the proclamation should also have indicated the maximum area of land that an LDP should cover depending on the nature and type of LDP⁷ in question.

Contents of the Local Development Plans

The contents of local development plans as described by article 19 of proclamation number 17/2004 are: the *local social and economic impact assessment, land for resettlement, road net work, land utilization use of vacant, (green) lands, parking area, building height, building row, density size, implementation strategy and development expenditure of the government.*

Article 22 of the same proclamation also states that the studies also shall constitute, useful opinions found through the discussion forum of the City residents strategic for gathering comments.

Approval of the Local Development Plans

Once the plans are prepared they have to be approved by the appropriate bodies in order to resume implementation of the plans. The city and sub-city councils are given the power to approve the plans prepared by the city manager and the sub-city manager respectively, according to article 23 of proclamation no 17/2004 of the Addis Ababa city government.

The proclamation also declares the approved plans to be published on 'Addis Negari' Gazette. The plans shall be applicable as of the date of their publication on the 'Addis Negari' Gazette. But no single local development plan is

⁷ So far the author came across literature that tries to limit the urban design scale to half a mile square such as Lynch and some other literature takes the liberty to advise that urban design can also be exercised at the scale of the city. For the sake of the quality of output and depending on the staffing of the urban design task force, the author believes that there is need to limit the maximum area to be covered for an urban design study.

approved according to the specified declaration. Hence, all of the local development plans produced so far in Addis Ababa are automatically devoid of their legal power since they are not approved according to the provisions of the laws of the city.

CHAPTER 4

LOCAL DEVELOPMENT PLAN IMPLEMENTING BODIES

According to the Revised Master Plan declarations a number of institutions are involved in the preparation and implementation of urban plans in the city of Addis Ababa.

One of the institutions involved in the implementation of local development plans from 2003-04 is the land development agency for about one and half years. Regulation no. 16/2004⁸ has outlined the land development agency as the sole agency for the implementation of the local development plans. On the same regulation the duties and responsibilities of the agency are stated. It declares on article 14/2 that the LDA shall:

- (a) Propose to the Manager by identifying those places that need local development studies;
- (b) Prepare the detail plan and implementation strategies for local development plans prepared by the manager;
- (c) Prepare the small detail plans of fragmented places and parcellation plans that may not be prepared with the standard of local development plans;
- (d) Publicize and create favorable conditions for sale for those places with prepared local development plan.

⁸ Regulation number 16/2004 is a regulation of the Addis Ababa city government issued in may 2004 for the approval and implementation of the structural Plan

In accordance with the duties and responsibilities vested on the agency by the stated regulation the agency has organized itself into three departments and six teams. The specific objectives outlined for the departments were handling relocation and compensation issues, supply of land for development along with the necessary infrastructures and the promotion of land development and negotiation with developers. To this end, the LDPs were the springboards upon which the day to day activities of the agency are based.

Operational Procedures of LDP Implementation by the Land Development Agency (LDA)

The LDA is an institution created in 2002 with the aim of producing developed land for investors. Since 2002 the agency functioned on its own. Later on in 2004 the agency was merged with the land administration authority, by the order of the city administration, and LDP implementation was handed over to the sub-cities.

During its one-and half years period life the agency has planned to implement about 9 LDPs, 4-inner city, 2-housing LDPs in the expansion areas and 3-industrial LDPs at a capital cost of 120 million Birr.

The LDP implementation process by the agency mainly involves three major steps:

1. **Land clearance** this involves handling of compensation and relocation issues (onsite and off site)
2. **Infrastructure provision/planning, implementation & monitoring** after the completion of land clearance along with handling compensation and relocation issues the next phase of implementation is the planning and provision of the necessary infrastructure for developing the LDP areas. The main infrastructures to be supplied by the agency are road, water, power and telecommunication.
3. **Promotion & contract management:** though the structure of LDA recommends the establishment of promotion and contract management department under it, the agency was limited to land development activities during its short life span.

Developed land is prepared by the agency and is made ready to be auctioned for lease by the land administration authority. So in actual fact it is very difficult to assert that the agency was involved in marketing, promotion and contract management activities. After private developers lease plots in the LDP areas they are expected to develop their plots in accordance with the LDP regulations. The LDP regulations are enforced by the building permit section of the city administration.

Problems Encountered in Carrying out LDP Implementation by the LDA

From the presentation⁹ of former LDA official it is learned that there exist a number of obstacles to the implementation of LDPs which are listed and discussed below:

Unsuccessful Poor Integration

This existed between the various institutions who are responsible for the provision of infrastructure and the LDA itself. The institutions were burdened with their own plans which were not done in an integrated manner with the LDA. The institutions are believed to take the issue of land development as a secondary agenda and it was not included in their annual budgets and programs. For instance the AACRA (Addis Ababa City Roads Authority) is busy with its own road widening and new roads building activities while the LDA submitted its request for the construction of new roads in the LDP areas. The authority does not have enough staff and equipment to execute the additional road construction request submitted to it by the LDA. This is also the same with other infrastructure institutes like Tele, EEPCO, AAWSA and the

⁹ This refers to a seminar organized by the Addis Ababa management Institute in June 2005 concerning urban development issues

like. Hence officials of the LDA claim to have faced serious difficulties in the provision of developed land for investment in the city and thus in the implementation of the LDPs.

Lack of Strategic Focus, Prioritization & Action

During the two year period of the implementation of LDPs by the LDA authorities claim that there was lack of focus and prioritization in the implementation of LDPs both at the level of institutions and at city level. The former manager regrets that he should have taken only a selected few of the LDPs to implement with the allocated capital budget of 120 million birr than trying to implement 9 LDPs with a limited manpower and budget. He further says that there should have been focus too at the city level development efforts. The city government literally tried to attempt all the visible problems of the city without a focused/specific, realistic, achievable plans and programs. Hence this resulted in the unsuccessful completion of any one of the projects it started during its term in office.

Lack of Clear Regulations

This is another area that posed a serious obstacle in the implementation of LDPs. To mention few examples in this area is the absence of negotiation regulations. The former manager of the LDA says that the agency was approached by a developer to develop 'Senga Tera' as per the requirements of the LDP and by handling the compensation and relocation issues himself by negotiating with the inhabitants of the LDP area himself. But the absence of regulations to deal with such issues hampered the process and the developers request was referred back to the city cabinet for further directions. The city cabinet itself was unable to deliver a fast response on the issue and the developers request was stack without any response.

Outdated and Unclear Compensation Policy and System

The current compensation policy and rate is an outdated one and is based on a rate defined long ago by the municipality. The LAA authorities claim that the compensation rates are based on the surveys done by the Information center of the city administration in 1995. The data on housing by the information center are not updated and are unreliable. Most of the time disagreements arise between the city administration and property owners on the estimation of their property. Authorities of the LDA explain that they have come across a house estimated 2.5 million Birr by private property valuers is estimated for 200,000 by the city administration.

Other complications of the compensation system relate to the issues of eligibility for compensation. The housing units without a title deed are required to present water bills, electric bills, property tax receipts, and a letter from kebele administration, all at once, as an evidence to be eligible for compensation. But the agency will not accept the evidence if one of the bills is not submitted to it. The essence of requesting house owners to submit their bills as evidence was to check if the house was built before 1975 and one or two of the bills was enough to signify the fact. But the fact that all evidences are required at once by the agency poses a big problem during handling compensation issues in LDP implementation.

Officials of the authority recommend for a new compensation policy and for a separation of property valuation and compensation bodies. They affirm that property valuers should be separate from the public sector and be made by the private sector which should be made accountable to the law in case of any claims/inconsistencies by both the city government and the house owners and that one or two of the bills are enough to check whether a house is built before 1975 to be eligible for compensation.

Unclear Institutional Hierarchy

An unclear working relationship between the different public institutions is also another problem that hinders the implementation of Local development plans in Addis Ababa. The relationship between the following public institutions that are related to LDP implementation is not guided by clear regulations, according to the authorities of the LDA.

- Land administration & LDA
- Land development & Planning commission - the extent to which the planning commission controls the planning operations at the LDA and the extent to which the LDA intervenes in the revision of the LDPs
- LDA and sub-cities & kebeles

Changing Policies

Condominium, real-estate - some policies that were at work during the preparation of the LDPs often changes and brings about revision of the LDPs. For instance, in the preparation of some housing LDPs when prepared the assumptions were to allocate plots for individual housing construction. In the midst of the implementation of the plans a new condominium policy was introduced and this brought about the revision of the plans to adjust to the changing policy.

Implementation Problems Related to the Quality of the Plans

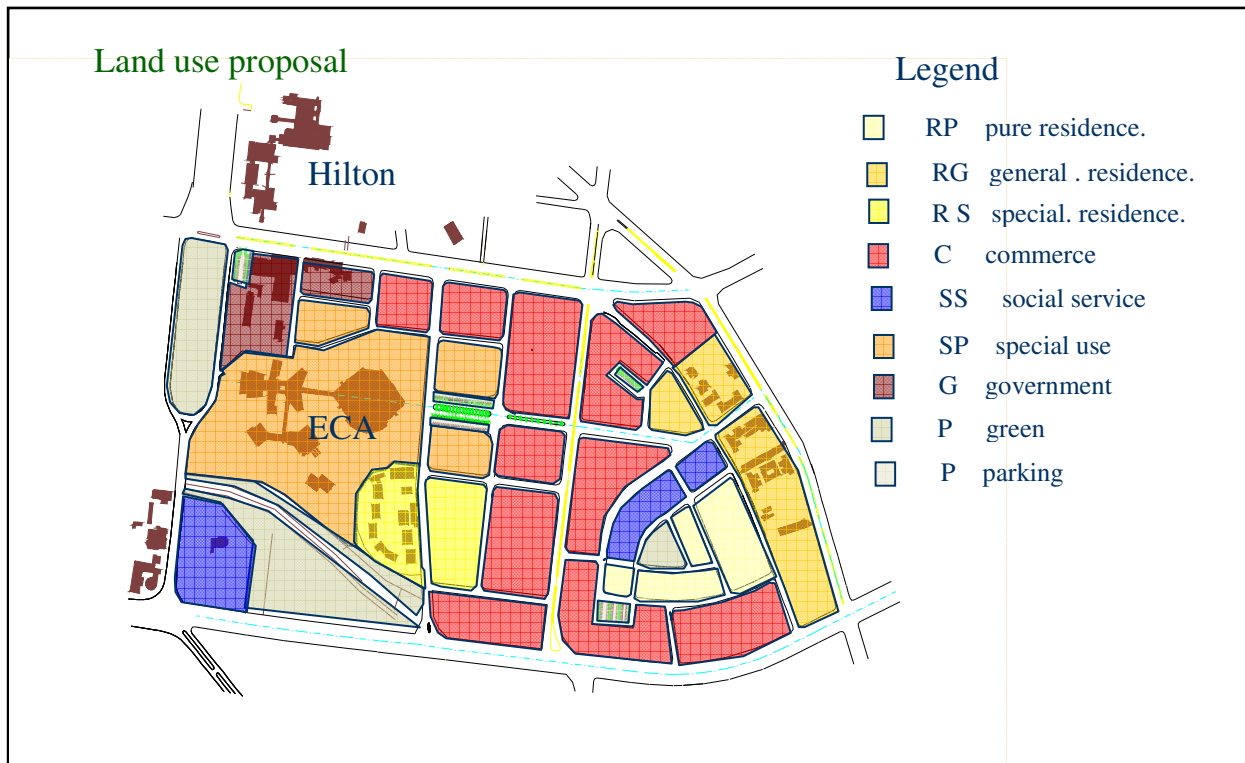
Apart from problems related to legal and institutional framework the implementers of LDPs claim that there exist problems that arise from the quality of the LDPs, which hinder the implementation of LDPs. we shall elaborate these by taking some examples.

Unclear Regulations for Designation and Color Coding

If we take a look at the legend of the ECA LDP RP, RG, RS - stand for pure, general, and special residence respectively, as indicated in the ECA LDP. The legend C stands for commerce SS for social service SP for special use G for governmental use and P for green and parking with their respective colors. But the difference between the three residence land uses is not clearly defined which makes the plan harder for implementation. This holds true for the other land uses described in the plan.

Again, if we take the commercial land use it is still not clear as to what type of commercial activity is the plan talking about. In terms of the social services a much more specified detail is expected on the LDPs than on the structure plan. As there are a broader range and categories of social services the presentation of the LDP has made it very difficult to identify the type of social service it is talking about thus posing difficulty for its implementation. This fact of the plan holds true for the governmental land use legend. See the ECA LDP plan below.

Figure 1 showing land use plan of the ECA LDP. Implementers complain that the meanings of the legends on the plan are not easily understood



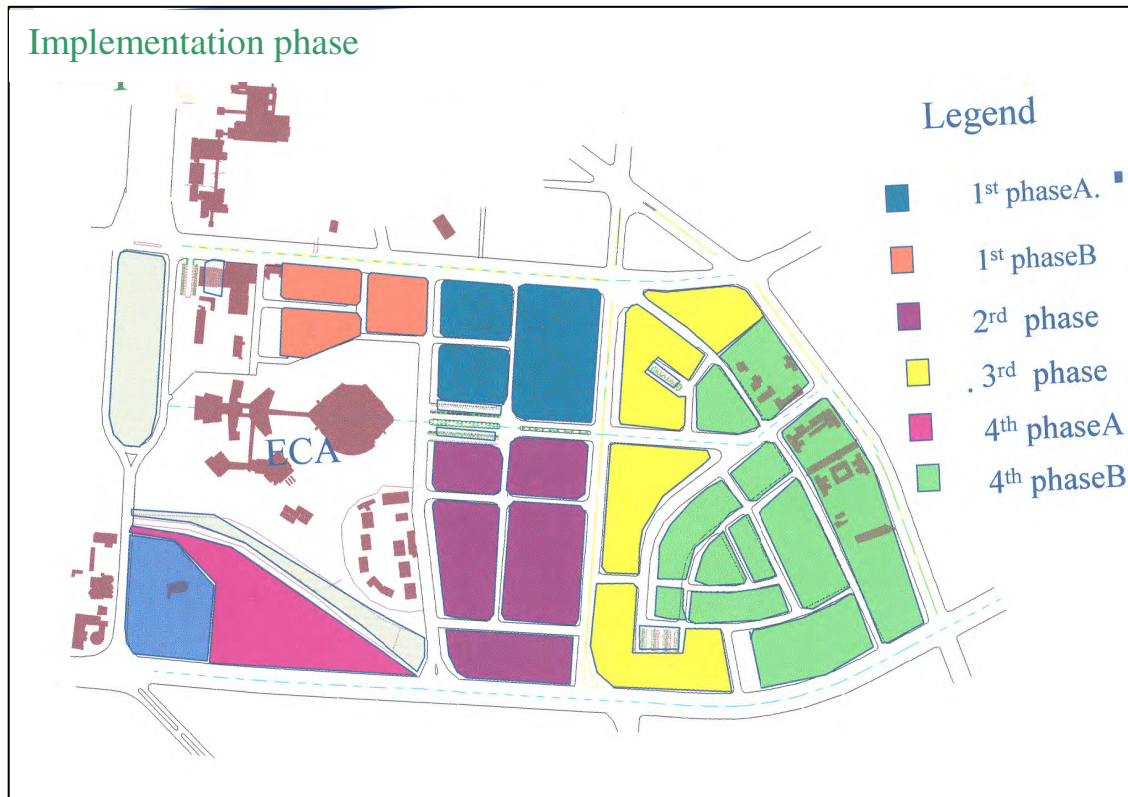
Source ECA LDP document, 2002

Phasing

Though phasing is promoted by most of the LDPs, the criteria and methodology upon which areas are phased for development on an LDP is not clearly indicated on the study document. For instance on the ECA LDP, the phasing priority of the ECA detail plan (1998) and the ECA LDP (2002) are exactly the same. But in both cases the rationale for prioritizing the areas as indicated on the plans are not clearly stated. According to the implementing body, the LDA, phase II was much easier for implementation than phase IA and IB. The implementers also argue that phasing should be done in

accordance with the ease of implementation and should be reasoned out properly. See the phasing plan of the ECA LDP below.

Figure 2 showing phasing proposal for Kaza-INCHIS LDP. Implementers claim that phase II was easier to implement than phase IA and IB



Source: ECA LDP, 2002

Strict land use

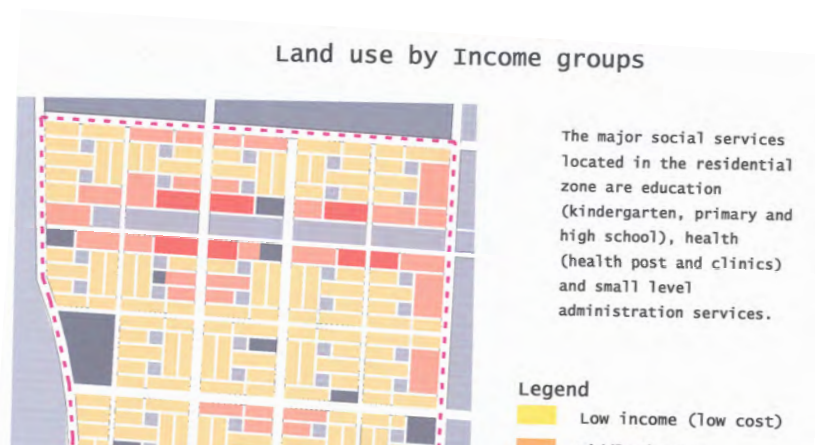
This implies the rigid land use pattern displayed by the local development plans. The implementers confirm that the land use is an obligatory one and does not have any flexible provisions which make it comfortable for implementation. For instance owner occupiers choice to develop the area is varied and the implementers do not have any tools provided to them by the plan to be able to entertain the varied interests of such people. And every one is compelled to do what the plan proposes.

The policies and the Assumptions of the LDP

In some LDPs, especially, the housing ones the LDPs propose to be developed by a mixture of different income groups but the methods of identification between the various income groups proposed by the LDPS is not outlined on the LDPs. so it became very difficult to allocate the plots for the income groups intended by the LDPs.

The question of whether the proposals of the LDP are shared by all stake holders is the other area where the implementers put their suspicion on. The needs of the majority such as that of the poor are little represented especially by the inner city LDPS. For instance at the ECA LDP site about 44% are the low income group and almost all of them prefer to be relocated on or near the old site but the implementation of the LDP has gone against the will of the majority. Hence it will be very difficult to describe the planning and implementation process as participatory.

Figure 3 showing housing LDP around CMC. The proposals indicated on the legend are proved by the implementers to be difficult to implement



Source: Meri Luke LDP document, 2002

CHAPTER 5

THE CASE STUDY

History and Emergence of the Area

The city of Addis Ababa was started as a result of the settlement of king Minilik at Entoto along with his war lords in the different parts of the city in since 1886. The present ECA area and its surrounding were allocated to one of the war lords of Minilik by the name of Ras Mulugeta. During the battle of Adowa in 1896, when king Minilik declared war with the Italians, the area served as a military camp and spring board of the soldiers of Ras Mulugeta who travelled to Adowa with the King.

During the Italian occupation of Ethiopia in 1936, the area started to be called by an Italian name 'Kaza-INCHIS', which in Italian means the house of commanders. The word is basically made up of two Italian words. 'Kaza' meaning 'house' and

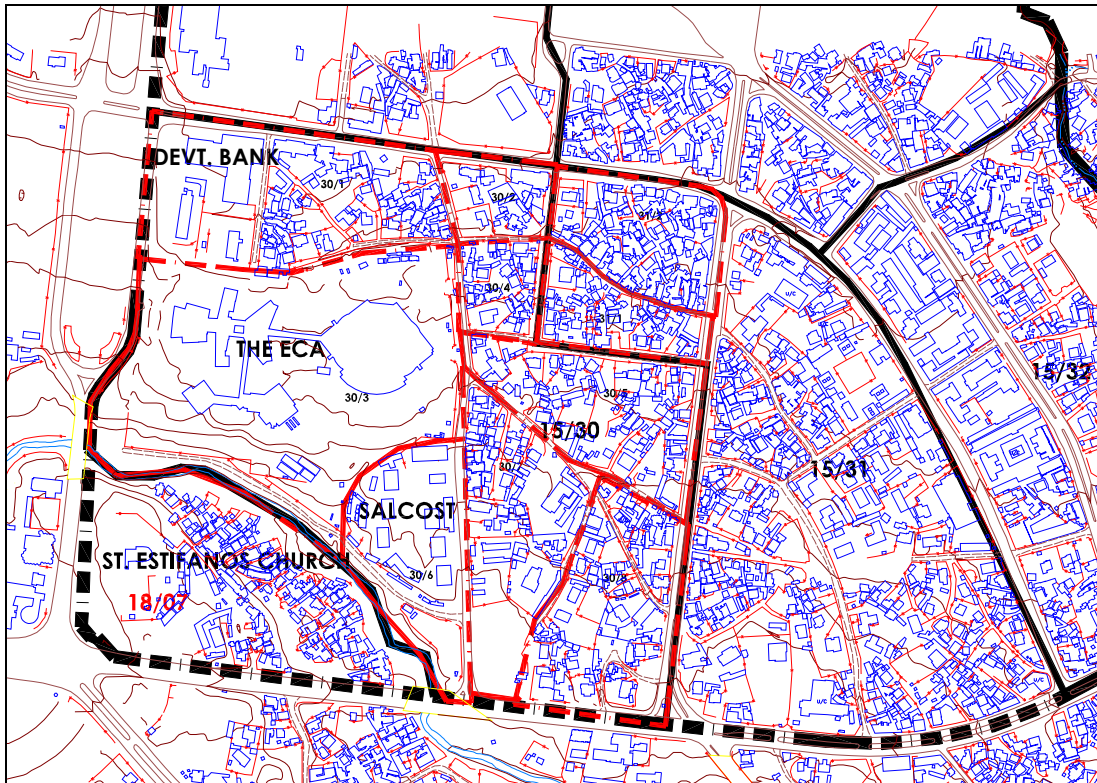
'INCHIS' meaning 'commander', hence the name Kaza-INCHIS. During the Italian occupation the area was allocated as a residential area for the Italian military authorities. After the Italian occupation the kaza-INCHIS area served as a residential area for distinguished government employees.

Background to the Project

The existing function on the ECA LDP was a mixed function development, residential and commercial development, studying the area for redevelopment purposes dates back to 1997, during the implementation period of the 1986 master plan. The ECA area was designated by the 1986 master plan as an area of intervention (urban renewal). The master plan prescribed preparation of detail plans before commencing redevelopment on the areas designated for intervention. Hence the ECA area had its renewal detail plan prepared during the specified period.

According to the 1997 renewal plan of the BWUD the action area covers 40.82 hectares of land to be developed in four phases which includes the whole of Woreda 15 kebele 30 and part of woreda 15 kebele 31. The plan was in effect to displace a total of 1536 households who live in 1491 housing units.

Figure 4 showing the blocks demolished for redevelopment



Source: Nortech map of Addis Ababa

Today the area demolished for redevelopment is about 20 hectares about 50% of the area originally planned for redevelopment; it covers the whole of kebele 30 and a small portion of kebele 31 of woreda 15. The total number of population relocated from the 20 hectares of land is about 4635 people living in 927 housing units. The statistics in the table below demonstrates this fact.

Table 1 showing the number of population and families relocated from the project area

kebele	Block no	No of families	population		Total
			Male	Female	
Woreda 15 kebele 30	1	129	272	373	645
	2	50	120	130	250
	4	64	158	162	320
	5	122	300	310	610
	7	98	240	250	490
	8	137	340	345	685
Woreda 15 Kebele 31	1	102	200	310	510
	2	225	560	365	1125
Total		927	2190	2445	4635

source: ECA area inner city redevelopment project socio-economic and physical planning study summary, 1998

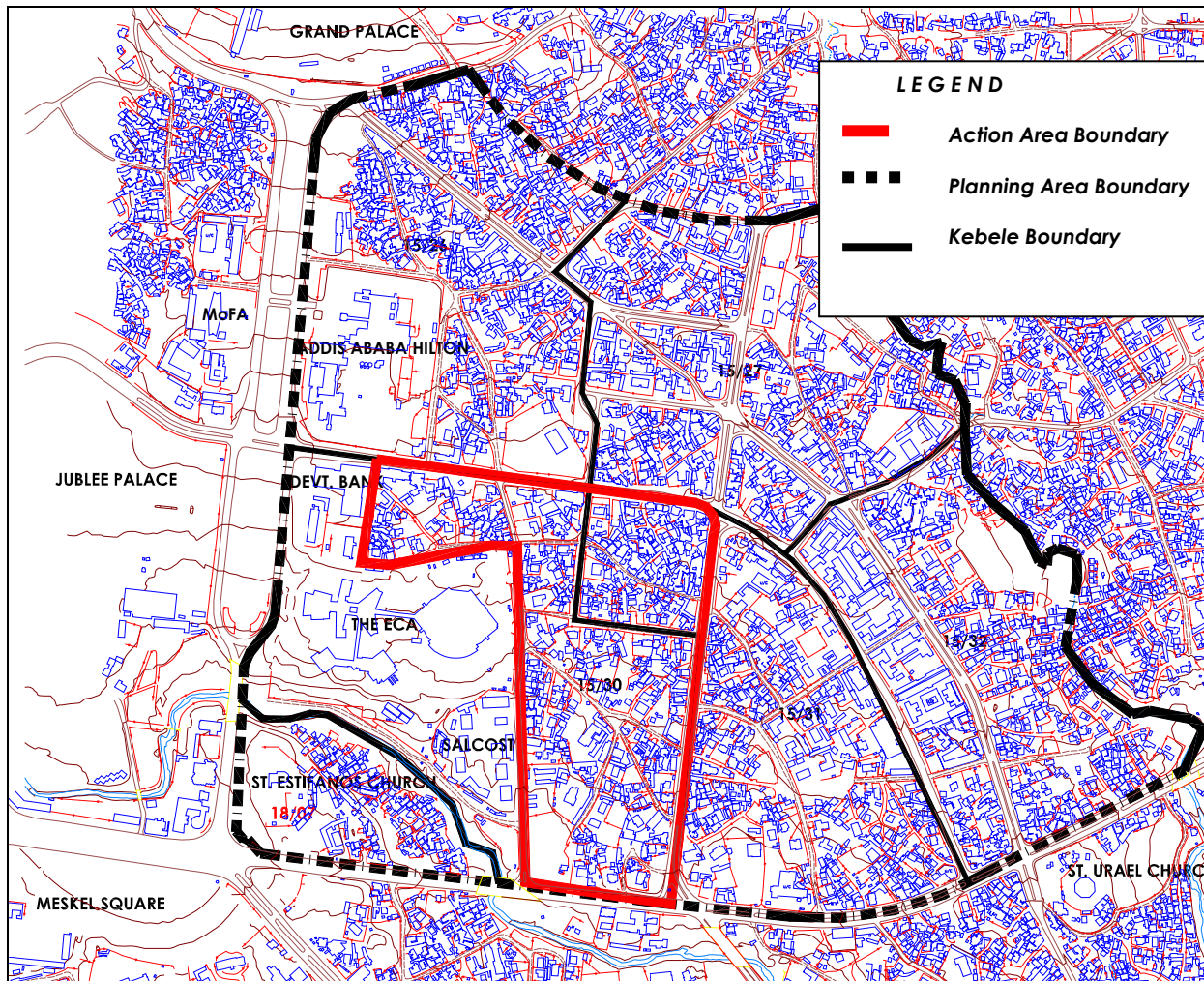
Abebe (2001) states that;

The project (implementation) was started in 1998 as a pilot project and the first phase relocation took place in 1999. 353 households, who are low income earners and residents of kebele houses, were resettled in Gerji, woreda 17 kebele 25 at the fringe and to the southeastern part of the city. It is estimated that the distance from the Kaza-INCHIS area is about 12 Kms.

He further goes on to say that;

Those who own private houses were given substitute plots in woreda 28, kebele 04, and financial compensation for their houses at the renewal area. Those who did not have their own houses but earn relatively better income and afford to pay higher rent (140 in number), were resettled at the same place in front of Ethiopian Civil Service College (ECSC) at the city governments houses, adjacent to the place where people from the Sheraton area are relocated.

Figure 5 showing the planning and action area of the 1998 BWUD Kaza-INCHIS detail plan



Source: 1995 Nortech map of Addis

Ababa.

The city government built all the houses at Gerji and ECSC. The total number of houses to be demolished in the first phase is 731. Out of which 361 are kebele owned, 48 RHA, 151 private, 87 renters from private owners, and 84 were illegal (Informal settlers). The project was initiated, financed and managed by the city government.

This method of segregating the people according to their incomes for the sake of relocation has disrupted the traditional and most valued mixed settlement nature of the people. This is also believed to weaken the economic and social ties of the people who used to cross subsidize economically and associate in social activities. This will also have the potential to create very poor isolated areas, ghettos, and rich areas which are not originally in the city.

Gerji has no direct public transport to the city center and to the former site. People are forced to change routes and have to walk about 2km-unpaved road to access public transport.

Planning Phase

During the planning phase of urban renewal some of the measures to be undertaken included, limiting the area to be renewed, define the new use of the land and present reasons for change of use or renewal. Planning in urban renewal has to incorporate physical, spatial, financial and institutional aspects. It has to prioritize the intervention area, means and ways of intervention. It has to incorporate which area to be renewed first, second etc. How it is going to be renewed, who is going to undertake the process, who is going to finance it has to be indicated. With the plan there must be a policy and policy instruments. When renewal is planned through relocation there must be a policy which guides how it is going to be addressed. The right and obligations of each actor must be well stated.

When we look the case of Addis particularly the study area there was a physical plan (the Master Plan for Addis 1986), indicates both 'Fitber' and kaza-INCHIS as central business districts and as urban renewal intervention areas. In the land use the former was indicated for office building development. While the latter was for, 7-10 stories mixed use buildings (apartments shops and offices). The responsibility to develop and follow up and control the master plan proposal implementation was given to Urban Works and Development Bureau.

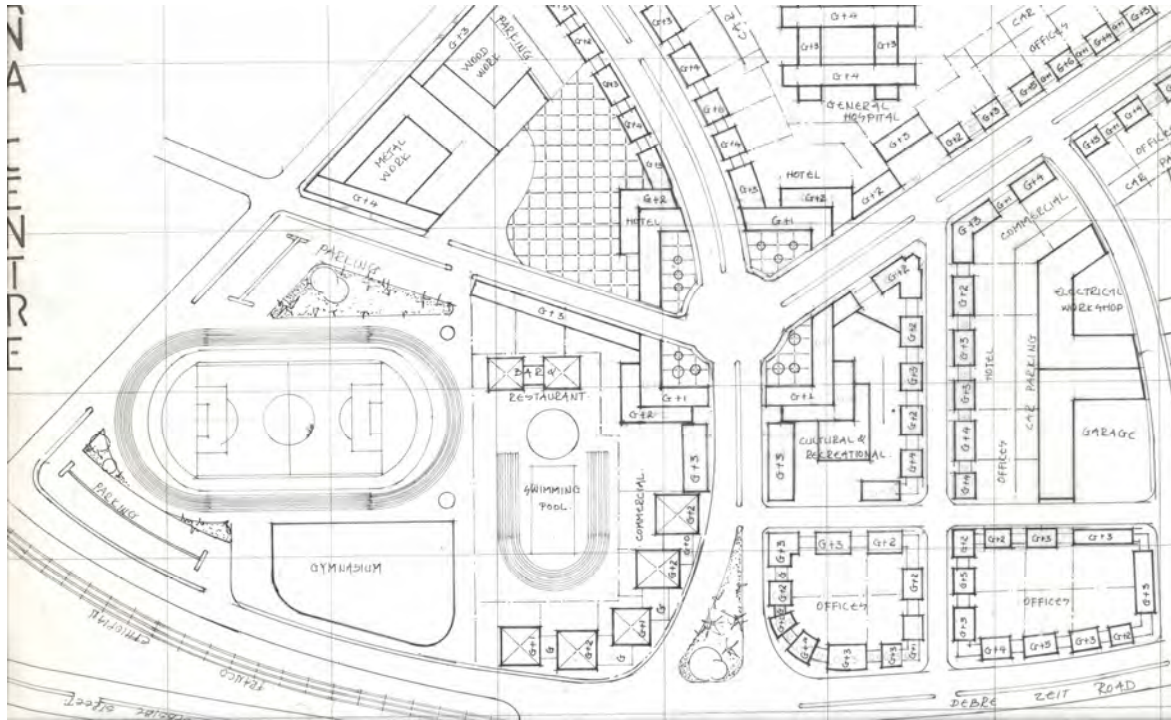
But the plan does not indicate priority within the core area. It does not indicate the financial and institutional issues of urban renewal. It does not indicate the reasons for the physical deterioration of these areas and does not explain the reasons for renewal. The economic and social conditions of these areas are not stated well. So, the bases of the proposal of the master plan seem physical and environmental condition of these areas which is absorbable from the outset.

Detail Plan Preparation and Implementation of the 1986MP

This Master Plan was prepared with Ethio-Italian cooperation and was completed by 1986. It was conceived under the socialist ideology of command economy. Approved after eight years of its completion, the plan was prepared on the general (Master Plan) level and recommended the preparation of detail plans for different areas of the city by the implementing body.

The concept of existing residential areas and expansion areas and of main center (CBD) and sub-centers ('ketena' centers) was promoted by the master plan, hence this master plan divided the city into six zones ('ketenas') with their own centers. Six detail plans were prepared by the implementing body, the then Bureau of Works and Urban Development, for the proposed ketena centers. These centers are named as 'Bisrate Gebriel' Center, 'Addisu Gebeya' Center, 'Gotera' Center, 'Megenagna' Center, 'Mesalemia' Center, and 'Ayer Tena' Center.

Figure 6 showing physical plan of Gotera (Ketena) center prepared under the BWUD, 1997



Source: Planning Commission

Of all the six sub-centers proposed by the 1986 master plan, the only one that was implemented was the 'Bisrate Gebriel' sub-center. The study area was an open field reserved for the development of the center. Issues of compensation and relocation were dealt with earlier and the land was ready for development. The plan for the area was prepared by the bureau of works and urban development, land was leased out to interested investors and the development of the center is proceeding since 1995. Today most of the area of the center is under construction the proportion of the area that is developed and the proportion of the area to be developed needs to be investigated further.

We do not see the realization of the other centers except a little bit of exercise on the Megenagna center. All of the five ketena centers were proposed and studied on an existing settlement unlike the Bistrate Gebriel center. This posed an obstacle on the implementation and hence the realization of the proposed plans for the centers. The socio economic aspect of implementation related to existing settlements i.e. compensation and relocation issues. The ambition on behalf of the implementing body to handle both plan preparation and implementation coupled with lack of proper personnel and experience to execute such a project has contributed its share to the failure of the plans. The plans were prepared under the master plan development and inspection department of the BWUD. Each of the ketena center projects was basically a one-man project handled either by an architect or by a town planner, with the majority of the projects being done by architects. The purpose of the plans prepared on the existing settlements was limited to guiding the development of the area according to the plan. Once the bureau approves these plans they are transferred to the building permit section to enable the section to regulate the development of the area in question. Thus their implementation depended merely on the request that come from individuals with title deeds who live in the study area and out side developers.

As opposed to the housing projects of the day, where a team of planners and socio-economic study group (the socio economic study group is composed of compensation and rehabilitation teams under it) prepare the plans of the area and involve in the implementation of the plans, the implementation of the plans of the sub centers was dealt with differently. An exception to this was the Bistrate Gebriel sub center, which was prepared on a green field site. After the completion of the preparation of the plan the documents were sent to the lease Bureau of the city government to lease out the plots for potential developers. Hence, it is implemented successfully and the area is gradually taking shape.

Plans of Woreda and Kebele Centers were also proposed. New housing developments were proposed to be developed in the expansion areas of the city and as a result housing developments in the expansion areas such as 'Bole Bulbula', 'Keranyo', 'Mekanissa' and 'Akaki' areas were studied and implemented.

From the above analysis it could be concluded that during the implementation period of the 1986 Master plan of Addis Ababa urban plan preparation and implementation takes two forms. The first of these forms is plans prepared for development guidance purposes that are not necessarily implemented. This concerns the plans that are mostly prepared on existing settlements. In such cases the planning and implementing bodies are separate. The second form of plan preparation and implementation during the same period is that of the plans prepared and implemented on the expansion sites. As discussed above such plans are prepared by a full-fledged (financially and staffing) project team. The project team consisted of physical planning and socio-economic teams. The physical planners team consisted of an architect, an urban planner, surveyors, drafts people, etc. and were responsible for the physical design and layout of the respective projects. The socio-economic team consisted of two sub-teams responsible for compensation, relocation and rehabilitation issues. This is a group of economists, sociologists and data collectors. The organization of the study and the involvement of both teams in the plan preparation and implementation stages made the plans a reality.

Rationale for the Preparation of the ECA Detail Plan, 1998

Under this heading I want to question the rationale behind the renewal of the ECA area by comparing the area with other parts of the city. The ECA renewal project document (1998) states a number of reasons for selecting the area for redevelopment purposes, which are listed below

- To develop the area to the level of the master plan (1986) requirement
- To upgrade the level of the city to the international city standard (the concept of modernization)
- To respond to the fast and high investors demand for the area, this in the study document was not substantiated with data to justify this fact. How many requests for land to be developed in the area and over what period of time such requests were made, is not evident in the study document. Further Abebe argues that:

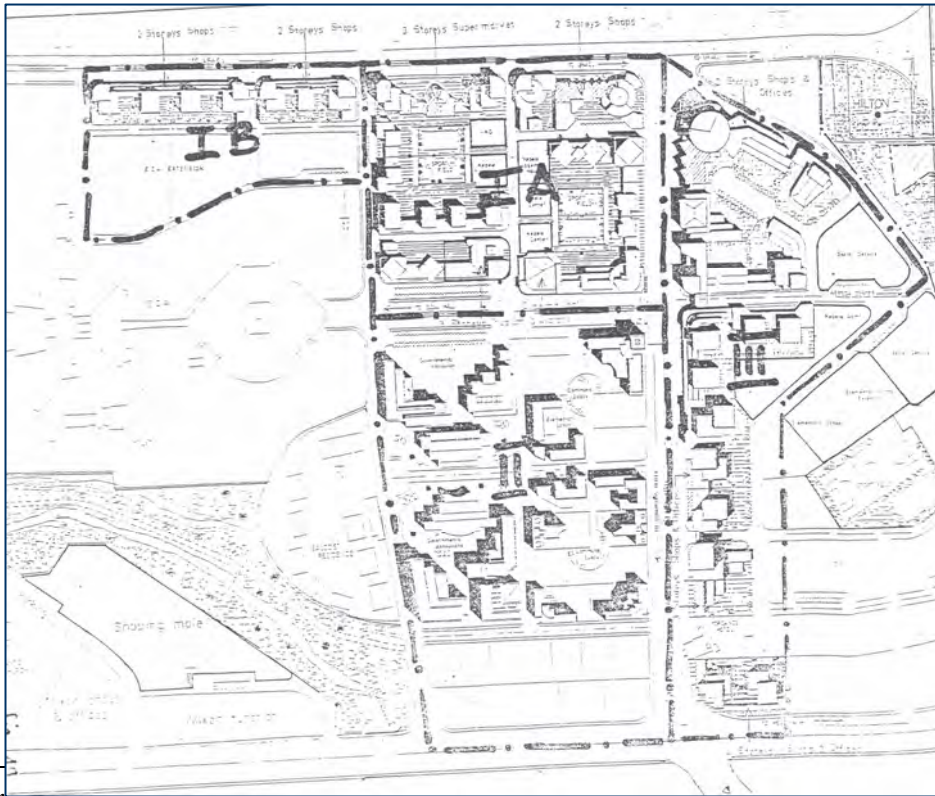
In the project study document of kaza-INCHIS it is stated that the site was selected because of the demand of investors. But the reality does not show that. Even if the whole site is not developed the cleared part of it has been for lease auction seven times, in the years 1998-2002, and the maximum number of bidders at each bid were only 3. Out of this only 2 plots are given (sold) to investors.

- The area has less urban complexity than the other parts of the CBD in the master plan, the idea of urban complexity was not clearly justified on the study document, and there is no comparison made as to the lesser degree of urban complexity that is observed in the ECA area than the other parts of the CBD.
- The efficient and economic utilization of the under utilized urban land and infrastructure
- to create better living/residential conditions by introducing a balanced horizontal and vertical growth of the area with appropriate density
- to create an equivalent or improved residential, business and social services for the people that are to be displaced from the area due to the implementation of the renewal project the study document further proposes to relocate the people to 'kotebe' area along with this proposal¹⁰.
- The efficient utilization of the under utilized infrastructure, we also do not see any analysis as to the capacity of the existing infrastructure and how the existing infrastructure was underutilized in the project document.
- To solve the health and service provision problem of the residents because of congestion and hazard's settlement, if the document argued on the prevalence of health and service provision in the area and attempts to solve the stated problem, it is surprising to propose the dispersed relocation of the inhabitants, which contradicts the objective of the project.
- To improve the beauty of the city (UWDB, 1999a, PP.XI) as to the logic behind the selection of the ECA area for redevelopment Abebe, 2001 argues as follows:

¹⁰ Here the reader should note carefully that the promises of an 'equivalent' or 'better' residential, business and social services for the displaced did not realize in the implementation of the Kaza-INCHIS renewal project. The businesses that are used to exist in the area were not relocated either around the Kaza-INCHIS area

To substantiate these reasons and objectives, it (the study document) does not present the situation properly. When it says to use the land and the infrastructure efficiently, it does not indicate the infrastructures utilization level of the time and the targets it wants to reach. When it says to be responsive for the high demand of the area, it does not indicate the investment demand level to the site. It says the area is less in terms of urban complexity, but it does not state what it means, and also it does not state the extent of complexity and present the facts based on the indicators to see whether the area was less or more complex than other areas. It does not state whether there are historically or culturally valuable things in the area or not. It does not indicate the areas economic and social conditions. And it does not show the changes of these conditions through time.

Figure 7 showing detail plan of ECA area, 1998



or in other central commercial premises in the city to help the people continue with their businesses. According to the study document (1998: Pp. 8) majority of the population about 39.3% make their living through micro and small trade due to the central location of the area.

Source; ECA area inner city redevelopment project socio-economic and physical planning study summary, 1998

Housing Condition

The 1998 kaza-INCHIS area renewal study has shown that of the 1536 houses that are surveyed in the three kebeles about 18.8% were in good condition and do not need any kind of maintenance, 41.4% were in moderate condition that need minor maintenance and about 39.8% were in bad condition and need to be totally demolished and rebuilt.

Table 2 showing housing condition in the LDP area

Housing condition	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Good	289	18.8
Fair/Moderate	636	41.4
Bad	611	39.8
Total	1536	100

Source: The ECA inner city renewal study document, 1998

The 1986 master plan of Addis Ababa has put forward two major conditions for the renewal of an area in the CBD. The first condition is that the area should have about 70% of its buildings in the category of condemned houses, and the second condition is that 60% of the houses need to be rebuilt and 75% of the housing ownership needs to be kebele owned.

When we measure the Kaza-INCHIS area, the area where the renewal is under way, against the criteria for renewal put forward by the 1986 master plan it is very clear that it does not fulfil the first criteria since the survey of the action area in the three kebeles has revealed that only 39.8% of the houses were in bad condition and need to be rebuilt. When we look into the ownership aspect of the houses in the action area the same survey has revealed that 62.6% of the housing in the action area were kebele owned with only 39.8% needing rebuilding. Hence, it is vivid that the area did not qualify for renewal according to the criteria put for ward by the 1986 Master Plan.

Table 3 showing housing ownership in the LDP area

Housing ownership	Frequency	Percentage (%)
private	379	29.1
Kebele	814	62.6
AARH	96	7.2
Org. or governmental	12	1.1
Total	1301	100.0

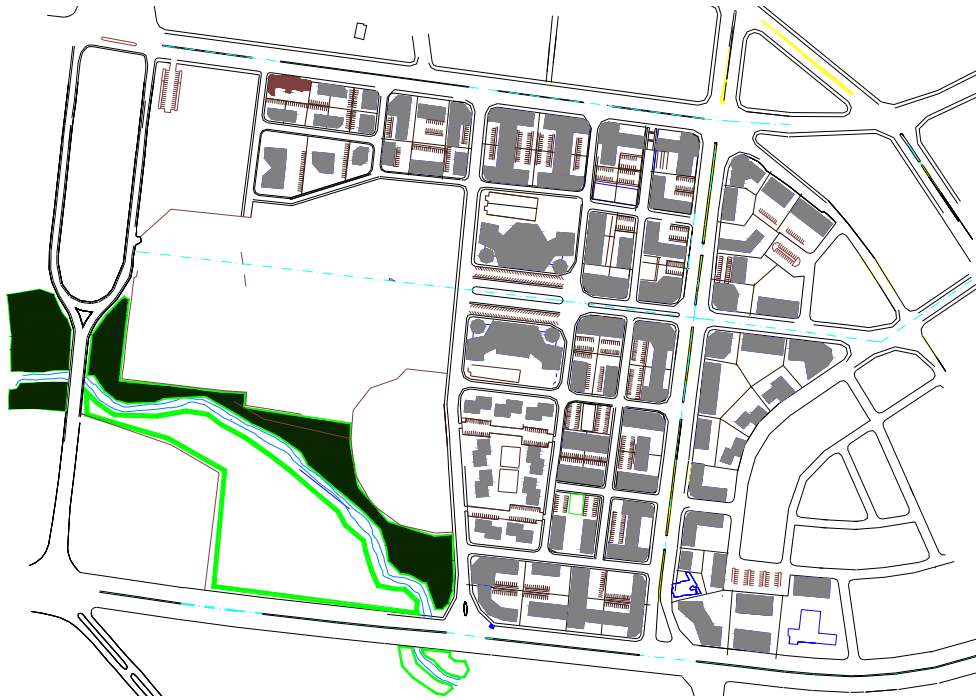
Source: The ECA inner city renewal study, 1998

The justification by the study document was that the study was conducted under the provisions of the 1986 master plan for urban renewal, but it was found out that the area selected for renewal does not qualify for renewal according to the criteria of the master plan.

ECA LDP, 2002

The 1998 kaza-INCHIS detail plan of the 1986 master plan discussed above was revised during the Addis Ababa master plan revision study (1998-2002) as one of the LDPs like many other detail plans prepared during the implementation period of the 1986 master plan. At the completion of the revision of Addis Ababa master plan in 2002, most of the project area was demolished and two plots were leased out to developers as per the detail study of the BWUD in 1998.

Figure 8 showing the ECA LDP completed in 2002



Source: The ECA Local Development Plan

The Need for Revision

Due to the revision of the previous master plan and that the need to revise all the detail planning attempts, changes or adjustments that have been made to the entire master plan are required to address the new structure plan. The LDP document says that Kasa-INCHIS detail plan has been reviewed and changed in order to harmonize it with the newly developed structure plan.

It is also argued that a 'new planning concept objective and vision' are set as a foundation for the preparation of a new local development plan for the area. The new objective being, 'to prepare an LDP that can be used as an implementation guideline and one that facilitates development in the area'. The vision is articulated in the same document as being, 'to

create an international standard city center where commercial and business activities prevail' (ECA LDP, 2002). Other objectives include;

- To be able to concentrate development effort in one area
- To cope with the changing socio-economic and political demands of the country

Comparison of the Contents of the Old Detail Plan and the New LDP

The table below is meant to compare the differences and similarities between the 1998 Kaza-INCHIS detail plan and the 2002 Kaza-INCHIS LDP.

Table 4 showing qualitative comparison between the ECA detail plan, 1998 and the ECA LDP, 2002

<i>Kaza-INCHIS detail plan, 1998</i>	<i>Kaza-INCHIS LDP, 2002</i>
<p>Planning model</p> <p>The adopted planning model is planning-action area model. The planning area is about 144ha and action area covers about 40hectares. About 20 hectares of land was cleared until 2002. Also it proposes the CBD to be studied as a whole on district level based on the criteria of the 1986 master plan.</p>	<p>The Adopted planning model is 'city-site' and 'site-neighbourhood' analysis model, planning-action area model. Same action and planning areas as the detail plan. No additional demolition took place as a result of the new LDP.</p>
<p>Rationale</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ the promotion and improvement of the land use and land management of the city, 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ to harmonize it with the newly developed structure plan ▪ to the fact that 'new planning concept,

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ developing the inner city by providing adequate infrastructure, ▪ renovating the deteriorated part of the inner city, ▪ achievement of international standard environmental conditions, 	<p>objective</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ to prepare an LDP that can be used as an implementation guideline and facilitates development in the area' with a vision of creating an international city Center ,an African one where commercial and business activities prevail'
<p>Development regulation</p> <p>Development regulated by Land use, Building height, Density, Road network, BAR, Blocking</p>	<p>Development regulated by FAR, BAR, Land use, Road network, Blocking, Blue Line, Red line</p>
<p>Street width</p> <p>proposes street width of 6-10 mts. for local streets, 12-30 mts for collector streets and 40 mts. for arterial streets</p>	<p>Proposes minimum street width to be 12mts. and the maximum 40 mts. city bus and taxi stops proposed.</p>
<p>Relocation</p> <p>Proposed displacement of people to the expansion areas regardless of their capacity to develop the area.</p>	<p>People on the project area were displaced to the expansion areas but those with financial capacity, enough plot areas and willing to develop according to LDP are allocated plots, about 15.</p>
<p>land use and development regulations</p>	

<p>Plots on the main street were reserved for mixed function development while quite a substantial amount of land was reserved for social and governmental services, expansion area for the ECA. Proposed 48% of the action area for mixed function devt¹¹., 9.1% for open spaces and green area, 7.6% for government and NGOs, 4.8% for social services and 30.5% for streets.</p> <p>Building height depends on area of plots and the range of building height proposed was from 3-10 and above stories and the minimum area of plot for 3 storied buildings is fixed at 750m² and the BAR to be 0.33- 0.66 Proposed net density is about 304people/ha.</p>	<p>Land use proposal to enhance and accentuate the presence of international organizations such as the ECA in the area hence it proposes the land use to be dominated by information and communication services, financial institutions, shopping centers mixed with offices and residence proposed proportion of open spaces and streets is about 22.1 % the remaining 78% of the land is reserved for mixed function development.</p> <p>Building height ranges between 5-10 stories on the main and secondary streets and the BAR of the plots is regulated to be 0.45-0.55 and the minimum plot area is kept by the LDP at 1000m²</p>
<p>Level of implementation</p> <p>only 2 plots were sold until 2002 as per the proposals of the detail plan</p>	<p>During implementation some roads are made to be closed new roads are created which fragmented the plan into tiny blocks</p>

¹¹ mixed function development can further be divided in to apartment and commerce/shops about 52% and the remaining 10% is dedicated for commerce and offices,

<p>Development cost</p> <p>detail urbanization cost was included in the study document</p>	<p>though not as detailed as the detail plan public investment cost is projected on the implementation strategy</p>
<p>Community participation</p> <p>participation in the preparation of the detail plan was not the prime agenda both on plan preparation and implementation stages</p>	<p>it is proved that the ECA LDP was not participatory in both the revision of the plan and in its implementation</p>
<p>Development phases</p> <p>proposed four phases for its implementation, minimal relocation minimal urbanization cost and self financed site development</p>	<p>the revised LDP also proposed four phases of implementation</p>
<p>Implementation problems</p> <p>Problems associated with the implementation of ECA detail plan as identified by the LDP team are: lack of coordination among stakeholders, problem of project management, Absence of participatory approach.</p>	<p>during implementation roads that are on the LDP are blocked, some blocks are further fragmented in to tiny blocks, infrastructure provision that should precede development is not yet started at the LDP area</p>

Source: Author's compilation

to conclude the comparison between the detail plan (1998) and the LDP (2002) we do not see basic difference between the plans in terms of the planning model, the size of planning and action areas, the purposes of the two plans also serve similar functions that is the achievement of an international standard city center, the regulatory tools for development is also very much similar in both cases except the introduction of building lines in the LDP. In terms of relocation even though both plans are pro-on site the existing policies do not support them to do so. Both plans have also attempted to compute the development costs of the public sector and have considered cost recovery mechanisms for the development. Phasing patterns are also similar in both cases. The participatory aspects of both plans show similar nature that the plans are prepared with little or no participation of the public at large. Both plans are two dimensional in nature and the extent to which the plans control the real three dimensional environment is questionable but it seems that both plans aspire to control the three dimensional aspect of the design with building height.

The land use aspect of the plans reveals that the detail plan reserved relatively a larger amount of space, about 22%, for social services, governmental functions and for green spaces, 30% for streets and 48% for mixed function development. Where as the LDP (2002) avoided any reserve area for social services and public green and open spaces and allocated 22% for streets and the remaining 78% was allocated for mixed function activities.

Implementation of the ECA LDP

In the end the ECA LDP area is parcelled into 74 plots and distributed for developers. During implementation of the plan some blocks are further divided into tiny Sub-blocks, some proposed roads are blocked, and some areas reserved for common car parking are included to the plots of developers (see figure 9 below)

Figure 9 showing plan of ECA LDP as implemented by Kirkos Sub-City. So far only three developers have started construction. Look also at the prevalence of a number of very small blocks



Source: Kirkos Sub-City land development team, 2005

Land Use

As shown in the table about 60% of the area of the land is allocated for mixed function development that is to be developed by private investors. Institutions like the ECA, the GTZ and the British Council have taken about 17% of the land; information from the lease office has revealed that the institutions have taken the land for free. The proportion of open spaces is only about 2%. From this it has become very clear that the LDP did not consider green and open spaces the integral part of its proposal.

Table 5 showing the proportion of land use allocated by the ECA LDP

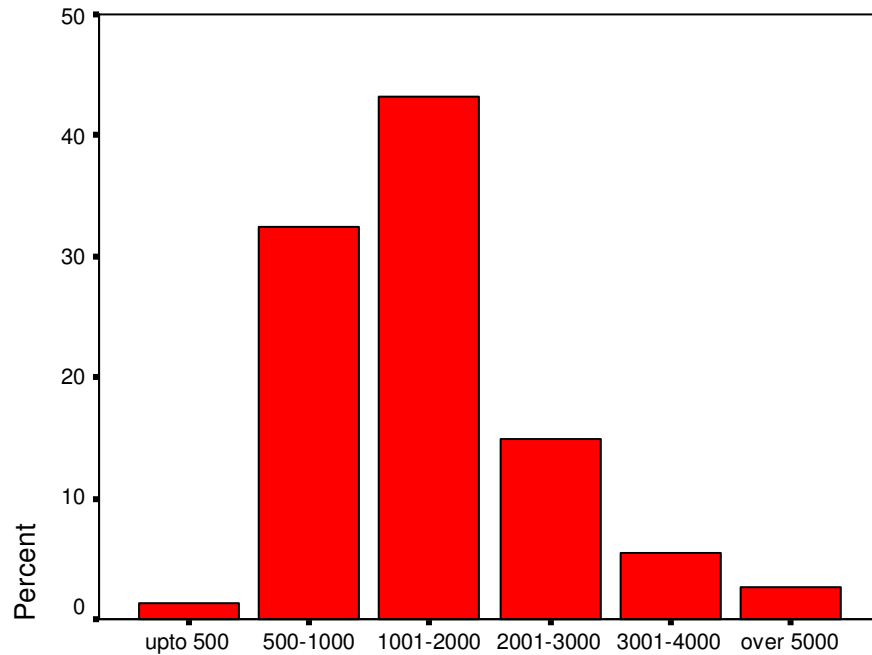
Function	Area Allocated	Percentage
Apartment	19979m2	9.8%
Mixed Function	101680m2	49.7%
NGOs	33925m2	16.6%
Roads	45093m2	22.1%
Open Spaces	3539m2	1.80%
Total	204216m2	100%

Source: Calculated from parcellation plan

Plot Size

About 33% of the plot areas of the LDP range between 500-999m2 where as the majority of the plots (60%) have areas ranging between 1000-3000m2 and a limited no of the plots (about 8%) have areas of over 3000m2.

Figure 10 showing plot areas of ECA LDP parcels



Source: data from desktop research

Plot Frontage Width

An assessment of plot frontage widths of the parcels is also made most of the plots of the LDP about 60% have their plot frontage width in the range of 16-35mts, 38% of the plots have frontage width of over 35 mts and about 14% of the plots have their frontage widths of over 50 mts. the implementers have not seriously followed the parcellation proposal of the LDP.

Table 6 showing width of plots of ECA LDP

Plot frontage	Frequency	Percent
11-15	2	2.7

16-25	12	16.2
26-35	32	43.2
36-50	18	24.3
over 50M	10	13.5
Total	74	100.0

Source: Calculated from parcellation plan

The plots are distributed both through negotiation and auction. It is also found out that the total number of developers is less than the total number of plots. This is due to the fact that some developers like Ayat Real Estate and Sunshine Construction have won more than one plot in the LDP. It is also learned that about 70% of the plots of the LDP are bounded by two or three roads, only 30% of the plots have one access road. The extreme fragmentation of the blocks by roads has resulted in an excessive provision of roads for some plots and hence the wastage of an expensive inner-city land has prevailed (see table 7 below).

Table 7 showing no of roads touching plots

No of roads	Frequency	Percent
Only one	22	29.7
Two roads	38	51.4
Three roads	14	18.9
Total	74	100.0

Source: Calculated from parcellation plan

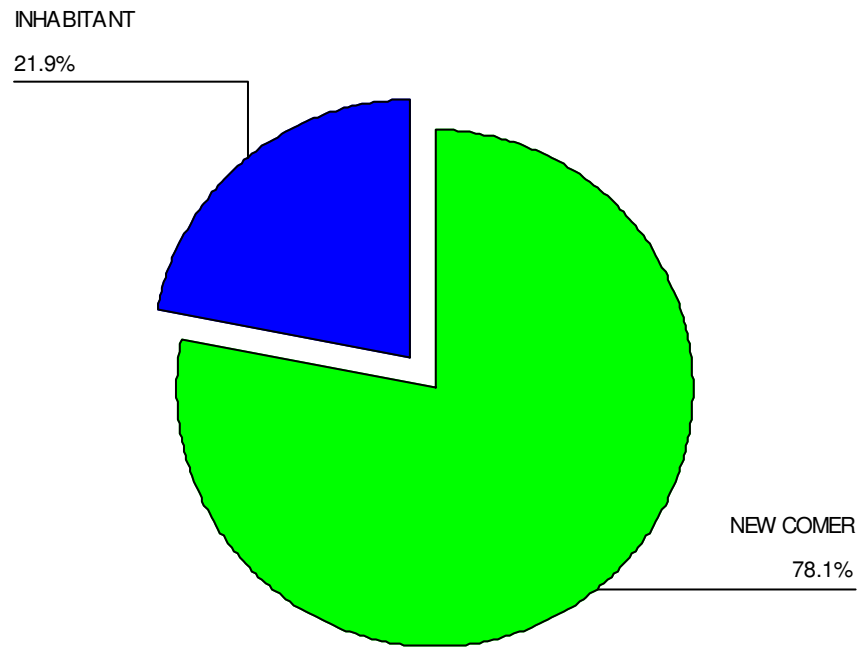
Who is Participating to Develop the Area?

Until recently inhabitants of the LDP area were not given the chance to develop the area as per the requirements of the LDP even if they have the economic capacity required for development. Rather they were forced to leave their occupation after being compensated for their private property, if they own one. Such developers had to participate during auction to secure land for development like any body else.

Recent legislation has considered development requests made by original inhabitants of the LDP action area. The rule of the game for such developers is that the area of land they occupy must be at least equal to that required by the LDP and they will not be compensated for their private properties if they participate in the development and land will be granted for them on lease free basis. Furthermore they must produce evidence of development capacity approved by a bank. Such developers can also form partnership if the total area their plot is less than the requirement of the LDP.

In accordance with the provisions of the recent legislation about 16 or (22%) of the developers of the LDP are allocated plots on the LDP site on lease free basis, the remaining 78% of the developers are new developers. the chart below shows this fact. so far 3 out of 74 plots have started construction.

Figure 11 showing the proportion of inhabitant and new developers



Source: data from desk research

CHAPTER 6

THE RESETTLEMENT AND ITS SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPACT

General

As discussed in the methodological part of the thesis a questioner comprising of about 62 questions was designed and a total of about 101 house holds were interviewed. The proportion of the type of house holds to be interviewed was decided based on the households housing ownership status and the place where they are relocated. Hence, 58 government house renters at Gergi who were basically kebele house dwellers and low income earners in the old neighborhood, 20 middle income earners and who can afford to pay higher rent for the government housing in front of the ECSC and, 23 private house owner resettlers at the CMC area were interviewed. Presented below are their responses to the administered questions.

Out of the interviewed families about 55% of them claimed to have lived at the ECA area for 20-40 years 12% of them said that they lived at the area for about 40-60 years. From the statistics we can also conclude that the majority of the resettled households, about 66%, have lived at the ECA area for more than 20 years.

Housing

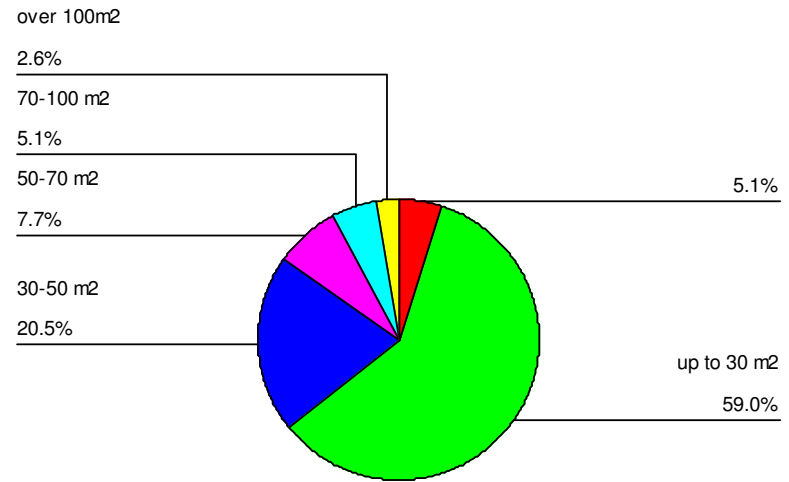
When we try to compare the situation of the resettled households in terms of the number of rooms of the house in which they rented and owned, we observe little difference between the situation in the new and old neighborhood. Hence it is found out by the survey that 54 percent of the interviewed families used to live in houses of up to two rooms, excluding kitchen and toilet, in their old neighborhood, where as the proportion of the families having houses of up to two rooms in the new neighborhood has increased by 11.3% escalating the figure to 65.4%. This increase in the proportion of houses

with up to two rooms in the new neighborhood is due to the availability of open spaces in the compounds of both government and private houses which are used for building additional rooms.

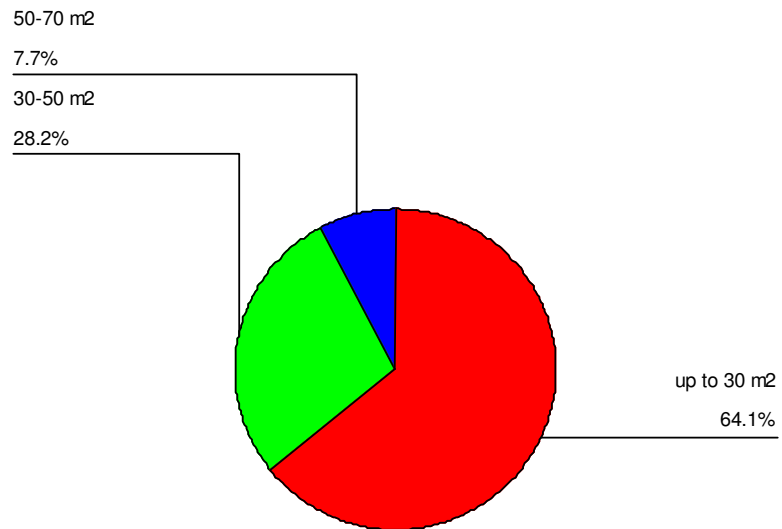
Comparison of the two neighborhoods in terms of the proportion of houses with up to two rooms for kebele owned houses gives a similar impression. Out of the resettled kebele house renters 65% said that their houses in the old neighborhood were of up to two rooms but in the new neighborhood the proportion of kebele houses which have up to two rooms except kitchen and toilet has increased by about 17.4% changing the figure to 82% due to the availability of open spaces in the compounds government houses giving them the possibility to build additional rooms either for rent or for the families use. Also the proportion of kebele houses with 3-5 rooms excluding kitchen and toilet, which comprised about 30.8% of the housing units in the old neighborhood, has dropped significantly to about 18% in the new neighborhood. This shows that the government was unable to offer some of the relocatees at least a similar housing as they used to be living in at the ECA area. Government houses of 5-8 rooms which had a proportion of about 3% in the old neighborhood are totally non-existent in the new neighborhood.

When we look comparatively into the housing situation of private house owners in the two neighborhoods we can see some interesting aspects in such households. for instance of the interviewed private house owners 68.2% of them witnessed that their houses had 3-8 rooms in the old neighborhood where as this figure has increased by about 14.5% in the new neighborhood raising the proportion to 82.6%. It is an obvious fact that for some families the relocation opened them the opportunity to improve their long awaited dreams of improving their housing condition. The total area of rooms for private and kebele houses have not changed so significantly in the case of both neighborhoods.

Figure 12 showing areas of 'Kebele' houses in the old and new neighborhoods



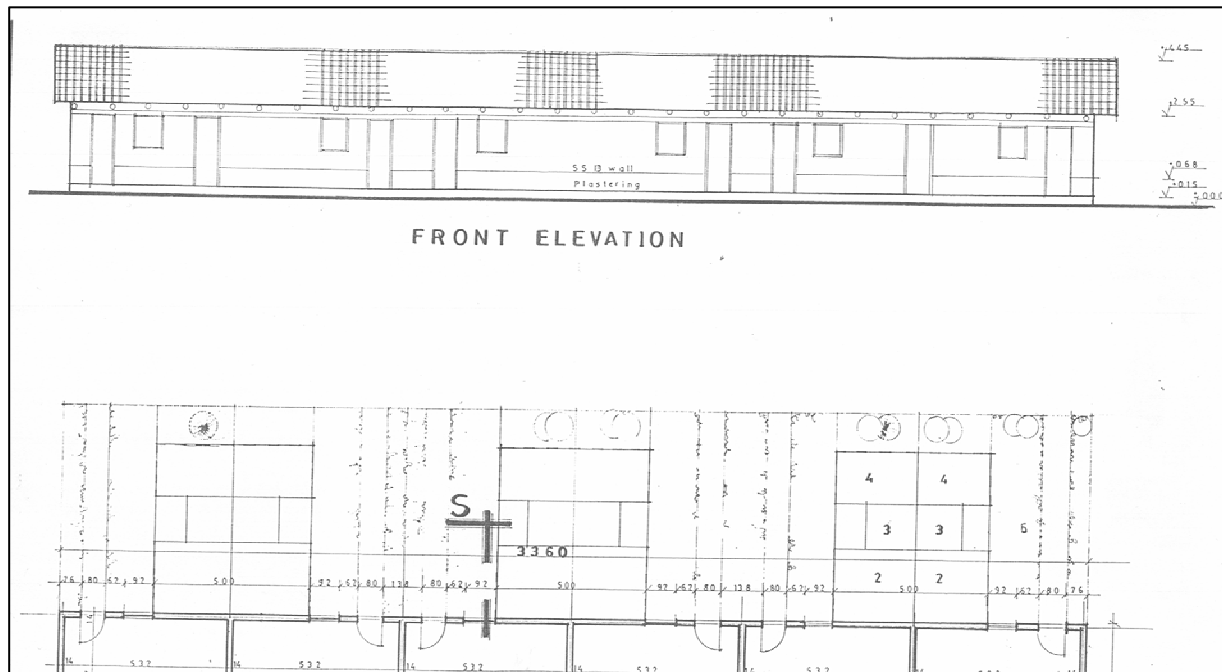
Old neighborhood
New neighborhood



Source: survey

The survey on the comparative housing condition of private house owners in the old and new neighborhoods has shown that the housing condition of this group of the relocatees has improved significantly. In the old neighborhood the proportion of households whose housing condition was in the 'very good' category was only about 30% of the surveyed households. In the new neighborhood this proportion has increased over 20% stretching the proportion to 52.2%. This fact also shows that the resettlement of the private house owners has given these families the opportunity to improve their housing conditions greatly. The proportion of poor housing condition in the new neighborhood has dropped to 13% as compared to the old neighborhood's 21.7%. The reason for the 13% drop could be a combination of the high replacement cost of the houses and the unfair compensation rates the households were paid for their old houses in the former neighborhood. 50% of the private house owners have claimed to have built their houses at once where as 45.5 % of them built their dwellings either in two or three phases. The phasing is mainly due to the lack of financial capacity of the private house owners to build their dwellings at once.

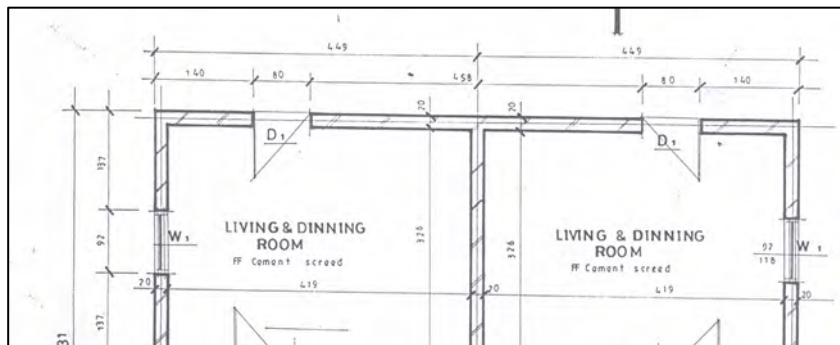
Figure 13 showing A-01 progressive houses (for Kebele house dwellers) at Gergi resettlement neighborhood



Source: BWUD low-cost housing files, 1997

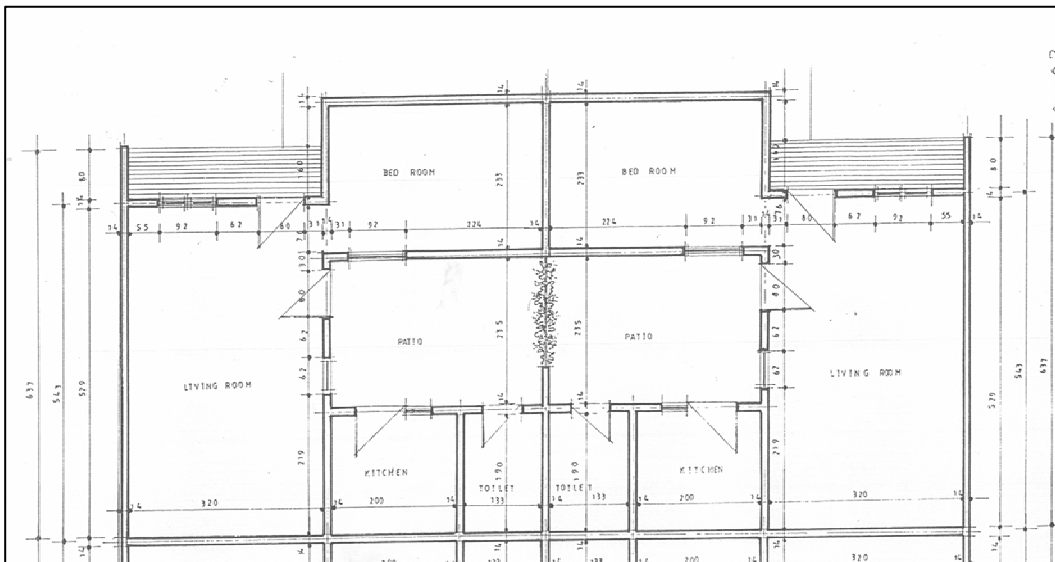
When we look at the change in building materials of the houses in the old and new neighborhoods, we see that the proportion of mud houses, which was about 83.3% in the old neighborhood, has dropped to only 3% in the new neighborhood. The figure for private and government/kebele houses shows a slight difference in this respect. Hence the 70% mud houses of the privately owned houses in the old neighborhood has dropped to 13.6 percent in the new neighborhood and the 88% mud kebele houses in the old neighborhood has dropped to 0% in the new neighborhood. This shows that the low income private house dwellers can not improve the building materials of their houses mainly due to financial constraints. Bank loans and credit facilities were not available to such families to enable them to build better housing than their old neighborhood. The total absence of mud kebele houses in the new neighborhood is due to the fact that the houses were built by the city government and these houses were built with hollow concrete blocks.

Figure 14 showing plan of B-01 type duplex housing at Gergi resettlement neighborhood allocated for Kebele house dwellers



Source: BWUD low-cost housing files, 1997

Figure 15 showing plan of a C-02 type quadraplex houses at Gergi resettlement neighborhood for kebele house dwellers



Source: BWUD low-cost housing files, 1997

The Rent Market

The number of families earning incomes from renting part of their houses has also shown changes in the old and new neighborhoods. Out of the interviewed private house owners 45% of them used to earn incomes by renting out part of their dwellings while they were in the inner city. This figure has dropped to 25% in the new neighborhood implying a decrease in the families' incomes from the renting of their dwellings. Two reasons are indicated for such a decrease in the houses to be rented. The first is that the households that used to live in the inner city areas are relocated at the fringe of the city where the demand for rentable housing is lower. The second reason is that the rate of house rent at the fringe of the city is lower as compared to the inner city areas of the city thereby affecting the decision of renters to use their houses for other purposes than for economic purpose.

Extension

Extension or building additional rooms for bed room, kitchen or for rental purposes is a common phenomena among kebele house dwellers in the new neighborhoods. About 50% of the interviewed families have built additional rooms in their compounds. 31% of these households built additional kitchen 63% built additional bed room and about 6% built additional room for rent. 91% of these families used either corrugated iron sheet or mud as building material to realize the additional rooms. The use of building materials, dominantly of corrugated iron sheet and mud, has greatly transformed the image of the area where kebele houses are being relocated. The area is slowly taking the image of deteriorated inner city slums. One of the main reasons for the use of temporary building materials like corrugated iron sheet and mud is the problem of finances in the low income families.

The very act of building additional rooms for the stated functions confirms the insufficiency of the housing units and lack of necessary facilities for the houses built by the city government. This problem is not being noticed with the private house owners. Such families have built their own houses with the necessary facilities and do not need to make either extensions or additions.

Function of the housing units has not shown significant changes in the two neighborhoods. From a total of 101 housing units 88% used their houses for purely residential purposes where as 11% were used for residence and shops in the old neighborhood. In the new neighborhood the number of families who use their houses for residence and commerce has increased by only 3%.

A comparison of Social Services and Infrastructure in the Two Neighborhoods

Housing is not just houses. For a settlement to be categorized as housing it has to include all the necessary social services and infrastructures for the proper functioning of the settlement. In the case of the implementation of the Kaza-INCHIS LDP enough attention has not been given to the provision of social services and infrastructures necessary for the well being and the proper functioning of the newly established neighborhoods. This gave rise to the deep rumors and dissatisfaction of the relocatees, especially the low income group resettled at 'Gergi' neighborhood. The results of the survey concerning the issues of social services and infrastructural provision are discussed in the two sections presented below.

The Social Services

The survey on the provision of social services is made in five social service categories namely, accessibility to primary school and KG, accessibility to health center, accessibility to kebele administration, accessibility to police station, and on accessibility to market place. The results are similar for the relocatees of private house owners and government house renters.

On average 95 % of the households interviewed replied that all of the four social services, namely primary school and KG, health center, kebele administration and police station, were with in the range of walking distance in the old neighborhood. In the case of accessibility to market place about 72% of the old neighborhood people have confirmed that they could shop with in walking distance from their former village whereas 28% of them replied as saying that they had to travel a distance of one or more taxi trips to reach the market place.

The case for the new neighborhood for accessibility to social services has an entirely different out put. In the new neighborhood the distance of social services from home requires two or more bus or taxi trips in the majority of the social services. Especially the area where low income kebele house dwellers are resettled is being deprived of the necessary social services at a range of walking distance from the new neighborhood. For instance at the Gergi resettlement neighborhood an average of 90% of the low income households have to take two or more taxi or bus trips to reach health station, police station and kebele administration (table 8). Government school and a local market place 'gullit' are available at Gergi neighborhood there by minimizing the distance and expense of travel to and from the services. Also over 50% of the households at the CMC resettlement neighborhood replied that primary school and KG, health center and market place are only accessible by two or more taxi or bus trips from home.

This has influenced the usage of mode of transport of the settlers. In the old neighborhood about 30% were bus users, 20% taxi users, 21% pedestrians and 16% were users of bus and taxis. But when we compare this result with the results of the new neighborhood we see some interesting results. The proportion of bus users has escalated to 49%, taxi users dropped down to 16% users of bus and taxi are 21%, and pedestrians have also dropped down to only 5% implying an increase in transport expense.

In addition to this monthly transport expenses for the two neighborhoods are also computed. 79% of the respondents affirmed that their monthly transport expenditure amounted to only 50 Birr whereas about 20% confirmed that their monthly transport expenditure was in the range of 50-150 Birr and the proportion of those who claim to have spent 150 -300 Birr was only 1% while they were in the old neighborhood. in the new neighborhood, the proportion of those who claim to spend up to 50 Birr/month for transportation dropped down to 43%, those who insist that they spend 50-150 Birr/month rose to 38% and those who spend 150-300 Birr/month for transportation are about 17%.

This change shows that the resettlement scheme has burdened the settlers with extra transportation cost which they are not used to in their old neighborhood. Those who were walking to reach to service centers are now using vehicles, and hence additional transport costs, to fulfill their needs. Some others are forced to travel long distances in search of different services thereby incurring additional transportation costs on them selves due to the resettlement scheme.

As compared to the old neighborhood where all the necessary social services were within the range of walking distance, low income families have to spend additional costs to reach the mentioned services. The resettlement scheme should have given special attention to the low income families by at least providing the necessary social services very close to their new neighborhood; if at all resettlement was unavoidable.

Table 8 showing accessibility to social services in the old and new neighborhoods

Accessibility	Distance from home					
	Walking distance		One taxi/bus trip		Two or more bus or taxi trips	
	Old N.	New N.	Old N.	New N.	Old N.	New N.
Primary school and KG	92%	17%	7%	10%	1%	73%
Health center	94%	10%	2%	6%	4%	84%
Kebele admin.	97%	27%	3%	9%	0	64%
Police station	100%	27%	0	5%	0	67%
Market place	72.3%	36.6%	17.8%	17%	8.9%	46.4%

Source: Survey

Infrastructural Provisions

To understand the infrastructural provisions in the two neighborhoods a comparative study was made concerning the old and new neighborhoods. The results are displayed on the table below.

Table 9 showing provision of infrastructure in the old and new neighborhoods

	Situation of the old and new neighborhoods									
Infrastructure	Old	New	Old	New	Old	New	Old	New	Old	Nw
	Asphalted		Gravel		Earth		Paved stone			
Access road	97%	8.1	1	85.9	2	5.1	-	1		
	Own meter		Joint meter		commercial					
Electricity	80.2	96	5	3	14.8	1				
	pipe water own meter		piped water joint m.		'Bono' shared water.		Buy from neighbor		Non piped source	
Water source	47	69.3	7	5	10	19.8	36	5	-	1
	land line		no connection		Mobile					
Telephone	49.5	57.4	47.4	36.6	3.1	4				

Source: Survey

The survey has revealed that access road quality and provision in the new neighborhood has degraded to a dominantly gravel type which was asphalted in the old neighborhood. Informants have also said that even the gravel road is a very

recent phenomenon in the new neighborhood. The settlers have lived in the new neighborhood with an earth road making their lives very difficult for the past five years. When they first came to the area the only infrastructure available in the new neighborhood was only electricity. The new resettlement area was without internal access roads, water, or telephone services. After they were resettled in the area they gradually organized themselves to apply for the services. Low income Gergi settlers have suffered a lot due to the unserviced housing they are forced to live. But, this situation has changed gradually to come to the level where it is today.

Today, except the degradation of the road quality from a totally asphalted road network to a gravel road, most of the infrastructures of the new neighborhood are in a better condition than the situation of the old neighborhood. For example, the proportion of electric users has grown up to 96% as compared to the 80% users in the old neighborhood. The proportion of piped water users has also grown to 69% as compared to the 47% piped water users in the old neighborhood also the proportion of water buyers, which were 36% in the old neighborhood, has dropped down to 5% in the new neighborhood. The proportion of telephone users has also increased a little bit in the new neighborhood as compared to that of the old neighborhood. About 57% of the informants in the new neighborhood are telephone users. The figure in the new neighborhood was around 49%. Still a lot needs to be done to fulfill the infrastructural requirements of the settlers.

Compensation Issues

We have seen in the section above that how the resettlement of the ECA area was handled. In this section we look in depth into the aspect of compensation issues concerning the case area.

The issue of compensation is one that was the most criticized part of the urban development policy of the Addis Ababa city government. The pattern in which compensation issues are handled shows varied differences from projects to projects

executed by the city government. The total absence of a consistent compensation policy in the jurisdiction of the city government gave rise to the variegated image in the handling of the issue.

For the Sheraton project the developer negotiated with the city administration and the settlers on the issue of compensation and relocation. In the final analysis the developer agreed to provide housing of equivalent or accommodation to the settlers according to their ownership status and without any rent change for government houses. The developer and the government further agreed to provide public transport the cost being covered by the developer for the settlers for a certain period of time.

We often hear positive comments on the compensation scheme of the ring road project, from private property owners, which was administered by the city government. Whereas kebele house owners were forced to be displaced from their neighborhood with compensation money for only six months of house rent at an average rate of about 200 birr/ month. Private house owners along the ring road are quoted as saying;

'The ring road be constructed over my chest let alone on my house'

Due to the attractive compensation money they were paid, especially at the earliest phases of the construction of the ring road.

It will be beyond the scope of this research to discuss in detail the way in which different compensation issues were settled in Addis Ababa in the past. But the above two examples were discussed briefly to highlight the inconsistent fashion of handling the issue. The ECA area will definitely have its own peculiar characteristics in the area of compensation.

Eligibility for Compensation

According to the existing compensation laws/directives of the city government, those who have the right to claim compensation for their property are private house/property owners. Property valuation is made on the basis of the rate put forward for different building materials by the city government. Market value of the house which basically includes location value and other opportunities lost due to the relocation scheme are not included in the valuation. The whole process of property valuation is made by one body, the city government, and the owners are required to comply with the decisions of the city government. As witnessed by the settlers, the property valuation process is never participatory and they have to demolish their property, after proper registration of the property to be demolished, and they can apply to 'the interrogation committee', established by the city government, if they have any claims. The ruling of the 'interrogation committee' is final.

The city government's compensation directive also permits land compensation for private house owners. Until recently private house owners had the right to be compensated 150-500m² of urban land at the expansion areas in proportion with the area of land they occupy.

Resettlement/Relocation

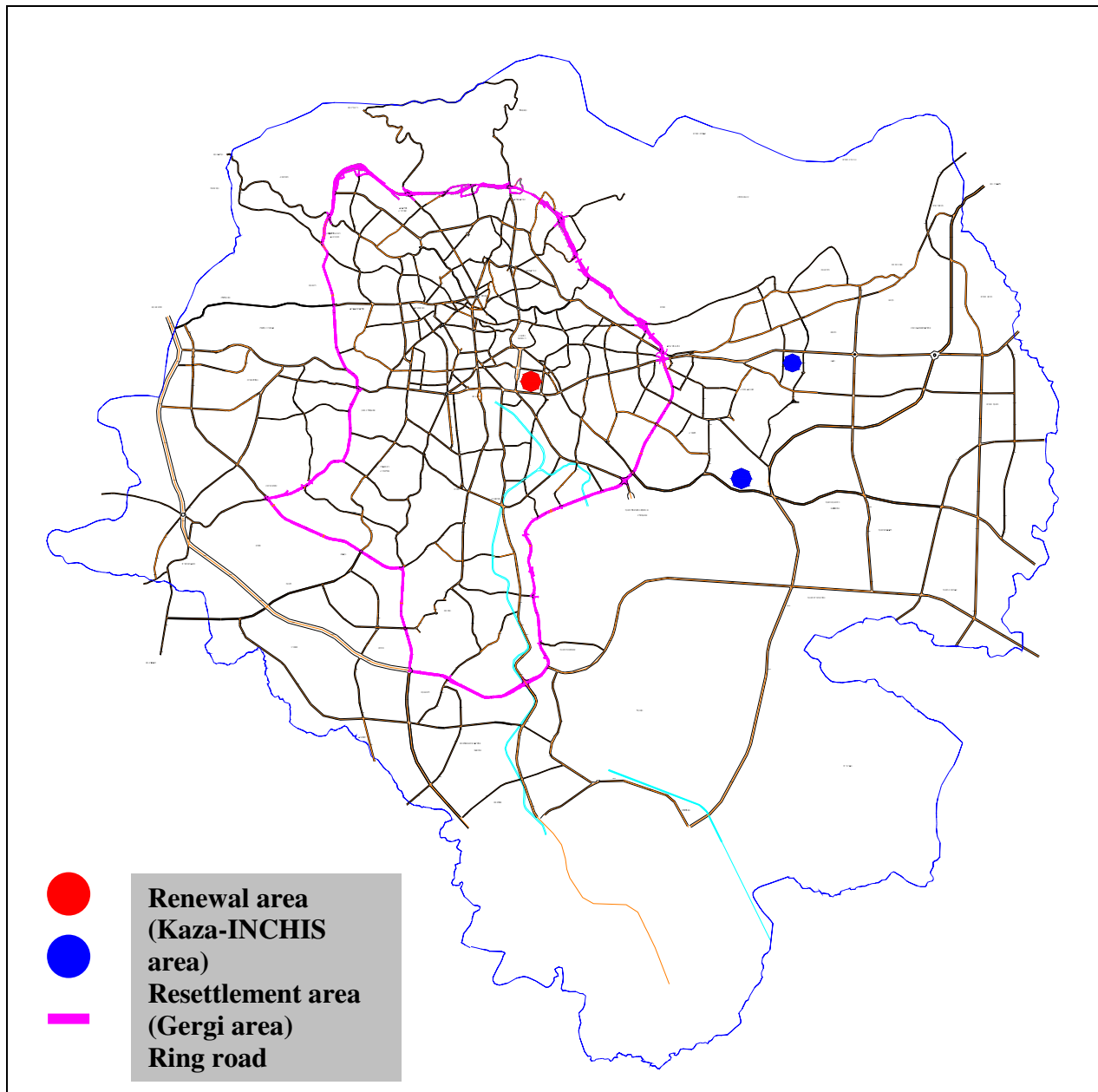
A portion of the private house owners at the ECA area are relocated to the CMC area, about 12km from the city center, and they are compensated with money for their houses demolished by the city government and a piece of urban land that ranges from 150-500m². A majority of them have started their life in the new neighborhood but a few of the settlers sold out their plots and have left the area. Samples of 21 households of private house owners are interviewed and their responses are summarized as follows.

Asked about the amount of compensation money they received for their old house, 38% received about 50-100 thousand birr, 29% received 21-49 thousand Birr, 19% claim to have received 100-200 thousand Birr, 9% about 10-20 thousand Birr and the rest 5% witnessed that they have received 200-300 thousand Birr as compensation money. All of them complained that the amount of compensation money they received in return for their house was unfair. They said that they had no choice than receiving what is being paid to them. There was no room for negotiation with the city government.

One reason they mentioned is the very high replacement cost that the displacement incurred on them was too high and 59% had to borrow money from their relatives to construct their houses due to the unavailability of long term loans from banks. 30% confirmed that they have used their personal savings for housing construction.

Over half of the private house owners and about 65% of kebele house owners have witnessed that the area of land they were compensated for was enough to do their housing construction.

Figure 16 showing location of renewal and resettlement areas



Source: Map of Addis Ababa

Interviewed on their opinion on future relocation schemes the relocated households at Gergi and the CMC neighbourhoods gave multiple answers that are ranked/prioritized in table10 below. Hence the first priority the respondents gave was to the consideration of onsite relocation schemes whenever relocation is inevitable in inner city renewal programs which took the will of 61% of the relocatees. 53% demanded valuation of opportunities lost due to relocation programmes as one of the items of compensation in inner city redevelopment programmes whenever displacement is a must. 46% demanded the incorporation of location value/market value as an element of compensation during property valuation whereas only 37% demanded the whole process of relocation and compensation to be participatory in nature.

Table 10 showing opinion of relocatees f or future schemes

opinions	Frequency	Percentage	Rank
property valuation has to be done on the basis of market value i.e. location value and replacement cost	40	45	4th
the opportunities we lost had to be valued	47	53	2nd
on site relocation schemes have to be considered	54	61	1st
people should be considered in the process of relocation and compensation regardless of their property ownership and tenure status	34	38	5th
the whole process has to be participatory	33	37	6th
Total no of respondents	89	100	

Source: Survey

The Fate of the Businesses of the Old Neighborhood

The 1998 Kaza-INCHIS study document has shown in the survey that from a total of 1647 surveyed houses in the action area 59.9% are for pure residential function, 5.6% are used for business and residence, 14.3% were used only for commercial purposes and 20.2 percent of the surveyed houses served for service giving institutions. The following table, from the same source, shows this fact.

Table 11 showing housing function in the LDP area

Houses Function	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Only residence	987	59.9
Residence and comm.	93	5.6
Only commerce	236	14.3
Service	12	20.2
Total	1647	100

Source: Detail plan 1998

The table above is showing that about 20% of the housing units in the project area are used for business purposes. Discussions made with some of the members of the study team revealed that at the initial stages of the launching of the relocation program, the project started to relocate some of the businesses on equivalent premises in different parts of the city. As Abebe (2001) puts it:

For the businessmen on the site, which were 105 in total, 10 to 20 are given substitute premises indifferent parts of the city.

Later on, the business people were also relocated to the expansion areas on the pretext of converting residential units partially or totally to a commercial function. Hence, the special features and needs of such families were not considered and treated in a special manner. The economic life of such families was strongly linked to their central location in the city and the majority were not made to continue with their businesses in an equivalent or improved inner city areas.

Talking on the fate of the businesses on the areas of redevelopment Ayalew (2003) explains the situation as "firms and private house renters that would be displaced by development projects are not treated in the process of relocation. Those who run different activities (shops, bars, garage, etc,) in government houses are not given substitute premises while their area is designated for urban renewal activities; they are only told to leave the area by their own way within a specified time". According to him among the business firms that exist in site of surveyed projects 87% and 13% reside in government and owner occupied houses, respectively.

Such a disparity between the proportion of businesses operating in government and owner occupied buildings may be due to the very high prevalence of small scale businesses in the inner city areas of Addis Ababa that cannot afford to pay the big sum of house rent required from owner occupiers. He further goes on to explain that only 13% of these firms are entitled for compensation and land substitution in the expansion areas, while the fate of the remaining 87% rests on their success to find some other small scale business premises on their own. Due to this firms tend to stand against the redevelopment endeavors that cause displacement.

Further, due to the high concentration of small scale commercial activities, personal services and handcrafts in central parts of the City, the resistance that comes from this group is strong.

There was a possibility to accommodate such a community in the development of the action area by organizing them into cooperatives to develop the area as per the requirement of the LDP, regardless of their property ownership status, as is being done in other parts of the city like in 'Merkato'. The ones that are given the opportunity to develop the area as per

the requirement of the LDP are those with private property ownership and who have their plot areas equivalent to the requirements of the LDP. But Kebele and AARH house renter business people are not given the opportunity even if they have the capacity to develop the area.

Participation

Modalities of Participation Provided by Current Laws and Regulations in Addis Ababa

Article 22/1 of Proclamation No. 17/2004 states that the studies should constitute, useful opinions found through the discussion forum of the City residents strategic for gathering comments. The next article of the same proclamation also states that where local development plans are prepared or updated or revised by the manager¹².

(a) An opportunity shall be given for the residents of the city residing in the area covered and affected by the plan to have a clear knowledge and discuss on it.

(b) Shall present and exhibit for those residents of the city who are interested to see.

The procedures for participating the residents of the city in the preparation of local development plan are outlined in article 3 of the same proclamation. The procedures being:

(a) Arranging a one day meeting for the residents of the city on which the general idea of the plan and strategy is presented, opinions are gathered by through discussion in order to create common understanding.

(b) Announcing the meeting 30 days, prior to the meeting day.

(c) To cause the residents of the city participate in the preparation and revision of the local developments plan by the meeting.

¹² Proclamation number 17/2004 of Addis Ababa states that the city manager of Addis Ababa is responsible for the study, preparation, and revision of local development plans in the city.

(d) Where an objection is raised by any person the manager shall give in a written form an explanation of as to what extent the objection is considered within ten days.

The Reality/Fact of Participation in Addis Ababa / ECA area

Participation in the planning as well as in the implementation phase of urban development projects has a very poor record in Addis Ababa. During the planning and the implementation of the 1986 Master Plan of Addis Ababa 'community participation' was a rarely used term in the documents of the Master Plan. This may have happened due to the ideological framework in which the 1986 master plan was prepared. The socialist command economic paradigm of the day entertained a centralized top-down approach in plan preparation and implementation in contrast to the bottom-up participatory approach of the liberal free market oriented paradigm. Almost all of the detail plans prepared as a result of the 1986 master plan were the products of either a single physical planner or a team of physical and socio economic planners assigned for the preparation of the study document. Of course some detail studies like the ECA and Merkato detail plans were prepared with a certain degree of community participation. Questioners were distributed to the public collect socio-economic and physical data as a requirement to accomplish the detail plan preparation of the specified areas.

Discussing on the aspect of participatory approaches on the renewal /redevelopment efforts of the city government Ayalew (2003) describes the situation as: "it would be difficult to consider the stated vision (on the plans) as vision of the city rather it seems government aspiration only, ... commitment and cooperation of stakeholders would hardly be forthcoming in the process of development in a situation where key urban actors don't have shared vision with regard to the future of the City".

Diana Conyers (1984) while arguing on the need for participatory approaches in the preparation and implementation of plans says that: "The need to prepare plans which are realistic in terms of the capacity and resources available to

implement them, and acceptable to those who will be affected by them, has implications for the methods used to prepare plans. It means that those involved in, or affected by, their implementation should also be involved in the preparation stages, partly in order to ensure that plans are based on accurate and realistic information but also because those concerned are more likely to be committed to the projects or programmes if they have been involved in their design" (p.53).

The question of how to participate the local community where the LDPs are to be prepared and implemented and participating the residents of the city at large needs may be an ideological adjustment of the present system and is in itself another area to be left for further research. But the current practices of participatory planning approaches are mainly the traditional approaches where the governments along with the professionals impose their own visions on the community, who rarely shares such visions.

The fundamental problem of the low degree of participation in urban plan preparation is in my opinion associated with the land policy and the availability of a huge amount of government owned houses. The fact that urban land is public property made it easier for the planning body to exercise with full liberty any possible kind of proposals without the approval of the community that is affected by the urban plans.

The huge amount of government/kebele owned houses, which in some cases is more than 70%, in the areas of redevelopment has also negatively affected the level of participation of the community. Kebele house dwellers are at the mercy of the government hence do not practically have power to negotiate over the fate of the house they live in. Also most of the proposals of the detail plans do not consider kebele house dwellers as rightful to consult and decide on the development of their neighborhood. The conclusion from the side of the government concerning kebele houses is that 'if it is a kebele owned house, the dwellers have to leave the area for the sake of plan implementation' the focus is on the property and not the people. If lucky, kebele house dwellers are given replacement houses in the expansion areas, in

some cases they are given money to rent house for a year and are forced to leave the area for 'development'. The existing resettlement laws/directives/policies give little attention to development ideas/options generated from the community rather they tend to focus on the property ownership and on compensation issues.

Ashenafi (2001 p. 256) states that the majority of the settlers from the Sheraton area , about 72 percent complain that they were denied of their rights to take part in the decisions that substantially affected their life and a few of them acknowledged that they had participated as informants and took part in meetings.

Abebe (2001) also argues that the residents at the ECA area were just informed of the project to organize them selves to facilitate the process. He further goes on to say that they were participating on the allocation of the houses and in the coordination of the relocation through their representatives.

A relatively better degree of community participation is observed during the revision period of the 1986 master plan which lasted for four years as of 1998 to 2002, both in the preparation of the structure plan and the LDPs. some communities were given the chance to participate in the future of the development of their areas. Merkato business communities made a noteworthy participation, with a very strong act of lobbying and pressure on the plan making and implementing bodies. They have succeeded to deregulate some of the proposals made by the Merkato area detail plan of the 1986 master plan, especially concerning the decisions of the detail plan in terms of building height.

When interviewed about the mode and level of participation of the households in the process of planning, relocation and on property valuation about 50.5% replied that they have never participated in the whole process and the remaining 49.5% acknowledged that they have participated as informants and took part in meetings. Also 60% commented that it was a forced displacement and no chance of negotiation was provided to them before the whole idea of displacement and replacement was started and the remaining 40% claimed to have participated as informants and in meetings. Asked

whether they have received any form of assistance from the city government about 83% confirmed that they have not received any kind of assistance from the government. 15% disclosed that they have received transport allowance and only 2% received money to rent provisional shelter. But once they were convinced that they should leave the area they have tried to apply and negotiate on various issues of their concern even though they were unable to reverse or influence the decision of the city government.

The Situation of Community Based Organizations

Community based organizations are formal social and economic establishments of the community formed to support each other at times of happiness and during times of difficulties. 'idir', 'ikub', and 'mahiber' are the common types of CBOs that one can easily come across in trying to understand the social organizations of any neighborhood in Addis Ababa. The 'idir' is a CBO formed by the community to counter stress and to support financially during the death of ones member of family. The 'ikub' is more of an economic establishment where members' money is allocated to the members according to the rotation principle adopted by the members. Those who form or join 'ikub' are usually business people of different income groups. 'Mahiber' is a traditional religious establishment organized especially by the members of the EOC to commemorate the deeds of the saints and angles.

Traditionally 'idir' membership has strong links to the geographic location of a family or a person. When a family is displaced from the area where they belonged for a longer period of time, it is not an easy task for such a family to maintain and continue the social responsibilities either in the old neighborhood or to join a new 'idir' in the new neighborhood.

Due to the relocation in two different places of the families, about 75% of the relocatees had to join new 'Idirs' in the new neighborhoods, and a few of them, about 17%, have to maintain their membership in the old neighborhood. Those who

maintained their membership in the old neighborhood are the middle and high income groups, for it is economically impossible for the low income group to socialize with their old neighbors. About 8% gave their opinion that they do not involve in the social institution called 'idir'. Hence almost all of kebele house owners had to join new 'idir' in the new neighborhood. About 75% complained that such a relocation scheme has disrupted their former social relations and support systems.

Most of the interviewed low income households also admitted that they used to make their living by getting involved in small and petty trade and by money they get from watching over vehicles and even sometimes by the donation of money of their well to do relatives. They said that due to the long distance of the new neighborhood from the old one such sources of income are totally non-existent in the new neighborhood thus more poverty is inflicted upon the low income families due to the relocation scheme.

Returning to the Inner City Areas or Staying at the Expansion Areas?

Relocates were interviewed on their opinion of whether they would like to return to the condominium housing at their old neighborhood or not. Responses summarized in table xx have shown that 40% of the relocatees would like to get back to their old neighborhood the proportion of kebele house dwellers who would like to move back to the condominium housing at the ECA area is about 46%. The reasons for getting back to their old neighborhood are prioritized. Hence, about 79% of wanted to get back to their old neighborhood due to its accessibility to transportation and social services, about 71% wanted to get back to continue with their old businesses and 58% wanted to get back for better social relations.

Table 12 showing reasons of relocatees to get back to condominium housing at the ECA area

Reasons	Frequency	Percentage	Rank
To continue with my old business	27	71	2nd
for better social services	13	3.4	4th
Better accessibility to transportation	30	79	1st
for better social relations with relatives	22	58	3rd
for a better serviced housing	7	1.8	5th
we can not form sound social relations here	6	1.6	6th
Total no of respondents	38	100	

Source: Survey

The majority of the relocatees, about 62%, were of the opinion that they do not want to get back to their old neighborhood their reasons are prioritized as follows. 57% of them said that they are not used to condominium type life style, 45% reasoned out that condominium houses are unaffordable for them, and 41% were pessimistic to reestablish their old social relations in the old neighborhood.

Table 13 showing the reasons for the relocatees lack of interest in condominium housing at the ECA area

Reasons	Frequency	Percentage	Rank
Not used to condominium life style	32	57	1st
For better social services	9	1.6	5th
Better open spaces and playing fields	8	1.4	6th

Difficult to reestablish social relations at the ECA area	23	41	3rd
Condominium houses are unaffordable for us	25	45	2nd
Not possible to use condo houses for economic activities	7	1.3	7th
Areas of condo houses are smaller	15	2.7	4th
Total no of respondents	56	100	

Source: Survey

CHAPTER 7

Conclusions and Recommendations

Conclusions

So far we have tried to see nature and characteristics of implementation of LDPs as it applies to Addis Ababa. To understand the aspects of implementation in a better way, we have gone into the available literature to look for theoretical foundations to base our judgement.

We have also tried to assess the local contexts of planning, institutional and legal frameworks, case study of a specific LDP and in relation to the case study we have tried to assess the physical and socio-economic aspects of Local development plans that help or hinder the implementation of LDPs. Basically, we have classified implementation problems of local development plans in two major categories namely problems associated with the qualities of the plans and the impacts of implementing local development plans.

Planning methods adopted in the preparation of local development plans are by and large strategic planning methods focused on specific urban areas. The minimum area that has to be designated for an LDP is determined by proclamation to be 10 hectares. In cases when areas less than 10 hectares are to be studied as LDP the concerned bodies must give their consent on the issue. This obliges one to raise at least three important questions the first question is that why the maximum area is not limited and the second relates to the scale and manageability of an LDP study and may be a third question could be raised in relation to the staffing of the LDP task force depending on the area to be covered by the LDP.

The scale of an LDP is an important question to be addressed but so far we can not land on an agreeable urban design scale. Some authors are of the opinion that half a kilometre square is acceptable as an urban design scale and some others have said that one can go to the extent of taking the whole city by as urban design scale.

Even though both the city and sub-city managers are given the power of preparing LDPs in their respective jurisdiction areas the sub-cities of Addis Ababa have not yet started preparing LDPs. this could be due to the unavailability of professional workforce on the labour market.

The qualities of the LDPs are another area that we tried to cover. We have seen that the majority of the local development plans in Addis Ababa are two dimensionally conceived, prepared and implemented. After the preparation of the LDPs they are sent to the implementing bodies the former LDA and recently to the Land Administration authorities at sub-city levels. On LDPs prepared for area-wise renewal, the normal procedure pursued so far by the city government is resettling the inhabitants of LDP areas (to the expansion areas of the city), clearing the site, parcelling the site according to the proposals of the LDPs (if the LDPs have parcellation proposals) and leasing out the plots for private developers. Provision of infrastructure might precede or follow allocation of plots to private developers. The LDPs are usually regulated by land use, street network, building height, building lines, BAR and blocking. We are not sure whether the forms indicated on the LDPs could be achieved these regulatory mechanisms the author of thesis is of the opinion that preparation of LDPs should adapt improved methods whereby we can create attractive public places and urban spaces to improve the image of inner city areas of Addis Ababa. Also the regulatory tools must be helping to achieve better urban environments. We have learned that though the regulatory mechanisms at work in Addis Ababa are necessary tools, we cannot achieve the much desired public spaces with these tools, which is the soul of urban design. For instance on the ECA local development plan we see public parking and small proportion of open spaces as part of the plan along with the blocks and the streets. But,

most of the public parking area is parcelled and sold to developers. Hence, it is very unlikely that the public parking areas would materialize as designed.

The law (proclamation) urges that approval of Local development plans should be made by the city or sub-city councils and implementation should proceed after publishing the approved LDPs on 'Addis Negari Gazette'. So far the LDPs that implemented in Addis Ababa are neither approved by the city of sub-city councils nor are they published on 'Addis Negari Gazette'. Hence they are intentionally or unintentionally devoid of their legal status.

During implementation of local development plans the practice of ECA LDP has shown that some streets are blocked, some blocks are further subdivided into sub blocks that resulted in very small blocks common parking areas are included in to the parcels of developers and there is no mechanism devised to maintain the common parking spaces of the LDP.

LDPs as Vehicles of Urban Renewal

As widely discussed in the literature review part urban renewal is the act of regenerating, renovating or redeveloping the decayed parts of an urban area. We have learned that renewing the decayed parts of Addis Ababa is taking two forms. At present the city is adapting area-wise and plot-wise renewal methods to achieve the desired results of creating an attractive urban environment. We have also learned that the actors of urban renewal are diverse and different groups each of them with its own stake and interest. We have also seen that the private and public sectors are the main actors of urban renewal activities in Addis Ababa, the former as developer and investor and the latter as initiator, facilitator and regulator.

In this connection LDPs are physical socio-economic plans by which the visions for the renewal of an area are realized. We can say that they are the vehicles by which physical and socio-economic agenda of a local area are executed.

The Socio-Economic Impacts of Implementing Local Development Plans

The socio economic impacts of LDPs can be seen at two levels: on the original inhabitants where the plans are implemented and on the surrounding environment. The impact of LDPs on the surrounding neighbourhoods is largely positive. Once an area is designated for renewal and thus as an LDP area the property value of the structures on the area will decrease or buyers are not encouraged to buy properties on such areas.

Implementing ECA Local development plan has caused displacement of over 4500 people estimated to live in over 900 housing units at kaza-INCHIS the majority of whom lived for over 20 years at the area. These families are relocated about 12 kms away from their former neighbourhood. A comparative study of the situation of these families in the two neighbourhoods has shown that the case of the old neighbourhood is worst in terms of social-and economic aspects for the low income families who used to live in Kebele houses. The study has shown that these families have sufferer from rent and transportation cost increases, they have suffered from joblessness. They have also suffered from lack of social services. These families are also detached from their relatives who used to visit and support them while they were in the inner-city. But the study has shown that the housing condition of low-income families has shown a relative improvement in the new neighbourhood.

The case of the private house owners who are resettled from Kaza-INCHIS is a little bit different from kebele house owners. These families also complain that the compensation money they were paid for their property was too little that

most of them were not able to build similar housing unit they had in the old neighbourhood. They either had to take loan from their relatives or they had to spend their savings on housing. They witnessed that the income most families earn from renting part of their housing units has decreased significantly due to the relocation. Some private house owners have also used the opportunity of relocation to build better housing than their houses at the old neighbourhood.

Both groups have also witnessed physical and environmental improvements of the new neighbourhoods.

The relocation has also affected small businesses negatively in that most of the small scale businesses are not compensated with equivalent premises in the inner city that it seemed that they lost their businesses.

Implementing Local Development Plans

The research has also gone through implementation process of LDPs in general and the ECA LDP in particular. The LDP implementing agency, the LDA, was instituted by law for land development purposes in the city which lasted for about a year and half. The institution claims that it has encountered a number of problems that relate to LDP implementation which are summarized below.

Unsuccessful Poor Integration this relates to the lack coordination between different infrastructure institutions that involve in land development. The fact that land development is not the single most priority of the infrastructure institutions has resulted in poor integration of the institutions and there by hamper implementation of LDPs. it is also noted that the problem of staffing of the institutions has also contributed a lot for the inefficiency of the institutions.

Lack of Strategic Focus, Prioritization & Action is also another reason for the unsuccessful implementation of LDPs in Addis Ababa. The fact that the agency aspired to implement 9 LDPs with a capital budget of 120 million birr, which is much less than the required amount, in a period of one year without proper staffing has led again to the unsuccessful implementation of the LDPs. Lack of focus and prioritization is also observed at city level. The City Government in its ambitious plans was also involved to solve every visible problem of the city, from the micro and small businesses to a huge inner-city renewal program, without an honest evaluation of its capacity. Due to this the problems of LDP implementation were given secondary importance.

Lack of clear regulations has also affected implementation of LDPs negatively. One particular case mentioned is the absence of negotiation laws that should guide authorities of the agency especially at times when special project proposals¹³ are submitted to them.

As confirmed by the authorities of the LDA the compensation policy and system is outdated & unclear. The cost estimates of the houses in the city are done long time ago and the prices of the houses found in the city's archive are outdated and much below today's housing market prices. Hence this has created a lot of inconvenience on the part of property owners and on the operations of the agency. Therefore there is a greater need to adapt new compensation policy and system in the city.

Unclear institutional hierarchy has also created an obstacle in the performance of LDP executing agency. The working relationships between different institutions that deal with the issues of land and planning are not clearly defined, say the authorities of LDA.

¹³ A case in point here is that an application was submitted to the LDA by an investor claiming to develop 'sengatera' area by handling all of the compensation and relocation issues himself. The officials of the agency cannot entertain the issue due to lack of regulations to be applied in such cases. Finally they referred the investor back to higher city officials.

Changing Policies have also caused a number of problems with respect to LDP implementation. LDPs are usually prepared by considering certain assumptions, of these assumptions do not persist the LDPs should either be discarded or revised. For instance 'Meri Luke' LDP was prepared for housing purpose to be executed on the basis of individual plots but in the middle of implementation condominium policy was introduced and its implementation had to stack.

Unclear regulations, inappropriate phasing strict land use and lack of appropriate tools to implement the policies and the assumptions of the LDP are the major challenges that implementers face.

Recommendations

The following recommendations are forwarded as a result of the research in the implementation of local development plans in Addis Ababa. The recommendations, if implemented are, believed to bring about positive changes to facilitate the implementation of local development plans in Addis Ababa.

- Either revise urban land policy or improve the situation under the existing policy
- The need for new planning and regulatory tools
- Need to restrict the role of implementers to modify plans
- New urban renewal and compensation policy
- Availing funds for real estate development
- New and compulsory participatory methods – Legalize participation
- Adopt integrated urban local development policy

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Appendix

Questioner for ECA relocatees based on a comparison of old and new neighbourhood situation

Sample no.

Name of house hold head/respondent-----

Address - Sub-city/Woreda-----Kebele----- H.No. -----

1. Sex of HHH a. male----- b. female-----

2. Age of house hold head -----

3. Marital Status 1. Single 2. married 3. divorced

4. Employment

old	new

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1. government 2. NGO 3. self employed or business person 4. unemployed 5. employee of other/private organization 6. pensioned
5. Education of house hold head
 1. Illiterate 2. High school graduate 3. college diploma 4. university graduate 5. Masters degree holder 6. PhD holder 7. specify any other status-----
6. Family Size -----
 1. no of male HH----- 2. no of female HH -----
7. No of employed members of house hold except HHH -----
8. Average income per employed member of family-----
9. Total monthly income of HH Eth. Birr
 1. up to 210 2. 211-1000 3. 1001-2000 4. 2000-3000 5. 3000-5000 6. over 5000
10. Monthly family expenditure -----
 1. up to 210 2. 211-1000 3. 1001-2000 4. 2000-3000 5. 3000-5000 6. over 5000
11. For how long have you lived at the ECA area
 1. 1-10 years 2. 10-20years 3. 20-40years 4. 40-60years 5. over 60years
12. Housing ownership,
 1. Kebele, 2. Private/owner occupied, 3. private rental d. AARH
13. Number of rooms of the house except kitchen and toilet
 1. One room 2. two rooms 3. 3-5 rooms 4. 5-8 rooms 5. over 8 rms.
14. no of floors
 1. G+0 2. G+1 3. G+2 4. G+3 and above
15. Total area of rooms excluding toilets, kitchen and bath rooms
 1. up to 30 m2 2. 30-50 m2 3. 50-70m2 4. 70-100m2 5. over 100 m2
16. Monthly rent of the house
 1. rent free 2. up to 5 birr/month 3. 6-20 birr/month 4-20-100 5. 101-200 6.

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 200-300 7. over 300
17. Housing condition, owners perception
 1. poor,

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2. fair,
3. good,
4. very good

18. Describe your likings of the ECA

1. accessibility to transportation
2. quality of the housing and the infrastructure was better there
3. there were enough open spaces and children play grounds at the ECA area
4. services like health centers, schools, police stations, market place etc. are located at a walking distance from our village
5. the security and crime rate at the ECA area was at its lowest rate.
6. the sanitation and quality of the roads at the ECA area was better.
7. the income we earned while living at the ECA area was better.
8. the proportion of our relatives visiting us at the ECA area were large.

19. Describe your likings of the 'Gergi'/CMC area

1. better housing
2. better road quality
3. better open spaces and children play ground
4. better accessibility to transportation
5. better accessibility to social services like schools, health centers, police stations, market places
6. better safety and security and low crime rate
7. better sanitation and environmental conditions
8. better income than the ECA area
9. better social relations than the ECA area

20. How did you move to this area?

1. I was forced to move out from my original place
2. it was in my and my families interest to move out our original place
3. it was a negotiated move from our original area to this place

21. If it was on your interest to move out from the ECA area to this place, what is it that interested you in this part of the city?

1. I was intending to build a better housing

- 2. looking for better roads and infrastructure
- 3. better schools for my kids
- 4. better open spaces and environmental conditions
- 5. the compensation money was so attractive

22. Did you get your expectations in this area

- 1. yes
- 2. no

23. How did you construct your house?

- 1. self help basis
- 2. labour base contractor
- 3. both labour and material contractor
- 4. partly contractor and partly self help
- 5. constructed by the government

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24. Stages for housing construction

- 1. built at once
- 2. built in two phases
- 3. built in three phases
- 4. built in more than three phases

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25. Where did you stay till you move to this new house?

- 1. in my old house i.e. I did not move out of my old house before completing this house
- 2. rented a house
- 3. was given transitional shelter by the city government

26. Building material of the house

- 1. stone, brick,
- 2. Hollow Concrete Block
- 3. mud house
- 4. corrugated iron sheet walls and roofing
- 5. specify any other material-----

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27. Do you rent out part of the house?

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1. yes 2. no

28. If yes, for how much? -----

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29. function of the house

- 1. residence only
- 2. shop and residence
- 3. manufacturing and residence
- 4. residence, shop and manufacturing
- 5. shop or manufacturing

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30. Type of cooking facility

- 1. modern kitchen as part of the main house
- 2. traditional kitchen outside the main house
- 3. none

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31. Type of toilet

- 1. modern toilet in the house
- 2. private in the compound
- 3. private shared toilet
- 4. public toilet
- 5. have no toilet

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32. Did you make an extension to the original house or build additional room/s in your

compound?

- 1. yes, for kitchen
- 2. yes, for toilet
- 3. yes, for additional bed room
- 4. yes, for additional room for rent
- 5. none

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33. Materials for the additional room?

- 1. corrugated iron sheet wall and roof
- 2. mud wall
- 3. Permanent materials like HCB,
- 4. brick, stone.

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34. reasons for the choice of materials

1. The permanent materials are expensive and I cannot afford
2. Problem of tenure security, I am afraid to invest on a land that is not my own with permanent and quality building materials
3. I have the economic capacity to build with the permanent materials
4. any other reasons-----

35. Do you have electricity connection?

1. own meter
2. Joint meter
3. buy from neighbor
4. candle, kerosene lamp etc.

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36. Source of drinking water.

1. piped water with own meter
2. piped water with joint meter
3. 'bono' water
4. piped water source

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buy water from neighbour 5. non

37. Do you have telephone connection?

1. land line
2. mobile
3. no connection

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38. Access road quality

1. earth
2. gravel
3. paved stone
4. asphalted

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Accessibility to social services,

39. School primary and KG

1. with in walking distance
2. with in one trip taxi travel
3. very far and takes two or more bus or taxi trips

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40. Health centre,

1. with in walking distance
2. with in one trip taxi travel
3. very far and takes two or more bus or taxi trips

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41. Kebele administration, etc.

1. with in walking distance
2. with in one trip taxi travel
3. very far and takes two or more bus or taxi trips

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42. Police station

- 1. with in walking distance
- 2. with in one trip taxi travel
- 3. very far and takes two or more bus or taxi trips

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43. Market place

- 1. with in walking distance
- 2. with in one trip taxi travel
- 3. very far and takes two or more bus or taxi trips

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44. Usage of means of transport to and from work place

- 1. bus, 2. taxi, 3. private car 4. pedestrian

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45. monthly transport expenditure

- 1. up to 50 Birr 2. 50-150 Birr 3. 150-300 Birr 4. 300-600 5. over 600

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46. old job , new job - explain the reasons for the change of job if any

- 1. I found this area to be unfit for the type of business I used to do at the ECA area
- 2. the salary I earn from my former job was small enough to cover transportation and other costs due to the relocation
- 3. no change of job
- 4. other reasons-----

47. amount of compensation paid if any -----

48. Fairness of the amount of compensation-

- 1. unfair, 2. fair,

49. If unfair explain the reasons

- 1. replacement cost too high,
- 2. land and location value had to be considered,
- 3. we did not participate in the valuation process,
- 4. other-----

50. If replacement cost was too high how did you manage to balance the deficit?

- 1. through bank loan
- 2. from personal savings

- 3. loan from relatives
 - 4. any other source of finance describe-----
51. Area of land granted by the city administration -----
- 1. too small to accommodate our space demand
 - 2. enough to accommodate our space demand
 - 3. more than enough to accommodate our space demand
52. Willingness and capacity to develop the old neighbourhood or own condominium in the old neighbourhood
- 1. willing and had the financial capacity to develop the ECA area as per the requirement of the LDP on individual basis,
 - 2. willing and had the financial capacity to develop the ECA area as per the requirement of the LDP on cooperatives basis,
 - 3. Had some money but needed additional financial support either on loan or in the form of subsidies,
 - 4. no capacity
 - 5. other-----
53. Were you given the chance to participate in the process of relocation and negotiate the compensation?
- 1. yes 2. not at all
54. if yes, please elaborate on the form of participation
- 1. we could suggest on the areas we chose for relocation
 - 2. Negotiated on the amount of compensation during property valuation
 - 3. we appealed to participate in the development of the ECA area, though it was not accepted by the authorities
 - 4. discuss any other form of participation-----
55. Did you receive any form of assistance from the government or otherwise when you were relocated to this area?
- 1. we were given transport allowances
 - 2. public transport was assigned to the relocatees for free for months
 - 3. we were given money to rent a house temporarily
 - 4. building materials were supplied to us at a reduced rate to build our house
 - 5. explain any other form of assistance-----

56. Establishment of CBOs like 'idir'
- 1. we maintained of our former 'idir' as all members are resettled together

- 2. we maintained our previous 'idir' as some members are resettled together
- 3. joined new 'idir' in the new village
- 4. cannot form or join new 'idir'
- 5. had no 'idir' in our old neighbourhood

57. Was it your choice to be divided into separate groups and to be relocated in different areas?

- 1. no
- 2. yes
- 3. negotiated

58. If no, how does this affect your social relations?

- 1. it disrupted our former social relations and support systems
- 2. it did not affect us since we already had a limited social relation with our former neighbours
- 3. we do not regret paying such a sacrifice for the sake of the development that is to come
- 4. other opinions if any-----

59. Given the opportunity would you like to move back to the condominium housing at the ECA area?

- 1. yes
- 2. no

60. If yes, explain why?

- 1) it would give me the opportunity to continue with my old business
- 2) the ECA area is a better area for my kids education and health services
- 3) the ECA area is more accessible for transportation than this area
- 4) it would be easier for my relatives to visit me there
- 5) the condominium housing at the ECA area would be better serviced than here
- 6) we can not establish a sound social system in this area to date
- 7) other reasons-----

61. If no explain why?

- 1. we are not used to condominium life style
- 2. services like infrastructure, health, administrative, transportation & educational services are better here than the ECA area
- 3. open spaces and playing fields are better here than the ECA area
- 4. we have established our social life here and it will be difficult to re-establish it at the ECA area again

- 5. we cannot afford condominium type houses
- 6. it is not possible to use condo houses for economic activities
- 7. the areas of condo houses are smaller for our family size
- 8. we have started a business here and it will be difficult for us to start one at the ECA area - 7hh
- 9. other reasons-----

62. What is your opinion for future relocation and compensation schemes?

- 1. property valuation has to be done on the basis of market value and replacement cost
- 2. location value has to be incorporated as an item of valuation
- 3. the opportunities we lost had to be valued
- 4. on site relocation schemes have to be considered
- 5. people should be considered in the process of relocation and compensation regardless of their property ownership and tenure status
- 6. the whole process have to be participatory
- 7. the way our affairs were handled was appropriate and does not need any form of improvement -6hh
- 8. any other opinion-----

63. Please do the sketches of some of the houses you visited.