

# **Social Aspects of Housing, Understanding Communities and Neighborhoods: The Case of Six Areas in Addis Ababa**

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**SOCIAL ASPECTS OF HOUSING: THE CASE OF ADDIS ABABA**

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## Abstract

The social aspect is something that is yet to develop in the practice of housing in the city of Addis Ababa. Social studies focus on the demographic and land negotiation aspects only, as seen in the practice of the City Administration. The planner hence focuses more on the provision of maximum number of plots with little or no respect to the sociological software issues of communities and neighborhoods.

Therefore the research tries to address these two essential units by taking six case studies. The method that was followed to do the research was the case study method. Since the very existence of communities and neighborhoods according to general principles and design aspects is to be investigated, sample areas of six different locations were taken from the city of Addis Ababa. The criterion for selection is representativeness. One aspect of the criterion is age. There are two time packages, that is, older and recent settlement. From the older Old Airport, Lideta and Bole areas have been taken, while from the more recent Gerji, CMC and Saris areas have been considered. The other selection criterion is class. Three samples have been selected in the first package, that is, the Bole area from the more affluent, the Old Airport area from the middle and moderately affluent and the Lideta area from the lower income. In the latter package, since the target of the housing has been basically addressing the middle and lower class, we have only these classes under domain. In both packages, general principles according to literature review have been applied to investigate what exists in terms of communities. In that of neighborhoods, British standard studies<sup>1</sup> have been considered that were also applied to the resettlement case of Bernisfield, principles that can also apply to other housing cases as well, as in the cases of this thesis.

Findings show that the city lacks fully constituted community or neighborhood units in the sample housing areas, as measured according to international standards referred, due to mainly the lack of formal centers. No degree of informality in the existing situation could substitute the formal center, for if so, communities would have surfaced out. Neighborhoods have also been found to be incompletely constituted as well, again a hierarchic reflection of the unfulfilled content of the community, implying the need of centers in the future.

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<sup>1</sup> R.N. Morris and John Moge, *"The Sociology of Housing"*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, p.108 ; here the standard has been applied to the case of Berinsfield, even if a resettlement case, the standard applying to non-resettlement cases of housing too.

## **Chapter One**

### **The Study**

#### **1.1 Introduction**

Some social scientists wonder whether the concept of community is not already a non-functional survival from earlier days. Assuming it existed in the past or in earlier times others argue that the community is going to hell because they do not know the name of the man across the street in apartment 4d. This is a reality.

Whether there was a community sense in the past or not, something is true. We are losing a sense of touch with the neighbor next door. It is a famous Ethiopian old folk saying, that goes “A neighbor nearby is more important than a relative living far”! This may have been true in the past. But one wonders how much it is true nowadays.

On the one hand, we come across the situation of some of the local residents that are forced to live together in the kebele government houses. These may know their neighbors by default, physically as well as emotionally. The issue of familiarity in such areas may be the issue of survival. Unless one is aware as to who is what, then there is a danger. There is an undesired level of friction in sharing the limited facilities that exist in such area. The antagonism may reach a physical level. This is the everyday experience of those who live in the limited congested space of such neighborhoods or communities. No one would prefer to live in such places voluntarily, unless poor economic situation or lack of other alternative forces a person to do so. The nearest neighbor is not just important, as stated in the folk saying. The neighbor is too important! Whether one wants it or not it is very hard to avoid your neighbor, be it positively or negatively.

On the other hand we have the cold neighborhood or community that hardly has any clue about one’s neighbor or community member. Here, in contrast to the old folk saying, the neighbor is not important at all. The flavor is individualistic. Many of the essential functions and characters of what we even call locally, “Sefer”, (one’s own residential and local place of identity) is seen to fade even more and more from time to time. This is probably a cliché. Especially in its extreme case, affluent areas like the Bole area can be seen to be good examples.

These are some of the social issues that need due attention in dealing with the social aspect of housing.

## 1.2 Background

According to Ron Shiffman<sup>2</sup> at the beginning of this century only 12% of the world's population lived in urban areas. In the 1950's that number increased to 30% percent. This figure will reach 50% as we enter the next Century. By this year 2005, for the first time in the history of the world, more people live in and around cities than in rural areas. In less than 25 years the urban population will be twice that of rural areas. The impact of demography on poverty and unemployment and the quality of life should not be underestimated.

With increasing population growth and rural-urban migration, urbanization has and urban poverty has been rising in Ethiopia. In 1994 it is estimated that out of a total of 8.1million urban population in the country, about 4.9 million or 60.5% were below the poverty line<sup>3</sup>.

The unemployed, the disabled, the self-employed and those engaged in the informal sector constituted the bulk of the poor. With urbanization come problems of deprivation, lack of access to essential facilities inadequate income, inequitable resources access, etc. It is manifested by persistently growing unemployment, poor quality dwellings, and homelessness increasing number of slums and squatter neighborhoods, congestion, lack of basic services and infrastructure. All the facts reveal the importance of studying proper housing in the city, with more studies yet to be made in order to alleviate the problem. Creating socially meaningful environment is one of the important aspects of solving the problems. The predominant focus of current housing practice that focuses exclusively on infrastructural and other physical aspects has to be balanced with the sociological dimension to create a good living environment.

Here an exclusively sociological approach can not possibly solve every housing problem. Economic aspects should be considered as well in coming up with a comprehensive solution. The researcher though, in the effort of pinpointing the sociological aspect has attempted to focus on it separately since it is a neglected area in the interface of multi professional urban design practice within the city.

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<sup>2</sup> Ron Shiffman, ( July, 2003) "*Urban Poverty - The Global Phenomenon of Poverty and Social Marginalization in our Cities: Facts and Strategies*," Pratt Institute Center for Community and Environmental Development (PICCED) 379 DeKalb Avenue, Brooklyn, New York 11205

<sup>3</sup> The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, Ministry of Works and Urban Development, Ministry of Economic Development and Cooperation (MEDAC), Addis Ababa City Government, United Nations Centre for Human Settlements UNCHS (Habitat), (Jan 2000) "*An Overview of Urban Poverty in Addis Ababa* ", Addis Ababa, p.4

### **1.3 Statement of the Problem**

There are some common problems noticed in dealing with the study of the social aspect of housing in Addis Ababa as will be investigated on this research. One of the most important problems is the very nature of the social dimension of the housing proposal studies made by the municipality. It is commonly seen that literally all of them deal with the demographic need based approach that is more concerned with addressing the backlog of housing provision. Therefore in being limited to this aspect only, these tend to focus more on demographic population forecasts. But the field of sociology is broader in that it also deals with the human behavioral aspects that need due consideration. For instance the size, structure, function and other characteristics of communities, neighborhoods, small residential groups and large residential groups are seldom considered. The CMC area for instance has lost much of its open clusters due to the lack of sensitivity not only towards the physical but also towards the sociological dimension of human life. Decisions are made in setting neighborhood and community content without due research. Hence social deprivations like delinquencies, crimes and other social ills become inescapable.

Another important problem is the lack of impact assessment in the social dimension, an important aspect that needs proper consideration for consecutive assisted housing studies to become successful. There has been lack of measurable move in the stated perspective. This becomes the cause for repetitive problems, where the blind spot or the weakness of a given solution is repeated over and over again. This being also, Goering quotes Glaster and Daniell saying, "There has been a notable absence of experimentally designed research to address policy and research questions about the positive or negative effects of concentrations of assisted housing".<sup>4</sup>

### **1.4 Research Questions and Hypothesis**

Some of the relevant research questions hence are

1. How is the "Social Concept of Housing" framed within the design of residential areas?

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<sup>4</sup> John Goering, (2003), *"The impacts of new neighborhoods on poor families: evaluating the policy implications of the moving to opportunity demonstration – Session 3: the impact of housing on people and places"*, Federal Reserve Bank of New York Economic Policy Review

2. How do integrated experiences on the sociological aspects of housing look like and relate to our context?
  - What are the internationally accepted definitions of neighborhoods and communities?
  - To begin with are there neighborhoods or communities in accordance with the stated definitions?
  - Do the existing situations in the samples taken from the city fulfill the requirements or standards of the definitions?
  - What does the existing situation look like? Here there is an assessment or evaluation that has to be made.
3. What should be the future of housing design in our cities?
  - How can we maintain or recover the gregarious attachment of fellow neighbors?
  - How can we reflect this in the physical design? How should we study the essential organs of the social performance of housing, namely, the neighborhood, the community or the small and large residential groups? What should their function, size and character be?
  - What does the recommendation look like? How should the coming design challenges be faced in promoting the social needs of the residents of Addis Ababa? How can we recreate the link between Mr. X with Mr. Z in apartment 4d in maintaining the so called traditional sense of the community or neighborliness? The research questions revolve around these issues.

Coming to the hypothesis, what can we say about the existence of communities in relation to centers? Centers are the focus of communities, magnetically attracting and binding the community cohesively into a single unit. When one thinks of a unit, the cell contains a center or a nucleus. Can communities exist in their fully constituted sense without formal centers? If so, then it implies for one that either there are other informal activities decentralized within the community, that complement the formal center, hence nullifying its importance, or that the community does not need any center at all for its very existence. What about the neighborhood? Can it exist irrespective of whatever the character of the community happens to be? If the community is fully constituted or not, can we say the same thing about the

neighborhood in a directly related manner? Can the neighborhood perform its function independent of the community? That will be the second thing to find out.

The third hypothesis has to do with spatial design aspects. Here if the typology of an area does not have clusters or a sense of finiteness with a limited size, (the standard of which will be investigated according to foreign experiences), then we can presume that the interaction of neighbors will be affected by this. The probable result is a weakly interacting neighborhood. Is there a different possibility otherwise? If the neighborhoods still function in a cohesive way irrespective of their physical typology, then one will be able to conclude that the social nature of man transcends any physical arrangement. This will be something to find out.

### **1.5 Objective, Scope and Limitation of the Study**

The objective of the study is to evaluate the sociological aspects of housing in the city of Addis Ababa in light of relevant foreign experiences. An attempt will be made to set a standard, limited to the resources of a Masters Thesis, in attempting to qualify and quantify the sociological aspect of housing and rehousing efforts, in relation to communities, neighborhoods, small residential groups and large residential groups. It is the belief of the researcher that the attempt will *set some simple sociological parameters* that can provide important yardstick when dealing with the urban spatial design of a particular area of housing. On the other hand it will attempt to evaluate sample existing cases from Addis Ababa.

The scope of the study is limited to the housing areas from Bole, Old Airport and Lideta, from the earlier settlements, and CMC, Gergi and Saris from more recently settled housing and (rehousing). The scope of this study is limited to the parameters of the British Studies pointed out by Morris and Mogey<sup>5</sup>, demonstrated in studying neighborhood in the case study of Berinsfield, England. Although it is a case of resettlement, the approach has been portrayed as an example to see how the standard works in a selected area. Also glimpses have been made into the cases of Baltimore and Singapore for cross referencing purpose. Even if the standard is a Western experience from the 60s, we can consider it to be of assistance in measuring what is actually going on at the moment in the housing practice of Addis Ababa.

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<sup>5</sup> R.N. Morris and John Mogey, *"The Sociology of Housing"*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, p.108

The limitation of this thesis for one, is upto date resources, especially books, on the issue. Limitation of resources has actually limited the study in terms of finding more recently developed concepts and practices. The other limitation is the data collected being few, only 20 samples were taken from a particular kebele. This does not meet the rule of thumb in the number to be taken in making a fuller assessment of an area. For this the limitation of time of in preparing the thesis as well as the shortage of finances allocated for collecting the required data should be mentioned. Another limitation in the thesis is the expense being used to categorize the respective level of life of citizens, where a direct income assessment would have shown a clearer image of one's respective class. But due to fear of secrecy of information, the method followed was to assess residents' expense and hence deduce their class category from this very information.

### **1.6 Significance of the Study**

For one, the significance of the study is to have a better understanding of the social dimension of housing in relation to the urban design aspect of housing. It is also helpful to understand the social behavior and psychology in urban design of housing areas, a concern that is shared by Wheaton et.al<sup>6</sup>. in quoting Robert K. Merton. So far the issue of sociology in housing has been limited to the social book keeping approach. To avoid this approach, that is, a periodic audits of the proportion of sub-standard dwellings, meticulously described in terms of plumbing, defective structures, and defective residents' attitude only, should be the aim in reaching out to the sociology in housing. This study attempts to go beyond this in reaching out to the sociology of housing which is relevant to the design of communities.

Another important element related to the idea of Merton is to avoid the notion that social aspect in research is merely engaging in socially relevant research, adjusted to current changes in the institutional structure of housing. But with this research, its relevance in making scientific inquiries to problems having scientific and practical pertinence may be shown.

The other importance of this research is its attempt to come up with better definition of the issue of socio-urban design aspect in a sociological "no-man's-land" where the researcher is exposed to pitiless cross-fire from all camps. This research comes up

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<sup>6</sup> William L.C. Wheaton, Grace Milgram, Margy Ellin Meyerson, (1966), *"Urban Housing"*, The Free Press, New York, Collier Macmillan Limited, London, p.1363

with urban design models that properly consider the sociological dimension of housing. This involves devising parameters that can be instrumental to understand and add knowledge to the social dynamics of housing with respect to the community, neighborhood, small residential group and large residential group.

A fourth but not least purpose is to see and evaluate the existing pattern and the prospect of communities and neighborhoods. Here evaluating what we are doing against some standards becomes very important which assists in making better future proposals when studying, rather carrying out housing or rehousing projects.

### **1.7 Research Methodology**

The methodology of the research considers representativeness in terms of time and character in evaluating and assessing the existing situation of the city of Addis Ababa. In terms of time, it considers older and recent settlements as two packages. In terms of character it takes status into account. One is taken from each status, where the Bole area represents the affluent, the Old Airport area the middle class and the Lideta area the lower class. In the more recent ones, the housing cases are targeted on the middle and lower class of people, due to the nature of the housing cases. This is not deliberate but it is something that has been found to be an existing situation. Hence the upper class will not be represented in these recent scenarios.

For measurement, international yardstick has been considered, where defining communities has first been attempted. Based on the definition, these areas have been evaluated. The same goes for neighborhoods. The yardstick of the British Housing Studies<sup>7</sup> has been taken into account. The parameter has been used to investigate the neighborhood character of the existing areas sampled out. The effect of the parameters has been tested on the specific case of rehousing of Berinsfield. This case has been presented to show in what way the standard has been applied to measure a specific rehousing case in Berinsfield, to show the practical application of the standard. The same application can be followed to other non-rehousing case studies as well. The attempt of the thesis is to measure both recent and earlier housing cases, be it rehousing or non-rehousing settlements, in approaching the

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<sup>7</sup> R.N. Morris and John Mogey, *"The Sociology of Housing"*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, p.108 ; here the standard has been applied to the case of Berinsfield, even if a resettlement case, the standard applying to non-resettlement cases of housing too.

study with the approach used in the case of Berinsfield, the method of which can be used in both housing and rehousing cases.

It takes primary and secondary data assessment method into consideration, with sample data collection. The secondary resources also include books, and other academic and non-academic literature. Secondary resources will be analyzed in light of the research questions, in taking case studies that analyze conflicts in relation to the research questions. The secondary sources of data will be obtained from the Building College Library, Addis Ababa University, the Addis Ababa City Administration Library and the NUPI, the National Urban Planning Institute, including the internet.

### **1.8 Focus Terminologies**

Some of the important terminologies that need to be clearly defined when we deal with the social aspects of housing are

“*Society*”, which is defined as “The totality of social relationships among human beings; a group of human beings broadly distinguished from other groups by mutual interests, participation in characteristic relationships, shared institutions and common culture”<sup>8</sup>.

“*Societal*”, which is a term derived from “*Society*” meaning “Of or pertaining to the structure, organization or functioning society”<sup>9</sup>.

“*Social*” is another key word that is defined as “Living or tending to live together in communities; of pertaining to or characteristic of the activities of and the relations among human beings living in a community”<sup>10</sup>

“*Social-psychology*” is also another important term meaning where the term “*Psychology*” essentially implies “the science concerned with understanding and explaining mental processes and behavior”<sup>11</sup>; fusing the two terms “*Social* “ and “*Psychology*”, therefore, implies the study of behavior of a people living together.

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<sup>8</sup> Tormont Webster's *Illustrated Encyclopedic Dictionary*(1990), published by Tormont Publications Inc., 338 St, Antoine St. East Montreal, Canada, p.1575

<sup>9</sup> Tormont Webster's *Illustrated Encyclopedic Dictionary*(1990), published by Tormont Publications Inc., 338 St, Antoine St. East Montreal, Canada, p.1575

<sup>10</sup> Ibid , p.1574

<sup>11</sup> Ibid, p.1362

*“Sociology”* is a social science that deals with “The study of human social behavior, especially, the study of the origins, organization, institutions and development of human society”<sup>12</sup>.

*“Community”* is a key word mentioned in the definition of “Social”, meaning “A group of people under the same locality or under the same local government, a social group or class having common characteristics, any group having common interest”<sup>13</sup>.

*“Neighborhood”* is a term that is defined as a district ...considered in regard to its inhabitants or distinctive characteristics; the people who live in particular vicinity”<sup>14</sup>

*“Housing”* is a term that means “Buildings or other shelters in which people live, considered collectively; the provision of house or dwellings”<sup>15</sup>.

*“Public Housing”* is a term commonly used to reflect the public sense provision of housing provision, where “Public” is defined as “Of concerning affecting the community or the people as a whole”<sup>16</sup>.

Therefore “Social Aspects of Housing” in this paper implies the sociological study of human relations living collectively in houses or dwellings.

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid, p.1574

<sup>13</sup> Ibid, p. 357

<sup>14</sup> Ibid, p. 1136

<sup>15</sup> Ibid, p. 818

<sup>16</sup> Ibid, p. 357

## Chapter Two

### Communities

#### 2.1 Theoretical Background

Some of the important definitions related with the study have been introduced in the introductory part. The two most important focii in the study of housing are the terms community and neighborhood, terms that come very often when dealing with the social aspects of housing.

But what exactly is a community? How can we define this term as students?

According to Nelson and E. Ramsey<sup>17</sup>, the term “community” to the ordinary inhabitant is where he lives and probably works as well as that is identified with a place and a name in his mind. It is an aggregate of houses for living and buildings for working. It may have shops, factories, and no doubt a main street where chief businesses are arrayed. It is where he goes to shop, attends a show, loafs and meets friends. Hence to a mythical man, the meaning of the term is clear for some practical purposes, where difficulty arises when a student wishes to make a clear definition of community.

The most common sense concept is that it involves an area.

Neighborhood and society too are social phenomena which are also area-concepts. Societies are autonomous and much larger than communities. These must be organized to satisfy all human needs while communities may leave part of this organization to society. Hence generalizations that apply to society will not apply to the community. Neighborhoods are smaller in area than communities and also serve fewer needs than communities. Communities do not involve face to face intimacy, while neighborhoods allow a face to face intimacy. The area within which most of the basic human needs are satisfied is generally what is meant by community. Basic needs are met at easy traveling distance: work, place of worship, place of purchasing goods, and so on. Usually these services are placed in a village or urban center. Not all the needs are satisfied in an area for the area to be a community but most of them must be. The area within which most of the basic human needs are satisfied within daily traveling distance is hereby referred as local area.

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<sup>17</sup> Lowry Nelson (1960), Charles E. Ramsey, “*Community Structure and Change*”, The Macmillan Company, New York, Brett-Macmillan Ltd., Galt, Ontario, p.9

But again is the local area itself a community? This definitely is not so. Since a community disappears when all the people leave an area though the area remains unchanged. Hence sharp line drawn around an area to indicate a community found in most research may be misleading. Area within this line is not the community. Line indicates the area within which the community exists for the most part.

Do people living within this area represent the community? Again the answer is no. Since one population may be replaced by succeeding generations without any essential change in the community, or conversely community may change considerably without any change in composition.

Therefore community is neither area nor people, but relationship among the people living in the local area where variations in area and people are conditions affecting community

According to French<sup>18</sup>, there are four ways of viewing a community. In a qualitative approach the community is viewed as a place to live. In the ecological approach the community is a spatial unit. In the ethnographic approach, the community is a way of life, while in the sociological approach the community is a social system. He goes to explain as follows:

The boundaries of communities are not clear like the term itself. The difficulty of many writers to define it, is clearly seen. Robert A. Dentler states that "... a modern community is a nexus – a point in a terrain where society, culture, and individuals meet" and emphasizes the need to conceptualize a "full community" that would be representative of society. Arensberg and Kimball go further to say, "Communities do not exist in vacuo. Each one occupies its own physical setting and is spatially surrounded by other communities more or less similar in organization, culture and function. Within each community one finds the economic, political, religious, social and even familial activities which create cohesion among its members, and which also extend to or include those of other communities. Taken as a whole, these linkages between communities make up the network called society".<sup>19</sup> According to Warren, "One thinks of communities, large or small, as clusters of people living in close proximity in an area which contains local stores and other service facilities for the sustenance of local people,...various criteria thought to characterize

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<sup>18</sup> Robert Mills French, (1971), "*The Community*", A comparative Perspective, F.E. Peacock Publishers, Inc., Itasca, Illinois, p.3

<sup>19</sup> Robert Mills French, (1971), "*The Community*", A comparative Perspective, F.E. Peacock Publishers, Inc., Itasca, Illinois, p.4

communities include a specific population, living within a specific geographic area, amongst whom there are present-shared institutions and values and significant social interaction”<sup>20</sup>.

From the definitions one can clearly see that the definition of community is not just a place, not just a social system, not just a way of life that is shared by a number of people that identify themselves with a sense of we-ness. All these concepts have to be incorporated into the understanding of the community. At the same time it is an important building block of the society. It portrays culture to the individual and shapes him accordingly.

Anthropologists in employing the ethnographic approach are often criticized for failing to derive general statements of community issues. Popular notion of an anthropologist of community is as one who lives with “his tribe” cataloging every aspect of life yet failing to relate any of what he finds to the larger world. Arensberg, though, says that this is not a fair evaluation since the focus on single community does not mean neglect of the larger world.

The sociologist whose approach on community is as a social system is often seen as a distant cold researcher who conceives persons as “carriers of variables” and of the community as “a code number on an IBM card”. Community portrayed as a “real place with real people” and traditions and the dimension of time are often essential elements in describing the social system of the community”.

## **2.2 Contextual Background**

The shortage of housing need is probably the main focus that is being addressed in the various studies that are made in Addis Ababa. According to a Master Plan Report, shortage is especially acute for low income households that accounts for over 80% of the city’s population. An estimated 60% of the city’s core is dilapidated and about a quarter of all housing units have been built informally. The plan of the City Administration is to meet the yearly 30,000 housing deficit. Hence, here the priority is given to address the shortage.

But this has created handicaps. For example, in the case of the resettlement study done from the Sheraton area, we see an incompatible social scenario that was created that made settlers to come back to their original dwelling area in favor of

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<sup>20</sup> Ibid, p.4

shanty squatting settlements. This happened for there was no socio-economic consideration that could consider the heart of the settlers.

What is missing here is that impact assessment has not been done after the completion of projects. The deficit is the only highlighted agenda every year, with the important social assessment not done that can help as a feed back to consecutive projects. An example can be cited in relation to the 20,000 plot provision housing study that was done in 1995/96 G.C. study that was made by the city administration. Many studies have been made after this one, but without any feedback to shape and redirect them. In the year 2000/01 three further studies were submitted on expansion areas of Mekanissa, Bole-Kotebe and Akaki area. Even another project was done on Mekanissa area. In all the studies the scope of the social studies was limited to addressing the already stated shortage of housing deficit. In all the projects, the task of the sociologist was limited to negotiating open potential housing areas that were being used for farming by local farmers that made their living in these expansion areas. After negotiations were made the sociologists or economists just facilitated the payment of compensations which more or less wrapped up their task. All the rest of the decisions on neighborhoods and communities were made independently by the physical planners, either architects or planners, with full charge given to deal with different aspects of size, function and characteristics of the neighborhoods to come. Their obligation was just to prepare the plans and provide land as much as possible for future settlement.

The Master Plan Revision Program in its report<sup>21</sup> as well intends to deal with the shortage of housing, physical dilapidation of houses, poorly serviced working and living environment, and the expanding informal settlement as challenges of housing in the future. The Program, for instance, intends to de-densify and maintain appropriate and healthy density levels at city core, and to re-densify intermediate infill areas in the city. It plans to manage existing informal settlements and control future developments to avoid creation of new slums. It also envisions maintaining social diversity as is characteristic of Addis Ababa.

Three important issues of density, slums and social diversity have been mentioned. It has at least set a new direction in handling the problem of housing. Now what is left is making some impact assessments and quantifying and qualifying the social

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<sup>21</sup> Executive Summary of the Office of the Master plan, (2001 – 2010), “*City Development Plan*”, Addis Ababa in Action: Progress through Partnership, Addis Ababa, p.34

aspects, since the concern of this paper is this topic, to come up with housing proposals that have healthy community, neighborhood and other related social entities. This has to be the backbone of any futuristic physical urban design. Unless the skeleton is properly understood, the flesh will not be of any avail. It may seem to stand temporarily, but surely it will crumble down soon.

Therefore, it is high time that the spirit of the design, which is the sociological aspect, be understood in order to crystallize or manifest a design that can stand properly. Not the otherway round as in the stated housing, which have fallen at the full mercy of the mere design or physical approach of the architect or the physical planner. Here, there is an indication that the proper balance can be achieved by the physical planner diving into some relevant sociological studies, bridging up the already stated gap or may be the “missing link”.

### **2.3 Background on Rising Consciousness of Communities and Neighborhoods**

Wheaton et.al.<sup>22</sup> state that at the beginning of the twentieth century, Raymond Unwin and Barry Parker, emphasized on the city as a whole being treated as a unit. But challenges came against this approach of planning, Charles Horton Cooley, from the scientific side, describing social process and organization, the part played the intimate face to face community. Cooley said that no matter how differentiated and directed the life of great metropolis finally became, at its core remained the same processes and loyalties.

Advocates of the community center sought to animate civic life by providing a common local meeting place to provide a forum for discussion and to serve as basis for community activities that otherwise had no local habitation. One of the leaders of the movement Clarence Arthur Perry, was led by his analysis of the local community's needs to give back to the neighborhood the functions that had been allowed to lapse, or had become excessively centralized since the decay of the medieval city. That path led him from the neighborhood to the neighborhood unit: from a mere cohabitation to the creation of a new form and new institutions for a modern urban community.

The other factor for the consciousness of neighborhoods was the growth of the suburb planned by Development Company. The Community Center Movement

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<sup>22</sup> William L.C. Wheaton, Grace Milgram, Margy Ellin Meyerson, (1966), *“Urban Housing”*, The Free Press, New York, Collier Macmillan Limited, London, p.117

seemed to collapse around 1920, along with another ambitious movement the Social Unit Movement; but both left marks, at least in America, a considerable effect on the mind of the planners. Perry in his thinking went no further than Unwin; he took the fact of the neighborhood and how it could be transferred into his so called neighborhood unit, the modern equivalent of the medieval quarter or parish. A unit that would now exist not merely on a spontaneous or instinctual basis, but through the deliberate decentralization of institutions that had in their “over-centralization ceased to serve the city as a whole”.

## **2.4 Concepts of Community Structure**

According to Nelson et.al<sup>21</sup>, the concepts of community structure accommodate some important sub-sections: *Elements of Structure, Formal Organization, Institutions, Division of Labor, Values, Social Differentiation, Structure and Function, Elements of the Community and Needs and Problems*. All will be discussed as follows.

### **2.4.1 Elements of Structure**

Predictable nature of relationships may exist between two intimate people whose relationship may lead to trust or mistrust, or between complete strangers within a very narrow range of alternatives. For the latter some examples can be casual meetings, job-interviews, student-professor conferences, etc. These predictable natures of human relations depend upon the fact that people usually conform to what is expected of them. These expected patterns of behavior are called *roles*.

In the selection of roles, the important point is that the individual is not entirely free to choose. For instance he can not dominate in the classroom if the person playing the role of professor is more authoritarian.

Therefore assumptions underlying the structure are

- a) Human relations are predictable
- b) One predictable form of behavior –emergence in formal, implicitly understood patterns called relations
- c) Predictability depends on the fact that individuals select their roles from a narrow range of expected behavior patterns

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<sup>21</sup> Lowry Nelson (1960), Charles E.Ramsey, “*Community Structure and Change*”, The Macmillan Company, New York, Brett-Macmillan Ltd., Galt, Ontario, pages 12-24

### **2.4.2 Formal Organization**

Roles are formalized when it is felt that the informal emergence of each role can not entirely be depended upon to occur. For jobs that require the interdependence of more than one role, a formal description of roles, usually written comes about. Not only is role described but relations between and among roles are prescribed.

### **2.4.3 Institutions**

Some complexes of roles performing a single task are considered more important than others. Some are so important that the absence of their function may threaten the survival of the whole system of human relations. The role as a code of conduct becomes mandatory. The differences between these mandatory, single-alternative roles and the less mandatory roles previously described, are so great that another concept, namely *mores*, becomes necessary. When the codes of conduct for any given job and for relations between jobs take on these characteristics, the complex roles, (i.e. *mores*), are called *institutions*.

The dependence upon others to play their roles is one of the most important features of social structure. The role of homemaker which is important to the maintenance of the family must be complemented by the role of the bread winner. The man can go to the office or plant only if someone can be depended upon to give close supervision to children, to cook, etc.

Hence the features of the structure discussed in this section are

- a) Playing role depends upon prediction that others will do
- b) When the tasks for which the roles are organized is considered crucial for the survival of the whole system of human relations, the role definition and definitions of interrelationships among specialized roles take on additional characteristics.
- c) They become mandatory
- d) They are accompanied by severe rewards and punishments for conformity and violation
- e) They are given sacred connotation, demanding reverence, through ceremony, ritual and symbols

#### **2.4.4 Division of Labor**

The organization of roles applies to other needs than the work world stated above. Example the role of minister, the role of money handler, the role of active participant in the solution of problems for which there is no formal organization and so on can be seen here. The organization of these roles is referred to as the division of labor and varies according to the amount of specialization.

#### **2.4.5 Values**

People living in the same area share the same beliefs. The beliefs are of two sorts. One is the goals toward which individuals should strive and the other is codes of conduct for reaching these goals.

Some beliefs are universal and some vary from place to place. These beliefs are variously called mores, folkways, laws, customs, values and norms.

The codes of conduct include rewards and punishment. In the case of laws, rewards and punishment are represented by fines and jail sentences, in the case of written codes, rewards and punishment come through social pressure and loss of self-respect. Rewards and punishments, written or implicitly understood, are referred to as social sanctions.

Therefore in short the concept of values encompasses

- a) Definition of roles
- b) Relationship among roles
- c) Sanctions of conformity

Hence in this sense values represent an integral part of structure. They can be said to be the blue print of structure.

#### **2.4.6 Social Differentiation**

The positions in a social structure for the performance of a given pattern of behavior by an assigned role are called *statuses*. Since different statuses earn different rewards, a status system or stratification develops.

Overseeing roles are authority roles. Some roles are so important that they make others act even against their own wishes, referred to as power.

### 2.4.7 Structure and Function

The array of roles and their interrelationships which allow a rather complicated task to be performed by these social entities is what is meant by *structure*. The meaning and existence of a role depends upon the total structure within which it operates. The fulfillment of the need for which a group is structured is its *function*<sup>22</sup>.

### 2.4.8 Elements of the Community

As a unit for analysis, community is a distinct social structure. It is useful because it acts as a single unit, distinguishable from the individual, a family or a political unit. But all communities are not alike even if they have some characteristics in common. In the concept of community, there are two phenomena that distinguish it from becoming a mere substitute for another term:

- a) The relationship among institutions, groups, formal organizations or other component units within the community designated as elements, described in terms of functions
- b) The variable influences of these elements extending through the breadth and depth of a community, as in the relationship between the educational institution and the family is an element of the community structure but does not pervade the whole community structure. Traditionalism may influence a community in family decisions between family and school, and among all institutions. It will penetrate the entire structure of the local area. Persons and groups pattern their behavior according to status.

All these pervasive (penetrating) patterns discussed under “b” are referred to as *dimensions* and the former *elements*, i.e., the relationship discussed in “a” are called *elements*. Elements and dimensions make up the community structure.

### 2.4.9 Needs and Problems

Need is a state of affairs defined in the value system as desirable. Some needs are nearly universal, and some vary with structure. These orders may be called hierarchy of values. In one value system avoidance of pain and death will take the

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<sup>22</sup> According to an example in the book a group of seven for the purpose of recreation may be taken as a “loosely structured” due to little obligation of follower ship role to leadership. But this may be misleading since the explicit purpose is recreation with structure modeled to satisfy the whims of members at the moment.

upper hand over every competitor, while in others, in time of war honor will take precedence.

The definition of need in terms of value systems leads to four types of problems:

- a) Contradiction between two or more values, as in conflict in values in community change when a problem calls for a new social forms but strong social sanctions are placed on conformity to traditional ways of behaving.
- b) Contradiction between a value and social structure, as in value placed on high level of living in most American communities while the structure prevents a proportion of families from reaching the goal. Another example can be someone must collect garbage but there is little reward given from such roles.
- c) Conflict of value between two sub-cultures, as in that between parents of school children and taxpayers in the American community. Here when a new school building is needed, tax-payers may prefer the money to be saved in banks, instead of its going to school buildings. Votes may favor either but can not benefit both at the same time.
- d) Poorly defined roles and functions, as in the role of a minister demanding more time spent in visiting believers, while authorities in the church may expect that more time be spent in studying theological matters and preparation of sermons.

Hence the components of the community have been made explicit:

- a) People learn to desire certain goals which are commonly held and sanctioned by their friends and acquaintances
- b) Most of these goals must be satisfied at a place within easily daily traveling distance from each person's home
- c) Social structure exists for purposes of solving problems within the local area

Therefore, now having gone through all this to actually understand the community as a student, it can be concluded that it is “the structuring of *elements* and *dimensions* to solve problems which must be or can be solved within the local area”.

## **2.5 Character of Communities**

The study of communities is imperative for understanding social characteristics in housing. According to the definitions dealt afore, the community is the subset group of the broader society. It is a societal cell that needs to be studied at the scale of housing schemes.

Sociologically speaking, there are four aspects of community relationships according to Morris and Mogey<sup>23</sup>;

- Common bonds perceived through *shared interests*
- Networks of interlocking memberships in *voluntary associations*
- Common membership of reference groups whose presence is not *necessarily visible to a casual observer*
- The feeling of *living in a friendly, cohesive territorial group*

The concept of community becomes much clearer when it is split into its separate dimensions. One distinction is that of physical and social grouping. As was seen in the earlier section, a community is a set of people residing in a specific place, a local area, regardless of the type of social strata and relationships which exist there. Its essential character, sociologically speaking, is the particular type of social relationship.

Three essential segmental dimensions of the community are

1. Type of social group
2. Type of physical group and
3. The extent to which such social and physical groupings coincide

According to sociologists Morris and Mogey<sup>24</sup>, as the term village, town and city are available to describe physical groupings, it seems foolish to use the term 'community' for a physical group exclusively. Community describes the case where primary<sup>25</sup> social relationships are coupled closely with a small physical group<sup>26</sup>, defined earlier as the local area.

## **2.6 The 'Phase Hypothesis' of the Development of Social Relations**

This hypothesis has been put forward by many writers to describe urban development, in particular the process of adjustment to a new home and a new residential community. The hypothesis postulates two or three phases in social relation development on a new estate<sup>27</sup>.

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<sup>23</sup> R.N. Morris and John Mogey, "*The Sociology of Housing*", Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, p.40

<sup>24</sup> Ibid: p.99

<sup>25</sup> Primary according to Morris and Mogey is used to indicate the intimacy of the relationship between the social and physical groupings

<sup>26</sup> Association describes the case where the social ties are secondary and there is no correspondence to a physical group; But exceptions may come here where many primary groups have no clear physical boundaries and there are many secondary groups which have an obvious territorial base

<sup>27</sup> Although this deals with community part, the hypothesis covers both community and neighborhood relations

### **2.6.1 Phase One**

This phase covers the first three to six months of estate life. Roads are still unmade in this phase. Gardens are barren and plots inadequately fenced. The number of tenants is very small. Exploration and openness are the main social features of this phase. Friendliness and intense interactions are seen in small groups. Sharing equipments and news are the rule. Individual families face common problems for their relations with the authority. Locating telephone kiosks and post boxes, street cleaning, troubles over rents and repairs all call for an organization to meet common interests and give stimulus to contacts over and above personal feelings of liking and disliking. Relationships with new neighbors were supplementary to those existing before these families made their move.

Teams and volunteers devote themselves to community centers. Rivalry for leadership is seen in numerous mushroom organizations. Friction is a strong feature of this phase due to high degree of interaction among residents.

### **2.6.2 Phase Two**

When estate grows intimacy falls due to large number. Intimacy gets colder because of the unacceptability of nascent small-group to incorporate new neighbors. Gradually the structure disintegrates. In a survey done in Singapore, only a small proportion, 13.2%, of respondents indicated that they had participated in community activities during the past 12 months; a comparison with the 1993 data shows a slight drop in participation rate, which shows a subsiding interest in community participation<sup>28</sup>. Contacts become restricted to immediate neighbors only. When common problems become less important, social differences between residents become apparent and frictions become more difficult to tolerate. Community center activities lose most of their members. Friendships and cliques are established.

Center is rejected by the majority as a 'place for the children'. This phase may last longer than the previous phase.

Thackery<sup>29</sup> postulated a third phase where equilibrium is reached between the two extremes both of which become unstable.

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<sup>28</sup> Second Monograph of Sample Household Survey (1998) – “*Social Aspects of Public Housing in Singapore: Kinship Ties and Neighborly Relations*”, Housing Development Board, the internet

<sup>29</sup> R.N. Morris and John Mogey, “*The Sociology of Housing*”, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, p. 43

According to Dennis there are 5 phases in the tenants' relationship

1. Association plays mainly a representative role in negotiating local authority for essential services and in organizing large-scale social and protest meetings
2. Constructional organization – in building community center
3. Center's finances are placed on a firm foundation
4. Popular wishes discovered through a process of trial and error
5. Short-run equilibrium reached: activities of center followed a routine pattern

This full path is achieved by the most successful center, while others not making rapid adjustments fail by losing members.

## **2.7 The Community in Its Space Relations**

Of all social entities only neighborhood, community and society are primarily distinguished on the basis of space. "Local Area" concept rests on the fact that some needs must be satisfied at places within a radius of easy traveling distance within a short time. Examples can be one's work, his church, his grocery store, and so on. Variations of space relations among communities the world over is important in understanding structure and change due to the interrelationship of the various elements of the community.

### **2.7.1 The Small Community**

According to Nelson and E. Ramsey<sup>30</sup>, most people live in small communities throughout the world. Throughout the world there are many variations in the design of community layout and in the density of the population which occupies it. Urban communities are densely nucleated with the population pyramided vertically storey by storey.

In rural communities throughout Asia and much of Europe, residences are also grouped, although the population of any one aggregate is limited by the need to have easy access to farmlands in the neighboring fields. Farm homes are built on farms, with pattern called scattered settlement. In America, location of home in farm poses problem in delineation of community.

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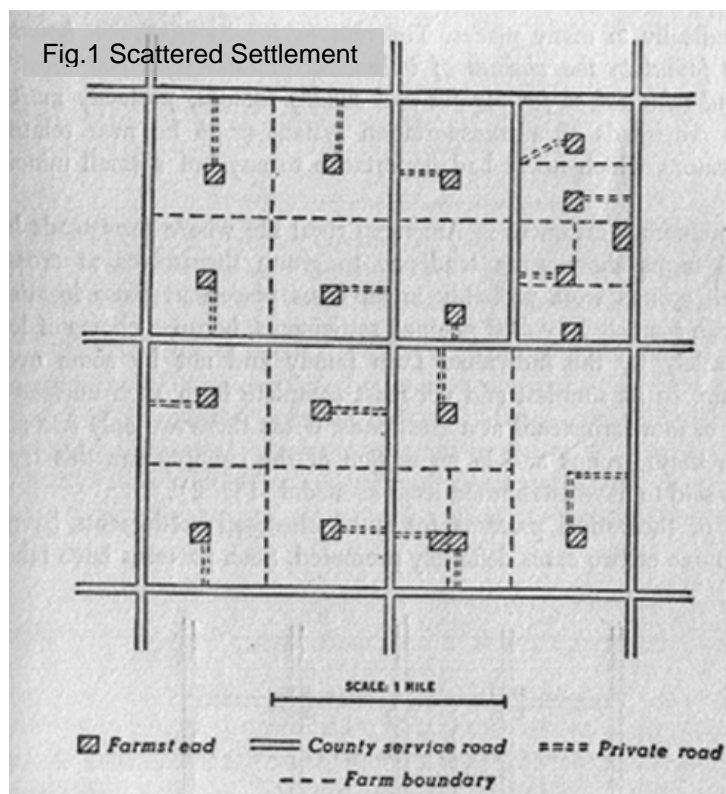
<sup>30</sup> Lowry Nelson (1960), Charles E. Ramsey, *"Community Structure and Change"*, The Macmillan Company, New York, Brett-Macmillan Ltd., Galt, Ontario, p.33

In considering the concept of community, since it is essentially related to the rural community, we have to consider the rural setting in categorical study of community typology in relation to space. There are generally four types of small communities according to Nelson and E. Ramsey<sup>31</sup>.

### 1. Scattered Settlement

Scattered settlements are the most universal pattern in the United States. It is a typology primarily developed out of occupational and work adaptations to a relatively extensive system of agriculture. (See figure 1).

It was influenced sharply by the quadrangle survey and the Homestead Act after population began breaking away from earlier Atlantic Seaboard Settlements many of which are village types. With the Homestead Law perfectly square 160 acre farm was thoroughly established.



Farmsteads are located with not the purpose of being near to neighbors (the predominant purpose in settlement) but convenience to fields and to roads.

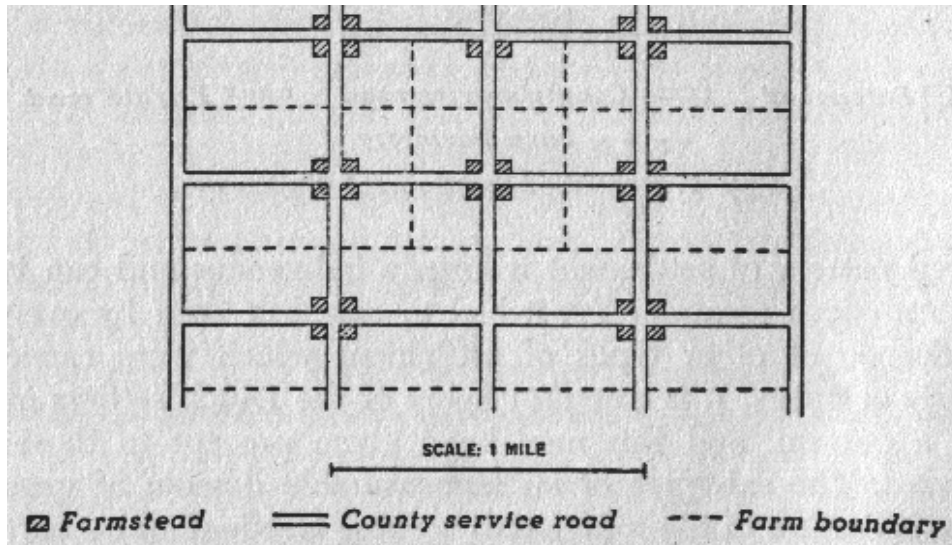
With time roads have improved and motor vehicles have replaced horse-drawn vehicles. To be near to these better roads there has been a tendency to bring farmsteads near the edges of farms. The focus of settlement pattern here is farm operation and administration.

This typology is indigenous to America, even if Dutch settlers in New York brought such a pattern. Each settler was separated from his neighbor with a distance of half a mile. Such a form of settlement had many social disadvantages but with modern transportation means today, these disadvantages have been at least partially eliminated.

<sup>31</sup> Lowry Nelson (1960), Charles E. Ramsey, "Community Structure and Change", The Macmillan Company, New York, Brett-Macmillan Ltd., Galt, Ontario, p.34

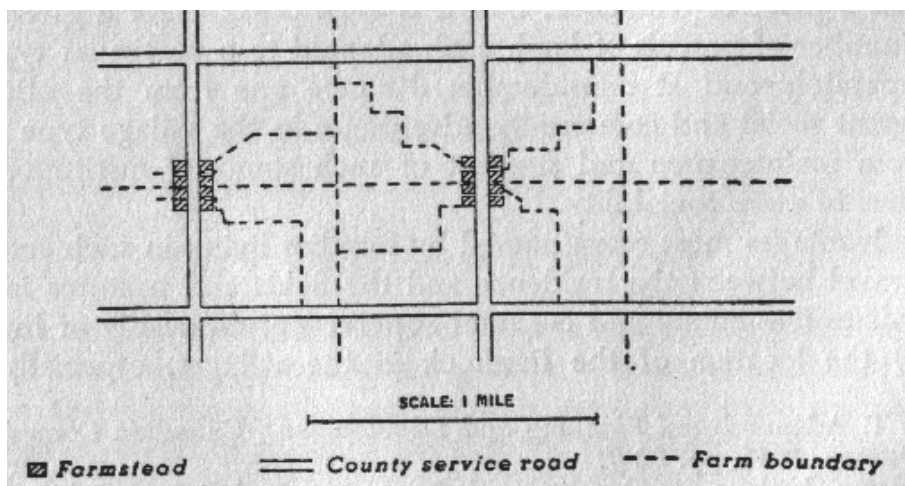
## 2) Crossroads Settlement

This type of settlement encompasses the establishment of farmsteads in corners of holdings with several juxtaposed creating this pattern.



**Fig.2 Crossroads Settlement Pattern**

The reasons for the existence of such patterns are the choice of individual families who first located the farmsteads to be at cross-roads of transportation system or to be near to relatives or neighbors. In simplest and yet complete form, such nuclear settlements consist of four farmsteads at a cross road, (fig. 2) or eight (fig. 3).



**Fig.3 F-pattern of settlement (8) farm which group eight groups eight houses**

## 3) Village Settlement

This type of settlement is not common in American rural life. It is prevalent in a number of European and Asiatic countries. It was transplanted from Europe into America by early Dutch, English and Spanish colonists. (See fig. 4)

Size of village is a compromise between disadvantages of traveling considerable distances from village residences to the farm-operating units, on the one hand, and the social and institutional advantages which accrue from having a relatively large cluster of families per village on the other. Advantages that farmers consider are size, shape and organization of farm need not being conditioned by location of the house and other farm buildings upon it. That is possible for a given farm family to own a number of parcels of land. There are great social and community advantages in the village type of settlement.

Coming to the disadvantages, the travel between the residence and the fields and pastures increases costs and jeopardizes immediate and constant supervision especially of livestock enterprises. Location of livestock in the villages, especially during the winter months, creates problem of sanitation and makes the hauling of animal manure necessary. Lack of inner unity has been countered by church affiliation of members even while scattered on farms, as in Lancaster County.

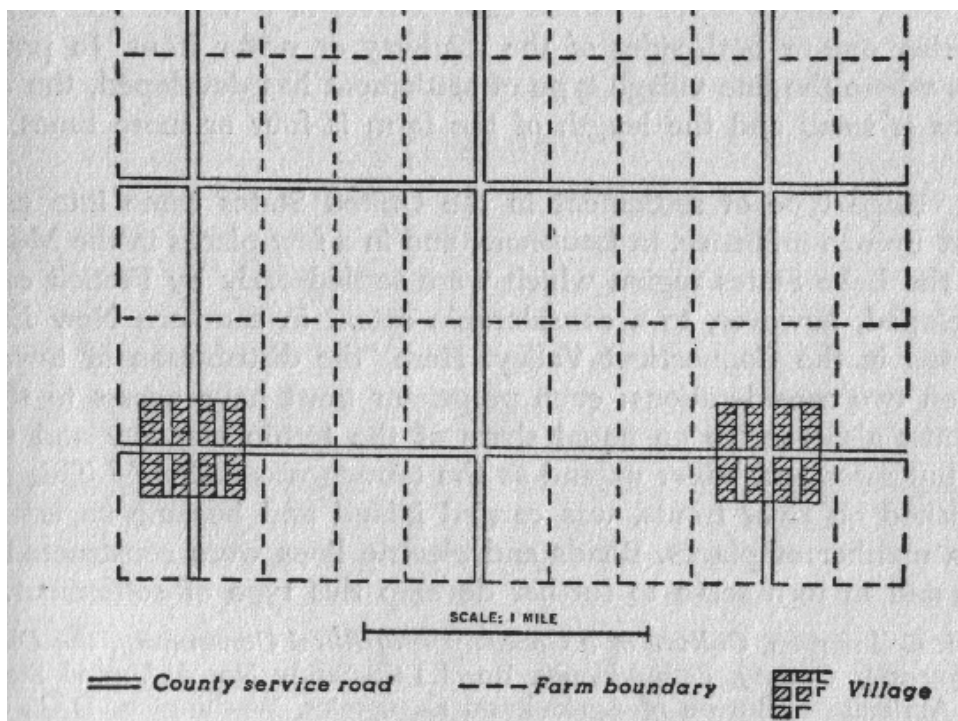


Figure 4: Village pattern of settlement

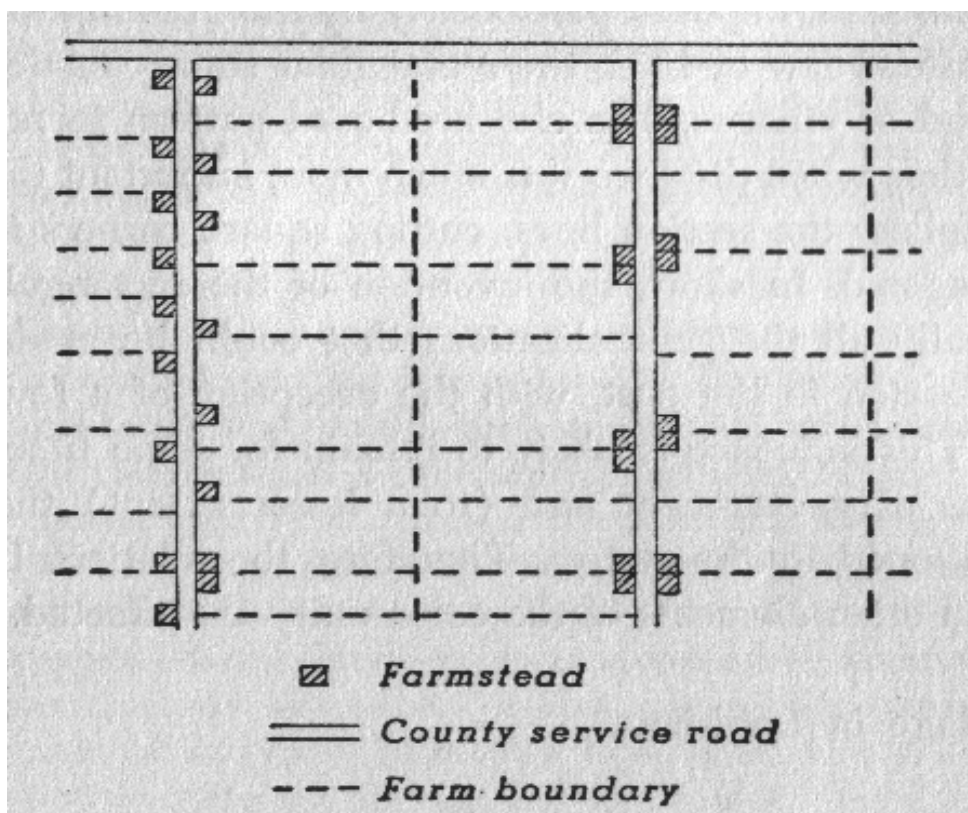
#### 4) Line Settlement

There are many examples of this in American rural life. This type varies from inadvertent form of line settlement to planned line villages. Basic difference in the

latter is that the universal farm pattern is long, narrow farm holdings with one of the narrow ends on an artery of transportation, fronting a street or highway.

In almost all line villages the size of farms is small and length of farm is four or more times its width. It came into being in America under the French influence, in Louisiana and in few places in the Mississippi Valley and the Lake states region, areas in Connecticut valley.

Various possibilities of pattern of houses exist based on family choice. It can be evenly spaced with equal distance between them, grouped by two's or four's at the corners of the farms, be located exactly opposite each other or systematically staggered on the two sides of the road (fig.5).



**Figure 5: Line Settlement Pattern: Free and Clustered**

This type of settlement pattern can be of village type or isolated farm. Village has high degree of economic integration with more intimate contact with neighbors. The isolated system has high degree of economic integration obtained at the expense of low degree of social integration. Here in the second one, every man's dwelling is upon the plot of ground he cultivates, with no daily trips from dwellings to fields being necessary. Economic activities are highly coordinated but social activities operate haphazardly.

### 2.7.2 The Large Community

Again according to Nelson and E. Ramsey<sup>32</sup> space relations of the large community differ from those of the smaller community in two ways. The “hinterland” of the business core or “loop” is densely populated not only within the judicial limits but even beyond them, including the suburban fringe. On the other hand the “hinterland” of the village, by contrast, is sparsely populated. The urban loop dominates the social structure of the large community to a greater extent than is true of its counterpart the village in the small community. In the small community also, the village center and the hinterland are more distinct in terms of their interests.

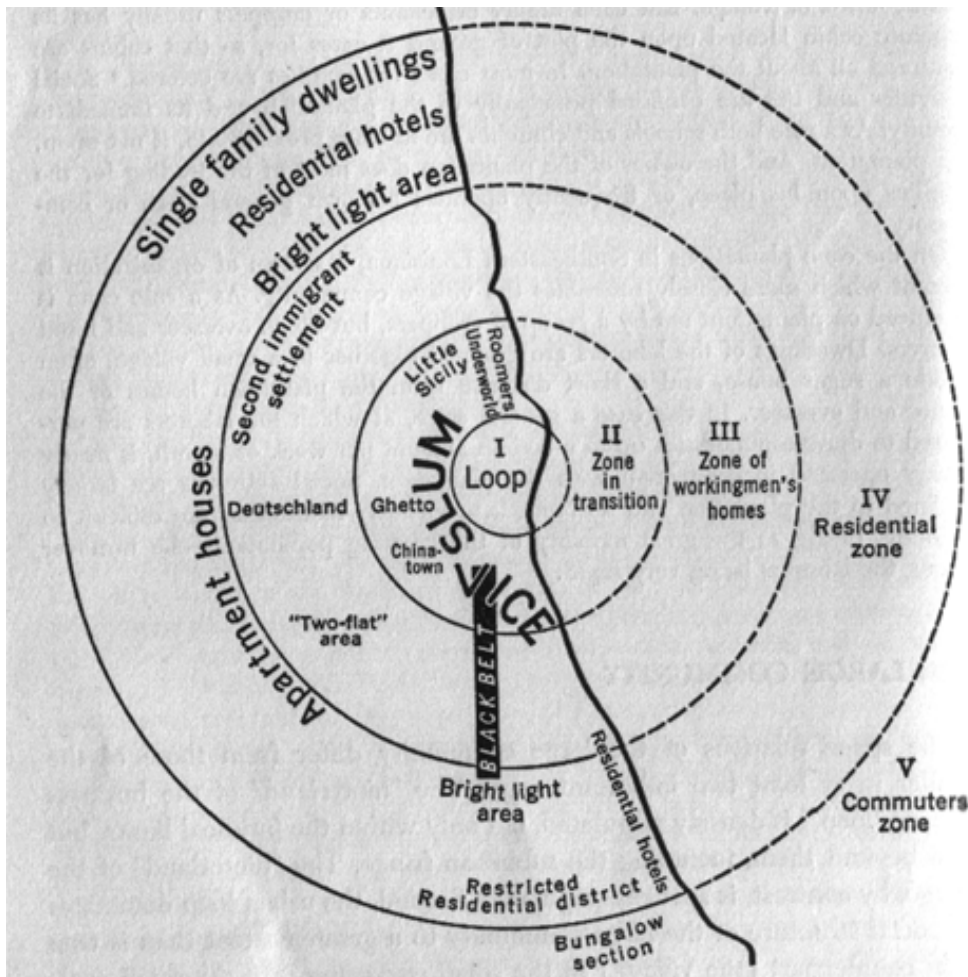


Figure 6: Concentric Circle Pattern: Chicago

Figure 6 shows zones following roughly the pattern of concentric circles that represent differences in lifestyle in both the small and the large community. The

<sup>32</sup> Lowry Nelson (1960), Charles E. Ramsey, "Community Structure and Change", The Macmillan Company, New York, Brett-Macmillan Ltd., Galt, Ontario, p.45

zones are produced by historical factors. Cities grow outward from the business centers and, therefore, the center of most cities is the business hub.

### **In the Inner Zone**

The economic structure requires the transportation terminals and hotels are all located in the central hub. Wholesale distributors are usually located here, to be close to the buyers. Heavy manufacturing is located elsewhere due to high land values in the central hub and the little advantage derived from other types of business. Initially central zones included a wealthy residential area. Houses are maintained through sentiment by the older families of name and wealth, but competition from business and light manufacturing with resulting high land values make continued maintenance highly difficult. The usual result is gradual movement to new residential areas.

### **Zone II**

Outside the central zone, the area is in a state of deterioration. Formerly, residential but then business expands into it. It is a zone of transition characterized by slums, high rates of delinquency, disease and poverty. Minority groups of low status live in this zone.

### **Zone III**

This zone is made up of the homes of skilled workers, interspersed with small shopping centers.

### **Zone IV**

It is made up of better residential areas including residential hotels. There are less living apartment houses in this area.

### **Zone V**

In part outside the city live the newly rich, the commuter, the white collar worker and the truck farmer.

## **2.7.3 Functions of Space Relations**

Preliminary attention was given to functions of proximity and distance in the discussion of local area. The local area is characteristic of community structure as contrasted with society and other social forms as already discussed earlier. A more complete description is needed which the local area fulfills to see the conditions which produce community structure.

The first function of a local area is accessibility of those institutional services furnishing daily needs. For non-farm family, proximity to work is essential. Services of government and the economic institutions and utilities are often most effectively administered in a small local area.

The second function of the local area arises from the fact that all the institutional services of a village center or a city influence each other. They must agree in their interrelations to avoid naked conflict when interests clash. They develop common beliefs and some individuals and groups get higher prestige, more power and so on. The relations between the church, school, local government, business and the rest are natural outgrowths of the problems of living in the local area. Common beliefs arise about these relations because they serve the same people. Status system arises and communication exists essentially because of this common community living. Local area is more than a defining criterion that is a causal condition producing a social structure with its dimensions and its elements.

Since the relations between institutions and the belief and status systems occur in the local area, many of the specific human relations within the area will be problematic. Living just in a small area produces problems. This is another function of the local area. It produces common problems for which adjustments must come in the community structure. The need of a stop sign at a given road, need for better sewage disposal, problem of delinquency, all these affect mainly those living in a given common area.

Another local area function is the result from the two facts presented, the community structure and community problem. Problem requires some change in the structure if a solution is to be brought about. This by definition is social change. Ecological factor also brings social change. Since the local area is essentially an adjustment to the physical surroundings in relation to need, then changes in the relation between these surroundings and need will bring social change. Pattern of settlement becomes a value in itself to the residents. In Blue Ridge Mountains, people that lived on small farms in scattered settlements were resettled by social planners into designed and built model farm village communities with the houses, church and school in the center and farms radiating out from this hub like spokes of a wheel. But this was to fail since the settlers followed the scattered pattern of settlement for generations. Considering the established existing pattern of people becomes important in any community development.

Space relations in addition to being causal condition in producing community structure, also influence that structure in other ways. First community exists within a region and within a society and this will influence the structure considerably. Second influence on social structure comes from within the structure than from without. Within any community on form of segmentation, is the neighborhood - also an area based group. In the neighborhood, a social structure is based on one or two services and the need for “neighboring”. It is one form of friendship grouping, larger than the family and clique group, but often nearly as intimate. This form of interaction arises from the fact that proximity is a necessary condition for intimate interaction.

### **2.7.3.1 The Relation between Size and Structure**

The number of people occupying a limited area is closely related with the degree of complexity of the community structure. The larger the community, the greater the number of business units providing goods and services. Number of groupings of various types, be it formal as well as informal, increase with size. Face to face intimate interpersonal relations give way to more impersonal contacts and anonymity. Otis D. Duncan and Albert J. Reiss Jr<sup>33</sup> have shown that median age of the population varies directly with size of place as do also median cash income. They found an inverse relationship between size and 1) mobility 2) fertility ratio 3) proportion of population 65 and over 4) the percentage of the married.

### **2.7.3.2 Community Distribution Pattern**

While size is important in determining internal structure of the community, it is in turn a result of demographic and ecological forces. The ultimate source of population growth is the excess of births over deaths. Any given community in a society where persons are free to move about may not increase and may even decline, in spite of high rate of natural increase. Why some communities grow while others do not is due to the influence of migration. Because of favorable location in regard to transportation, markets, natural resources and industrial establishment, a center may assume a position of dominance over a large area.. Area adjacent to such a center is called a metropolitan area, while it may also be the dominant focus of activity representing a region composed of several states in whole or in part. Other centers

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<sup>33</sup> Lowry Nelson (1960), Charles E. Ramsey, “*Community Structure and Change*”, The Macmillan Company, New York, Brett-Macmillan Ltd., Galt, Ontario, p.51

in its area of influence will vary in size according to their relation to the major one. Gradient from comparatively large centers dominate the sub-areas and extend out to the small hamlet and the open country. The phenomenon of spacing by size gives rise to a hierarchical arrangement of services and functions and hence corresponding variation in structure. The central place theory compliments this thought, as developed by Christaller<sup>34</sup>, with a system of hierarchy of central places. The issue being minimizing transportation cost so that both customers and entrepreneurs are attracted, the theory assumes a system of hierarchy of centers where customers will find the chance to visit the nearest center.

## **2.8 The Prospect of Communities: Toward Reformulation of Community Theory**

### **2.8.1 The Changing Community**

Some social scientists wonder whether the concept of community is not already a non-functional survival from earlier days. Others assuming its survival in the earlier days say that the community is going to hell because I do not know the name of the man across the street in apartment 4d.

According to Warren<sup>35</sup>, the community is not dying as an effective locality group but changing structure and function to accommodate modern movements. This change is greater specialization of function on the community level, part of the overall process of social differentiation and increased specialization which our times embody.

According to him, structural and functional changes in community can be analyzed in the horizontal and vertical axis. The horizontal axis emphasizes locality while the vertical axis emphasizes specialized interest.

In the horizontal axis, the relationship is that of individual to individual or group to group within the locality. Illustrated by a group of citizens coming together to form a neighborhood association. Principal task is coordinative and principal leadership role – “permissive community organizer”.

In the vertical axis specialized interest is emphasized as stated above. Relationship of individual to a local interest group and of that local interest group to a regional

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<sup>34</sup> R.J. Johnston, (1980), *“City and Society”*, Penguin Books Ltd, Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England, p.17-19

<sup>35</sup> Robert Mills French, (1971), *“The Community “*, A comparative Perspective, F.E. Peacock Publishers, Inc., Itasca, Illinois

state or national organization is seen. Principal task is accomplishing some specific achievement and principal leadership role – “problem area specialist”.

These two terms can be tools to understand the progressive reorganization (rather than deterioration) of community living mentioned earlier. This is in such a direction that the horizontal axis becomes increasingly less important, and the vertical axis increasingly more important. As communities grow, there is greater specialization of effort within the community, a reflection of the overall process of progressive division of labor. Community development manifests a progressive differentiation of function and structure. As this process occurs, a more intricate network of interdependent specialized parts forms the increasingly complex system, and with this progressive fragmentation of function, the problem of community coherence arises.

Here the essential questions are – Can specialized parts be kept in coordination? Can the increasingly specialized interest groups work together for common community goals?

### **2.8.2 Need for Modern Framework for Community Studies**

Conventional community theory is set up to emphasize the horizontal axis, the factor of locality, the factor of common interests, common life and common associations, common institutions based on locality. And it is just this factor which is becoming progressively weaker as time goes on.

According to Steward<sup>36</sup>, “There are few studies which attempt to show how the larger society affects the community under investigation. And there are no studies which undertake to conceptualize fully and in detail the relationship between the community and the larger whole. We do not have an adequate framework for such a conceptualization because our rudimentary community theory is adequate to a rural, sacred, primary group oriented, pre-industrial society, but is inadequate to accommodate the very changes which are transforming the nature of American communities in our time”.

### **2.8.3 Horizontal Coordination and Vertical Coordination**

As a system becomes more complex, the need for greater coordination is felt. As schools, churches, social agencies, business establishments and other community

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<sup>36</sup> Julian H. Steward, “Area Research: Theory and Practice,” Bulletin 63 (New York Social Science Research Council 1950), p.22-23

facilities multiply and differentiate, there is need for keeping these facilities in some sort of adequate coordination with respect to each other.

This coordinating function can be performed within the community, along the horizontal axis, through the community welfare council or various types of local planning agencies, or the coordinating function can be performed on a super community level, i.e., along the vertical axis (like state voluntary organizations or state and federal governmental departments).

#### **2.8.4 Vertical Axis versus Horizontal Axis**

Providing sufficient horizontal coordination is becoming more of a problem as vertical orientation and coordination develop. This is seen in horizontal orientation agencies getting together for fund-raising on a locality basis and the vertical orientation of state and national organizations reaching into the local community through their individualized, task oriented branches to carry on fund-raising activities in relation what this adds up to on the local community level.

#### **2.8.5 Problem Area Specialist versus Democratic Self-Determination**

The problem area specialist is man from state education, mental hygiene, etc. His orientation is vertical, relating to a state or national program to local community unit. This is normally task oriented, i.e., new clinic, new social service and so on. He or she is highly specialized, with experience in dealing with communities with his speciality. The specialist is likely to have answers before reaching the community. He may be democratically oriented with respect to group self-determination, but by the very nature of his role he cannot encourage the community to consider all the possible alternatives for community improvement. He is supposed to know better than the community therefore is essentially paternalistic. Since he or she is selling a particular program, he or she tends to lean toward ethical absolutist<sup>37</sup>.

#### **2.8.6 Problem Area Specialist versus Community Coordinator**

Role of problem specialist is complemented by the emerging role of the coordinator horizontally. This is a horizontally oriented and permissive community organizer, a

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<sup>37</sup> absolutist - Principle of government with unrestricted powers

non – specialist “process man”. His or her concern is what happens to the interrelated parts of the community to each other. Here the problem specialist is permissive and equalitarian than paternalistic. The function is tension reducing.

According to Bales<sup>38</sup>, leadership roles tend to polarize around two functions. One is the task-oriented leader pressing to make groups some change and the other social-emotional specialist to ease tensions and hostilities.

The previously considered specialist presses to make adaptive changes, while here the task is to ease tensions and hostilities arising from adaptive processes. Parsons<sup>39</sup> in his analysis of nuclear family says that the father’s role instrumental leader, task oriented, relating family keeping peace in family in holding the family together in peace and in times of stress and strain endangered by adaptation. Hence the two roles exist in community organization to create a balance.

## 2.10 Findings

Hence some of the principles that can be summarized about the community are

- The generalizations established for society and the neighborhood do not necessarily apply to the community, but are always hypothesis for testing in terms of their application to the community. The definition places the community in general class of social structures based upon the common problems held by people living in a given area, with which society shares the same concept. All the needs of men are problematic to the society, but only needs which require daily or weekly satisfaction are the concern of the community.

Neighborhood (to be discussed in the next chapter in detail) is an area concept (even if hard to delineate or give boundary to), but needs satisfied by the neighborhood structure are fewer. Hence generalizations of neighborhoods like surrounding *interaction*, *identification*, and *affection* are candidates for community theory. Still they have to be tested to see if they hold under the different situations set by community living.

- The community is a general social phenomenon, with school districts, political units and trade areas representing interdependent parts. The

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<sup>38</sup> Robert Mills French, (1971), “*The Community*”, A comparative Perspective, F.E. Peacock Publishers, Inc., Itasca, Illinois, p. 47

<sup>39</sup> Ibid. p.45

concept of the school community, the trade community and so on, has been isolated for the sake of analysis is often treated in isolation in the world of practical affairs. But even if this is permissible and sometimes necessary the elimination may be dangerous.

- The boundaries of communities are not precise, since they are different for each element of socio-cultural organization. Definition limits community structure to problems that are satisfied within easy commuting distance of each person's home, but essence of community is a structure and not area. Area is, although, the distinguishing feature.
- The test of whether a given person or family is a member of any particular community is the amount of influence exerted over him by that community. Emphasis on area and psychological identification as defining criteria of community leads to arbitrary judgment as to boundaries. In a given section completely surrounded by roads, five of the families will often trade in community A and the other five in community B. Some who trade in a given center will not feel any loyalty to that community. Hence to say "yes" or "no" to the question whether this small section is completely surrounded by road parts of community A will be arbitrary.
- A given person or family may be a member of more than one community and may be a member of a given community at one time but not another. Here a given family may participate in a given community, while its bread winner may participate elsewhere, like 60 km from work. Hence the influence of a given family may be felt in two local areas at once. Therefore to place this family in one community and not in other becomes difficult
- The community is a single unit, acting as a unit through its interdependent elements and dimensions, rather than an arena within which other social entities, such as families and groups interact. Community acts just as a person does in choosing between job alternatives, as a nation does in declaring war and as a family does in building a house. It may pass a law and enforce it through its political institution, judges, police, etc. It may even hire a contractor to build a by-pass, doing this with a single community budget without contributions of families.

- The conception of the community as structure means that change in one element or dimension will bring about changes in other elements and dimensions. Structure means that different parts are fitted together so that they act together without contradicting each other producing a new and unpredicted entity. In a two man group difference in personality may be felt to bring about a new product. But in a larger group the contribution of a single person becomes lesser. Apart from personalities, values, roles, institutions and so on produce interdependence.
- Community behavior, the existence of problems, decisions about those problems and implementation of those decisions, is influenced by three general factors: characteristics of the community itself, characteristics of the dimensions and elements within the community and characteristics of the mass society within which the community exists. Characteristics include size, location, unique history, complexity of structure and amount of specialization. There is also much research to show rural -urban differences, the effect of population density on community behavior and the effect of specialization. Prediction of community behavior can not be solely made from knowledge of dimensions and elements only but also value systems.

Coming to the spatial interpretation of communities, the small and the large,

- *In small communities*, the predominant pattern of rural communities in the world is the village type, more convenient than the common United States' linear pattern. This is so in terms of creating relations between family and community institutions, including social participation and economic exchange.
- *In large communities*, the hinterland of the business core or loop is densely populated, not only within the juridical limits, but even beyond, including sub-urban areas; secondly, the urban loop dominates the social structure.

## 3.0 Neighborhood

### 3.1 Theoretical and Historical Background

What is a “Neighborhood”? “Neighborhood”<sup>40</sup> is defined as a district, especially one constituting a distinct community in a town or city, considered in regard to its inhabitants or distinctive characteristics.

Neighborhood is “The small cluster of houses right around one’s own house. The homogenous neighborhood is the area up to where the market value of housing noticeably changes or where the mix of housing types or values changes. The institution oriented neighborhood is the area in which residents share common relationships with a local institution, such as an elementary school, a church, a police precinct or a political ward...*neighborhoods are geographic units within which certain relationships exist ...*”<sup>41</sup>

According to Lewis Mumford’s brief historical study<sup>42</sup>, the medieval city was composed on the neighborhood principle with Church as a community center, and market place adjacent to it as “shopping center”, both within easy walking distance of inhabitants.

The very word “quarter” reminds us the medieval city up to the sixteenth century, though it contained fewer than 25,000 inhabitants. Each quarter had its own section of walls to defend with its own churches, workshops, and minor markets. In Florence for instance each quarter elected two consuls; hence under a democratic regime the neighborhood had a political aspect as well. Something important noted by Lewis Mumford here is that these facts did not prevent the city from functioning.

What about today? Do neighborhoods exist? According to Mumford again, in an elementary form neighborhoods do exist, as a fact of nature, whether recognized or not. For we quote Mumford,

“Neighbors are simple people who live near one another. To share the same place is perhaps the most primitive of social bonds, and to be within view of one’s neighbor is the simplest form of association. Neighborhoods are composed of people who enter by the very fact of birth or chosen residence

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<sup>40</sup> Tormont Webster’s *Illustrated Encyclopedic Dictionary*(1990), published by Tormont Publications Inc., 338 St, Antoine St. East Montreal, Canada, p. 1136

<sup>41</sup> Anthony Downs, (1981), *Neighborhoods and Urban Development*, The Brookings Institution, Washington D.C., p. 13-15

<sup>42</sup> William L.C. Wheaton, Grace Milgram, Margin Ellin Meyerson, (1966) ,*Urban Housing*, The Free Press, New York, Collier-Macmillan Limited, London, p.115

into a common life....in origin neighborliness rests solely on the fact of local cohabitation”<sup>43</sup>

There is nothing forced in this relationship and to be real it need not be deep: a nod, a friendly word, a recognized face, an uttered name- this is all that is needed to establish and preserve in some fashion the sense of belonging together. But do we have these spontaneously formed neighborhoods of the 17<sup>th</sup> century and earlier in our modern plans? How did they disappear? One of the answers is segregation of income groups under capitalism, with sharp separation of quarter of the rich and the poor, with the other being a technical reason of increased wheeled vehicles and avenue in planning, not concerns of this study.

### **3.2 Size, Structure and Function as Distinguishing Factors**

*Size, Structure and Function* are three important criteria to distinguish neighborhoods and social groupings.

#### **3.2.1 Size as a Distinguishing Factor**

Size is not a perfect criterion since it is difficult to determine precisely. It also gives little indication of the group's ideals and aims. Size has an effect on the type of relationship characterizing the group and on functions it can perform. It also affects the extent of internal divisions. Size can tolerate variety among its members.

##### **3.2.1.1 The Relation of Social and Physical Groupings**

One of the striking features of Western urban society is a decreasing correspondence between social and physical groupings.

What are physical units? They are sets of people who share a territorial bond. Here they do not need to necessarily form significant social groups.

What are social groups? They are entities with no obvious territorial base (e.g. social classes)

What are residential groups? They occur wherever the population of a physical residential unit can also be described as a distinct social group. When the social and physical units coincided to an appreciable extent, large and small residential groups are considered.

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<sup>43</sup> William L.C. Wheaton, Grace Milgram, Margit Ellin Meyerson, (1966) ,*Urban Housing*, The Free Press, New York, Collier-Macmillan Limited, London, p.116

### **3.1.1.2 The Neighborhood**

The neighborhood is usually equated with the face to face primary group. But this may be of little value in studying a housing estate, since many families maintain very few primary relationships. Neighborhood consists of those co-residents, other than members of one's own family, with whom one interacts regularly. Therefore it is considered as a social network rather than a group. As sociologists Morris and Mogey <sup>44</sup> say the view that the term 'neighborhood' should be applied to a social group with a definite territorial base should not be generally accepted. They say that this view may be losing ground based on the fact that the social and physical groupings do not often coincide closely in an urbanized society. But neighborhood is an area concept even if needs satisfied by the neighborhood structure are fewer, that is, even if social and physical groupings do not coincide. Hence generalizations of neighborhoods include surrounding *interaction, identification, and affection*.

### **3.2.1.3 Residential Groups**

Residential groups exist when neighboring families' networks coincide. When this happens (that is, the coinciding) the territory which they occupy tends to be identified with the group. They have definite area and boundary. Due to coinciding networks of members and exclusive membership there is a firm connection between residence and social group membership. A 'residential group' is a term used to refer to any set of people living in close contact for a considerable period of time. There are two types of residential groups;

#### **A. The small residential group**

The small residential group often takes into account 10-15 families. It often forms social groups, with definite boundaries, powers of social control and elements of common behavior values which distinguish it from other similar groups on the estate. Usually it contains 10-25 adult members and act in some ways as primary groups which encompass the family. They set standards for furnishing property, and for judging the prestige of home and residential area. They have limited influence on judgments of behavior in family. Even in limited social contact, close neighbors have strong influence. Relationships between council tenants are of secondary nature.

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<sup>44</sup> R.N. Morris and John Mogey, "*The Sociology of Housing*", Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, p.146

The small residential group is one found regularly, in so far as social and physical groups coincide. Since co-residence is the only enduring bond between neighbors primary ties may never develop. There are networks of relationships, each family knowing a few immediate neighbors, the network running parallel with the road until a geographical barrier or change in house-type occurs, whereupon it stops. Most families establish positive relationships with immediate neighbors only since hostility with neighbors is extremely threatening. Influence of neighbors, even if face to face contact is few, often leads to the development of common patterns of behavior with stronger friendship in cul-de-sacs.

### **B. Large residential group**

Large residential groups are more clearly defined than the small residential group. It has little formal structure and may function only irregularly. The 'Street' has been considered a significant social and physical unit in most studies.

These groups have some features of primary groups, even if it is unusual to find that every member knows all the others personally. They are units within which children's play groups and adults' social life are concentrated. They have more than 25 but less than 100 adult members. It harbors usually 60-100 families. Size of cluster of houses affects the type of relationships in it.

It has a definite structure and functions, a recognized boundary and loyalty limit to members of the physical sub-unit. Such groups develop slowly. Fieldfarm, one of the ex-service camps in urban fringe areas occupied by squatters after the war in Oxford city, accommodated a single large residential group during early and middle fifties.

### **3.2.2 Structure as a Distinguishing Factor**

Neighbors in a neighborhood have a necessarily mutual relationship. If not, one sided relationship will not grow. And the longer the resident stays in a town, the more number of neighbors he / she knows, for neighborliness is about knowing people and having a source of mutual *assistance or support* close to home at times. In a survey done in Singapore<sup>45</sup> residents who stayed in their towns for barely two years knew

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<sup>45</sup> Second Monograph of Sample Household Survey (1998) – "*Social Aspects of Public Housing in Singapore: Kinship Ties and Neighborly Relations*", Housing Development Board, the internet

only around seven neighbors compared to an average of 14 neighbors for those who had lived in their towns for ten years.

There are reasons for small residential group members being equal;

1. They normally occupy identical or very similar houses (rarely accommodates prestige differences)
2. Broadly found working class families very reluctant to assume roles which involved formal leadership of the neighbors (that it takes courage to organize street party). Organization of these events was much informal. Roles involving authority may not be vested on one person exclusively, but attached to the status of next-door neighbor
3. The common finding of earlier researches - certain marked differences in prestige between side neighbors are usually intolerable (which is hard to maintain). Presence of respectable persons hampers growth of small residential groups for they seek privacy, independence, and select those of similar prestige only.

Side neighbor is usually most influential. Stratification of neighborhood is unavoidable. If stratification in the neighborhood is not offset by formal equality, it becomes intolerable to its members.

Even if formal equality is characteristic of small members, residential groups, it will still have informal leaders. Scope of leader's role is defined narrowly and any extension arouses suspicion and resentment. Hence there is little informal leadership and a strong tendency towards strict equality. Informal leadership exists, but prestige is strictly controlled.

### **3.2.3 Function as a Distinguishing Factor**

In a stable social structure, the neighborhood and the small residential group both exist and complement each other. In an unstable situation, the neighborhood may take over some of the functions of the small residential groups. Neighborhood is essentially a task force which is visible and ready to advise. Main objects of neighborhood are to socialize the children and to give help to the needy.

The small residential group is essentially a social body, which provides sociability and exercises more general control over the family's behavior. For instance gossip is feared- since it can not control flow of communication- information may get into the wrong hands. A small residential group though is a closed network, with

communications less likely to pass through. If residential groups are missing, control and approval of the flow of gossip will be impossible that is resented and feared by families.

### **3.2.3.1 Basic Functions of the Neighborhood**

Neighborhood has several basic functions, the most important task of which is leadership. Socialization of the children is another. Help in time of crisis is the third, while maintenance of tidiness throughout the sub-unit can be taken to be the fourth.

In socialization of children are expected to play within one or two neighborhoods of their homes. Even as they become more mobile their parents often insist that they play nearby in order to supervise them.

Adult usually participate much less than their children who take part in every local activities. Adults tend to be selective confining themselves to those activities with established roles. There is little evidence of positive neighborhood effects on adults to date<sup>46</sup>.

Function of help in crisis belongs to the neighborhood. There are three types of functions;

1. Potentially mutual function – this is the most usual one, based on the assumption of basic equality. It assumes that the family receiving help is not to feel guilty and burdensome for its temporary problem, for at any moment the helping benefactor is likely to need help too
2. Mutual help function - comprises of the exchange of two strictly equal services, for example, the case of two mothers taking each other's children to school. This is the normal expected relationship to develop among neighbors. In a study done in Singapore<sup>47</sup>, a majority of 82.3% of households having a sense of belonging to their estate, which was slightly higher than the comparable figure of 79.1% in 1993. This means that residents had widely shared sentiments about the place where they live that, in turn, may make them more willing to help each other or improve their neighborhood in some ways.

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<sup>46</sup> John Goering, (2003), "The impacts of new neighborhoods on poor families: evaluating the policy implications of the moving to opportunity demonstration - Session 3: the impact of housing on people and places", Federal Reserve Bank of New York Economic Policy Review, the internet

<sup>47</sup> Second Monograph of Sample Household Survey (1998) – "*Social Aspects of Public Housing in Singapore: Kinship Ties and Neighborly Relations*", Housing Development Board, the internet

3. Non-reciprocal help –Comprises of the exchange of services which can not be compared. For instance, one mother looks over children while the other goes out for shopping. It is rarely found outside extended family. Such inequality is tolerable only when the subjects are close enough.

Therefore socialization and help in crisis are the principal functions of the neighborhood.

### **3.2.3.2 Basic Functions of the Small Residential Group**

Where neighborhoods are almost universal, small residential groups are optional. The principal functions of small residential groups are not as limited as those of the neighborhood. The small residential groups provide sociability (surrounds family with others who share its values); sociability implies a willingness and ability to make satisfying relationship within neighborhood.

Social control is stronger in the small residential group than in the neighborhood. Fear of neighbors is greater when only neighborhood exists. The family may project more of its own values onto the neighbors, a form of social control. But this may not lead to greater conformity, since conformity comes through voluntary & highly valued membership.

Another function of the small residential group is that it supplies standards which enable families to judge and adjust to their physical environment and neighbors. It controls relations with family and kin to a small extent. Small residential groups also provide, through the exchange of gossip, a set of norms which will enable families to adjust successfully to their new homes and neighbors.

### **3.2.3.3 Influence on the Range of Functions Performed**

Dependence over neighborhood has decreased over the last 50 years because of greater ease of access to friends who live in other neighborhoods. Commercial entertainments within and outside the home have also contributed much. Increasingly specialized land use has drastically reduced the range of common interests shared by co-residents.

Growth of respectability as a working class ideal rejects dependence on the neighbors and asserts that there are status differences within each physical unit. Respectability restricts ultimate relationship be it outside or inside neighborhood. Work relationships also affect dependence on the neighborhood. Co-residence is

common in dangerous occupations and in industries subject to great economic fluctuations. In Berinsfield respondents who worked in a team were compelled to make deep rooted adjustment to their neighbors.

### 3.3 Findings

- Neighborhoods as defined earlier are geographic units within which certain relationships exist.
- Neighborhood is an area concept even if needs satisfied by the neighborhood structure are fewer. Hence generalizations of neighborhoods include surrounding *interaction, identification, and affection*. Even if this is so, it may be hard to set the boundary of neighborhoods.
- Neighborhoods and small residential groups are distinguished by three important parameters: size, structure and function.
- Neighborhoods may not have definite territorial bases, since social and physical groupings do not often coincide closely.
- When we come to size, small residential groups have definite boundary and area. In small residential groups, physical proximity (as in cul-de-sacs) implies closeness, although it may be expressed in intimacy or friction, with voluntary conformism or forced imitation.
- In considering inherent structure, neighborhood and the small residential group complement each other. In an unsuitable condition the neighborhood takes over the functions of the small residential group. The small residential group is essentially a social body that provides sociability and exercises more general control over the family's behavior
- Neighborhood's basic functions are leadership, socialization of children, mutual help in crisis and maintenance of tidiness in the sub-unit. Functions of the small residential groups are supply of judgment standards for families, control of relations with family and kin, and exchange of gossips that enable families to adjust to their environment. Although physical units correspond in size to small residential groups, it is not enough merely to provide an appropriate size. A redevelopment population could be sorted out and allocated residences in a way which would ensure that small residential groups are formed, even if they are optional in nature.

- Development of cohesive groups fails if people are unsociable, and if many of them have little local interest. Unless the rehoused families are provided with amenities and dispensable outside leadership, they will not establish many cooperative and effective neighborhood based organizations.
- Even if dependence on neighborhoods has decreased considerably, this can be changed by providing shared land uses. Neighborhood centers should be set to facilitate leadership and organizations not to counter the social nature of man but on the contrary to encourage it.

## **4.0 Sociological Case Study**

### **The Case of Berinsfield Rehousing**

#### **4.1 Common Bonds among People**

Based on interviews made in 1958/59 in the Rehousing of Berinsfield, there were 5 bonds;

1. All were new-house dwellers - house holder's role covers all reference to problems of gardening and maintenance and furnishing of new house.
2. All were tenants of the same local authority - The 'tenant role' covers activities in this role-set<sup>48</sup>; in 1958 only half the respondents believed that the council's allocation policy would be fair and open.
3. Everyone had to adjust to new neighbors as no pair of old neighbors was rehoused together with the establishment of norms of behavior.
4. Nearly all informants had young children – 'parental roles' comprised of meeting needs related to children's behavior and suggestions for the provisions of their welfare.
5. Families felt the need to join with other residents in organizing social activities and entertainments or other services designed to benefit the adult.

##### **4.1.1 The Householder Role in Berinsfield**

Here there is an attempt to establish new norms of equipment and behavior that would be appropriate for their role as dwellers in a new house. Neighbors are glad to exchange a tip or a grumble. This is seen in kids taking bath everyday, attempt to dress and look better, especially in those that came from huts, discovering gardening talent that they never had, buying new furniture and so on. In the study conducted by Daniel Wilner et al<sup>49</sup>, the same phenomenon was observed in Baltimore, where women liked their apartments, commented favorably.

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<sup>48</sup> Payment of rent and complaints about the house and amenities, as far as it was corporately voiced through tenant's association

<sup>49</sup> William L.C. Wheaton, Grace Milgram, Margy Ellin Meyerson, (1966), *"Urban Housing"*, The Free Press, New York, Collier Macmillan Limited, London, p. 266

#### **4.1.2 The Tenant Role in Berinsfield**

Bond has been important in leading to the formation of tenants' association to request and agitate for rapid installation of important services. There is a tendency of resenting strangers that come unwarrantedly in their respective setting. Segregation became a necessity to facilitate the allocation of strangers<sup>50</sup>. Hence two thirds of the locals were rehoused with the rest spending another winter in huts. Most families were satisfied with their new homes. Importance of the tenant role as common bond certainly lessened as residents settled down (even resentment to strangers diminished). Initially there was problem of extra rent, increasing every week; but later when most families adjusted to the rise, only new arrivals were left to complain.

#### **4.1.3 The Neighbor Role in Berinsfield**

When families are tied to their homes the range of acquaintances got limited. They will tend to expect immediate neighbors to fill both the roles neighbor and friend. In the relationship, if expectations are compatible, they will play both roles with basic phase one development of relationship going on. On the other hand, if expectations are incompatible, then limited role will be played in phase one and the relationship will develop into phase two. If families had prior acquaintance both phases will not be necessary.

Again in Baltimore, the study of Wilner et al<sup>51</sup> clearly shows similar results where rehoused people underwent a marked increase in neighborly relations supporting one another mutually in household activities, in time of needs like illness, etc.

#### **4.1.4 Parental Roles in Berinsfield**

The parental role grew in importance with the passage of time. Respondents noticed lack of amenities for children and the need for cooperative action to discipline unruly ones. The role of children's behavior and needs creates either cooperation or conflict.

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<sup>50</sup> Here one block of four or five was given to locals, then the next one to strangers, in order to segregate strangers from residents. The Council's action on rehousing residents of Field Farm families and those from neighboring huts triggered local tenant association to pressurize change in allocation policy. This led to canceling the allocation of 50% of the houses to strangers

<sup>51</sup> William L.C. Wheaton, Grace Milgram, Margy Ellin Meyerson, (1966), *"Urban Housing"*, The Free Press, New York, Collier Macmillan Limited, London, p.266

Age of children affects their influence as common bond; younger ones affect neighbors' relationship, while the action of the older ones brings about effects at community level. In Baltimore, common family activities and mothers' reactions to discipline of children was noticed.

#### **4.1.5 Residential Community Roles in Berinsfield**

In residential community roles, references to social events for the adults and need for amenities (occasionally a parish council, for the whole village). Social events are provided by centers but organizers felt that center attracted little sustained interest and support; either locals or strangers did not participate much; the phase hypothesis applied weakly to Berinsfield.

Two causes for diminishing participation in centers are

- The need of the expressed community role not being met in the limited use that is available in centers
- The center crystallizing the differences leads to alienation of some groups

Community roles, in the first phase, is expressed through joint action to secure rapid provision of amenities, even if there is a lack of strong cohesive bond as in the case of Berinsfield, where the tenant association did not deal with the social center. In Baltimore, similar initial reaction was noticed where activities devoted to keeping up the neighborhood were reported.

In conclusion therefore residents' perception of the five shared social roles in the new village in perception of common needs generally diminished as families learned to perform their roles themselves. The support for the phase hypothesis was weakened by the extent of prior acquaintance among families.

#### **4.2 Residential Community Roles and Structure**

Existence of common bonds does not necessarily lead to the formation of social groups. Function of local leaders and local representative does.

##### **4.2.1 Local leader**

The local leader expresses the group's consciousness of a separate identity. He or she personifies values of the group. His or her function is essentially internal and expressive. He or she binds the group together by upholding its ideals and maintaining distinctions that make the group unique.

### **4.2.2 Local representative**

The local representative fills the external and instrumental functions. He or she creates link between groups and wider community representing interest of each in interaction with the other. Sometimes it takes the form of negotiation.

In communities we may have three combinations;

- Members but no leaders or representatives
- Members and representatives but no leaders
- Members and leaders but no representatives

Much less plausibly the following combinations may occur;

- Leaders and representatives only
- Leaders only
- Representatives only

In the case of Slade Park (1958) community role assumed only 'member role' which gave easier control to administrators.

In taking the case of Berinsfield, a traditional distrust of local authority was intensified by the decision of allocating half the new houses to families from the regular housing list. Local leaders committed to a policy of non-cooperation, reluctant to move to new houses were unable to act as representatives. Local representatives who emerged to meet the crisis were distinct from local leaders. Local representatives were being institutionalized (forming Parish Council) instead of just forming hostile attitude toward R.D.C. But their differences were few since leadership is a slow process where even if strangers were to participate, they become leaders through gradual growth of familiarity.

### **4.3 Community as a Feeling of Friendliness**

Loneliness normally ceases with time in new settlements. In Oxhey this general truth was found to be true. The initially neurotic people developed relationships later. Psychological maladjustment in children including delinquency changed and they were able to form friends eventually.

But in Bethal Green this was not true according to Young & Wilmont<sup>52</sup> due to kinship and long established friendship<sup>53</sup>. Change from people centered to house-centered environment was seen that accounted for status competition between neighbors.

#### **4.3.1 Social Isolation and Loneliness in Berinsfield**

The lonely in Berinsfield had no contact with neighbors. They had no contact with tenants' association either. The lonely take family holiday alone even if few had the resources. Isolation from kin was of no importance in Berinsfield in becoming a cause for loneliness.

#### **4.3.2 Slow Adaptation and Loneliness in Berinsfield**

Adaptation like social isolation appeared to be relevant to loneliness in the short run. The lonely felt that the R.D.C. should do more to help them feel settled. Importance attached to privacy was high among the new settlers having a less joint family role.

#### **4.3.3 Satisfaction and Loneliness**

Satisfaction and loneliness are strongly related. Loneliness due to dissatisfaction was more serious than slow adaptation in the study area. Loneliness was consistently related to dissatisfaction with neighbors, both in Berinsfield and Easthampstead. The lonely were generally less satisfied with their homes (not even their environments mainly, but their individual homes).

#### **4.3.4 The case of Oxhey and Berinsfield: A Summary**

##### **A) Oxhey**

Initially there was loneliness and mental illness. Deviation was seen among children. Even if making friends took time, eventually loneliness and upheaval disappeared. The feelings of a minority though did not change with time, a type of loneliness related with a sense of dissatisfaction. Even if the research was not successful in unraveling basic causes of lasting loneliness, the change in social structure when the families moved into the new village was the most probable cause.

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<sup>52</sup> R.N. Morris and John Mogey, *"The Sociology of Housing"*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, p.86

<sup>53</sup> They lacked skill to form friendship with new neighbors

## B) Berinsfield

Loneliness was prevalent among small isolated group of former hut families in the Abingdon area. The lonely ones were those who adapted themselves more slowly to their new homes, even if stronger loyalty to the huts was not reflected. Immediately after the move, lonely families were relatively isolated socially which ceased to be true as time went on. The distinguishing feature of the lonely though was their low rate of satisfaction with their residential area. This suggests, therefore, that the causative factor may be serious incompatibility.

### 4.4 Findings

In studying the sociological aspects of rehousing in Berinsfield,

- Common needs generally diminish as families learn to perform their roles in the new village, supporting the “Phase Hypothesis”, with the exceptional cases that had prior interfamilial acquaintances. These diminishing common needs reduce the settlers’ need to depend on the immediate neighbor for social relationships, even if the relationship is not omitted all together.
- Loneliness is correlated with social isolation, slow adaptation, and lower satisfaction. In Berinsfield it was generally seen to decrease with time. The exceptional case was loneliness related with dissatisfaction which outlasted loneliness due to social isolation and slow adaptation.
- Lack of centers to harbor more than two activities at once repels strangers and other groups leading to faction formation. Here generally differentiation develops much more rapidly than cohesion, even if this is not so in the beginning. Unifying bond decreases and there was a growing gap between locals and strangers. Therefore the gregarious nature of man has to be encouraged by designing centers that can harbor the comprehensive and diversified need of residents
- Differences of values and prestige dominated other prior differences which rested on the location and type of previous home. Finally there was a slight growth in the proportion that was lonely, with loneliness due to unfamiliarity disappearing, and that of dissatisfaction remaining. In the smaller geographical units though, this had a lesser effect, forming the basis for which a new structure that of neighborhood.

## Chapter Five

### Spatial Design: As Related to the Social Aspect

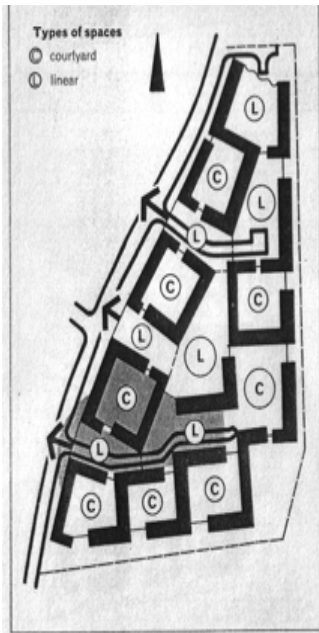
#### 5.1 Spatial Organization

The social aspects of housing has so far been investigated in light of the two crucially important social entities, that of the community and neighborhood. As urban designers though, we need to say something about the design aspect as it relates to these concepts. Spatial organization will therefore be considered here briefly, so that what we have studied so far can be related to the physical aspect of housing too.

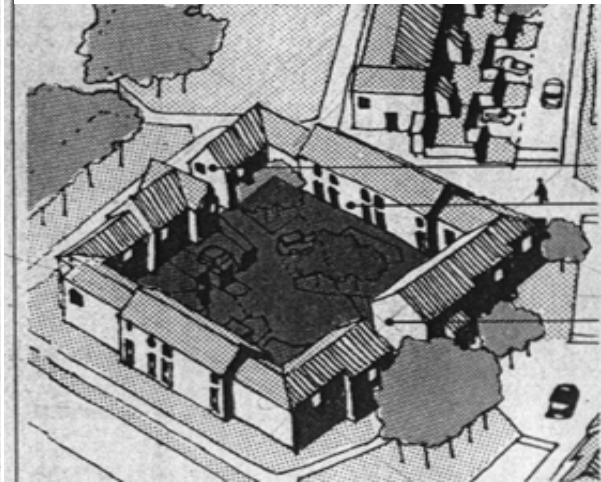
Space organization has to necessarily reflect the nature of social relationships. If it does not complement the social nature of housing, then it may be found to be working against the very essence of man's social instinct. This hence is not desired. We have already seen some of the important social components that preside in small and large residential groups. If the physical arrangement were not to complement the quality of such groups, essential functions may be hampered instead of being fostered by the very physical designer that arranges the community and neighborhood.

The small and the large residential groups can be said to be the identified and important cellular units in the neighborhood design. In space organization hence, we have *the courtyard*, *the cul-de-sac* and *the linear* shapes that are commonly used in forming small and large residential groups within the neighborhood. These units have already been qualified and quantified in giving a lead to the designer as to what can be done in order to achieve their essential functionality. *The courtyard* and *the cul-de-sac* may be more appropriate in the small groups, while the *linear* may be more appropriate in the large one. In Figure 7 the shaded portion on plan shows where the views into the courtyard and the linear shape are taken. Again figures 8 and 9 show the three dimensional views of the courtyard and the linear spaces consecutively. We can feel the coziness and the convenience that has been created from these bird's eye view pictures.

**Figure 7, the plan of the courtyard and the Linear Space**



**Figure 8, Bird's Eye view of the Courtyard Space**



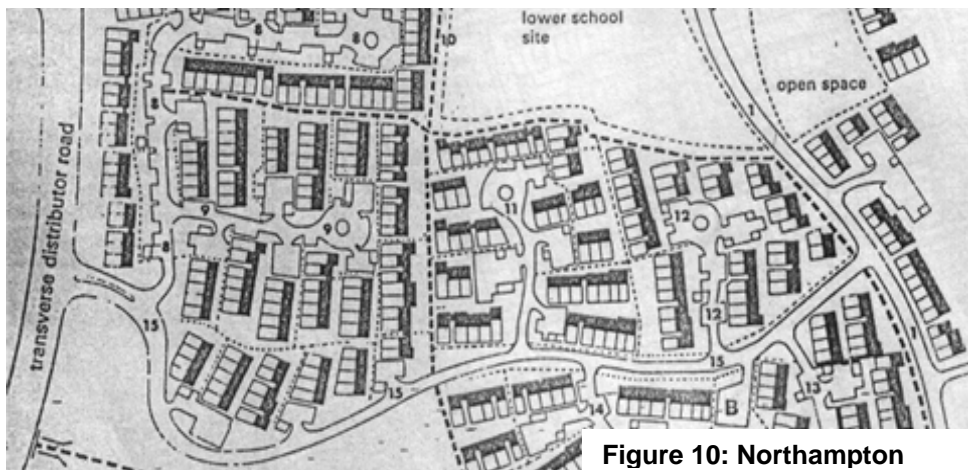
**Figure 9: The Linear Space (Romanticized)**



## 5.2 Case Studies

### 5.2.1 The Case of Northampton: Plan for the Southern District

The case of the layout for Northampton demonstrates the quality of urban housing neighborhoods, where you find quality small and large residential group clusters. As can be seen in figure 10, both cluster types can be seen. Figure 11 shows the exploded large residential groups that make up around 90 families and single units of small residential group make up around 20 families. Hence both kinds of groups enrich the overall neighborhood design.



**Figure 10: Northampton**

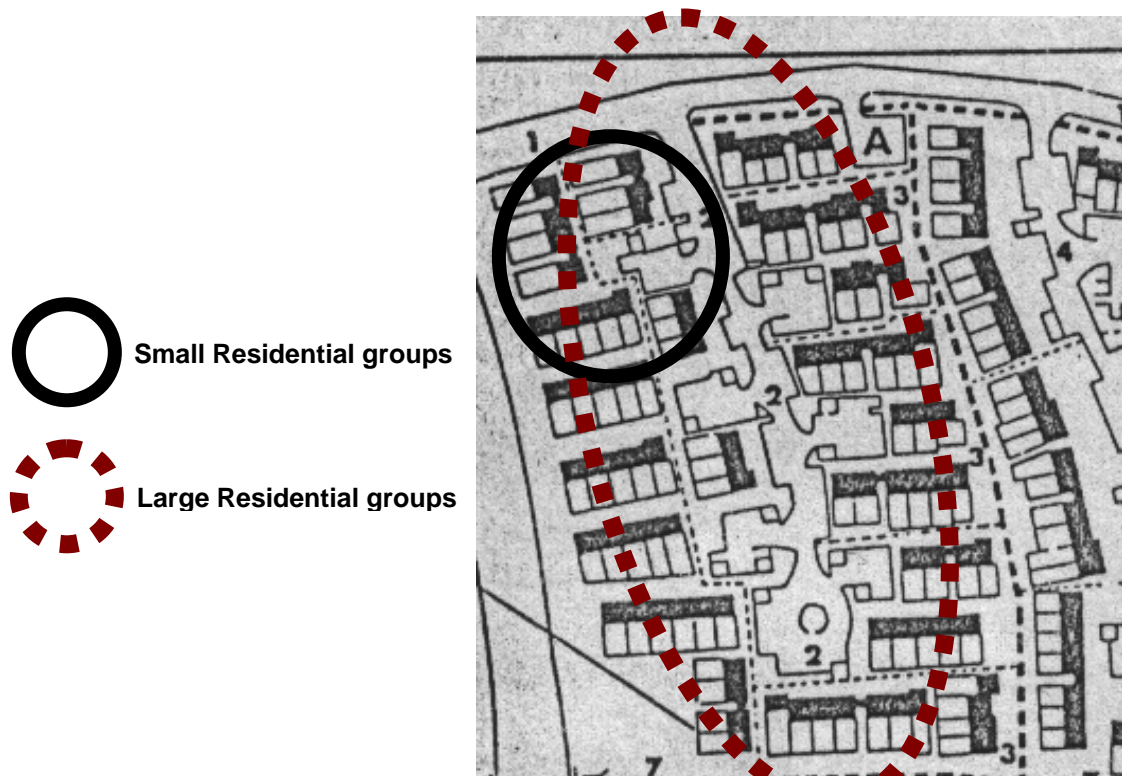


Figure 11: Northampton: Small and Large Residential Groups

### 5.2.2 The Case of Elm Green, Chells Neighborhood

Elm Green is a good example of the use of cul-de-sac to create intimate social spaces. The cul-de-sac system runs behind the houses at the back, many of which face unto pedestrian ways, a partial adaptation of the Radburn Layout. As can be seen from figure 12, the back cul-de-sac system serves the adjacent internally un-served plots of about 12 in number which make up the cluster of the small residential group. The internal cluster also serves around 20 plots or families. Hence this can be taken as a good example for the small residential group.



Figure 12: Elm Green Residential Area, Chells Neighborhood

### 5.2.3 The Case of Great Prandon

As in the case of Elm Green, it is a good example of the use of cul-de-sac to create intimate social spaces. The cul-de-sac system runs behind the houses at the back, with garages, and with footpaths between the fronts of houses, again an adaptation of the Radburn system. As can be seen from figure 13, the back cul-de-sac system serves the adjacent internally un-served plots of about 12 in number which make up the cluster of the small residential group. The internal cluster also serves around 16 to 20 plots or families. Hence this can be taken as a good example for the small residential group.

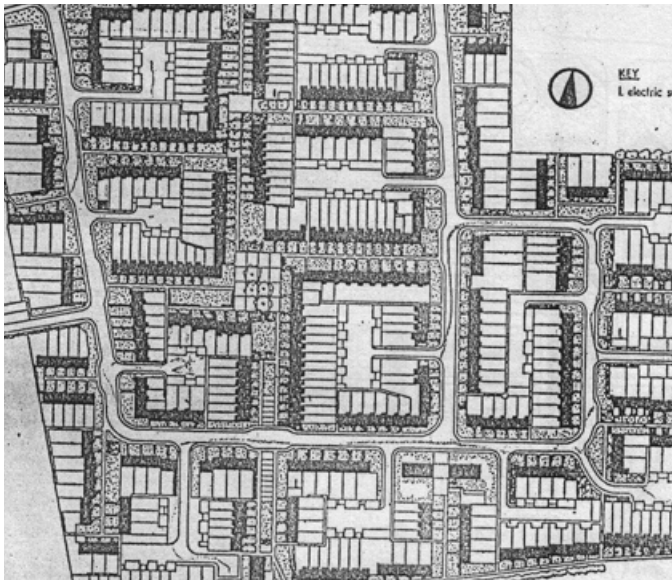


Figure 13: Great Prandon

### Conclusion

Hence in design, the qualified and quantified small and large residential groups can have either courtyards, linear spaces or cul-de-sac shapes, where the normally large nature of large groups can be well ordered by the linear shape, and the more intimate nature of small residential groups (as already seen in the study) can be encouraged by the more intimate shapes of the courtyard and cul-de-sacs. Even if the neighborhood itself is difficult to quantify or qualify, the essential consideration of these two units in design can facilitate the structure, function and the essence of the neighborhood.

## Chapter Six

### The Case of Addis Ababa

#### 6.1 Communities in Addis Ababa

We have already tried to define what communities are and what they are constituted with. Hence it is high time that we tested what we have defined and try to apply it in the context of Addis Ababa, taking each sample area case by case. For this we will use the principles that have been drawn from the definition of communities. These principles are

- 1. Needs which require daily or weekly fulfillments are the concern of the community. The definition places the community in general class of social structures based upon the common problems faced by people living in a given area.*
- 2. The community is a general social phenomenon, with school districts, political units and trade areas representing interdependent parts.*

These two concepts were translated into the next five questions during the interviews with the residents;

A - Where one shops grocery items

B - Where one shops kitchen items

C - Where one shops clothing items

D - How far one's children go to school – here the international standard like for instance majority of the countries taking 500 meters of walking distance for kindergartens and 700 meters up to 1000 meters for elementary and junior high schools can be taken as yardstick<sup>54</sup>. Hence even if there is a local standard that has been derived from existing constraints and limitations, this study will use this international measurement to give a proper understanding.

E - How far one's place of worship is – this point lacks clarity when we refer to the context of Addis Ababa because there is no local standard that has been set yet. Since the sense of use is rather local, here the need for a local standard becomes imperative. Therefore this dimension still remains unmeasured in this study, with future work yet expected to be done by the planning agency in being able to measure the different needs of different prototype of places of worship.

- 3. The boundaries of communities are not precise, since they are different for each element of socio-cultural organization. Definition limits community structure to*

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<sup>54</sup> Source was taken from Ato Ephrem Bekele, leader of the planning department in the Planning Agency of the City of Addis Ababa Administration

*problems that are satisfied within easy commuting distance of each person's home, but the essence of community is structure not area. Area is the distinguishing feature.*

Coming to the third principle dealing with boundaries and distinguishing features, there is an administrative boundary that delineates any kebele in general. It may be just an administrative boundary, but it is so wide (as in any other kebele in the city) that goes beyond the accepted 200meter walking distance. The service that is given in the kebele center is most of the time limited to administrative service. Therefore, it can not be said to represent a collective sense of boundary since you do not find a comprehensive service given to the community.

*4. The test of whether a given person or family is a member of any particular community is the amount of influence exerted over him by that community.*

Concerning the fourth principle of the influence exerted on individuals by the community, the questionnaire that was distributed in the stated area had a section regarding the residents' involvement in any community association. Accordingly involvement in this unit has been recorded. But the purpose of the "Idir" does not go beyond burial and mourning activities as stated earlier, which hence can hardly be said to contribute in the character makeup of the individual. Hence an overall nil contribution will be registered related to the "idir"'s influence on the individual in the sample areas.

May be what the kebele unit nowadays is attempting (again typical to all the kebeles in the city) in bringing about community infrastructure development, where the community is expected to contribute up to 60% of the total sum of the project cost can be sited as an example to the community influence on individual or family members. But it is something new, and it is most of the time limited to financial contribution. Hence we can again say that the influence of the community on a given person or family member is typically weak.

*5. The community is a single unit, acting as a unit through its interdependent elements and dimensions, rather than an arena within which other social entities, such as families and groups interact.*

Under this principle we can generally say that the "Idir" is probably the single unit that has a financial base of its own to act as a unit constituted by many individual functions. Apart from the "Idir" we do not normally find any strong community association that acts as a unit.

*6. A given person or family may be a member of more than one community and may be a member of a given community at one time or another.*

In addressing the involvement of an individual in more than one community under the sixth principle, the breadwinner member of the family is the subject.

*7. The conception of the community as structure means that change in one element or dimension will bring about changes in other elements and dimensions. This section needs an impact analysis which is something that has not been done yet.*

*8. Community behavior, the existence of problems, decisions about those problems and implementation of those decisions, is influenced by three general factors: characteristics of the community itself, characteristics of the dimensions and elements within the community and characteristics of the mass society within which the community exists. This section also needs a broader base study from sociologists considering a wider scope of time, resource and methodology.*

Here principles 7 and 8 have been omitted due to the simple observation from the collected data that the sense of community has not been found to be too intact. This fact does not allow an in-depth surgery into issues like dimensions, elements, and characteristics. On the other hand, the scope, time and quality of data have to be on a higher status beyond the scope of a Masters Thesis. Hence due to the two basic reasons stated the study will be limited to the 6 basic principles.

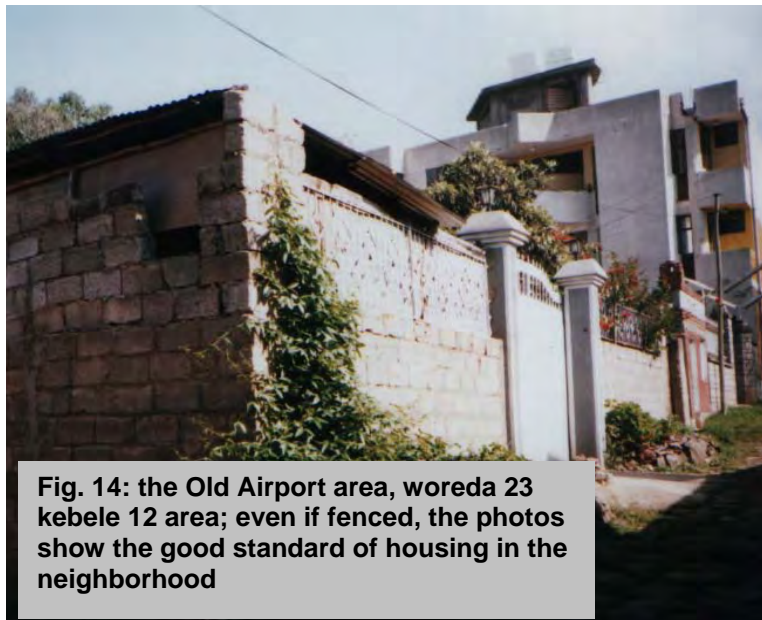
## **6.1.1 Do We Have Communities in this City According to Our Definition?**

### **6.1.1.1 Case Studies from Existing Old Settlements**

#### **A. The Old Airport Area, Nefas Silk Lafto Sub-City, Kebele 04 and 05**

In line with the four questions under the first two principles addressing needs in relation to daily/weekly fulfillment of the community mentioned in the previous introduction part, 20 samples were taken from the Old Airport area. In the sample collection, most of the residents happen to be from the middle income and lower income strata, where the lowest expenditure was 100 and the highest 1000 birr per month according to the expense-data that was collected.

First in the grocery items, at least 13 out of 20 samples, therefore, 67.5% said that they shopped grocery items from within the vicinity, while the rest 12.5% said that they shopped outside the vicinity. Out of hundred 20% did not say anything. From this we can see a sense of community.



**Fig. 14: the Old Airport area, woreda 23 kebele 12 area; even if fenced, the photos show the good standard of housing in the neighborhood**



Secondly, coming to the kitchen items, we see only 30% of the residents using nearby shopping areas. The rest 70% go even beyond the vicinity, of which the Merkato area takes a 62.5% share. This shows a poor sense of community character.

Thirdly, coming to the shopping of clothing items, again nearly all have to go outside their local area. We see that 19 out of 20 who shop outside the vicinity, meaning 95%, of which Merkato area takes the entire share. This again indicates a loose community sense.

Fourthly, coming to the school of children, there are three schools, one of which is the International Community School, an international and expensive school that is not commonly used by residents in the area. But the other two, one elementary and junior high school and the other secondary school give service to many residents in the area. The junior high school is around 577 meters far from the place of sample residence. Hence according to international standards it may be fine. In addition to this, there is only one Kindergarten that is seen in the distribution map, with a distance of around 1125 meters from the settlement area. (Refer annex map 1). This distance though is not acceptable according to the standards. Hence this again shows a fifty percent fine situation.

In considering the fourth issue, the concept of community influence, the “idir” association accounts for 75% community involvement.

In the fifth issue of other associational affiliations, only 20% stated that they participated in other community development oriented programs apart from “idir”,

most of which can hardly be said to be as big and as permanently organized as the “idir”.

In the sixth principle, we find 7 out of 20 who work within the vicinity, 6 who work outside the vicinity, 1 who said both within and without the community, 5 on pension and 1 unknown. Therefore from this we can compare the active labor force where the 7 who work within the vicinity are greater than the 6 that work outside the vicinity. Out of the whole we can see that 35% are involved in the site, and 30% outside the site, implying a little bit more of an inward oriented community contribution by the majority of the active labor force.

### **Conclusion**

In the Old Airport, Nefas Silk Lafto Sub-City, Kebele 04 and 05 areas, we have seen that from the daily/weekly common needs definition of community 2 and a half out of 4 results have been found to reflect a poor sense of community, while 1 and a half one reflected a sense of community. All in all it can be said to have a poor sense of community.

When we come to the third and fourth principles, the boundary and community influence on the individual, in the third there is poor sense of boundary, a typical situation to all the different parts of the city.

In the fifth, according to what was stated at the introduction, we find only 10% association, lacking in strong financial base as that of the “idir”, hence contributing to the poor character of the community.

In the sixth principle of breadwinning, it was seen that a little bit more of an inward oriented community contribution to be given by the majority of the active labor force. Hence what can we say about the cumulative result? Therefore in conclusion, we can say that there is a poor sense of community.

### **B. The Olympia Bole Area, Kirkos Sub-City, Kebele 01**

Again 20 samples were taken in the Bole Olympia area. The expense data shows minimum of 80 and maximum of 1000 birr. But the majority of the residents, 17 out of 20 did not want to respond regarding expense. But from the mode of transportation that is used, we can say that the residents of this area are well off people, since 60% own private cars.



**Fig. 15: the Bole Airport area, kebele 01 area; neat and strong fences show the good standard of housing in this neighborhood**

In line with the four questions under the first two concepts concerning needs addressed according to daily/weekly fulfillment grocery items were investigated first. Hence out of 20 samples taken, 17 said that they shopped grocery items from within the vicinity, 2 did not respond, while only 1 in different place. From this we can conclude that the majority, that is, 85% have groceries from nearby shops. In this respect the residents can be said to have a sense of community since grocery items are accessible within the local area.

Secondly, coming to the kitchen items, we see that 5 out of 20 shop within the vicinity, 8 in Merkato, 3 in Piazza, 1 in Cherkos, 2 in Meshualekia, and 1 in miscellaneous places. From this we can conclude that at least 70% shop outside their vicinity using transportation modes like the taxi and the bus. This again shows a loose sense of community since 70% have to go outside the local area to shop.

Thirdly, coming to the shopping of clothing items, we see that 12 out of 20 shop from Merkato area, 6 from the Piazza, and 2 from the vicinity. Again we have 90% share of clothing items being shopped from outside the site, that is, the areas of Merkato and Piazza that require transportation modes like the taxi and the bus. This again indicates a loose community sense.

Fourthly, coming to the school of children, there is no school that is seen in the map (refer annexed map 2). Therefore it is very hard to say that there is a good distribution of schools within the community. This implies a poor provision, hence a poor community character.

Concerning the fourth aspect of the influence exerted on individuals by the community, the answer there was none except the 60% involvement in local “Idir”. In the fifth issue of other associational affiliations, there was none in this area. In the sixth principle of the breadwinner’s participation, it was found out that only 1 works closely, 13 work beyond the immediate vicinity or the kebele, with those that have stopped working due to old age but with active children included, 3 on pension, 1 who is at home, with financial sources from outside the kebele and 3 whose information could not be confiscated. Therefore here we see 13 out of 20 to be the active force that works beyond the vicinity, accounting for 65% of the whole, showing a high figure of those working outside the vicinity. Hence comparing the first two within the active working force, we can see that the majority is a bread winner outside the site, showing a majority of residents participating in other communities collaterally, hence a weaker local community sense.

### **Conclusion**

In the Olympia Bole, Kirkos Sub-City, Kebele 01 area, we have seen that from the daily/weekly common needs definition of community 1 out of 4 results has been found to reflect a sense of community. All in all it can be said to have a poor sense of community, where 3 out of 4 in this case reflect poor performance.

In the third and fourth principles of the case of boundary and community influence on the individual, we have seen the typical poorness of the community.

In the fifth, again no other participation was mentioned.

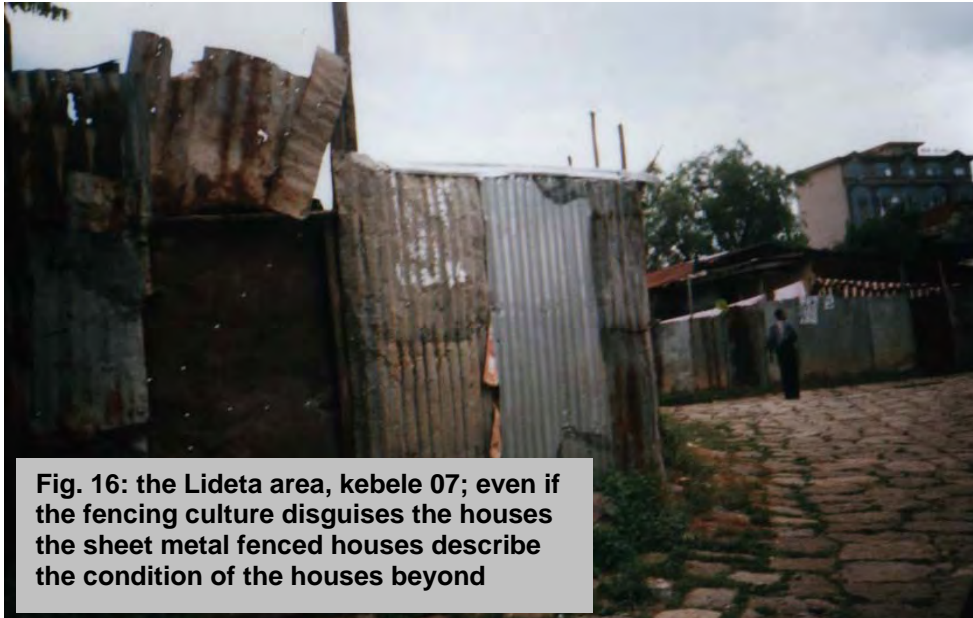
In the sixth principle of the breadwinner’s participation, we have seen the majority of the residents participating in other communities collaterally, hence a weaker local community sense.

Hence what can we say about the cumulative result? We can say an all and in all poor community performance to be seen in this area.

### **C. The Lideta Area, Lideta Sub-City, Kebele 07**

In the 20 samples taken in the Lideta area, the expense data show the class composition to be from the middle and lower income class, since expenditure ranges between 279 and 700 birr.

Again according to the four questions in line with the first two principles searching the issue of need related to daily/weekly fulfillment, grocery comes to the picture. In



looking at the grocery items, 14 out of 20 samples taken said that they shopped grocery items from within the vicinity, while the rest said that they shopped outside the vicinity. From this we can see a sense of community.

Secondly, coming to the kitchen items, we again see 25% of the residents using nearby shopping areas. The rest 60% go even beyond the vicinity, of which the Merkato area takes the biggest share. This shows a poor sense of community character.

Thirdly, coming to the shopping of clothing items, again nearly all have to go outside their local area. We see that at least 18 out of 20 who shop outside the vicinity, of which Merkato area takes 90% share. This again indicates a loose community sense.

Fourthly, coming to the school of children, there are two junior high schools in the area named Bekele Weya and Tesfa Kokob. (Refer annexed map 3). Both accommodate first to eight graders. Maximum distance of travel may turn out to be around 650 meters, a distance that is acceptable according the standards. Hence from this respect it has a community sense.

Concerning the fourth aspect of the influence exerted on individuals by the community, or influence exerted on him/her the questionnaire that was distributed in the stated area there was 85% involvement in local "Idir".

Under the fifth definition of the community acting as a single unit, only 10% stated to participate in other community development oriented program.

In addressing the involvement of an individual in more than one community under the sixth principle, the survey shows 30% nearby, 35% beyond the vicinity, 15% on pension, 10% taking incentives for houses that were confiscated during the Dergue Regime, 5% jobless, and 5% very weak. Therefore comparing breadwinners outside site with those within, the former are larger in number, implying a poorer community contribution.

### **Conclusion**

In the Lideta Anbessa Shoe Factory, Lideta Sub-City, Kebele 07 area, we have seen that from the daily/weekly common needs definition of community 2 out of 4 results have been found to reflect a sense of community, with the rest 2 reflecting insufficiency. All in all hence, it can be said to have a marginal sense of community, where 2 out of 4 measured instances reflect the needed character.

In the third and fourth principles of the case of boundary and community influence on the individual, again a typically poor situation is recorded.

In the fifth principle of the breadwinner's involvement in or without the kebele, we can see that the majority is a bread winner outside the site, showing a majority of residents participating in other communities collaterally, hence implying a weaker local community sense.

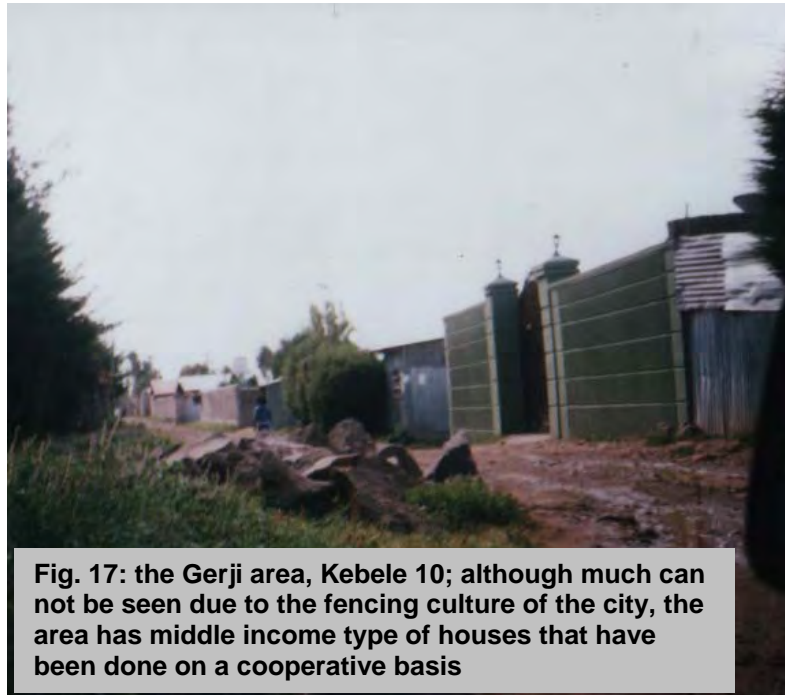
Therefore in conclusion, even considering only the five aspects, we can conclude that there is a 4 out of 5 clearly poor performance, implying again unsatisfactory sense of community.

#### **6.1.1.2 Case Studies from More Recently Settled Areas**

##### **A. The Gerji Area, Bole Sub-City, Kebele 10**

According to the 20 samples taken in the Gerji area, most of the residents that have responded to the questionnaire happen to be from the middle and upper income class, with the amount of money ranging between 500 and 2000, even if 50% did not respond at all.

Coming to the four questions under the first two principles dealing with needs concerning daily/weekly fulfillment we look at the grocery items where, 13 out of 20 samples, that is, 65% said that they shopped grocery items from within the vicinity, while the rest 15% said that they shopped outside the vicinity. Out of hundred percent, 20% did not say anything. From this we can see a sense of community.



**Fig. 17: the Gerji area, Kebele 10; although much can not be seen due to the fencing culture of the city, the area has middle income type of houses that have been done on a cooperative basis**

Secondly, coming to the kitchen items, we again see 62.5% of the residents using nearby shopping areas. The rest 37.5% go even beyond the vicinity, of which the Merkato area takes a 12.5% share. This shows a sense of community character.

Thirdly, coming to the shopping of clothing items, again nearly all have to go outside their local area. We see that at least 17 out of 20 who shop outside the vicinity, meaning 85%, of which Merkato area takes 60% share. This again indicates a loose community sense.

Fourthly, coming to the school of children, there is no visible school in the map. (Refer annexed map 3). Hence we can say that a poor community sense exists here. Concerning this fourth aspect of influence exerted on individuals by the community, there is 70% involvement in local “Idir”.

Under this fifth definition of the community acting as a single unit, there are only 10% which participate in other community development oriented program, which do not have a strong base as that of the “idir”.

In addressing the involvement of an individual in more than one community under the sixth principle, the survey shows all to be Anbessa Bus Organization employees, hence, 100% outside site contribution.

## **Conclusion**

In the Gerji, Bole Sub-City, Kebele 10 area, we have seen that from the daily/weekly common needs definition of community 2 out of 4 results has been found to reflect a sense of community with the rest 2 giving a poor sense of community. All in all it can be said to have a marginal sense of community.

In the third, fourth principles of boundary and community influence issues, typically non-existent.

In the fifth principle that measures extra community involvement, we can see the housing was a specialized housing for the Anbessa Bus Organization whose residents work in the organization. Hence here there is a 100% outside site involvement, showing a very poor community character.

Hence what can we say about the cumulative result? We see that there are 4 out of 5 principles that have not been fulfilled. Therefore in conclusion, we can say that there is a poor performance of community sense.

## **B. The CMC Area, Bole Sub-City, Kebele 14-15**

According to the 20 samples taken in the CMC area, most happen to be from the middle income and few from the lower income, expenditure ranging between 200 and 1300.

In looking at the four questions in line with the first and second principles concerning daily/weekly fulfillment, the grocery issue comes first. Hence in this first question, we see that out of 20 samples taken, only 1 shopped grocery items from within the vicinity, while the rest said that they shopped outside the vicinity. The closest happened to be in the "Gurd Shola" area, composed of 6 out of 20, hence 30% coverage. In this respect the residents can be said to have a loose sense of community with most of the shopping done outside the vicinity.

Secondly, coming to the kitchen items, we again see all having to go outside their vicinity, even if 65% of it happens to be done in the Gurd Shola area. The rest 35% goes even beyond to the Merkato and Piazza areas. This again shows a loose sense of community.

Thirdly, coming to the shopping of clothing items, again all have to go outside their local area. We see that at least 15 out of 20, which covers 75% share, shop from Merkato area, 1 from the Gurd Shola area, and at least 2 from the Piazza area.



Again we have 100% share of clothing items being shopped outside the site. This again indicates a loose community sense.

Fourthly, coming to the school of children, there is no visible school marked in the area, even if the map of this area has not been prepared yet by the Municipality. Hence poor community is seen with this respect.

Concerning the fourth aspect of the influence exerted on individuals by the community, according to the answer, there was 65% involvement in local “Idir”.

Under the fifth definition of the community with regard to community acting as a single unit, only 5% involvement of residents is seen in other associations, probably lacking as strong a financial base as the “idir”.

In addressing the involvement of an individual in more than one community under the sixth principle, the survey shows literally no one stays on site. Every bread winner is involved outside the site. Here therefore we can conclude that the breadwinners are involved in more than one community, at least in two, one where they happen to live and the other where they work for living. This shows a loose confinement of community boundary.

## **Conclusion**

In the CMC, Bole Sub-City, Kebele 14-15 area, we have seen that from the daily/weekly common needs definition of community 4 out of 4 results has been found to reflect a poor sense of community. All in all it can be said to have a poor community character.

In the third, fourth and fifth principles of the case of boundary and community influence on the individual, it was seen that there is a very poor character.

In the fifth as well, since literally all have to go far beyond the area to work, this contributes to yet another undesired community property.

Hence what can we say about the cumulative result? It shows that there is literally a lack of full community sense in this area.

### **C. The Saris Area, Nefas-Silk Lafto Sub-City, Kebele 12**

According to the 20 samples taken in the Saris area, most of the residents happen to be from the middle income and lower income. The range of expense is between 300 and 1500.

In line with the four questions under the first two principles, we see the first two principles addressing needs concerning daily/weekly fulfillment within the community.

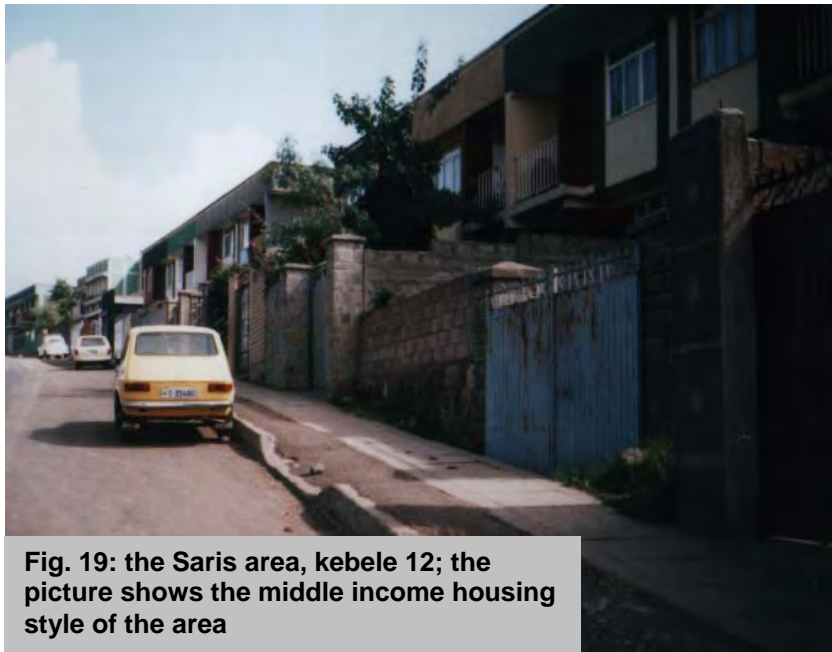
In the first question of grocery items, 9 out of 20 samples, therefore 45% said that they shopped grocery items from within the vicinity, while the rest 55% said that they shopped outside the vicinity. From this we can see a weak below average sense of community.

Secondly, coming to the kitchen items, we again see 12.5% of the residents using nearby shopping areas. The rest 87.5% go even beyond the vicinity, of which the Merkato area takes a 47.5% share. This shows again a poor sense of community character.

Thirdly, coming to the shopping of clothing items, again nearly all have to go outside their local area. We see that at least 13 out of 20 who shop outside the vicinity, meaning 67.5%, of which Merkato area takes 42.5% share. This again indicates a loose community sense.

Fourthly, coming to the school of children, there is an elementary and a junior high school at a maximum distance of around 450 meters. According to standards, again it is passable. But there are no kindergartens seen in the area according to

observations, even if the map of the area has not been prepared by the municipality yet. Hence we can give a 50% evaluation for the fulfillment of community sense with respect to schooling within the area.



**Fig. 19: the Saris area, kebele 12; the picture shows the middle income housing style of the area**

Concerning the influence exerted on individuals by the community under the fourth principle, there is 80% involvement in local “Idir”.

Under the fifth definition of the community regarding community acting as a unit, apart from the “Idir” we have 20% stated in the survey, which participate in other community development oriented program.

In addressing the involvement of an individual in more than one community under the sixth principle, the survey shows that 12 out of 20 to have their office far from their residence, while the rest 8 did not respond at all. But we see that at least 60% are breadwinner work outside their own community, implying the loose confinement of community boundary.

## **Conclusion**

In the Saris Area, Nefas-Silk Lafto Sub-City, Kebele 12 area, we have seen that from the daily/weekly common needs definition of community 4 out of 5 results has been found to reflect a poor sense of community, and only 1 was found to have a fair character. All in all it can be said to have a poor community character.

In the third and fourth principles of the case of boundary and community influence on the individual, it was seen that there is again typically poor character.

In the fifth question since at least 60% have to go far beyond the area to work, we can again see the poor sense of community.

Therefore we can conclude that the 1 out of 5 fair result does not do much to sway the result of poor community quality of the area.

## 6.2 Neighborhoods in Addis Ababa

### 6.2.1 Do We Have Neighborhoods in Addis Ababa?

As was done in the case of communities, it is high time that we tested what we have defined and try to overlap with the case of Addis Ababa, again taking each sample area case by case. For this we will use the principles that have been drawn from the definition of communities. These principles are

*1. Neighborhood is an area concept even if needs satisfied by the neighborhood structure are fewer. Hence generalizations of neighborhoods include surrounding interaction, identification, and affection.*

According to the first principle, the following questions were addressed to the sample areas.

- A. When the resident came to live in the area;
  - B. Whether the resident owns the house or whether he/she has rented it;
  - C. Whether one does or does not have any socialization with surrounding neighbors;
  - D. Whether one shares any material things with the neighbors;
  - E. If one had any participation in neighborhood development of any sort;
  - F. If there is recreation area for children in the neighborhood;
- 2. "Neighborhoods" and "Small Residential Groups" are distinguished by three important parameters: size, structure and function.*

*2.1 When we come to size and physical character of neighborhoods, sociologically speaking we have seen neighborhoods not to be necessarily characterized with definite and defined territorial base. But according to physical planners, size becomes important since there is the aspect of service distribution. Locally what is the so called "Sefer" contains 750 – 1000 inhabitants, according to the Addis Ababa Master Plan Report<sup>54</sup>. The small and large residential groups have definite sizes with definite boundaries, a fact that is acknowledged by sociologists as well. Hence as was seen earlier small residential groups cover from 10 - 15 families and the large residential groups cover 60 -100 families. In the study, it is generally assumed that large residential groups may exist in almost all places, since one does not at least lose the local street at almost any point of the city. Therefore the physical character of the cells of the structure of neighborhoods, the small residential groups, will be*

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<sup>54</sup> Addis Ababa Master Plan Project Office, (1978), "Addis Ababa Master Plan Final Report, (Executive Summary)", People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, Ministry of Urban Development and Housing National Urban Planning Institute, Technical cooperation and Trade Agreement, Addis Ababa, p. B.1.5

*investigated. As was stated earlier, more intimate and essential functions exist in this unit that necessitates the investigation. Small residential groups can generally be said to have definite boundary and area, where physical proximity (as in cul-de-sacs) implies closeness.*

*2.2 Concerning structure and function, the neighborhood has normally a mutual help structure, although it may be expressed in intimacy or friction, with voluntary conformism or forced imitation. In any matter normally an un-symbiotic relationship is not tolerated at all. Even if stratification is unavoidable, it is offset by formal equality. Coming to the function of neighborhood, it is composed of leadership, socialization, and help in time of crisis and maintenance of tidiness.*

*In the small residential groups, structure again is normally mutual with functions of providing sociability, social control and supplying standard that enables families to judge and adjust to their environment and neighbors. In the large residential group the structure again may be of little formality, with may be also only some irregular functions that are of primary nature.*

The presence of small residential groups will be investigated in the survey. This hence implies the missing function of these units. As was stated earlier, missing small residential groups may be taken over by the neighborhood in unsuitable circumstances. But since this is not always true, here we will take the presence of small residential groups to imply the existence of neighborhoods.

In the function of the small residential groups, social balance is achieved through gossips, judgment and other intimate social links. This shows their vitality for the function at neighborhood level too.

In investigating the result of structure and function, what is implied as "neighborliness" may be essentially reflected by the character of the small residential group. Since the small residential scale is typically the *unit cell* of the area, we can say the result to reflect the general neighborhood character or pattern.

In addition to the above percepts we can also investigate neighborliness according to the following directions as seen in Berinsfield. Although it specifically deals with resettlement, we can take three sociologically relevant points that can be applied to other cases as well.

*1. Common needs generally diminish as families learn to perform their roles in the new village, supporting the "Phase Hypothesis", with the exceptional cases that had*

*prior interfamilial acquaintances. What can we say about the neighborliness in Addis Ababa with respect to this statement?*

*2. Loneliness decreases with time (as seen in Berinsfield). Or does it not? This should be investigated.*

*3. Lack of centers to be able to harbor more than two activities at once repels strangers and other groups leading to faction formation.*

In response to the third observation, the presence of centers in Addis Ababa should be investigated. Are there formal centers?

### **6.2.1.1 Case Studies from Existing Old Settlements**

#### **A. The Old Airport Area, Nefas Silk Lafto Sub-City, Kebele 04 and 05**

In this area, with regard to the seven questions in the first two principles that were stated in the earlier section, the answer to the first question of age of residency ranged from 2 to 23 years. Those of 2 to 10 years of occupancy constitute 50% of the sample; those from 10 to 20 years cover 6 out of 20 while the rest above 20 years cover 4 out of 20. In terms of acquaintance, the area shows an adequately long span of time.

In the second question of ownership, the data shows that there are 12 out of 20 (60%) who own their house, while the rest 6 (40%) are of rental status. As stated earlier, the data shows an adequately long period of occupancy of the area, cross referring the time span in the phase hypothesis. Therefore we expect minimal sense of common needs, according to the hypothesis, since the hypothesis shows the first phase that is the first 3 to 6 months period to be the most intimate period.

Thirdly, loneliness due to lack of socialization was investigated first. Here lack of socialization may not necessarily imply loneliness. But one can say that it is a symptom of decreasing neighborliness. This goes for the analysis of all the six sites that were selected. Therefore the lonely in this area were taken to be 6 out of 20, that is, 30%, while those who have said that they were not lonely accounted for the rest 14 out of 20, that is 70%. This implies a good sense of neighborliness in the specific area.

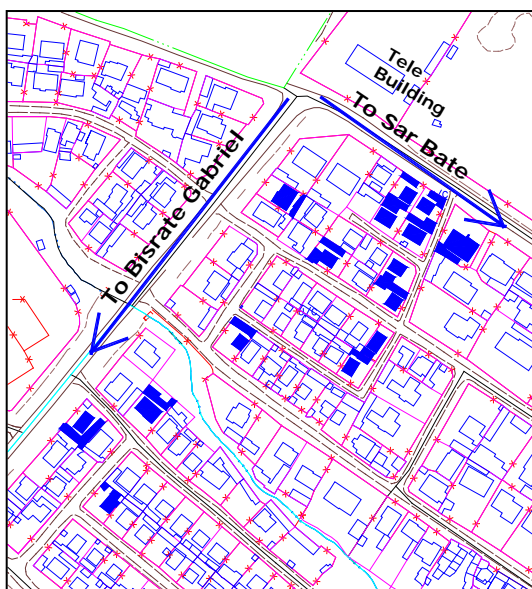
With respect to the fourth question of sharing any material things with neighbors, 3 out of 20, that is, 30% said they do share, while the rest 17 (70%) said that they do not. This shows a poor sense of neighborliness. If we were to attribute this to the

better living standard it would not make sense, since we have already seen that they are of middle and lower income status.

In the fifth question related to neighborhood participation, where 15 out of 20 (75%) said that they do participate in neighborhood cleaning, road construction contribution and so on. Only 5 (25%) said not to participate in any neighborhood development. Again, this shows the existence of a sense of neighborliness.

In the sixth question about the recreation of children, only 1 out of twenty (5%) responded positively, while the rest 16 (80%) said to have no playground for their children in the neighborhood. The rest 3 residents said to have no children at all. Again the majority says to suffer from the lack of space for their children, which shows a poor sense of neighborhood character.

Taking the cumulative result of 2 out of 4 poor performances, we can say to have an average poor neighborliness. The result goes along even with the formulation of the phase hypothesis where common needs are seen to diminish with time.



**Fig. 20 Selected Sample area from the Old Airport area, at the corner of the roads that go to the Bisrate Gabriel area and the Sar Bate, in front of the Telecommunication building; shaded portions are sample plot of houses**

Under the first principle in 2.1, concerning the answer to the question of character of small residential groups, we need to refer the map of this area (figure 14). Here we have to also see typology, that is, cul-de-sacs, linear shapes as well as clusters in considering proximity in the small residential groups. Characteristically, we can say that the typology of the area is linear being consistently so even at the large residential groups and finally in the neighborhoods as well.

But even if it is linear, it lacks a sense of enclosure or coziness at the small residential group level, with no pocket sense along its length. It has even no clustering to encourage the small residential groups. The awareness of the use of

clusters seems to be missing, a typical weakness reflected in the neighborhoods of other places of the city as well. (See figure 20).

Under the second principle in 2.2, we have to consider the social issues of structure and function. As discussed earlier, concerning the issue of structure, we see that the neighborhood is supposed to give assistance and support to people. In this one though, there is little or literally no sharing of material things among neighbors as shown earlier. There is also a strong gap between the minimum and the maximum expense, the range being between 100 and 1000, normally or generally discouraging the essential principle behind mutual help, namely equality. From these observations one can conclude that the structure in the neighborhood is rather weak.

In looking at the function of neighborhoods, we see that they are to socialize children and again to enhance help. In the first we have seen the lack of common area for children to play and express themselves and in the second again a thin interaction. This again implies the poor function of the neighborhood.

Again coming to the function of neighborhoods in relation to children socializing and enhancing help we have already seen the lack of common playing area for children. Hence this again implies the poor function of the neighborhood.

## **Conclusion**

We can therefore conclude that there is a poor sense of neighborliness.

### **B. The Olympia Bole Area, Kirkos Sub-City, Kebele 01**

In this area, according to the seven questions under the first and second principle that were stated in the earlier section, the first question deals with age of residency. In this area, the range was seen to be from 1 to 64 years. In looking at those who have 1 to 20 years of occupancy, there are 6 out of 20 samples; those from 20 to 40 years cover 6 out of 20 and from 40 to 64 years of age cover 5 out of 20. The rest two just stated their stay to be many years without specifying the time. In terms of acquaintance, this area too shows an adequately long span of time.

In the second question of ownership, the data shows that there are 14 out of 20 (70%) who own their house, while the rest 6 (30%) are of rental status. As stated earlier, the data shows an adequately long period of occupancy of the area, cross referring the time span in the phase hypothesis. Therefore we expect minimal sense

of common needs, according to the hypothesis, since the hypothesis shows the first phase, the first 3 to 6 months period to be the most intimate period.

Thirdly, the residents with lack of socialization in this area were taken to be 19 out of 20, that is, 95%, the ones who socialize accounted for 1 in 20 only, which covers 5% share. This implies a very poor sense of neighborliness in the specific area.

With respect to the fourth question of sharing any material things with neighbors, 2 out of 20, that is, 10% said they do share, while the rest 18 (90%) said that they do not. This shows a poor sense of neighborliness. The affluence of the residents may have contributed to this character.

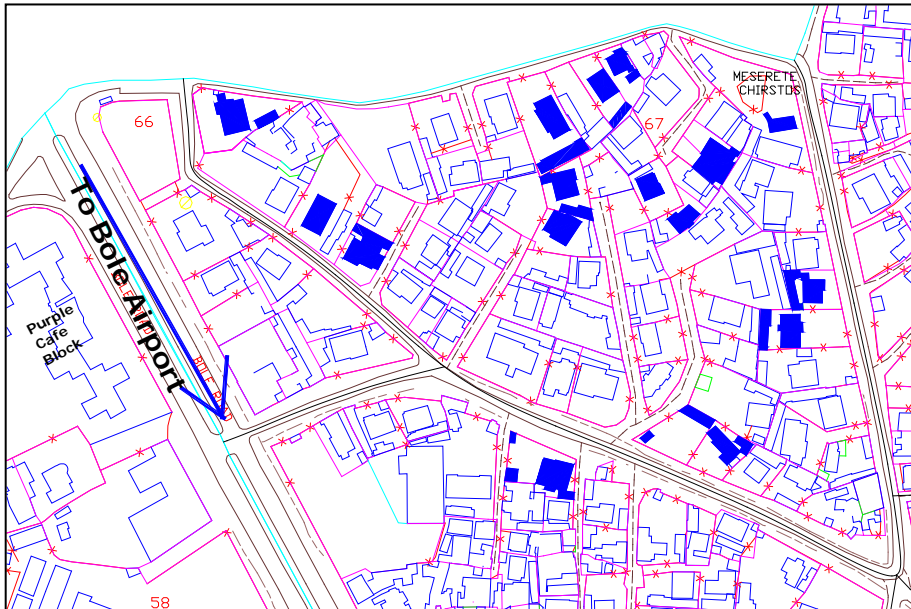
In the fifth question related to neighborhood participation, where 14 out of 20 (70%) said that they do participate in neighborhood cleaning, road construction contribution and so on. Only 6 (30%) said not to participate in any neighborhood development. This shows the existence of a sense of neighborliness.

In the sixth question about the recreation of children, all except one family with children abroad said to have no playground for their children in the neighborhood. Again almost all say to suffer from the lack of space for their children, a case which again shows a poor sense of neighborhood character.

Taking the cumulative result of 3 out of 4 poor performances, we can say to have a poor neighborliness. The result goes along with the anticipated phase hypothesis where common needs are seen especially in this affluent area to diminish.

Coming to the second principle, under 2.1 we have the issue of physical character. In this we need to refer the map of this area. Characteristically, we can say that the typology of the area is curvilinear and organic, which is seen also at the large residential group and neighborhood scale as well. Its organic character creates some familiar character experienced in many other parts of the city, which goes with the typical topography of the city. The bending and twisting shape along with some spontaneous and natural cul-de-sacs even if narrow, creates pockets of interest. But still it lacks a sense of clustering to encourage the small residential group character, or the linearity in larger ones. (See figure 21.)

Under the second principle, under the 2.2 subsection, we have to consider the social issues of structure and function. Concerning the issue of structure, in this neighborhood, there literally no sharing of material things among neighbors, as



**Fig. 21 Selected sample area from the Olympia Bole area, adjacent to the Olympia block and opposite to the Purple Café Block; shades parts are sample plot of houses**

shown earlier. The gap between the minimum and maximum expense is between 80 and 1000birr, where even if the majority is affluent, it indicates a better functional relationship. But the existing situation is not so as seen in the conclusion of neighborliness. Hence the structure of the area is weak.

Again coming to the function of neighborhoods, there is lack of common area for children to play and express themselves implying the poor function of the neighborhood. With the cumulative poor neighborliness as was seen earlier we can conclude poor functionality in this area.

## **Conclusion**

We can, in conclusion, say again that a poor sense of neighborhood is cumulatively reflected from the results of this area as well.

### **C. The Lideta Area, Lideta Sub-City, Kebele 07**

In this area, again with regard to the seven questions under the first and second principles, the answer to the first question of age of residency ranges from months to 58 years. In looking at those who have 1 to 20 years of occupancy, there are 6 out of 20 samples; those from 20 to 40 years cover 8 out of 20 and from 40 to 58 years of age cover 3 out of 20. With regard to the rest three, one said to have stayed lifelong,

the other long enough and the third did not respond. In terms of acquaintance, this area again shows an adequately long span of time.

In the second question of ownership, the data shows that there are 8 out of 20 (40%) who own their house, while the rest 12 (60%) are of rental status. As stated earlier, the data shows an adequately long period of occupancy of the area, cross referring the time span in the phase hypothesis. Therefore we expect minimal sense of common needs, according to the hypothesis, since the hypothesis shows the first phase, the first 3 to 6 months period to be the most intimate period.

Thirdly, those who lack of socialization with neighbors in this area were taken to be 10 out of 20, that is, 50%. This implies an average sense of neighborliness in the area in question.

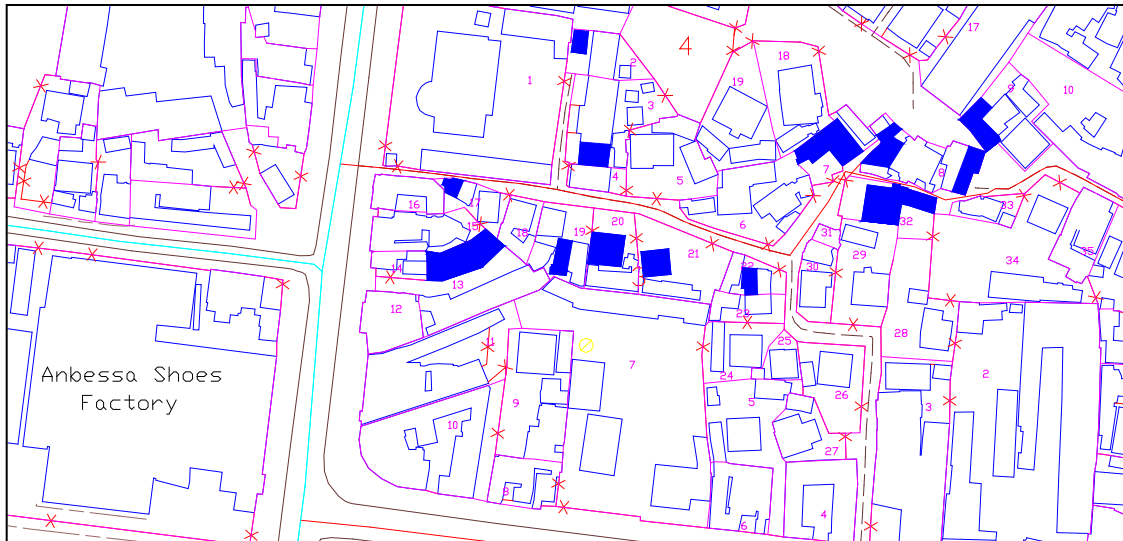
With respect to the fourth question of sharing any material things with neighbors, 4 out of 20, that is, 20% said they did share, while the rest 16 (80%) said that they do not. This shows a poor sense of neighborliness. If we were to attribute this to the better living standard it would not make sense, since we have already seen that they are of middle and lower income status.

In the fifth question related to neighborhood participation, where 14 out of 20 (70%) said that they do participate in neighborhood cleaning, road construction contribution and so on. Only 6 (30%) said not to participate in any neighborhood development. This shows the existence of a sense of neighborliness.

In the sixth question about the recreation of children, all except one family with children abroad all said to have no playground for their children in the neighborhood as in the previous case of the Olympia Bole area. Again almost all say to suffer from the lack of space for their children, a case which again shows a poor sense of neighborhood character.

Taking the cumulative result of 2 out of 4 poor performances, 1 average and only 1 good performance, we can deduce a generally poor neighborliness in the area. The result goes along with the anticipated phase hypothesis where common needs are seen to diminish.

Concerning the answer to the next question of physical character, we need to refer the map of this area since it is more of a physical issue. Here we have to also see typology, that is, cul-de-sacs, linear shapes as well as clusters in considering proximity.



**Fig. 22** elected Sample area from Lideta Area, Right across the Anbessa Shoes Factory

Characteristically, we can say that the typology of the area is linear and organic. Even if it is linear, it lacks a sense of enclosure or coziness, with no sense of pocket formation along its length. It has even no clustering to encourage the small residential groups. The awareness of the use of clusters seems to be missing, a typical weakness reflected in other places of the city as well. (See fig.22).

Under the second principle we consider the social issues of structure and function first. The gap between the minimum and the maximum expense is not that strong. According to the data it was seen to be between 279 and 700. The cumulative effect though is lack of neighborliness as indicated in the earlier paragraph, showing poor function.

Again coming to the function of neighborhoods, we see that they are to socialize children and again to enhance help. In the first we have seen the lack of common area for children to play and express themselves. Hence this along with the cumulative poor neighborliness implies poor function of the neighborhood.

### **Conclusion**

Yet again, we conclude that the fully constituted neighborhood to be very much missing in this area too.

### **6.2.1.2 Case Studies from More Recently Settled Areas**

#### **A. The Gerji Area, Bole Sub-City, Kebele 10**

In this area, again with regard to the seven questions under the first two principles of neighborhood, the answer to the first question of age of residency ranges from one who said recently up to 13 years long. Up to 5 years of short occupancy, 6 out of 20 samples were found; those from 6 to 13 years cover 14 out of 20. In terms of acquaintance, this area shows an adequately longer span of time, but relatively speaking in relation to the last three it is recent.

In the second question of ownership, the data shows that there are 15 out of 20 (75%) who own their house, while the rest 5 (25%) are of rental status. As stated earlier, the data shows an adequately long period of occupancy of the area, cross referring the time span in the phase hypothesis. Therefore we expect minimal sense of common needs. This is so because the hypothesis shows the first phase, the first 3 to 6 months period to be the most intimate period.

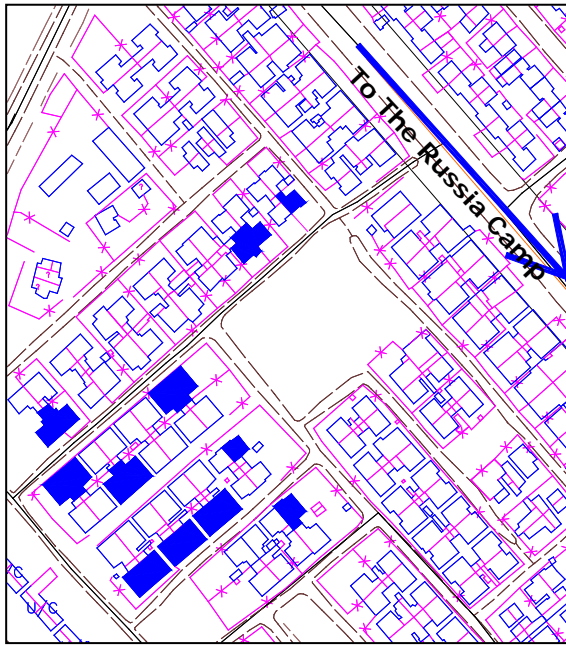
Thirdly, the lonely residents due to lack of socialization in this area were taken to be 13 out of 20, that is, 65%. This implies below average poor sense of neighborliness in the area in question.

With respect to the fourth question of sharing any material things with neighbors, 3 out of 20, that is, 15% said they do share, while the rest 17 (85%) said that they do not. This shows a poor sense of neighborliness.

In the fifth question related to neighborhood participation, where 16 out of 20 (80%) said that they do participate in neighborhood cleaning, road construction contribution and so on. Only 4 (20%) said not to participate in any neighborhood development. This shows the existence of a sense of neighborliness.

In the sixth question about the recreation of children, all except 2 families said to have no playground for their children in the neighborhood. Again almost all say to suffer from the lack of space for their children, a case which again shows a poor sense of neighborhood character.

Taking the cumulative result of 3 out of 5 poor performances, 1 a little beyond average and only 1 good performance, we can deduce a generally poor neighborliness in the area.



**Fig. 23 Selected Sample area from the Gerji Area, along the road to the Russia Camp**

The result goes along with anticipated phase hypothesis where common needs seen to diminish.

Concerning the answer to the next question of character, we need to refer the map of this area. We have to also see typology, that is, cul-de-sacs, linear shapes as well as clusters in considering proximity. Characteristically, we can say that the typology of the area is clustered, although the open spaces are fenced. A lack of the awareness, or may be the issue of security may have forced this.

But one thing that it has created is a sense of linearity, than a cluster nature, which has discouraged the large and small groups to function properly. (See figure 23). Therefore fencing should not be encouraged in such areas. Another is that the clusters' frequency should also go along the small and large residential group number that has already being mentioned, being cozy enough to allow better exercise of the function of the small and large residential groups.

Under the issue of structure and function in the second issue, in this neighborhood, there is literally no sharing of material things among neighbors. The gap between the minimum and the maximum expense is fairly wide. This may account for the weak structure, for according to the data it was seen to range between 500 and 1500, although 50% did not respond at all. All in all in line with the conclusion of poor neighborliness one can conclude that the structure in the neighborhood is justifiably weak.

Again coming to the function of neighborhoods, due to the lack of intimate common area or due to fencing of existing field for children to play and express themselves, it again implies the poor function of the neighborhood. Hence with the all in all poor structure of the neighborhood as seen earlier, the function is poor as well.

## **Conclusion**

We can invariably conclude the answer to the existence of a well constituted neighborhood to be far from the reality of the place under question.

### **B. The CMC Area, Bole Sub-City, Kebele 14-15**

In this area, again with regard to the seven questions under the first two principles of neighborhood, the answer to the first question of age of residency ranges from one who said 4 months up to 8 years long. In terms of acquaintance, this area shows an adequately long span of time, but relatively speaking, it is the youngest in relation to the last three earlier settlements, or even in comparison to the Gerji area.

In the second question of ownership, the data shows that all are of rental status. This may be the reason for even the shorter time of residency, even if the settlement is not a very old settlement in comparison to the Old Airport, Bole or Lideta. As stated earlier, the data shows an adequately long period of occupancy of the area, cross referring the time span in the phase hypothesis. Therefore we expect minimal sense of common needs. This is so because the hypothesis shows the first phase, the first 3 to 6 months period only to be the most intimate period.

Thirdly, the lonely residents due to lack of socialization in this area were taken to be 14 out of 20, that is, 70%. This implies a poor sense of neighborliness.

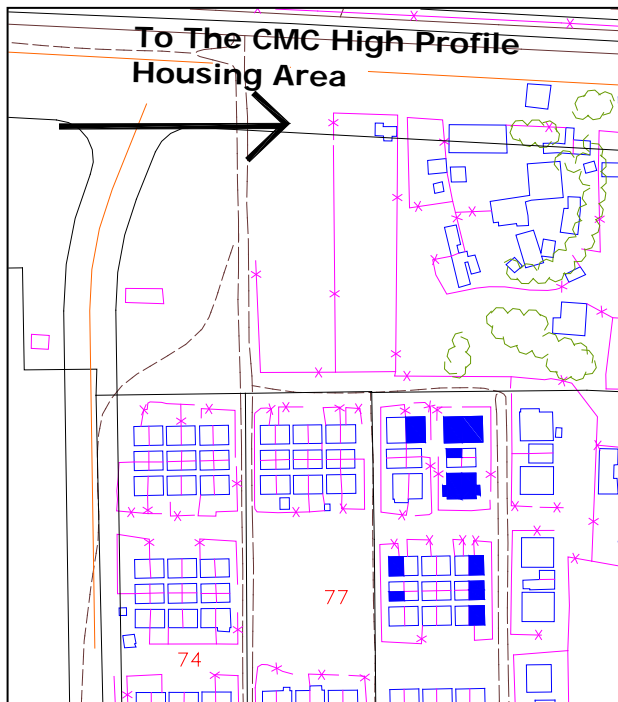
With respect to the fourth question of sharing any material things with neighbors, 17 out of 20, that is, 85% said they do not share anything, while the rest 3 (15%) said that they do. This also shows a poor sense of neighborliness.

In the fifth question related to neighborhood participation, where 3 out of 20 (15%) said that they do participate in neighborhood cleaning, road construction contribution and so on. The majority 17 (85%) said not to participate in any neighborhood development. This again shows the existence of a very poor sense of neighborliness.

In the sixth question about the recreation of children, all except 3 families said to have no playground for their children in the neighborhood. Again, almost all say that they suffer from the lack of space for their children, a case which again shows a poor sense of neighborhood character.

Taking the cumulative result of 3 out of 4 poor performances, only 1 beyond average performance, we can deduce a generally poor neighborliness in the area. The result

goes along with the anticipated phase hypothesis where common needs are seen to diminish.



**Fig. 24 Selected Sample area from the CMC Area, a little dip below the CMC Road**

Concerning the answer to the next question of physical character under the second section we can refer the map at the right in fig.18. Here we have to also see typology, that is, cul-de-sacs, linear shapes as well as clusters in considering the sense of proximity and intimacy.

In character, we can say that the typology of the area is linear, as in the Old Airport Area case. In the past, the area used to have clusters. But as time goes on the cluster open spaces were filled with construction, showing the city's insensitivity to the use of clusters. Therefore, this sensitivity should not be lost, since it has already been shown that it is a loss of the intimate functions which are very much important in the neighborhood, both for large and small residential groups. (See figure 24).

Under the other second category of structure and function, material things are not literally shared among neighbors. Concerning income and expense, the gap between the minimum and the maximum expense is quite wide that may account for the weak structure. According to the data it was seen to range between 200 and 1500 birr, although 35% did not respond at all. All in all along with the conclusion in the first section of poor neighborliness, one can conclude the structure in the neighborhood to be feeble.

Again coming to the function of neighborhoods, there are literally no fights in the neighborhood. The poor neighborliness concluded in the first section shows the image of a poor neighborhood.

## **Conclusion**

Again we see that in this CMC area of low cost housing scheme has a poor neighborhood performance.

### **C. The Saris Area, Nefas-Silk Lafto Sub-City, Kebele 12**

In this area, again with regard to the seven questions under the first two principles of neighborhood, the answer to the first question of age of residency ranges from one who said shortly, whatever it may mean up to many years long, again unknown in terms of number. But considering the properly quantified answers, the range falls between 3 years and 16 years. In terms of acquaintance, this area shows an adequately long span of time, but relatively speaking, it is one of the youngest in relation to the last three earlier settlements.

In the second question of ownership, the data shows that 13 out of 20 (65%) say they own the house, while the rest 35% say that they are on a rental status. As stated earlier, the data shows an adequately long period of occupancy of the area, cross referring the time span in the phase hypothesis. Therefore we expect minimal sense of common needs. This is so because the hypothesis shows the first phase, the first 3 to 6 months period only to be the most intimate period.

Thirdly, the lonely residents due to lack of socialization in this area were taken to be 15 out of 20, that is, 75%. This implies a poor sense of neighborliness in the area under question.

With respect to the fourth question of sharing any material things with neighbors, 18 out of 20, that is, 90% said they do not share anything, while the rest 2 (10%) said that they do. This shows a poor sense of neighborliness.

In the fifth question related to neighborhood participation, where 7 out of 20 (35%) said that they do participate in neighborhood cleaning, road construction contribution and so on. The majority 13 (65%) said not to participate in any neighborhood development. This shows the existence of a very poor sense of neighborliness.

In the sixth question about the recreation of children, all except 1 family said to have no playground for their children in the neighborhood. Two gave no response. But all in all again almost all say to suffer from the lack of space for their children, a case which again shows a poor sense of neighborhood character.

Taking the cumulative result of 4 out of 4 poor performances, we can deduce a generally poor neighborliness in the area.



The result goes along with the anticipated phase hypothesis where common needs are seen to diminish area for children to play and express themselves. Hence this again implies the poor function of the neighborhood.

Concerning question of physical character, we need to refer the map of this area since it is more of a physical issue.

**Fig. 25 Selected Sample area from the Gerji Area, along the road to the Russian Camp**

Here we have to also see typology, that is, cul-de-sacs, linear shapes as well as clusters in considering proximity. Characteristically, we can say that the typology of the area is linear. No sign of clustering is seen in the design. Hence we lose sense of the large residential groups, to begin with, since the linearity does not give a sense of coziness or pocket impression. The cul-de-sacs and clusters are also missing at the small residential group level killing the essential functions of the units. (See figure 25).

Under other issues under the second principle, namely structure and function, in this neighborhood too, there is no exchange of material things. The gap between the minimum and the maximum expense being wide may account for the weakness of the structure, for according to the data it was seen to range between 300 and 1500 birr. Along with the conclusion on neighborliness in the first section, we can therefore conclude a below standard neighborhood performance again.

Again coming to the function of neighborhoods, we see that they are to socialize children and again to enhance help. Due to the lack of common playground for the interaction of children and the cumulative evaluation of neighborliness in the first section, one can conclude sub-standard function of neighborhood.

### **Conclusion**

Again the conclusion that we can give is a poor neighborhood that lacks the standard of activity expected from a neighborhood.

### 6.3 Findings

Coming back to the research questions, the terms neighborhood and community have been defined. Their character, size and function have also been elaborated. What is left now is seeing or measuring what we have according to the definitions and test whether the research questions and the hypothesis have been answered.

*Hypothesis One: "If there is no formal center, we can say that there is no fully constituted community".*

We have generally seen that there was no community that could fulfill the requirements or the definition according to the standard. The lack of formal centers was not found to be complemented by any informal centers, as conveyed by the result. If so it would have reversed the hypothetical question above. But we see that what has been discovered goes to show that since in Addis Ababa there is no formal center, then there is no fully constituted community, according to our definition.

*Hypothesis Two: If there is no fully functioning community according to our definition and concepts in chapter 2, as summarized in the ninth subsection on findings, we can say that there can be no fully constituted neighborhood. The neighborhood is the reflection of the constitution of the community under question.*

Here the hypothesis again tests the performance of the neighborhood. This was seen from various angles, as can be seen in the previous part, with results that conveyed weak performance structure and function of the neighborhood. This can be attributed to lack of fully constituted communities as was seen from the result of the surveys. Hence encouraging up to standard neighborhood can be said to be preceded by making standard communities. This has also been reflected in the findings of the chapter on "Communities". It says that "Neighborhood is an area concept but needs satisfied by the neighborhood structure are fewer. Hence generalizations of neighborhoods like surrounding *interaction*, *identification*, and *affection* are candidates for community theory". This is seen to have been reflected in the sample study area survey, somehow proving the strong relationship between the two.

*Hypothesis Three: If physical design typologies do not facilitate the creation of socially or physically cozy atmosphere, then socially relevant function and characters that exist within the neighborhood, like the functions of social control in the small residential groups (stated in chapter three section two) will suffer as well.*

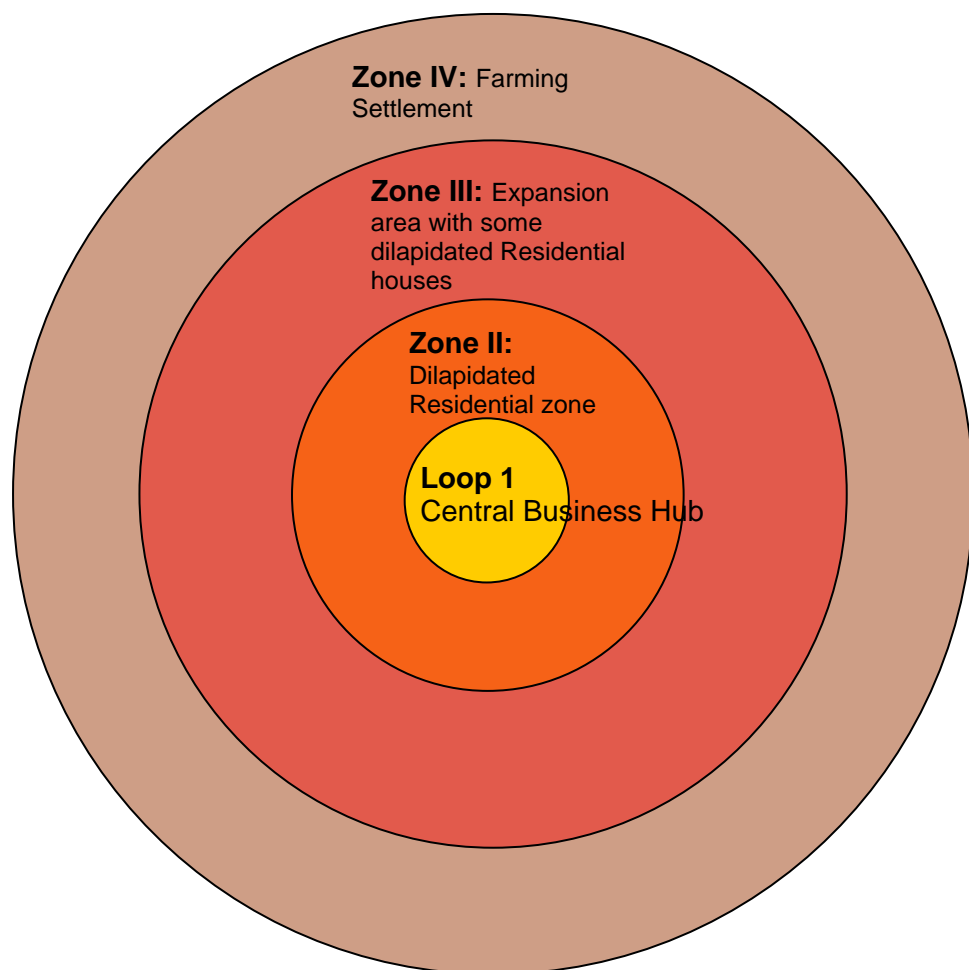
In this design point of view, we have generally seen that in almost all the places there was lack of a sense of coziness. Common spaces, clusters, cul-de-sacs, and other even if quality linear spaces are generally missing from the sample areas. Bringing people together is not the end. Physical proximity without a sense of inner social skeleton will not make any difference. But if social networks are not again complemented by appropriate physical designs, they can hamper the flow and expression of activity. Therefore in this respect in every sample area there was lack of this sense of coziness. With the generally poor character of neighborliness seen in the investigated areas as the result, we can conclude that creating the necessary typologies and having a sense of finiteness in the physical arrangement has definitely some contribution in encouraging a sense of a constituted neighborliness.

## 6.4 Recommendations

Generally Addis Ababa follows a radiating circular concentric pattern. In figure 13 we can see the inner Loop which harbors the central business hub. The regional bus terminal is located here, the main central business district is also found here, wholesale potential distributors like in Merkato are mainly located here.

As we go to the next zone II, we find a dominantly residential area in deterioration. These areas are the areas of Merkato, Lideta, Somali-tera Area, and so on. Old kebele houses are located here that require heavy maintenance or other solution to make appropriate use of. Heavy slum areas are found here.

In zone III, we can label a mixture of these dilapidated houses and expansion area residential development. And finally in Zone IV we find the farming village settlement, where there are farmers that are being actually forced to give way to the expansion area. (See figure 26).



**Figure 26: Concentric Circle Pattern: Addis Ababa; even if the city is not circular, an approximation of concentric circles can be considered to express the different zones as illustrated here in the diagram**

Therefore, in taking this large prototype city of Addis Ababa, as illustrated in the concentric pattern diagram in figure 26, we can see the need of multiple centers. If we look at the existing situation of the communities in the city, we see that it is limited to the administrative boundary sense than that of a commercial center-oriented kind of organization. Therefore seeing in the perspective of centrality becomes imperative. According to the Master Plan Revision Document Report<sup>56</sup>, the former 1978 Addis Ababa Master Plan had the vision of providing the main centers and smaller centers in accessible and close proximity. But since the spots were not free from existing construction, and the implementation mechanism was weak, it was not possible to see them realized. Hence due to this problem the main city center could not give full central service to the city. In addition to this, since the main city center was too big it was difficult to manage with many inconvenient spots included in it. This has contributed for the main center to expand casually, for the dilapidated houses within its periphery to remain very old, for the congestion of residential houses and roads and for open spaces to remain without any use. In addition to this due to the lack of the necessary services in many of the centers within the many parts of the city, illegal and unintended centers are flourishing within the city.

Due to the stated problems, the Master Plan Revision Project has proposed future centers. Here one can overlap the character of centers with market activities, even if the study tries to differentiate the two. Nowadays it is very clear that a center should definitely incorporate commercial activities in order to be able to fulfill its purpose. Therefore one can hardly separate the two.

The vision of the Master Plan Revision office is, therefore, to create centers that are appropriate for management and accessibility. They have been categorized as primary, secondary and tertiary centers, of which the tertiary centers are the community level centers. These tertiary centers are supposed to function and serve the community well.

These centers have been proposed in Ayer Tena, Shiro Meda, Addisu Gebeya, Asko, Gerji (Sheger), Kera, Adarash, Saris, Ferensay and Bistrate Gabriel in the earlier settlements of the city and in CMC, Keranyo, Kotari, Yeka and Bole in the expansion areas of the city. It intends to execute pilot upgrading projects in these areas. It plans

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<sup>56</sup> Executive Summary of the Office of the Master plan, (2001 – 2010), “City Development Plan”, Addis Ababa in Action: Progress through Partnership, Addis Ababa, page 23

to encourage, introduce and develop them with the effort and input of community participation. (Figures 27 and 28 show the proposed Centrality and Market Hierarchy of Addis Ababa city.)



Figure 27: Proposed Centrality Map of Addis Ababa

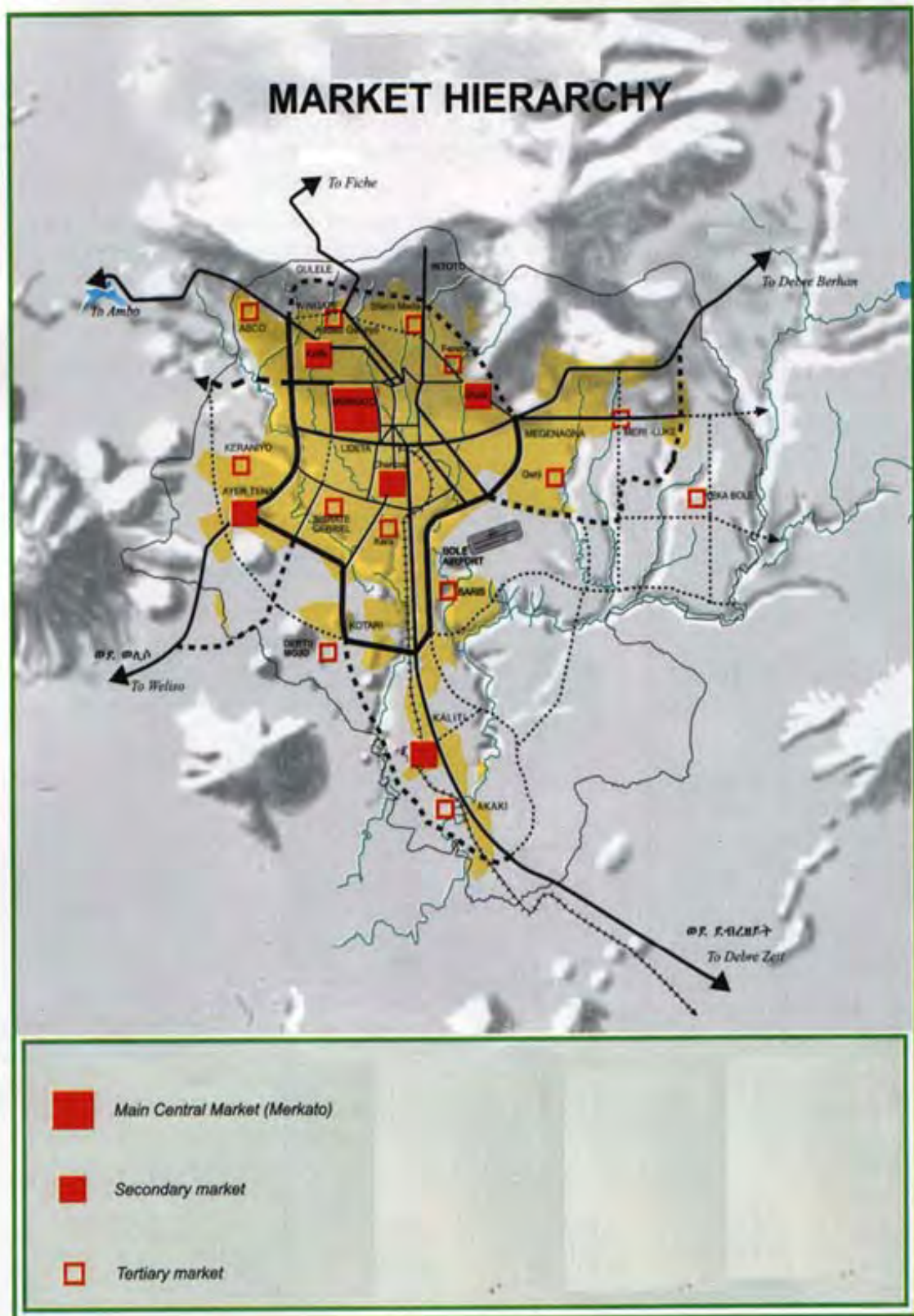


Figure 28: Proposed Market Hierarchy Map of Addis Ababa

From the two maps above we can see that we have potentially 13 tertiary markets and six tertiary centers. Some of these overlap while others do not. But we can say

that they have the potential to form future communities. At least they are the nuclei of the respective community they happen to be in.

Hence due measures should be taken to implement the proposal of the centers and market. And this should be done as stated earlier by overlapping and not separating the two, that is, centrality and market centers. For communities to manifest and come forth, the need for community tertiary centers becomes imperative. The City Administration has to see to it that such centers be created so that there will be communities that are active, vibrant and satisfied. The Central Place Theory is very essential here in explaining the very essence of having hierarchy of centers, centers that compliment minimal transportation costs due to short distances from residences, with the dominant function of each urban place considered to be articulated trade activity. Along with this, centers should create a vibrant atmosphere for recreation, where trade and recreation are nowadays becoming complementary in nature. There should be youth centers, clubs, theatres, cinemas, libraries and other cultural activities that create vibrant and influential centers that can positively contribute to the community in becoming a socially relevant place to abide in. Not only is this true, but unnecessary traffic load due to excessive vehicular movement can be curtailed in the city if individuals were to find services within their very vicinity. This will definitely minimize unnecessary roaming around the city.

The community has to be also applied as a system wherein the place becomes both the supplier and customer. The definition of the center is predominantly commercial. Hence market activities, along with complementary recreational activities should be provided as a focal point for every community. And the nature of these communities should definitely be plural, that is, should entertain as comprehensively wide interests as possible.

The other point is the encouragement of the formation of the important social ingredients that make up the community. Since the community is an essentially social terminology as well, it should fulfill the necessary structures within it. Community associations, be it "idir" or other ones, should be upgraded in content, so that their influence on the individuals may be rewarding. Nowadays the NGOs are moving in improving the social content of the idirs. This should be encouraged so that these idirs make a better contribution in making higher decisions as well as in contributing richly to the community they happen to be part of.

With this, vertical links with higher institutions have to be encouraged as well. There may be little or no such institutions. Links with higher institutions like the Savings Associations should be facilitated so that the vertical and not only the horizontal link is improved. Stronger campaigns should be waged by the government to come up with better participation. In doing this nominating local representatives as well as local leaders should be promoted to be able to come up with a vibrant and well represented community. What we have nowadays may lack in content in not being balanced. This is reflected in that it does not have a two way leadership that represents the government before the people as well as the people before the government in a socially relevant way.

In the third and final aspect, in the spatial design of communities and neighborhoods, there has to be sensitivity toward the design of the neighborhoods and communities. The Planning Agency and other consultants have to be sensitive enough to adapt the important design principles and investigate more into the social impact of design. The design should complement the social needs of communities. Cul-de-sacs, clusters as well as intimate linear geometries should be exercised along promoting of a relevant social spirit. Physical planners may also be able to create even other solutions that go with area specific requirements making the area of urban design even more inspirational as well as new. Hence unlike the practice of the Municipality at the moment, these things have to be given due consideration so that we may come up with a vibrant, well functioning, socially lively and healthy communities and neighborhoods.

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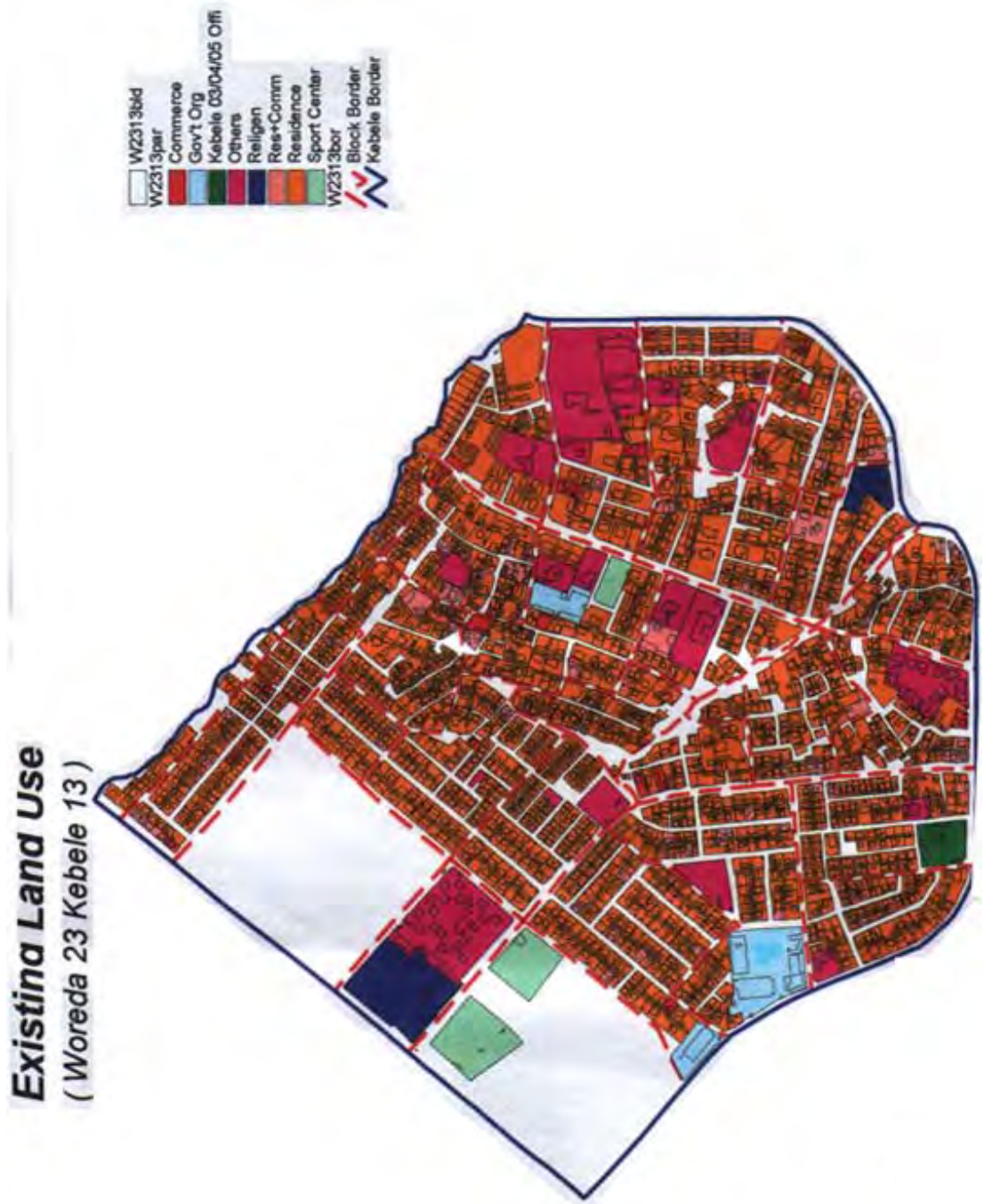
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## Annex Maps

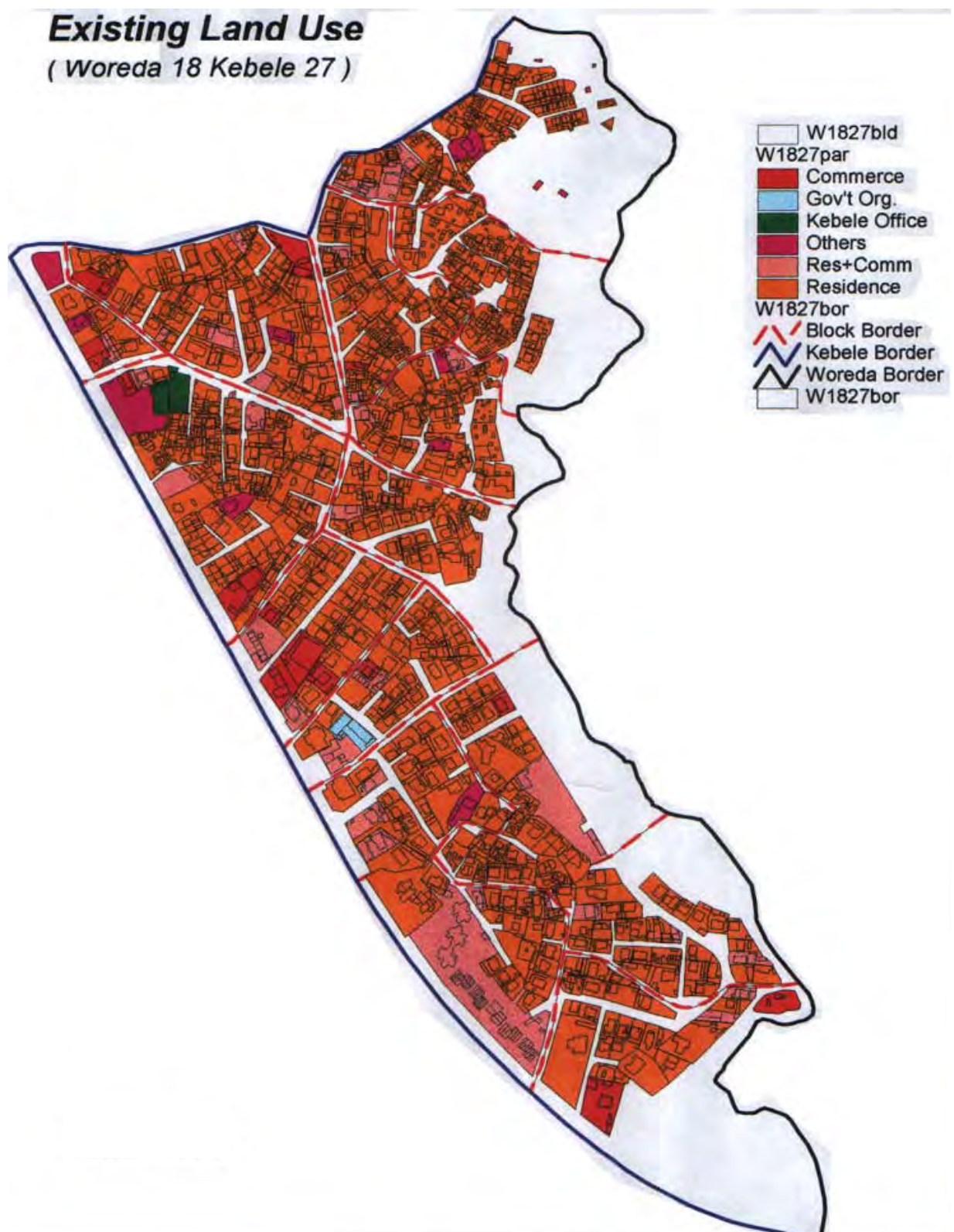
### Annex Map 1: Old Airport Area: Northern Part (Woreda 23 kebele 12)



# Annex Map 1: Old Airport Area: Southern Part (Woreda 23 kebele 13)

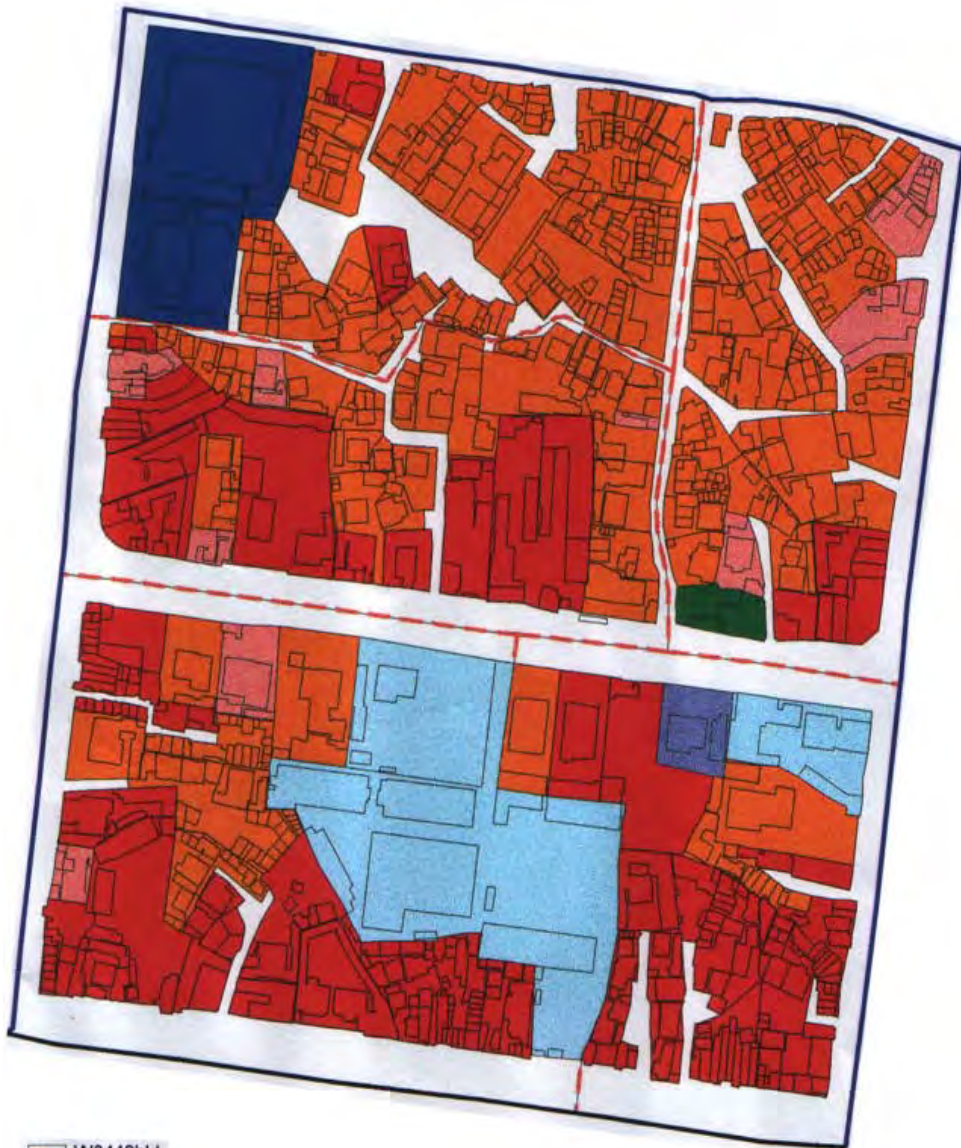


**Annex Map 2: Bole AreaMap (Woreda 18, Kebele 27)**



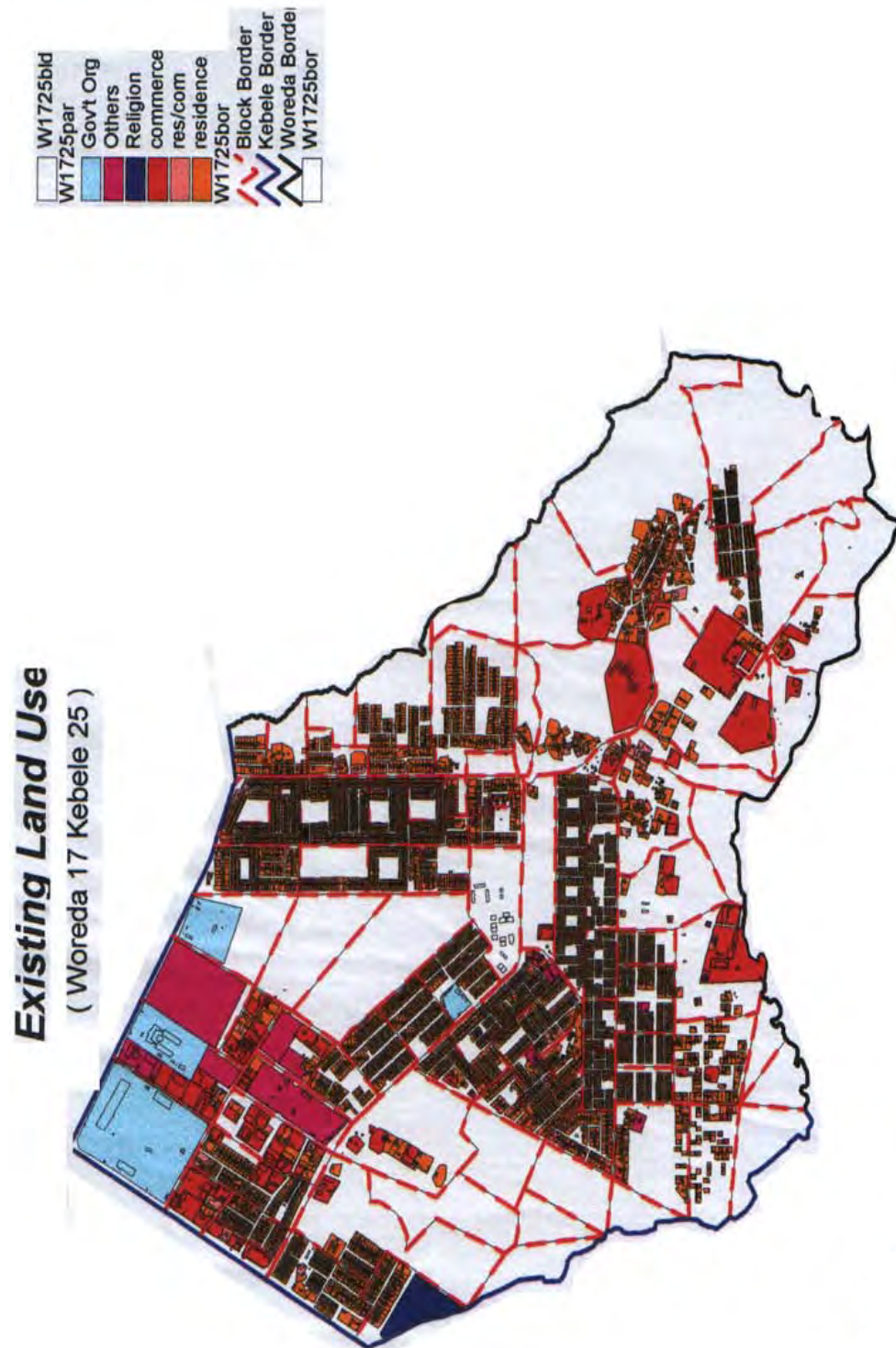
**Annex Map 3: Lideta Area (Woreda 4 kebele 49)**

**Existing Land Use  
( Woreda 4 Kebele 49 )**



- W0449bld
- W0449par
- Commerce
- Education
- Gov't Org
- Kebele Office
- Police Station
- Res+Com
- Residence
- W0449bor
- Block Border
- Kebele Border
- Woreda Border
- W0449bor

## Annex Map 4: Gerji Area (Woreda 17 kebele 25)



**Annex Map 5: Saris Area (Woreda 19 kebele 55 and 56)**

