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# The 'New' Addis Ababa: Shantytown or Global City?

An Assessment of Large-Scale Inner-City Renewal, Redevelopment and Displacement for the Construction of a 'New' Addis Ababa.

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M.Sc

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Urban Studies

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## Abstract

The aim of this thesis is to assess large-scale, inner-city renewal, redevelopment, and displacement in Addis Ababa for the construction of a ‘new’ Addis Ababa, while referring to the wider historical, contextual, and the global setting in which this process takes place. This research followed an inductive, qualitative research strategy and used an embedded single-case study research design. Primary data was collected through in-depth, semi-structured interviews, for which thematic-based interview guides were developed; the data was then analysed thematically.

The main argument of this thesis is that in Addis Ababa urban renewal and redevelopment have grown in volume and scale transforming into a new form of urban development. The construction of a ‘new’ Addis Ababa as a City-within-a-City on top of the existing urban fabric is a type of New City development that seeks to re-make and re-model the city alongside Global and World City (GaWC) standards. This research found that the construction of the ‘new’ Addis Ababa is a form of new-built gentrification, which is producing social-economic spatial segregation through a form of social-spatial restructuring at a municipal scale, which can lead to distributional differences and spatial inequality. This research also found, while the construction of the ‘new’ Addis Ababa is still underway (and may always remain partial and incomplete), it is questionable if this urban transformation will ultimately lead to an improved position in global urban hierarchies.

The city’s transformation has already had significant exclusionary effects on households displaced for the sake of inner-city renewal and redevelopment. Households without lawful land or tenancy rights are not compensated for their losses when they are displaced. This is a neglect of their basic rights to housing. Even though the transformation of Addis Ababa aims to prevent and reduce illegal settlements, it is instead forcing a specific group of low-income urban dwellers, whose demand is not addressed by the housing market, to migrate and reappear elsewhere in the city as illegal settlers. Households that do receive compensation may on the other hand not be able to afford the relocation associated costs, which puts them at risk for impoverishment. These households are relocated to peri-urban zones through an ex-situ strategy in a dispersed manner, which dismantles their social and economic neighbourhood based inter- and intra-community networks and leads to social and economic losses. The restoration of these social and economic networks post-relocation is hindered by a spatial and lifestyle change imposed on households, which furthermore prohibits them from returning to their old ways of life and hinders their ability to ‘bounce-back’.

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This PhD has been an interesting personal journey, I am glad it has come to an end and look forward to new beginnings.

I dedicate this thesis to my parents.

## **Authors Declaration**

I declare that, except where explicit reference is made to the contribution of others, that this thesis is the result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of Glasgow or any other institution.

Printed name: Marjan Hilde Kloosterboer

Signature:

## Abbreviations

AACA	Addis Ababa City Administration
AASZDPPO	Addis Ababa and Special Zone Development Planning Project Office
AOI	Impero dell’Africa Orientale Italiana’
AU	African Union
BOFED	Bureau of Finance and Economic Development
CBD	Central Business District
CBO	Community Based Organization
CSA	Central Statistical Agency
EEC	European Economic Commission
EIA	Ethiopian Investment Agency
EPRDF	Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Democratic Front
ETB	Ethiopian Birr (local currency)
GaWC	Global and World City
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GHP	Grand Housing Programme
GIZ	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit
GTP	Growth and Transformation Plan
GTZ	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit
IHDP	Integrated Housing Development Programme

LDP	Local Development Plan
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MSE	Micro Small Enterprise
MUDHCO	Ministry of Urban Development, Housing and Construction
MWUD	Ministry of Works and Urban Development
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
ORAAMP	Office for the Revision of the Addis Ababa Master Plan
PMAC	Provisional Military Administrative Council
RPF	Resettlement Policy Framework
SDPAP	Strategic Development Action Plan
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNECA	United Nations Economic Commission for Africa
UN-Habitat	United Nations Human Settlements Programme

## Explanation of Terminology

### Amharic terminology:

<i>Chika</i>	<i>Chika</i> is a local building material that is made of mud and straw, and plastered onto a wooden framework.
<i>Equb</i>	An <i>equb</i> is a voluntary savings scheme which functions on a rotating basis and can be organized between neighbours, friends, or at work between colleagues, for instance. It can range from having only a few members to being very large (over a hundred members).
<i>Idir</i>	<i>Idir</i> is an inter-religious savings organization meant to support households in times of hardship, particularly with funerals.
<i>Injera</i>	<i>Injera</i> is a staple Ethiopian food, which resembles pancakes and is made from fermented teff batter. It is consumed at nearly every meal.
<i>Kebele</i>	A <i>kebele</i> is an administrative neighbourhood unit.
<i>Kebele housing</i>	<i>Kebele</i> housing is akin to public housing.
<i>Kribetoch housing</i>	<i>Kribetoch</i> housing is public housing that has been placed under the Addis Ababa Rental Housing Agency.
<i>Mahiber</i>	A <i>mahiber</i> is a societal organization whose aim is to keep people (friends, family, colleagues) in touch with each other.
<i>Merkato</i>	<i>Merkato</i> is the largest open-air market in Addis Ababa, and supposedly across the entire African continent.
<i>Sefer</i>	A <i>sefer</i> is a residential cluster
<i>Woreda</i>	A <i>woreda</i> was a former administrative neighbourhood unit that was comprised of several <i>Kebeles</i> .
<i>Wott</i>	A <i>wott</i> is a type of sauce or stew eaten with <i>injera</i> .

**General contextual notes to enhance readability of this thesis:**

- Ethiopia uses a calendar different from the Gregorian calendar that has generally been internationally adopted. This calendar is eight years behind the Gregorian calendar. The Gregorian calendar is used in this thesis.
- To protect the anonymity of the participants in this study, they are referred to by a number that has been allocated to them during the research process. Office positions, locations, or other identifying factors are not referred to explicitly. Further details are provided in appendix 1 and 2.
- The photographs presented in this study, unless otherwise indicated, were taken by the author. Photographs of the homes of the households participating in this study have not been presented to protect participants' anonymity.

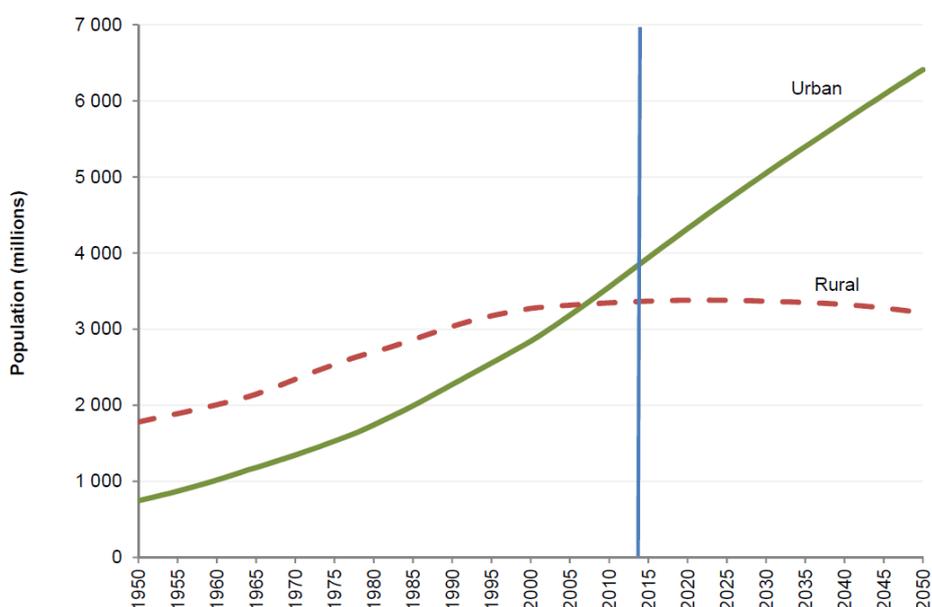
**Exchange rate:**

The exchange rate at the time of completing this thesis was 1 GBP to 35.79 Ethiopian Birr (ETB) (27 November 2018).

# 1 Introduction

## 1.1 The challenges of planetary urbanisation

In 2008, the process of planetary urbanisation reached a milestone when the urban population exceeded the rural population for the first time in history (Figure 1-1) (UNDESA, 2015; UNFPA, 2007).<sup>1</sup> The process of planetary urbanisation, defined as the growing urban share of the total world population, can be divided into two distinctive waves (UNFPA, 2007, p. 1). The first wave of urbanisation took place between the 1750s and 1950s, under the influence of industrialisation, in North America and Europe (UNFPA, 2007). The second wave of urbanisation, which is concentrated in Africa, Asia, and Latin-America, is now underway and is expected to be completed by the 2030s.<sup>2</sup>



**Figure 1-1: World Urbanisation Levels**

Source: UNDESA, 2015, p. 31

There are significant differences between the first and second wave of urbanisation which substantially affect the outcomes of the urbanisation process. Most importantly, the second wave of urbanisation is taking place across a larger geographic area, which is concentrated in low-income countries, within a shorter time period, and is including more people (Watson, 2009;

<sup>1</sup> It is estimated that the world's urban population will encompass two-thirds of the world population, 6.5 billion people, by 2050 (UNDESA, 2015).

<sup>2</sup> Emphasis is placed in this thesis when appropriate on the African continent, as this is the location of the research case study.

Watson & Agbola, 2013).<sup>3</sup> The different conditions under which the second wave of urbanisation is taking place indicate that to anticipate and accommodate for growing urban populations', housing, infrastructure, and urban services need to be constructed in a different context and shorter time period as during the first wave of urbanisation. This implies tailor-made and cost-appropriate strategies must be devised and tailored to the geographical context, financial capacity, and demand in which they take place (Shatkin, 2007; Watson, 2009; Watson & Agbola, 2013).<sup>4</sup>

Despite the different conditions under which second-wave urbanisation takes place, cities have often continued to rely on planning models rooted in the specific urbanisation experiences of cities from the first wave of urbanisation (Watson & Agbola, 2013).<sup>5</sup> These planning models are based upon the experiences of a selective group of European and North-American cities, who have functioned as models from where globally applied urban theory and policy is generated. This approach assumes cities are not bound by time and place when undergoing an apparently similar process of urbanisation and globalisation and they presumably enjoy similar outcomes (Amin, 1997; Meyers, 2011; Robinson, 2002; Roy, 2009). This reveals an asymmetry in urban studies between a selective group of cities that function as 'utopian' models from where theory and policy is generated and cities elsewhere to whom these models are applied

---

<sup>3</sup> Potts (2012, p. 3) makes a strong argument about misleading urbanisation projections based on inaccurate datasets that can cloud our judgement. Potts (2012) states urbanisation is occurring at a slower pace in the African continent than usually reported, and some nations may be experiencing de-urbanisation (p. 15). Generally, however, cities are still experiencing urban growth, even when overall national urbanisation levels are slower than projected, from natural increase (Potts, 2012). Examples of African urban growth rates in 2017 were 5% for Angola, 4.7% for Ethiopia, 4.2% for Kenya, and 3.6% for Senegal, for instance (World Bank, 2018, b). Urban demand for housing, services, and infrastructure is also rising from a growing consumer class, who is now able to afford discretionary goods and services. It is estimated by 2025 one billion people will be added to the consumer class (UN-Habitat, 2011).

<sup>4</sup> Research from UNFPA (2007) shows urban growth in second-wave urbanising countries is concentrated among the urban poor, while slum growth is simultaneously outpacing urbanisation (Davis, 2002). Neuwirth (2007, 2011), therefore, states urbanisation takes place among the squatters, who by 2050 will represent a group of three billion people, and thus collectively represent the largest share of the urban population and demand in housing (p. 72). This is similar to findings from Pieterse (2011) who states most, if not all, growth in African cities will take place in the slums. This is an important characteristic of urbanisation that will influence the type and demand of housing, services, and infrastructure.

<sup>5</sup> In African countries, urban planning practices are most often a colonial inheritance that reflect the ideas of former European colonisers (Watson, 2011). There are also many cities, particularly on the African west coast, that do not have any kind of urban planning at all (Watson & Agbola, 2014).

(Lees, Bang Shin & Lopez-Morales, 2016; Robinson, 2002; Roy, 2009; Zeiderman, 2008).

Research shows the application of planning models rooted in the first-wave on cities that experience urbanisation during the second-wave causes a mismatch between urban planning and the every-day lives of urban dwellers. These models are no longer able to adequately anticipate and accommodate for the provision of housing, infrastructure, and services (Watson, 2013; Abubakar and Doan, 2017). This mismatch demonstrates the necessity to search for alternative large-scale solutions for the provision of housing, services, and infrastructure experienced in a different context and under different conditions.

Urbanisation holds a large potential for social, economic, and environmental development when managed well, such as planning pro-poor, inclusive cities in which the livelihoods of people are centrally placed (Watson, 2009). Urban planning and management are considered as the most important tools governments have at their disposal for managing urban growth (African Development Bank, 2011, p. 39; Watson & Agbola, 2013). Cities as economies of scale and innovation hold a large potential for productivity gains and cost reduction. This, for instance, applies to the provision of infrastructure and services for urban citizens, as cities offer cheaper access to services, such as piped water (Tran, 2013).

First, this thesis, therefore, argues that it is necessary to evaluate and update existing planning approaches, while simultaneously introducing new planning concepts and new forms of urbanisation that can respond to urban growth experienced in a different context and under different conditions (Robinson, 2002; Rapoport, 2014; Shatkin, 2007; Watson, 2009). This thesis answers to this necessity by placing the concept of New Cities as a new form of urbanisation, and as a different approach to planning central. The concept of New Cities is further introduced and discussed in Chapter 2.

Second, this thesis argues the need to introduce new planning concepts is linked to a need to develop new urban theories. With the second-wave of urbanisation experienced under different conditions and contexts to the previous wave, and with the emergence of new forms of urbanisation, it is imperative to develop

new urban theories that are flexible enough to capture the different urbanisation experiences from cities around the world. The need for new urban theories is explicitly linked in this thesis to Global and World City (GaWC) theories. These theories have over time become mainstream and dominant urban theories, but they lack explanatory power to adequately and satisfactorily explain the diversity and complexity of cities around the world. This is further discussed in Chapter 3.

## 1.2 Focus of this research

This research has placed the city of Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, as an explorative single case-study within a New City framework to assess the construction of a *City-within-A-City*. Cities-within-Cities are a type of New City development, where a re-imagination and re-invention of all, or large parts of the city, takes place through renewal and redevelopment at a municipal scale (Watson, 2014; Datta, 2015; Van Noorloos & Kloosterboer, 2017). The concept of Cities-within-Cities is further defined and reviewed in Chapter 2. Addis Ababa is constructing a City-within-A-City as a type of New City development through large-scale, inner-city renewal and redevelopment to remake and remodel the city alongside international standards to achieve an improved position in GaWC hierarchies.

Addis Ababa is the capital city of Ethiopia. Ethiopia, formerly known as Abyssinia, is a landlocked, culturally rich, and ethnically diverse country in the Horn of Africa (Figure 1-2). It is home to an estimated population of 105 million people, making it the twelfth largest country in the world, in terms of population, and its population continues to grow at an annual projected rate of 2.7% (CIA, 2018); it is expected to reach a population size of 190 million people in 2050 (UNDP, 2015). Ethiopia is estimated to be 20.8% urbanised, and among the least urbanised countries in the world (UNDP, 2015; CIA, 2018). This is, however, changing quickly as Ethiopia's urban population is expected to triple by 2037, with a projected 4.63% annual rate of urbanisation (World Bank, 2015; CIA, 2018).



**Figure 1-2: Location of Addis Ababa and Ethiopia in the African Continent**

Source: Heisel, 2016

Internationally, Ethiopia has long been associated with famine and food scarcity. Particularly memorable in this regard is Ethiopia's 'biblical famine' in 1984 that received international attention after Micheal Buerk's BBC Documentary and the subsequent Band Aid campaign led by Bob Geldof (Smith, 2014). Ethiopia, however, is now endeavouring to shed this 'charity-case' image by promoting itself as the diplomatic and economic capital of the African continent (Wubneh, 2013).

Over the past decade, Ethiopia has been showcased as Africa's successful development story, from 'Africa's donor darling' to Africa's 'rising star' (Smith, 2014, 2013). As one of Africa's fastest growing economies, Ethiopia has been hailed for its economic achievements around the world.<sup>6</sup> The country has maintained a double-digit, economic growth rate over the past decade and

---

<sup>6</sup> In terms of social development, Ethiopia also booked impressive results in relation to its commitment towards reaching the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). The nation has seen particularly substantive progress regarding the alleviation of poverty and combating child mortality.

hopes to leapfrog to middle-income status by 2025 (Figure 1-3). (World Bank, 2016).<sup>7</sup>



**Figure 1-3: The World's Ten Fastest-Growing Economies**

Source: The Economist, 2011

Nowhere is Ethiopia's transformation as visible as in its capital city Addis Ababa (Figure 1-4). The capital city is used as the catalyser for fulfilling the nation's ambitious development plans. The population size of Addis Ababa is estimated at 3.2 million people and is projected to reach 4.7 million people by 2030, with an annual forecasted growth rate of 3.8% (UN-HABIAT, 2017; CIA, 2018). Addis Ababa is the biggest city in Ethiopia with about 23% of the total urban population (BOFED, 2009).

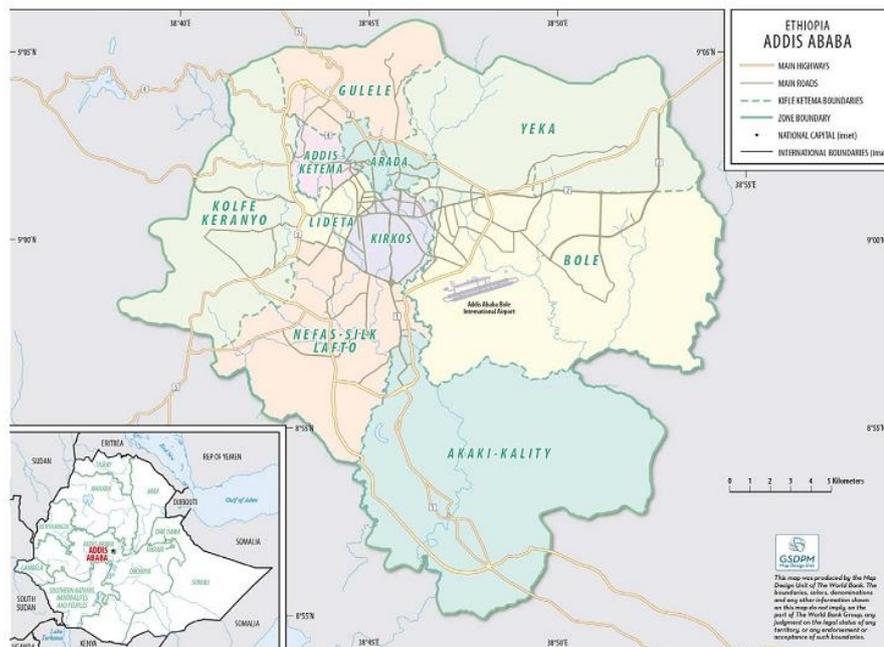
<sup>7</sup> The World Bank (2016) estimates Ethiopia experienced an average real Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth rate of 10.9% between 2004 and 2014.



**Figure 1-4: Map of Ethiopia**

Source: Heisel, 2016

Since the overthrow of the Derg regime in 1991, Ethiopia has been a Federal Democratic Republic, and has adopted an ethnic-based federal system of decentralised administration (Alehegn, 2008). Ethiopia has nine regional states and two chartered cities, Addis Ababa and Dire Dawa (World Bank, 2015). Addis Ababa is the nation's federal capital city and Dire Dawa is a special administrative region. Addis Ababa, therefore, fulfils a dual role; it is both the federal capital city as well as a regional state. The governance system of Ethiopia is divided into different decentralised sub-systems: (1) the federal government, (2) the regional states/chartered cities, and (3) local level administrations, which can in turn be further subdivided into smaller subdivisions, such as sub-cities, *Woredas*, and *Kebeles* (UN- Habitat, 2008). Addis Ababa is using a three-tier, decentralised sub-system: (1) the Addis Ababa City Government, (2) Sub-city administrations, and (3) *Kebeles* (neighbourhood level, sub-administrative offices). Addis Ababa has ten sub-cities and 99 *Kebeles* (Figure 1-5). Previously there was a distinction between *Woredas* (neighbourhood divisions) and *Kebeles* (sub-divisions within *Woredas*), but these have since been centralised into one in Addis Ababa.



**Figure 1-5: Map of Addis Ababa, with Sub-City Boundaries.**

Source: World Bank, 2015

Addis Ababa brands itself as the diplomatic and economic capital of Africa, while simultaneously the city is using this self-imposed position to improve its place in the global urban hierarchy (Wubneh, 2013). The city aims to reach its ambition by fulfilling a host function for international organisations and their headquarters. For instance, it hosts the African Union headquarters (AU), the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA), and the European Economic Commission (EEC). The city also fulfils a host function for other regional and continental offices, and for a variety of international organisations, multinational corporations, and embassies (Wubneh, 2013). With more than 90 embassies and consular representatives the city has to this end already become the fourth diplomatic centre in the world (Yintso, 2008).

The city's host function consequently attracts a flow of short- and long-term (international) visitors to the city. To cater for new demands arising from this international audience, a number of brand-name hotels have been constructed, while the options for leisure activities, dining, and other forms of entertainment have gradually expanded. The AU headquarters functions, amongst other landmarks, as an important urban metaphor and as a symbol of international

linkage (Figure 1-6).<sup>8</sup> It displays an iconic and symbolic message of diplomacy, and strengthens the nation's message of modernisation and economic prosperity.



**Figure 1-6: The African Union Headquarters in Addis Ababa**

Source: Prinsloo, 2012

Addis Ababa's aesthetics do not, however, coincide with its aspired position as Africa's diplomatic and economic capital. The city faces a housing crisis; 70% of the city's housing stock either needs upgrading or immediate replacement, while there is also an unmet housing demand of at least 300,000 housing units (BOFED, 2010, 2013; UN-HABIAT, 2017). The Addis Ababa City Government has for that reason embarked upon a massive urban transformation through large-scale, inner-city renewal and redevelopment to replace the existing inner-city housing stock, while fast-tracking this alongside a social-housing programme (the 'Integrated Housing Development Programme' (IHDP)) to simultaneously provide higher-standard housing, services, and infrastructure.<sup>9</sup> The complete renewal and redevelopment of the inner-city areas consequently provides an opportunity for 'clean slate', *tabula rasa*, development to construct a City-within-a-City on

<sup>8</sup> In 2012, the AU moved into a new headquarters in Addis Ababa, its outstanding design further strengthened its presence as a physical landmark.

<sup>9</sup> Statistical data reveals urban renewal and redevelopment is spatially concentrated in the four inner-city sub-cities: Arada, Addis Ketema, Lideta, and Kirkos.

top of the existing urban fabric that meets modern, international standards and matches the city's global aspirations (Figure 1-7).



**Figure 1-7: The Emerging Skyline of Addis Ababa**

Source: Marjan Kloosterboer, 2016

In the inner-city, high-rise buildings and skyscrapers with hyper modern facilities are being planned and constructed, while the original occupiers of the land (when eligible for compensation) are moved to relocation housing or land in peri-urban zones. City dwellers living in low-rise neighbourhoods situated in the inner-city on high-valued, urban land earmarked for renewal and redevelopment are, therefore, at the heart of this process and face a constant threat of displacement (Figure 1-8) (Harvey, 2003; Davis, 2006; Lees, Bang Shin & Lopez-Morales, 2016). Between 2009 and 2016, at least 28,584 households from the inner-city have been displaced due to inner-city renewal and redevelopment.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Calculated with data from the Addis Ababa City Government



**Figure 1-8: Inner-city Area Subjected to Demolishment**  
Source: Marjan Kloosterboer, 2017

## **1.3 Research aim and objectives**

### **1.3.1 Aim**

The aim of this thesis is to assess large-scale, inner-city renewal, redevelopment, and displacement in Addis Ababa for the construction of a City-within-a-City as a type of New City development to remake and remodel the city alongside Global and World City (GaWC) standards, while referring to the wider historical, contextual, and global setting in which this process takes place.

### **1.3.2 Specific objectives**

The specific objectives of this research are:

1. To assess how Addis Ababa's planning and housing development history is linked to aspirations for GaWC making through large-scale urban renewal and redevelopment to construct a City-within-a-City as a type of New City development.

2. To assess how large-scale, inner-city urban renewal and redevelopment for GaWC and New City development leads to development-induced displacement and how this impacts displaced households.
3. To assess how large-scale, inner-city urban renewal and redevelopment-induced displacement for GaWC and New City development impact social and economic community networks.
4. To examine the ways in which households adapt and cope with these impacts in the post-resettlement phase.

## **1.4 The political situation in Ethiopia during the study (2014–2018)**

Ethiopia is one of the clearest examples of the concept of the ‘developmental state’ being implemented in Africa (Clapham, 2017). The concept of the developmental state made its entrance in Ethiopia after the 1998-2000 war with Eritrea, a time when a need arose for a new, coherent, development strategy (Clapham, 2017). The then Prime Minister, Meles Zenawi, who ruled Ethiopia from 1991 until his death in 2012, sought to remake Ethiopia’s economic structure and drew heavily on an ideology of development inspired by the East Asian Model, particularly China (Takgi & Khoo, 2019; Clapham, 2017). This strategy was promoted as an alternative development trajectory to neoliberalism.

Meles Zenwai emphasised the importance of long-term economic stability and planning, and a top-down and hierarchically following of an authoritarian style of governance (Dejene & Cochraine, 2018). This was characterised by strong state intervention, market interventions, and extensive regulation and planning (Takgi & Khoo, 2019). Examples of successes ascribed to the developmental state model pursued in Ethiopia are its progress on human-development indicators (such as the Millennium Development Goals) and sustained double-digit economic growth over the past decade, which has been attributed to, amongst others, state ownership of key economic sectors of development and a focus on Foreign Direct Investments (FDI) (Dejene & Cochraine, 2018).

The main criticism against the building of the developmental state has been that it induced a type of authoritarian style governance system that has come at the expense of democracy and human rights; for example, opportunities for engagement in the political space have narrowed, opposition groups repressed and the media closely monitored (Clapman, 2017; Dejene & Cochraine, 2018; Gebremariam & Bayu, 2017). Ethiopia is in name a democracy, but in reality the multi-party system is monopolised by the dominance of a single party: the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF). Ethiopia, therefore, is a single-party state in all but name (Clapman, 2017, p. 1154). In almost complete absence of opposition parties, the EPRDF has ruled Ethiopia since the overthrow of the socialist Derg regime in 1991.<sup>11</sup> In Ethiopia's most recent national elections in 2015, the EPRDF secured 100% of parliament seats, according to official voting results, and, thereby, ruled out any form of opposition (BBC, 2015).

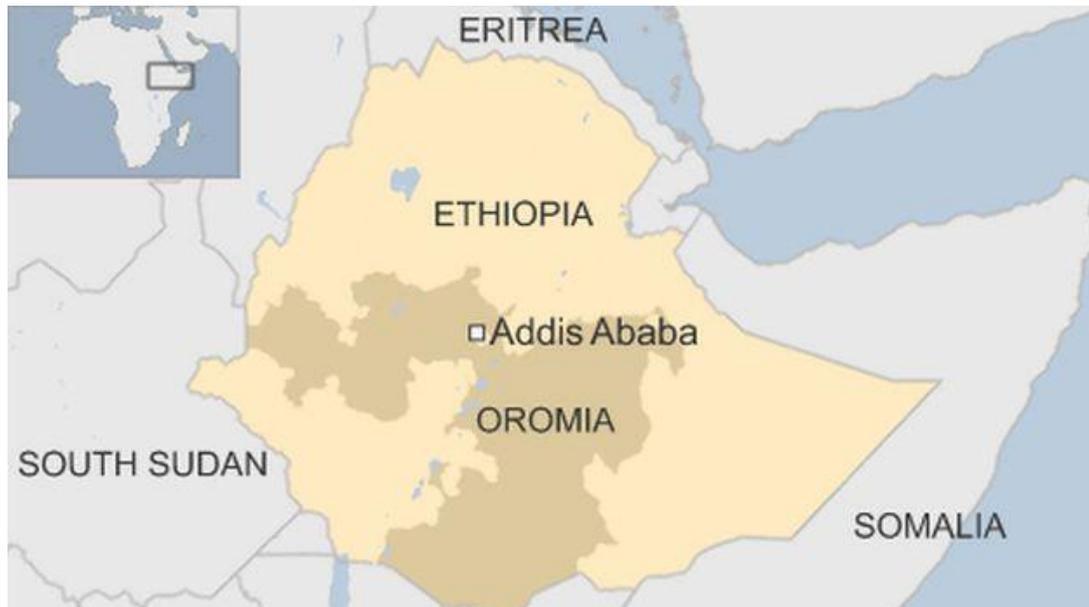
The lack of democracy and the dominance and power of certain ethnic groups in politics is a historical source of dissatisfaction and political tension among Ethiopians.<sup>12</sup> Even though, in general, Ethiopia is considered a relatively peaceful and stable country within its region, at least compared to its neighbouring countries (Eritrea, Sudan, South Sudan, and Somalia), the political unrest at the time of writing is considered as a threat to the nation's stability and its economic development (Aglionby, 2017).

There have been several cases of anti-government protests and violence between ethnic groups and the government in various regions of Ethiopia since the early 2000s. In 2015, dissatisfaction intensified among the Oromos (the largest ethnic group in Ethiopia) when a new masterplan for Addis Ababa was introduced by the Government that proposed to expand into Oromo farmland (Figure 1-9) (Muindi, 2016).

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<sup>11</sup> The EPRDF has been led since its rise in 1991 by Melese Zenawi, until his death in 2012.

<sup>12</sup> The EPRDF is dominated by members from the Tigray region, although Tigrayans make up only 6% of the population in Ethiopia (Al Jazeera, 2018).



**Figure 1-9: Addis Ababa's Location in the Oromia Region**

Source: Muindi, 2016

Addis Ababa's territory is confined within the Oromia region; their proposal for expansion into the Oromia region, thus, implied loss of control over land as well as the displacement of local Oromo farmers (Muindi, 2016). While initially the protests were mostly about land rights, over time they intensified further with criticisms of the political ethnic representation in national politics (Al Jazeera, 2018). Even though the master plan was quickly suspended and altered, protests further spread from the Oromo region to the Amhara region, with both regions demanding the recognition of their individual ethnic rights.

Following an intense period of protests and social unrest, a national 'State of Emergency' was announced in Ethiopia in October 2016 for ten months until early August 2017. The 'State of Emergency' included restrictions on personal movement, group gatherings, curfews, social media blockages, the intermittent shut-down of mobile (internet) networks, and a ban on activities related to the opposition (who were labelled as terrorist groups). This first 'State of Emergency' was unable to structurally solve existing problems, and a second 'State of Emergency' was announced in February 2018, following the sudden resignation of Prime Minister Hailemariam Dessalegn.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>13</sup> The second State of Emergency was lifted in June 2018.

On 2 April 2018, the EPRDF inaugurated a new Prime Minister, Dr Abiy Ahmed. He is from the Oromia region and is the country's first Oromo Prime Minister. With this ethnic dimension in mind during the selection process of the new Prime Minister, hope is being expressed that ethnic-based divisions in the country, particularly within the previously mentioned Oromia region, will cease to exist (Al Jazeera, 2018). Regardless of this new appointment, fear has continued to exist for intensified social unrest and turmoil to spread through the country, which can potentially cause a crackdown of the entire system.

The question remains at the time of writing whether the government will instigate permanent changes and start to engage in meaningful dialogue to devise recommendations for a new political system, and a transition away from the developmental state ideology towards a more inclusive governance model that reflects the ethnical and social diversity of the country, or if at some point in the future the situation will further erupt (Dejene & Cochrane, 2018). To this end, the government has already announced (and introduced) nationwide reforms, most importantly they announced democratic elections in 2020. However, the political unrest in Ethiopia remains at the time of writing a potential cause for political, economic, and social instability and, therefore, a challenge to the country's ambitions. It is also challenging Addis Ababa's urban future as the diplomatic and economic capital of Africa, particularly regarding its 'host-function' and its attractiveness for (foreign) investments.

When appropriate this thesis will make references to the political situation in Ethiopia. Lengthy political discussions are, however, beyond the scope of this thesis and remain confined to this section.

## **1.5 Thesis structure**

This thesis contains nine chapters. The first chapter is this introduction and sets the context and background of this study, while further introducing the aim and objectives of this research.

The second and third chapter are literature reviews. The second chapter introduces the concept of New Cities as a new form of urbanisation, and it defines and reviews the concept of Cities-within-Cities. It further engages with

the way neoliberal thinking and capitalism are embedded in the construction of New Cities, and how this has caused a potential homogeneity of urban space. Finally, this chapter discusses some of the impacts of New City making. Chapter three critically engages with the Global City Theory and the World City Hypothesis, after which it argues for the necessity for new urban theories that can better reflect the diversity of cities around the world. The last section of this chapter is moving forward from the literature review and discusses where this thesis fits in, its empirical and theoretical knowledge contribution, and how it plans to fill the identified gaps in literature.

The fourth chapter sets out the research strategy, design, and methodology employed in this study. This chapter first discusses the qualitative research strategy and the philosophical underpinnings of this study. It continues with the embedded, single-case study, research design and the methods used for primary data collection. Finally, this chapter discusses the research ethics behind this study, while it reflexively engages with the researcher's positionality.

The fifth chapter chronologically discusses housing development in Addis Ababa from the city's founding onwards. This chapter reflects on the city's historically rooted housing crisis and further discusses how this has motivated urban renewal and redevelopment. Finally this chapter introduces the different housing types in Addis Ababa, while it reflects on their historical origin.

The sixth chapter discusses the historical background of urban planning in Addis Ababa. It begins with the founding of the city and continues with chronologically discussing the different planning approaches the city has experienced. While doing so, this chapter critically reflects on planning decisions made and how these have affected the state of the city at the time of writing.

The seventh chapter introduces urban renewal and redevelopment for the construction of the 'new' Addis Ababa in depth. This chapter starts by discussing displacement of landholders and lawful tenants, while reflecting on the process of household relocation and compensation. Finally, this chapter discusses the displacement of households who are without lawful land or tenancy rights and do not receive compensation.

Chapter eight will discuss relocation and adaptation to new realities and spatial changes post-relocation. This chapter will first discuss the impact of dismantled social and economic networks on displaced households. This chapter will then discuss spatial changes to which households need to adapt after relocation.

In the final chapter, chapter nine, the key findings of this study are discussed in relation to the main aim and objectives of this research. References are also made to the inductive elements of this study as related to the wider theoretical framework in which this study is embedded. Finally, this chapter discusses the strengths and limitations of this study and makes case-specific recommendations.

## 2 Introducing the Concept of New Cities

### 2.1 Introduction

New Cities were introduced in Chapter 1, as a response to the need for new approaches to planning in a time of rapid urbanisation. The aim of this chapter is to further explain the New Cities concept as well as to address the parallels between New City development and GaWC frameworks. This chapter will introduce the concept of Cities-within-Cities as a type of New City development (Watson, 2014; Van Noorloos & Kloosterboer, 2017). It will then discuss the two main effects of Cities-within-Cities: development-induced displacement and social-economic spatial segregation. Finally, this chapter provides a summary.



**Figure 2-1: Egypt's Planned New Administrative Capital (NAC)**  
Source: Kingsley, 2015

### 2.2 The concept of New Cities

New Cities are comprehensively planned settlements and can take different forms, such as independent cities, satellite cities, or Cities-within Cities (Watson, 2013; Datta, 2015, p. 6; Van Noorloos & Kloosterboer, 2017). They are further defined by Abubakar and Doan (2017) as “large enough to support a range of housing types and public facilities, provide social and cultural opportunities within its borders and offer employment for its residents” (p. 546).

New Cities are often labelled as smart, technologically advanced, business-centred with access to high-speed internet, and eco-friendly using the latest climate smart technology, renewable energy sources and smart-energy grids (Kachipande, 2013). The size and scale at which New Cities are constructed, however, confronts us with a new form of urbanisation that “our current understandings of cities, citizens and urban governance cannot readily explain” (Bhan, 2013, p. 233). Egypt for example is constructing a 700-square kilometre, privately-funded, independent capital city for five-million Egyptians that includes leisure and religious centres, shopping malls, and office blocks (Figure 2-1) (Kingsley, 2015).

Under a ‘rhetoric of urgency’, New Cities have become fast-tracked in the past decade by states and the private sector as a large-scale solution to respond to the challenges of urbanisation, sustainable development, and a growing middle-class that has a growing demand for housing and urban services (Watson, 2014; Datta, 2015, p. 5). They are promoted as self-contained places that can exist in isolation from the disorder and chaos present in existing cities and, thus, serve as a form of ‘escapism’ from the day-to-day frustrations of existing urban conditions (Abubakar & Doan, 2017).

New Cities emerged in the early 2000s as a new form of ‘utopian’ urbanisation, but they share similarities with the colonial and post-colonial ‘New Town Movement’ (Watson, 2013; Moser, 2015). Both New Towns and New Cities are meant to represent a break with the past and a ‘start over’ by using a form of ‘clean slate’ development, where the city is reinvented from scratch (Moser, 2015). They are also both planned as an exclusive route to modernity and development (Datta, 2015; Moser, 2015). New Towns, which are rooted in the conceptual ideas of Ebenezer Howard’s ‘Garden City’, were introduced to break free from a colonial past and to impose ‘a universal notion of modernity’ (Munzer & Vogel, 1974; Cain, 2017; Abubakar & Doan, 2017). Similarly New Cities are constructed as new starts and to be globally competitive with modern built environments that meet international standards, with world-class services and infrastructure (Moser, 2015).

Despite these similarities, this study does not consider New Cities as extensions of New Towns; the reasons why New Cities emerged are different from the

drivers of their New Town predecessors. Most importantly, whereas the construction of (post)colonial New Towns was promoted by local political and administrative interests, the construction of New Cities is driven by international economics (Watson, 2015; Moser, 2015). At the time of writing, New Cities are constructed as ‘entrepreneurial cities’ with the objective to construct a globally competitive New City that can generate economic growth and development for the wider region and nation in which it is confined (Jessop and Sum, 2000; Pow, 2002). New Cities are in this sense constructed as a symbolic act to showcase national identity by projecting a perceived modern image to the world (Moser, Swain and Alkhabbaz, 2015; Abubakar & Doan, 2017).

Another difference between New Towns and New Cities is their financial model. New Towns were state-driven, financed by loans provided by international lenders, and came with burdens of debt (Cain, 2017). New Cities, on the other hand, are financed and constructed by the private sector, or through public-private partnerships, and are promoted by national and local governments.<sup>14</sup> In Angola, for example, the New City construction Kilamba Kiaxi was financed by Chinese credit and oil concessions (Cain, 2017).<sup>15</sup>

The demands rising from urban growth exceed the financial, managerial, and administrative capacity of many local governments and this has, therefore, instigated them to search for alternative financial options.<sup>16</sup> Research from the African Development Bank, for example, shows only very few local African governments have the capacity to cope with their urban growth rates and are “capable of thinking through the complex set of coordinated decisions needed to deal with explosive urban growth” (African Development Bank, 2011, p. 39).

The financial crisis of 2008 and the downturn of financial markets in high-income countries simultaneously attracted international property developers to explore new markets in other parts of the world (Watson, 2014; Abubakar & Doan, 2017).

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<sup>14</sup> This also signals a state transition from a provider to an enabler approach through corporate-government partnerships (Datta, 2015; Moser, Swain & Alkhabbaz, 2015).

<sup>15</sup> This example also indicates a possible relationship between resource extraction, (foreign) investments, and New Cities.

<sup>16</sup> Countries in the first wave of urbanisation were able to finance their urbanisation from their lucrative ‘colonial economies’. This option is evidently not available now as a ‘financial model’ (Pieterse, 2011, p. 7).

For them, New Cities represent an opportunity for new demand in a less competitive market, although in a higher risk context (Watson, 2014). In addition, these places represent ‘the last development frontier’; “regions where rules are yet to be made and territory still to be claimed” (Bhan, 2013, p. 233). Urbanisation is used in this context as a neoliberal business model to remake and redevelop existing cities, or to develop entire New Cities from scratch (Harvey, 2012, p. 42; Roy, 2009).

The construction of New Cities, therefore, simultaneously gave rise to a neoliberal ‘building boom’ that has emerged to address housing shortages and absorb capital and labour surpluses to achieve urban transformations and accumulate capital (Harvey, 2012; Moser, 2015). Urbanisation has, therefore, become accompanied by a utopian form of urban development through New Cities, representing a billion-dollar business that can be linked back to global capital circuits of property construction (Watson, 2014; Shepard, 2017). In this context, Kamaran (2008) describes how, alongside its urban transformation, property values have tripled in Istanbul between 2001 and 2008, making it one of the most lucrative real estate investment markets in the world.

Building booms may, however, also lead to property bursts, which can lead to a macro-economic crises (Harvey, 2012). Cain (2014), for example, describes how a New City for 160,000 people built in Angola became labelled as Africa’s first Chinese Ghost Town when it turned out to be unaffordable for the local population.<sup>17</sup> This New City development caused an oversupply of high-end housing, and induced the collapse of real estate prices in the high-end market segment (Cain, 2014). New Cities may, therefore, be able to absorb surplus labour and capital, but they will not accumulate capital if the project does not meet local demands and affordability.

The number, pace, and scale of New Cities that are being built also marks a difference from historical New Town developments (Shepard, 2017). While New Cities are located around the world, they are predominantly concentrated in low- and middle-income, quickly-urbanising countries. A study from Moser (2017)

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<sup>17</sup> With an average income of two dollars (US) a day, apartments costing between US \$120,000 and \$200,000 were unaffordable for the local population.

indicates that since the 1990s at least 150 New Cities have been planned or are under construction, almost exclusively in emerging economies. The map of Africa (Figure 2-2) shows the geographic dispersal of seventy New Cities under construction or already realised on the continent. At the time of writing, a comprehensive and detailed overview of the total number of New Cities planned, under construction, and completed around the world was not present.



**Figure 2-2: New Cities in Africa**  
Source: Van Noorloos & Kloosterboer, 2017

## 2.3 Parallels between New Cities and Global and World Cities

New Cities are part of a strategy to stimulate national economic development by constructing internationally competitive cities that diversify economies into a specialist niche within the services sector (Moser, Swain & Alkhabbaz, 2015).

They have a comparative advantage by their specialisation in place-based niches of the services sector as well as by linking themselves to Special Economic Zones (SEZs) or by taking other business advantages. From this viewpoint, cities and urban economies are the motor for national economic development, and they can socially and economically transform a nation (Amin & Graham, 1997; Moser, Swain & Alkhabbaz, 2015). Knox (1996) describes cities in this context as the interface between the local and the global, as they “channel national and provincial resources into the global economy and transmit the impulses of globalisation back into national and provincial centres” (p. 125).

The comparative advantage New Cities create, by diversifying the economy and specialising in niche sectors, simultaneously functions as a branding technique (Hawksworth, Hoehn & Tiwari, 2009; Matusitz, 2010). The city is approached in this case as a product that requires a tailored marketing and branding strategy to project it to the world (Moser, Swain & Alkhabbaz, 2015). Diversification and specialisation strategies are echoing across New Cities which are either under construction or that have been recently completed. For example, Masdar City is being presented as the educational and sustainable hub of the United Arab Emirates, Konza Technology city (Kenya) as ‘Africa’s silicon’s valley’, and Addis Ababa (Ethiopia) as Africa’s diplomatic capital.

The emphasis of New Cities on the service sector also suggests a transition to activities with higher productivity rates, which can further generate overall economic growth. Nations are, therefore, also trying to leapfrog to a different economic base by aiming for higher productivity rates. Moser, Swain, and Alkhabbaz (2015) describe in this context how countries across the Arabian Peninsula and in the Gulf are basing their diversification strategies on New City developments (p. 72). For example, King Abdullah Economic City in Saudi Arabia is being constructed to diversify the economy away from the oil industry to a knowledge-based economy with a ‘global business centre’ (Moser, Swain & Alkhabbaz, 2015, p. 72).

The emphasis on the service sector has parallels with GaWC frameworks. Sassen (1998, 2002), for example, emphasises the need for GaWCs to diversify and specialise in particular services in order to have a comparative advantage to successfully compete in the global economy. Kanai (2014) describes this strategy

in the context of the city Buenos Aires (Argentina). Buenos Aires is specialising in tourist-oriented, cultural entrepreneurialism by promoting itself as a world-class, tourist destination in which the dance tango fulfils an instrumental role (Kanai, 2014). New Cities are, thus, also constructed as economic strategies, by which they simultaneously wish to improve their position in GaWC hierarchies (Moser, Swain & Alkhabbaz, 2015, p. 74).

The built environment is used by New Cities to communicate state ideology, to show international linkages, and to project a modern image to the world (Moser, Swain & Alkhabbaz, 2015, p. 72). High-rise buildings and estates form a vertical urban landscape and impressive skyline and are used to showcase economic success, as a form of symbolic power in which iconic landmarks and flagship projects represent visual monuments of capital urbanisation (Goss, 1998; Bhan, 2014, p. 510).<sup>18</sup> This symbolic power is representing modernity and is used by nation states as a visionary strategy to promote their reinvented national identity to an international audience (Yeoh, 1999; Matusitz, 2010). International linkages are displayed through landmark projects, such as: airport buildings; railway systems; skyscrapers; places of art, culture, and tourism, and are also realised by replicating high- and middle-class housing styles (Shatkin, 2007; Matusitz, 2010).

The concepts shared between GaWCs, which have been deemed imperative for meeting modern and international standards, have created a homogenisation of urban space and a visual resemblance between the aesthetics and built environment of New Cities. These shared concepts, which emerge through inter-referencing with well-known GaWCs, are essentially a form of 'urban boosterism' (Kamran, 2008; Sassen, 1998) and include the importation of similar 'global' attributes, such as: venues for the day-to-day operation of businesses, shopping malls, luxury hotels, and entertainment facilities. Inter-referencing with well-known GaWCs is also referred to as 'Dubaisation' for its shared resemblance with the construction of multi-tower complexes in designated central business districts (CBDs) within the city of Dubai (Kamran, 2008;

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<sup>18</sup> New Cities have been dubbed 'urban fantasies' for their futuristic plans and designs (Watson, 2014).

Matusitz, 2010; Lees, Bang Shin & Lopez-Morales, 2016).<sup>19</sup> The shared resemblance between New Cities does not, however, indicate they also have similar functions, as these may be very different (Sassen, 1998).

The visual resemblance between New Cities also implies a circulation of planning models and ideas as cities copy from each other.<sup>20</sup> Even though their plans are inspired by long-established GaWCs, they are at the same time also dislocated as they are shared, adapted, and remodelled within various local contexts to meet local demands (Rapoport, 2015). New Cities, however, have little compatibility with local contexts, particularly as most of their plans and designs are made by international firms (Rapoport, 2015). New Cities reject indigenous knowledge, craftsmanship, morphology, and local materials when they supposedly do not meet international standards; instead, they turn to ‘modern construction materials’ (Moser 2010, 2015). This simultaneously signals a loss of social- and cultural heritage, diversity, and authenticity (Moser, 2015). It also ignores the option of protecting historical sites in existing urban areas (Moser, 2015).

The link between local and global forces is decisive in making and remaking New Cities; a city’s physical form and spatial structure can be directly linked to the local and global forces to which it is subjected (Friedmann, 1986; Yeoh, 1999). Local and national governments play a key role in globalisation-oriented urban development through the provision of legal, policy, and regulatory frameworks. City spaces are, thus, shaped through the interactions between local actors, policy, and regulatory frameworks as well as the wider global network in which these processes takes place (Shatkin, 2007). Local and national governments provide the legal, policy, and regulatory frameworks to shape the spatial design and urban form of the city, according to its comparative advantage and the functions a city performs, such as a headquarter function or as a financial centre (Friedmann, 1986; Sassen, 1998; Robinson, 2005; Shatkin, 2007).

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<sup>19</sup> Inter-referencing can be explained in this context as, “cities around the world are likening to, and remade with reference to, imaginings of antecedent urban experiences elsewhere.” (Brunnel, 2013, p. 1983).

<sup>20</sup> Rapoport (2015) states that across the world a ‘Global Intelligence Corps’ has emerged, and this is a ‘relatively small, highly internationalised group of architecture, planning, and engineering firms’, who work on prestigious masterplans around the world (p. 2). This group is allegedly facilitating the duplication of urban plans across the world, by introducing similar ideas of urban projects in different contexts (Rapoport, 2015).

The emphasis placed on symbolic power and urban aesthetics can, however, create a division between the city and its dwellers. This division arises when the city is dedicated to improve its relative international position, while neglecting how it functions for its dwellers and how it aids their well-being (Bhan, 2013; Watson, 2014). Amin (1997) refers to this as making the city work for 'out here' interests, opposed to addressing the needs from 'in here', the city's residents (p. 134).

## **2.4 The concept of Cities-Within-Cities**

This research takes a specific interest in the concept of Cities-within-Cities as a type of New City development (Watson, 2014, Van Noorloos & Kloosterboer, 2017). Cities-within-Cities are realised through a reimagination and reinvention of existing cities through renewal and redevelopment at a municipal scale. The reimagination and reinvention of a city involves the re-planning of all or large parts of an existing city (Watson, 2014; Datta, 2015). The primary goal is to replace the existing city with something entirely new, as if the city is being developed from scratch, and by doing so the city's history and context is erased (Bhan, 2013). In Istanbul, for example, a City-within-a-City is realised through urban redevelopment and renewal to attract international business and foreign investment (Kamaram, 2008). The existing slum areas are said to actively undermine the city's global vision, and are to be renewed and redeveloped to meet international standards of modernisation (Kamaram, 2008).

Cities-within-Cities set themselves apart from conventional renewal and redevelopment approaches, because they have progressed in volume and scale into a new form of urban development that transcends neighbourhood boundaries (Couch, 1990; Lees, Bang Shin & Lopez-Morales, 2016). By aiming for a large-scale, urban transformation, they form a separate enclave within an existing city, a City-within-a-City (Lees, Bang Shin and Lopez-Morales, 2016, p. 31). The construction of Cities-within-Cities entails the demolition of derelict, substandard, and inadequate housing in selected areas, while simultaneously transforming low-density and low-rise developments to high-density and high-

rise developments to achieve optimal land use and profit maximisation (Couch, 1990; Harvey, 2003; Lees, Bang Shin & Lopez-Morales, 2016).<sup>21</sup>

Cities-within-Cities are promoted as opportunities to control the size, form, and growth of an existing settlement through a form of clean slate development (Abubakar & Doan, 2017; Mehan, 2017). The concept of clean slate development refers to a ‘fresh start’ by sweeping away what was in place with the intention to create an “empty space for building a new urban identity” (Mehan, 2017, p. 218). The redevelopment and renewal of the capital city of Iran, Tehran, was, for instance, interpreted as “a utopian blank slate upon which a new Iran could be conceived over again” to build “new national values and identities” (Mehan, 2017, p. 214 & 218). Similarly, Beijing and Shanghai redeveloped and renewed their inner-city cores to make ‘better’ use of space and to transform their cities into ‘world-class cities’ (Bang Shin, 2014b).

The costs of piecemeal upgrading, servicing, and planning cities can be high, and, therefore, large-scale solutions are now sought (Watson, 2009). The concept of a City-within-a-City is promoted as a solution in this respect to solve these problems on a mega-scale by planning multidimensionally, including advanced infrastructure and services provision (Datta, 2015). Instead of confronting urban problems, it tries to escape them through large-scale erasure and re-inscription (Bhan, 2013). The chaos they wish to escape, however, is also the context in which they take root (Bhan, 2013, p. 234). Bhan (2013) describes how in this context the attempts of Indian cities to rewrite, remake, and renew their urban fabric have never been a complete success, but instead has always been partial, fragmented, and often undone (p. 234).

The drivers behind the construction of Cities-within-Cities are the same as for other types of New Cities. This option is particularly interesting for countries where land is state-owned, such as in Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, and China, as land in these countries can more easily be cleared for this purpose (Cain, 2017). Mega-events and mega-projects are also used as a justification for these urban transformations to take place. Kanai (2014) describes how mega-events,

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<sup>21</sup> This is essentially a form of capital accumulation by dispossession and displacement (Harvey, 2003, 2012).

such as the Tango Buenos Aires Festival and the World Cup, have been important driving factors for the urban redevelopment dynamics in Buenos Aires (Argentina) (p. 1115). Similarly, the city of Guangzhou constructed a brand new Central Business District (CBD) to promote the city internationally when they hosted the 2010 Asian Games (Bang Shin, 2014a). Examples of Cities-within-Cities planned, under construction, or already realised are Addis Ababa (Ethiopia), Kigali (Rwanda), Istanbul (Turkey), Mumbai (India), Tehran (Iran), Beijing (China), Shanghai (China), and Guangzhou (China) (Neuwirth, 2006; Kamaran, 2008; Watson, 2014; Bang Shin, 2014a, 2014b; Mehan, 2017).

This study has identified that in Addis Ababa renewal and redevelopment are being used as strategies to construct a City-within-a-City. For this research, renewal and redevelopment are defined as per Ethiopian legislation, as this is the context in which this research takes place. Urban redevelopment is defined as:

Urban redevelopment shall, under this Proclamation, encompass urban renewal, upgrading and land reallocation with the view to alleviating (alleviate) urban problems, improving living standards and bringing about urban dynamism and efficient land utilization.  
(Proclamation 574/2008: 40.1)

Urban renewal is defined as:

Urban renewal shall, pursuant to this Proclamation, be construed as an undertaking aimed at improving the living and working environment in an urban center through fully or partly removing dilapidated, blighted or derelict structures in an urban centre.  
(Proclamation 574/2008: 41)

## **2.5 Impact of Cities-Within-Cities**

As stated in the introduction (p. 1), at the time of writing, there are only a few empirical studies available that discuss the outcomes and impacts of New Cities in general, or Cities-within-Cities specifically (Watson, 2014; Moser, 2015). The presence of this research gap can be explained, as New Cities have only begun to emerge since the early 2000s, and, therefore, the effects are still to be seen and understood. After reviewing the literature that is available, three preliminary effects of Cities-within-Cities stand out: (1) development-induced displacement,

(2) socioeconomic spatial segregation and (3) the impact of displacement on social- and economic networks.

### 2.5.1 Development-induced displacement

Urban renewal and redevelopment for the construction of Cities-within-Cities takes place through (re)investment of capital in prime urban areas (Lees, Bang Shin & Lopez-Morales, 2016). City dwellers living in these prime urban locations, or in other areas with investment potential, therefore, find themselves living with a constant threat of displacement, when competition for land in prime urban areas is rising (Harvey, 2003; Davis, 2006; Lees, Bang Shin & Lopez-Morales, 2016). Displacement is, thus, at the heart of a City-within-a-City construction and is justified as a necessary condition to improve the well-being of the larger society (Bisht, 2014).

Displacement is defined in this thesis as a physical process and happens when people can “no longer live where they were previously living” (Vanclay, 2017, p. 6). Development-induced displacement refers to households who are involuntary moved for the sake of development projects. Displacement is, therefore, an involuntary physical move caused by a development project, instead of being caused indirectly over time as a result of social, political, or economic pressure. It is at the same time cutting city dwellers off from their land-based livelihood sources, and life-time home and community attachments (Bhan Shin, 2015; Moser, 2015). Housing in this case also represents place-based income sources; it has cultural and social meaning, and provides safety and security.

The anticipation of displacement is particularly distressing for city dwellers without security of tenure, such as undocumented renters or illegal settlers (Lees, Bang Shin & Lopez-Morales, 2016)<sup>22</sup>. Tenure insecurity refers to a lack of

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<sup>22</sup> The term illegal settlers is used in this thesis to indicate city dwellers who do not have the legal title deed for the land on which they reside. Their housing is usually cut-off from basic services and infrastructure, most often does not comply with planning and building regulations, and is sometimes found in environmentally hazardous areas (UN-Habitat, 2015). The terms ‘illegal settlers’ and ‘slums’ are often erroneously used interchangeably. Slum dwellers in Addis Ababa may, for example, have security of tenure that protects them against forced evictions, despite living in housing that lacks access to services and infrastructure, and may not comply with planning and building regulations (UN-Habitat, 2015). The difference between legality and illegality can, therefore, not be judged by the visual representation of a house, as legality and illegality comes in various forms and shapes. Neuwirth (2006), for instance, describes illegal settlers in Turkey living in self-constructed villa neighbourhoods.

property rights, such as the absence of clear land possession or home ownership (HRW, 2007). City dwellers without security of tenure are particularly vulnerable when this excludes them from compensation and relocation schemes (Davis, 2002).<sup>23</sup> For example, in 2005, Mumbai (India) introduced urban renewal and redevelopment schemes to transform the city into a ‘New Shanghai’; for this purpose, at least 300,000 people were displaced. These people were without security of tenure and did not receive any kind of compensation (Neuwirth, 2006). Research shows displaced people without compensation move ‘anywhere’ they can find a space, they are guided by economic necessity, and reappear where they can reproduce their livelihoods (Harvey, 2003, p. 35; Harvey, 2012, p. 12). Displacement, therefore, does not automatically prevent or reduce squatter settlements; it may simply force them to migrate elsewhere.

To enhance tenure security (and more efficient land management), land titling and formalisation programmes have been promoted by institutions such as the World Bank, UN HABITAT and US AID since the 1980s (ElHadary & Obeng-Odoom, 2012; Obeng-Odoom & Stilwell, 2013). This Western model of formal land tenure is promoted as a market-based solution and alternative to bureaucratic administrations that had thus far not been effective (Van Gelder, 2010). The imposition of this model of land tenure, however, has, ignored socially accepted traditions and assumes land held outside a formal land titling system is insecure from the onset (Payne, 2001; Simbizi, Bennett & Zevenbergen, 2014).

An ascribed benefit of land titling and formalisation programmes is that they lead to increased tenure security, which in turn can lead to poverty reduction and stimulate economic development. This is criticised as a reductionist view that has oversimplified the poor as one generalized group, instead of account for its inherent diversity, and has overlooked important elements that keep people in a cycle of poverty (Von Benda-Beckmann, 2003; Obeng-Odoom & Stilwell, 2013). Nonetheless, under intensified globalisation, rapid urbanisation and growing informality, governments across the world have been put under pressure by large international organisations, who control aid budgets and loans, to adopt

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<sup>23</sup> The term relocation is defined in this thesis as “the comprehensive process of planning for and implementing the relocation of people, households and communities from one place to another for some specific reason...” (Vanclay, 2017, p. 5–6).

neoliberal, market-led approaches to economic development and introduce land titling programmes (Payne, 2001; Van Gelder, 2010; Earle, 2014; Patel, 2016).

These international organisations have been heavily influenced by Peruvian Economist Hernando De Soto (2002), who blames tenure insecurity, which is the lack of documentation of property and assets and absence of the administrative processes to support it, on a missing link in the 'representational process' (p. 6). De Soto (2002) argues households hold resources in defective forms as 'dead capital'. Dead capital can be activated by documenting property and assets. This activated capital can be used to obtain formal credit to invest in homes and businesses, and break the cycle of poverty (De Soto, 2002). De Soto's research about Peru has become widely accepted as a success case for land titling, and supports the concept of neoliberal market-driven (urban) development (Payne, 2001).

To achieve poverty reduction and economic development by issuing title deeds to increase security of tenure is based on the assumption that, with increased tenure security, households can, amongst others, use their title deed to; access credit through formal lending institutions; it provides households an incentive to invest in their housing and increase their property value; it provides a safety net in case of unemployment or retirement; it facilitates the provision of urban services and infrastructure, and it enables the formation of land markets (Ubbink, 2009; Van Gelder, 2010; Obeng-Odoom & Stilwell, 2013). The ascribed benefits of land titling have become widely accepted and promoted. A prominent example of this is the integration of land titling in the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Target 11 of Goal number 7 states to have achieved a significant improvement in the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers. This is measured by the proportion of households with access to secure tenure (UNDESA, 2015).

Although the concept of land titling has been treated synonymously with tenure security, research has demonstrated their alleged causal relationship in various example cases as improbable (Von Benda-Beckmann, 2003; Obeng-Odoom & Stilwell, 2013). Research demonstrates that land titling can, paradoxically, lead to a reduction of tenure security (Van Gelder, 2010). The absence of title deeds has enabled households to access land they, otherwise, could not afford. Some

become excluded when subjected to land titling programmes that make access to land too expensive (Payne, 2001; Van Gelder, 2010; Obeng-Odoom & Stilwell, 2013). A form of social inequality can be instigated, when middle- and high-income groups are able to afford the associated costs of land titling, but low-income households cannot and, therefore, they become excluded from obtaining their title deeds and are at risk of losing their land (Payne, 2001; Von Benda-Beckmann, 2003; Ubbink, 2009). The cost associated with land titling can thus form a financial barrier.

Land titling, furthermore, enables governments to collect property taxes and increase municipal revenue. These recurring tax payments can, however, lead to economic setbacks when households are unable to keep up with their payments (Van Gelder, 2010; Patel, 2016).<sup>24</sup> The previously mentioned financial barriers can have far-reaching consequences. Rutten (2009) for example discusses how in Kenya the formalisation process of land caused severe payment problems for some of the original landowners, which led to the sale of (part of) their land, poverty, and hunger (p. 4-5). Moreover, under the pressure of poverty and financial insecurity, low-income households can more easily be persuaded to sell their land or property for a price that does not necessarily reflect its true market value, while they continue to live elsewhere in similar or worse conditions than before (Harvey, 2003; Neuwirth, 2006).

Research, furthermore, shows that land titling programmes can enhance or create conflicts when they lead to increased compensation for secure and serviced land (Payne, 2001; Ubbink, 2009). Land titling can lead in this case to new threats, when it attracts interest from speculators, wealthier groups, or international corporations, who may want to buy the land when it is legalised with title deeds to develop it into a new use (Neuwirth, 2006, p. 21). Land titling can, therefore, lead to land speculation when property values and land prices are rising due to formalisation.<sup>25</sup> This may induce land occupation by

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<sup>24</sup> Land titling, therefore, also increases the power of the state over its citizens, particularly those living in (previous) illegal settlements, as it can imply greater control over their living arrangements (Earle, 2014; Patel, 2016).

<sup>25</sup> While it is assumed that land titling leads to increased property values, research from ElHadary & Obeng-Odoom (2012) demonstrates that title deeds are not necessarily an important determinant for property values, instead location and access to utilities are more significant drivers.

speculators who hope to make substantial capital gains from the increased land value post-formalisation (Ubbink, 2009; Earle, 2014). The formalisation of land may cause more investors to hold land as a hedge fund against inflation (Payne, 2001).

Conflict can arise during the land titling process. For example, communal-held land is not easily divided into individual parcels when the land is subjected to overlapping legal, customary, and social claims from different households who live there (Earle, 2014). This can lead to competition over land, particularly when the land price and property value is expected to increase due to formalisation (Neuwirth, 2006). For example, ElHadary & Obeng-Odoom (2012) describe how in Sudan conflict and violence increased by land titling programs when it led to socio-economic variations between the different parts of the country.

In addition, land titling can lead to the eviction of tenants from their housing when, incentivised by increasing property prices, newly entitled landlords wish to obtain a higher profit from their land by increasing the rent (Payne, 2001; Ubbink, 2009; Van Gelder, 2010). These tenants are subsequently replaced by higher-income groups, who can afford increasing rent prices, which will ultimately lead to market distortions, as low-income groups can no longer access affordable housing in these areas (Payne, 2001).

Individual land titling, furthermore, can lead to the exclusion of (vulnerable) household members, such as women, youth and elderly, who may also have a social or customary claim to the land (Ubbink, 2009; Simbizi, Bennett & Zevenbergen, 2014). Individual land titling creates, or intensifies, in these cases a dependent relationship between the title holder and other household members (Ubbink, 2009). From the above examples, it is evident that the implied relationship between land titling and tenure security cannot be sustained, as increasing tenure security for one can decrease tenure security for another, which can subsequently lead to homelessness (Payne, 2001; Ubbink, 2009).

In addition, here is a lack of evidence that land titling will enable the poor to access loans and credit. In reality formal credit institutions are reluctant to borrow to low-income households for fear of high transaction costs and

associated risks (Payne, 2001; Bromley, 2008). For example, ElHadary and Obeng-Odoom (2012) describe how in Ghana a title deed alone is insufficient to obtain credit from the bank, if households cannot prove stable employment to ensure repayment in addition. Moreover, even when a slum dwelling has a title deed, its dilapidated condition may not represent a credit-worthy valuable asset to the bank (Von Benda-Beckmann, 2003).

Research from Payne (2001) and Ubbink (2009), furthermore, shows that households themselves may be reluctant to apply for a loan, out of a fear they will lose their only asset in foreclosure, if they are unable to repay their debts. It is questionable if a title deed is necessary to obtain small loans for low-income groups or if other types of collateral can suffice in these cases (Payne, 2001).

One of the drivers behind land titling is that households who are provided with a title deed become tenure secure and henceforward will invest in their property to increase its value (Payne, 2001; Obeng-Odoom & Stilwell, 2013). Research, however, demonstrates investment decisions are dependent on various inter-related factors. Such decisions are particularly contingent if, despite legal security and a title deed, households perceive themselves as tenure insecure (Payne, 2001; Van Gelder, 2010). Title deeds in themselves are, thus, insufficient to increase the level of tenure security (Payne, 2001). Although title deeds ensure legal tenure security, they do not automatically lead to perceived tenure security, if households perceive the probability of forced evictions as high and do not feel sufficiently reassured they will receive full, just, and timely compensation (Obeng-Odoom & Stilwell, 2013; Nakamura, 2016).

This is supported by research from Earle (2014) and Nakamura (2016), who reveal that the absence of title deeds does not prevent households from property investments, if they perceive themselves tenure secure. Hence, the land titling process overlooks other forms of tenure that can increase households perceived tenure security, such as 'certificates of use' (Payne, 2001; Earle, 2014). For example, in Egypt, a system is in place where ground rent is charged to informal settlers on government or unclaimed desert land. Although not equal to a title deed, these customary rights are protected and provide protection against forced evictions (Payne, 2001). Patel (2016) in addition demonstrates even when households receive a title deed and use this to obtain capital, they

do not necessarily use this towards property investments, but rather they use this towards everyday living costs and property repayments.

Land titling programmes however require government cooperation and a fair land titling process.<sup>26</sup> Governments, furthermore, need to be equipped with the administrative capacity and efficiency to handle a large amount of new land registrations in a short period (Payne, 2001). The process of formalisation is therefore, often, slow and costly (Earle, 2014). The application of a formal land tenure system modelled on Western experience, furthermore presupposes institutions outside the West function similarly. Whereas in reality they exist in a different context and face different social and political realities (Earle, 2014).

Land titling alone, therefore, is, no guarantee for overcoming poverty, as there are still plenty of people around the world with property rights who are still poor (Harvey, 2003). De Soto's (2002) theory to lift low-income groups out of poverty by using their land as collateral is not, therefore, immediately sustained, as the activation of dead capital does not automatically lead to employment generation (Bromley, 2008). However, legal tenure security is important for households faced with the possibility of displacement, as it may provide security for compensation and options for resettlement that enable households to rebuild their livelihoods elsewhere.

### **2.5.2 New-build gentrification and social-economic spatial segregation.**

Development-induced displacement for the construction of Cities-within-Cities is directly linked to a form of new-build gentrification. Gentrification, a term coined by British sociologist Ruth Glass in 1964, is defined in this thesis as “the repopulation of inner-city neighbourhoods by affluent groups through residential rehabilitation at the expense of the displacement of working-class residents” (Lees, Bang Shin & Lopez-Morales, 2016, p. 25). Gentrification is, similar to the concepts of urban renewal and redevelopment, rooted in European and North-American cities, but has over time transformed into a global practice that takes

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<sup>26</sup> For governments the absence of security of tenure can actually be a positive attribute, as it makes it easier to seize land and displace its occupants without having to provide compensation (HRW, 2007).

place in cities around the world (Lees, Bang Shin & Lopez-Morales, 2016). As gentrification has become a global phenomenon, it is important to consider that it has also become more diverse, and, therefore, sometimes less obvious at first (Shin and Kim, 2016). Shin and Kim (2016) describe how gentrification is no longer confined to its “classic process of residential upgrading, but now also encompasses the redevelopment of existing residential, commercial, or brownfield sites, which result in either direct or indirect displacement of residents ...” (p. 543).

The displacement of low-income groups from the (inner-) city by high-income groups in the process of renewal and redevelopment is a likely outcome for a City-within-a-City construction (Lees, Bang Shin & Lopez-Morales, 2016). Gentrification, therefore, functions at the same time as a sorting practice, where a particular type of people (highly skilled professionals and expatriates) are attracted, simultaneously displacing low-skilled workers and services (Lees, Slater & Wyly, 2008; Bang Shin, 2014, p. 510). New-build gentrification in this case can displace people directly and indirectly from their homes (Lees, Bang Shin and Lopez-Morales, 2016, p. 9). Indirect displacement occurs when low-income households can no longer afford to buy housing in these neighbourhoods, due to its gentrification (Lees, Slater & Wyly, 2008, p. 140).

New-build gentrification, at the same time, excludes low-income groups and their housing from an image that would conflict with world-class standards, and, therefore, leads to geographies of exclusion (Bhan Shin, 2014). Run-down and dilapidated neighbourhoods are considered visual pollution that actively undermine GaWC ambitions. The presence of these neighbourhoods contradicts the ordered, modern, and well-functioning urban fabric the city wishes to show to the world (Kamaram, 2008). Kamaram (2008) describes how inner-city renewal and redevelopment of squatter areas in Istanbul (Turkey) was justified as removing ‘eyesores’ that threatened its GaWC status (p. 518).

New City construction projects are usually carried out in a top-down manner and lack transparency, inclusiveness, and citizen participation (Kamaram, 2008; Watson, 2014). Under a ‘rhetoric of urgency’ (Datta, 2015, p. 5), New City plans are fast-tracked for the sake of development, and bypass local zoning and

planning codes (Kamaran, 2008). It, therefore, appears these plans are threatening city dwellers' individual and collective 'Right to the City' (RttC).

The RttC is a concept first introduced by Henri Lefebvre in the 1970s, following the Paris workers' revolution, which he defined as "... the right to freedom, to individualisation in socialisation, to habit and to inhabit. The right to oeuvre, to participation and appropriation (clearly distinct from the right to property), are implied in the 'Right to the City'" (Lefebvre, Kofman & Lebas, 1996, p. 174). Harvey (2012) further refined the definition of the RttC as a collective right "to change ourselves by changing the city more after our hearts desire" (p. 23). With the rise of New Cities, the RttC is undergoing a revival, as its need has become more urgent, yet neglected at the same time (Moser, 2015).

New Cities have also come to represent a form of 'new urban colonialism', when they are controlled as exclusive spaces by private interests for society's elite and high-income groups (Datta, 2015). Research shows New Cities are primarily targeted at high-income groups (Watson, 2014). For example, Eko Atlantic City (Nigeria) is targeted at high-income and elite groups and is able to accommodate 250,000 people, which is less than one percent of the population of the nearby metropolis Lagos (Seymour, 2010). The construction of New Cities, thus, represents the interests and activities of a small targeted group of high-income and elite individuals, which in turn represents only a small segment of the economy (Robinson, 2005).

The construction of Cities-within-Cities consequently, may, lead to the concentration of property and land rights in the hands of a few individuals and companies (Sassen, 2015). This raises concerns about urban equity, democracy, and (spatial) justice in respect to who controls the RttC, and after whose needs and desires the city is being shaped (Sassen, 2015). As a result, it is questionable whose interests are served by New Cities: those of urban dwellers, transnational corporations, or the state who provides the setting in which globalisation-led urban development can take place (Friedmann & Wolff, 1982).

Cities-within-Cities, furthermore, have the potential to create a divide between the old and the new, between the daily realities of city dweller, with pollution, chaos, and informality, and the perceived modernity of a clean and pollution-

free New City (Watson, 2014; Moser, 2015). The construction of Cities-within-Cities can lead to a form of socio-spatial restructuring at a municipal scale and produce socioeconomic, spatial segregation when it is accompanied by a form of new-build gentrification (Shin & Kim, 2016). In this case, lower-income groups are displaced and relocated to the urban fringe, while simultaneously higher-income groups move into the centre. The development of a City-within-a-City has, therefore, the potential to cause spatially segregated neighbourhoods by class and socioeconomic status (Harvey, 2012; Abubakar & Doan, 2017).<sup>27</sup>

Socioeconomic, spatial segregation can, in turn, lead to distributional and economic differences between the City-within-a-City and the surrounding urban areas. Distributional and economic differences can arise when cities with limited resources choose to prioritise and allocate these strategically to the New City rather than using these resources for the provision of basic services and infrastructure in the existing urban areas (White, 1999; Robinson, 2002; Watson, 2009). The flow of resources to Cities-within-Cities as privileged areas may, therefore, automatically lead to the impoverishment of the rest of the city; it can also lead to tax increments (White, 1998; Robinson, 2002). It, furthermore, implies the creation of a socio-economic, spatial divide and heightened inequality between the New City and the surrounding urban area (White, 1998; Robinson, 2002).

Socioeconomic, spatial segregation is linked to income and occupational polarisation within cities. Sassen (1998) and White (1998) argue that in GaWCs the growth dynamic is geared towards the top (upper class and elite groups) and the bottom (lower-class), but not to the middle segment. This follows the reasoning that GaWCs primarily exist for a class of highly educated, specialised professionals (Friedmann, 1986), who are provided with services by the lower class. This causes a dichotomised labour force, with specialised professionals in the service sector and low-skilled labourers who cater for their needs (Shaktin, 2007). Occupational and income polarisation echoes across New Cities, as they

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<sup>27</sup> This can be further reinforced by the governance style of some New Cities, when they are overseen by a CEO, rather than by a mayor and a city council. The city in this respect is not a public good, but a publicly traded corporation with customers, not citizens (Moser, 2015). Future residents (businesses and families) would have to apply to live within the New Cities, while their acceptance will be based on their financial and societal status (Salim 2011).

are primarily targeted at high-income groups (Watson, 2014). This dichotomy is essentially a class conflict that is causing a form of occupational and income polarisation, a spatial segregation between income groups in cities (Friedmann, 1986, p. 690). It leads to cities of growing extremes, cities of the very rich and the very poor (White, 1998, p. 454).

### **2.5.3 The impact of displacement on social- and economic networks**

When households are displaced they do not only incur a physical loss of land and housing, but they also lose their social- and economic networks (Ghani, 2014). Displacement dismantles both inter- and intra- community social- and economic networks, which function as coping strategies and safety nets for solidarity, mutual assistance and crisis situations. These support networks are fundamental to the daily lives and survival of (low-income) households as they find day-to-day life and crisis situations difficult to manage independently (Willems 2005; Mitra 2006; Greene et al., 2011; Bisht, 2014; Koenig, 2014).<sup>28</sup> The dismantling of social- and economic networks hinders households from reconstructing their new lives elsewhere, as they lose their support networks while they continue to rely (and overburden) people who might be in need of assistance themselves (Downing & Garcia-Downing, 2008; Carillo, 2009; Cao et al., 2012; Bisht, 2014). This affects households' day-to-day routines and hampers their ability to respond to emergencies (Bisht, 2014).

Displacement, even when conducted according to best practices, causes mental distress from the loss of friends, neighbours or family members who now live elsewhere as well as the loss of places and material possessions (Green et al., 2017; Vanclay, 2017). This mental distress is multidimensional; it encompasses psychological, physiological, and sociological components (Scudder, 1993).<sup>29</sup> In addition, households may experience nostalgia and longing for their old ways of

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<sup>28</sup> When households their inter- and intra-community networks are dismantled, they are not only faced with the disruption of their community networks but are also cut off from neighbouring communities that did not move (Koenig, 2014).

<sup>29</sup> Research found post-displacement households experience an increase in depression, and simultaneously a decline in self-rated health (Cao et al., p. 1135). Moreover, it is found that mental distress and resettlement related factors, such as higher density rates, inadequate food supplies, new health risks and different diseases, leads to increased morbidity and mortality rates in the two years post-resettlement (Scudder, 1993, p. 140).

life when their daily routines, with its own customs and culture, are disrupted through a ‘temporary reordering of space, time, relationships, norms, and psycho-social-cultural constructs’ (Fullilove, 1996; Downing & Garcia-Downing, 2008, p. 465 & 466; Carillo, 2009; Greene et al., 2011).<sup>30</sup> These daily routines gave meaning to life and their disruption is found to be more harmful and stressful than the physical move itself (Scudder, 1993, p. 142). The loss of both people and place works synergistically in this regard and is, therefore, far more disruptive in comparison to someone who only experiences the loss of one of these (Mitra, 2006). The differences between previous and current living circumstances and situations can exacerbate these feelings and make the present time appear to be more difficult (Fullilove, 1996). Mental distress is most severe for households without a land title or tenancy, such as illegal settlers, as they are most often excluded from any type of compensation, which makes them very vulnerable (Koenig, 2014).

The loss of place causes mental distress and has an emotional impact, with feelings such as sadness, fear, or anger (Carillo, 2009). These individually experienced emotions can extend to and affect the wider family level when they result in domestic violence, abuse, or divorce (Carillo, 2009). Place in this regard has multiple unique spatial and social meanings for each individual, as the social and economic networks people established over time are strongly embedded in the physical space they occupy (Fullilove, 1996; Greene et al., 2011). Place, furthermore, is attached to a sense of belonging and considered a necessity for well-being, health, personal security, and identity (Fullilove, 1996). The loss of spatial attachment is insurmountable for some households wherefore, despite often increasing rent prices caused by speculation over urban development, they sometimes return from relocation areas to neighbourhoods near their previous place of residence to regain and retain social- and economic networks (Liu et al., 2018).

Resettlement schemes often turn into housing projects in which the reconstruction of social- and economic networks is forgotten (Mejia, 1999; Koenig, 2014). When

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<sup>30</sup> When people are displaced, they will continue to refer back to their traditional culture and way of life, which can be an important strategy to deal with everyday situations and emergencies (Bisht, 2014).

households are unable to restore their social- and economic networks post displacement long-term harm can occur; this is aggravated when the emotional impacts of displacement prohibits people's ability to continue their lives elsewhere (Vanclay, 2017; Carillo, 2019). Moreover, the inability of households to restore, or improve, their livelihoods can lead to impoverishment, or cause 'new poverty' (Downing & Garcia-Downing, 2008; Bisht, 2014; Koenig, 2014; Cavalheiro & Abiko, 2015).

The reconstruction of social networks post-resettlement is a long and difficult process. The physical move to a new area is simultaneously the beginning of an adaptation process to a new community, location and house, which is when households begin to establish new routine cultures (Mejia, 1999, p. 176; Downing & Garcia-Downing, 2008). Neighbourhoods need time to grow into social communities and people need time to learn to trust their neighbours. One of the main challenges, therefore, is the formation of new social relationships that transforms strangers into neighbours (Barr, 2004; Bisht, 2014).<sup>31</sup> Scudder (1993) refers to this as the transition stage of initial adaptation that lasts two to three years, and represents the physical move to a new location and is considered as the most difficult, stressful, and challenging phase for households.<sup>32</sup> This adaptation phase, if and when successful is followed by a time of economic development and community formation.

Prior to displacement household income is most often made up of a combination of formal and informal activities and may include supplementary income sources such as savings, pension, or remittances (Vanclay, 2017). Hence, when households are displaced, they face the dismantling of economic networks and asset depletion, when the land and location itself was used for income earning, and,

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<sup>31</sup> Although generally it is advised to relocate communities as a group, this is not a panacea for success either as it does not imply social networks will stay in place in a different location if communities have lost their collective identity (Bisht, 2014).

<sup>32</sup> Scudder (1993) has developed a five-stage framework to represent the transition of households for successful environmental, economic and institutional resettlement (p. 130). While in the short run households may be able to transition through the various stages, Scudder (1993) finds over a sustained period of time households may not be able to maintain this progress or pass it on to future generations (p. 135).

they may lose their locational advantage and clientele (Carillo, 2009).<sup>33</sup> The dismantling of social networks prohibits people's employment success when these networks were used to access information about potential jobs or for informal income sources (Mitra, 2006). This is particularly the case for households who earn their income in the informal sector, which fluctuates and is highly dependent on their social networks (Liu et al., 2008). These informal activities, furthermore, are the most difficult to reconstruct post-displacement (Koenig, 2014).

Households and their economic networks are linked to specific locations; this dependency on specific locations and on social networks has not generally been sufficiently studied and accounted for in resettlement programs (Mejia, 1999). The distance, travelling time, and costs associated with returning to prior locations makes it more difficult to maintain these activities and entails a risk of losing employment, if people cannot commute (Koenig, 2014). Even when it is possible to commute, women may discontinue their income earning activities in prior locations when the travelling time competes with domestic work (Koenig, 2014). Formally employed people, who work for individuals or companies elsewhere in the city, or people who have informal income activities established elsewhere in the city unaffected by displacement, are able to maintain their income if their work is unaffected by development projects (Koenig, 2014).

Post-relocation households will have to compete with their host community (if any), and other relocated households, in their new location, for employment if they have experienced a loss or require additional income sources (Carillo, 2009). This is problematic as employment opportunities are limited to local demand, while households are prohibited from diversifying their search in the formal or informal sector if they have low skill levels, education or training (Mitra, 2006; Carillo, 2009). This results in unemployment or underemployment, which can continue long after physical displacement has taken place (Cernea, 1997). Post-relocation vocational (re)training can improve skill levels, but does not immediately translate into jobs if these are locally unavailable or if their skill set is in low demand (Cernea, 1997). Project-related jobs are in this regard temporary

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<sup>33</sup> For example, households may have benefitted from the locational advantage of their prior residential location for their income earning activities, such as a mixed-character neighbourhood that provided them easy access to prospective clientele (Mejia, 1999; Koenig, 2014).

solutions, and are not sustainable, as they only last for the duration of a project and, therefore result in unemployment at a later stage. Survival, therefore, might become the main goal post-relocation, while urgently seeking income sources (Greene et al., 2011).

Regardless if households are able to maintain, reconstruct or improve their income earning activities post-displacement, they are generally faced with increased expenses associated with their new housing, such as service costs or housing fees associated with a long-term mortgage (Cernea, 1997; Koenig, 2014).<sup>34</sup> This implies, displacement directly and indirectly leads to an increase in daily expenses and, households will have to earn more to maintain previous living standards. Households in these cases, may feel as if higher-class (expensive) living standards are being imposed on them, regardless of their previous living standards (Cavalheiro & Abiko, 2015, p. 347). Households who are unable to afford all the associated housing costs in the long-run are found to sell or rent out their housing units (Koenig, 2014). Other factors which may lead to increased expenses, for example, are increased travelling costs and expenses for services households previously did not need, due to their strong social ties, such as child care and neighbourhood security (Mejia, 1996). This leads to a risk of losing employment, if households can no longer afford these associated expenses (Koenig, 2014; Liu et al., 2018).

Only when households are resilient enough to cope with these changes, and these costs are affordable to them, displacement and resettlement may lead to an improvement of their living standards (Koenig, 2014). To deal with increased expenses households develop different coping strategies to reduce or avoid impoverishment (Ghani, 2014). For example, multiple household member may set out to work, which can lead to young people dropping out of school, hindering long-term economic development (Koenig, 2014). Research from Liu et al. (2018) adds to this an example from China, where households are 'group renting' to cope with increasing rents, and as many as five families occupy three-bedroom apartments (p. 495).

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<sup>34</sup> For example, Cao et al. (2012) found in their study that households post-displacement had a significant lower income, and a larger debt per capita (p. 1136).

Post-displacement households need to spatially adjust to their new environment, and accompanying changes in housing and social atmosphere, by acquiring new skills and knowledge (Green et al., 2011). Different life styles and social behaviours may lead to rising tension between newcomers and host communities, or other relocated households, in relocation areas (Carillo, 2009). Additionally, research shows resettlement is causing a reordering of space, time, relationships, norms, and psycho-social cultural constructs, which can lead to a changing lifestyle from- communal to (competitive) individualistic (Bisht, 2014).

Planners and policy makers play a crucial role in easing the transition of households into a new community (Barr, 2004). Planners can facilitate the creation of new social networks through the provision of neighbourhood resources, which is found to be an important factor in the formation of social networks (Curley, 2010). Neighbourhood resources, facilities, and institutions provide opportunities for social interaction between neighbours in these shared public spaces (Curley, 2010). However, dysfunctional relationships between planners, policy makers, and displaced households can adversely affect post-resettlement adaptation-, and can lead to active opposition against displacement projects (Cernea, 1997). Moreover, inadequate planning or the inadequate implementation of planning can further hinder successful resettlement (Scudder, 1993). Hence, the “components and manner in which a resettlement intervention is carried out can complicate or facilitate this process” (Cavalheiro and Abiko, 2015, p. 342).

Reducing the reconstruction of social- and economic networks, and physical, emotional and psychological losses, to monetary compensation underestimates the importance and complexity of (the reconstruction of) these networks (Vanclay, 2017). Monetary compensation, therefore, is in itself found to be structurally insufficient to achieve the restoration of social- and economic networks (Cernea, 2008). In addition, monetary compensation may jeopardise living standards for low-income households who, inexperienced in handling large sums of money, spend it on old debts, household expenses, or social functions that do not support the reconstruction of their social and economic networks post-displacement (Mejia, 1999; Vanclay, 2017).

Displacement can, under the right conditions, stimulate equitable development and lead to improved well-being (Cernea, 2008; Vanclay, 2017). Well-planned and implemented resettlement can provide new opportunities for education, business and employment, which might not have existed previously (Scudder, 1993; Vanclay, 2017). Koenig (2014) to this end suggests a 'portfolio' of livelihood reconstructions should be offered to households, as standard packages do not work and tailored approaches are necessary to account for the diversity and complexity of individual circumstances. Cernea (2008), on the other hand, proposes a form of benefit sharing mechanisms, where economic rents and project benefits are (partially) used to finance resettlement. Meija (1999, p. 176) on the other hand reiterates the importance of nearby or on-site resettlement to enable households to continue living as close as possible to their original locations, to maintain social and economic networks. Cavalheiro and Abiko (2015) stress the importance of access to jobs and vocational positions, and the need to provide and enhance employment opportunities and training alongside resettlement to improve success rates.

## **2.6 Summary**

This aim of this chapter was to introduce the concepts of New Cities and Cities-within-Cities, and to show the relationship between New City constructions and GaWC frameworks. The key point of this chapter is that, despite the parallels with the colonial and post-colonial New Town Movement, New Cities have emerged as a new form of urbanisation. New City developments have a relationship with GaWCs, as they are constructed as internationally competitive cities with a comparative advantage. Cities-within-Cities are a type of New City development and are constructed through renewal and redevelopment at a municipal scale to achieve a large-scale, urban transformation, with development-induced displacement at their core. The next chapter will address the need for the development of new urban theories.

## **3 A Call for New Urban Theories**

### **3.1 Introduction**

In Chapter 1 the need to introduce new planning concepts was linked to a need to develop new urban theories. The aim of this chapter is to substantiate the expressed need for new urban theories that are able to conceptualise the diversity of cities around the world. This is demonstrated by examining the strengths and limitations of GaWC frameworks as mainstream urban theories. This chapter will begin by discussing the emergence of cities as focal nodes in the global economy. Next, this chapter examines the use of hierarchical urban networks, specifically the World City Hypothesis and the Global City Model, as research frameworks to assess the relative hierarchical position of cities in the world economy. This chapter, then, discusses the need for new urban theories that are able to capture the diversity and complexity of individual cities around the world, and then discusses how this study is positioned in relation to this need. Finally, this chapter provides a summary.

### **3.2 Cities as focal nodes in the global economy**

Globalisation is defined in this thesis as:

First, the growing number of chains of economic, social, cultural and political activity that are world-wide in scope, and second, the intensification of levels of interaction and interconnectedness between states and societies (Amin, 1997, p. 129).

The process of globalisation is in itself not new, but has been in place since the nineteenth century when global networks of communication and other internationally standardised systems emerged (Knox, 1997). In the aftermath of the Second World War, however, a critical change took place when globalisation caused a shift in the proportion of the world's economic activities that are transnational in scope (Knox, 1997, p. 18). Around this time, an increasing amount of companies intensified their transnational activities, by offshoring manufacturing and production activities; this created a global flow of goods, capital, and information (Knox, 1996, 1998). The global rise in capital mobility and communication systems further intensified international economic competition and transnational corporate activities (Knox, 1998; White, 1998).

The intensification of transnational economic activities has also been influenced by the spatial dispersion of production and distribution activities by offshoring activities to low-cost production sites. This is a form of locational flexibility that has enabled industries to relocate their activities from developed to developing countries, and, thus, simultaneously has industrialised these parts of the world and created an opportunity for them to enter into the world economy (Shatkin, 2002). The offshoring of manufacturing industries to low- and middle-income countries, in a search for inexpensive labour and market potential, has also created a new international division of labour (Brenner, 1998; Shatkin, 2002).

Locational flexibility has, thus, led to the dispersal of products, markets, and organisations across the globe (Knox, 1996). The rise of 'Fordism' (automatised mass-production) and the 1970s US recession further instigated a disintegrated form of industrial organisation, which led to flexible production systems that further enabled the decentralisation of production activities (Brenner, 1998; Knox, 1998). Alongside the process of decentralisation, however, a need emerged for the concentration and centralisation of business services and coordinating functions in selected urban nodes (Brenner, 1998).

Therefore, even though globalisation led to decentralisation, it also strengthened the need for centralisation (Robinson, 2005). The role of new communication technologies was particularly important in this respect, as they allowed for a process of centralisation and decentralisation to take place simultaneously (Castells, 2010). Castells (2010) refers to this as a 'space of flows' where separate locations are linked electronically in an interactive network that connects people and activities in different geographic contexts (Castells, 2001, p. 551).

From the centralisation–decentralisation process, a new demand emerged for cities to host centralised place-based activities and command functions. Cities represent in this case an agglomeration advantage, where the coordination and centralisation of specialised services can be organised and accelerated, such as finance and banking. These services are deemed necessary for the functioning of economic networks, and as they are located in cities, they can coordinate decentralised production activities elsewhere (Brenner, 1998; Knox, 1998; Robinson, 2005; Shatkin, 2007).

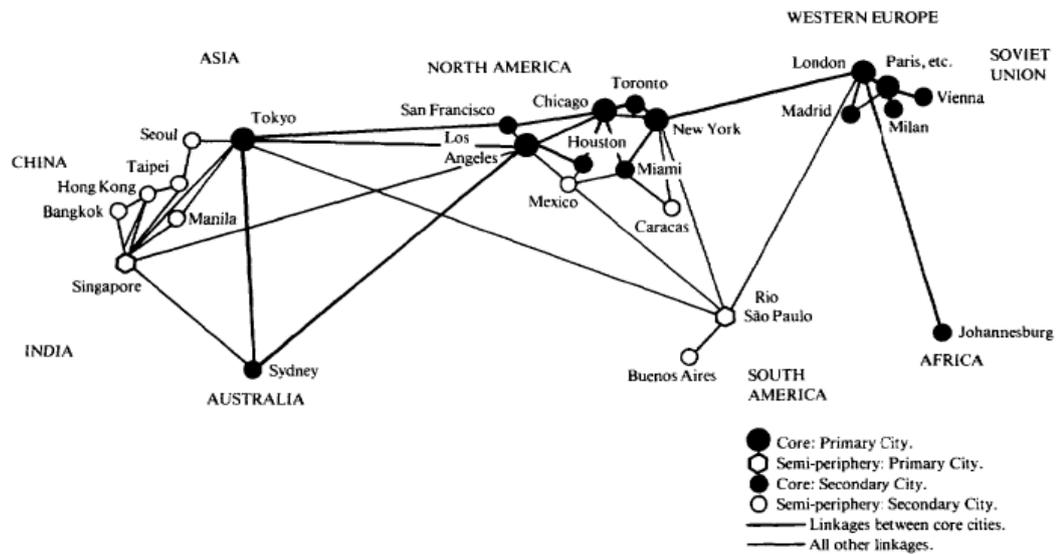
Cities have, thus, changed from their traditional role of organising and facilitating local, regional, and national production and distribution towards a new role as focal nodes in the global economy and basing points for the accumulation of capital (Knox, 1996, 1997; Sassen, 1998; Yeoh, 1999). City networks have, therefore, become spatial representations of the global outplay of economic forces, as they have become “natural frameworks for the circulation and reproduction of capital” (Knox, 1997, p. 18). This has led to a selective group of cities that function as the focal nodes within a transnational hierarchical urban network in the global economy.

### **3.3 Global and World City Networks**

Since the 1970s and 1980s, scholars had begun to connect urbanisation processes and city networks to global economic forces (Friedmann, 1986; Taylor, 2004). This exploratory and explanatory research has over time become mainstream urban theory. It has also led to the development of complex rankings and maps to demonstrate a world urban hierarchy, in which cities are ranked as key spatial nodes in the world economy (Brenner, 1998). Cities are positioned in an urban hierarchy by measuring the urban concentration and accumulation of international capital. Their positions can rise and fall in the urban hierarchy as they are fluid and continuously adjusting and re-adjusting (Friedmann, 1986; Taylor, 2004). Two prominent analytical research frameworks and theories discussed in this chapter are the World City Hypothesis and the Global City Model.

Friedmann (1986) wrote the World City Hypothesis as an initial attempt to systematically link economic globalisation, as measured by the new international division of labour, with the process of urbanisation (Knox, 1996). The World City Hypothesis consists of seven inter-related statements, with which Friedmann (1986) demonstrated how certain cities function as basing points in the global economy. Cities are arranged in a spatial hierarchy based on their relative position and degree of integration in the global economy (Friedmann, 1986). Friedmann’s (1986) primary argument in the World City Hypothesis is the ability to spatially represent cities in an urban network that transcend state boundaries based on their respective position in the global economy. With the World City Hypothesis Friedmann (1986), therefore, offered a conceptual research

framework to study cities connected by globalisation and the world economy (Figure 3-1) (Knox, 1996).



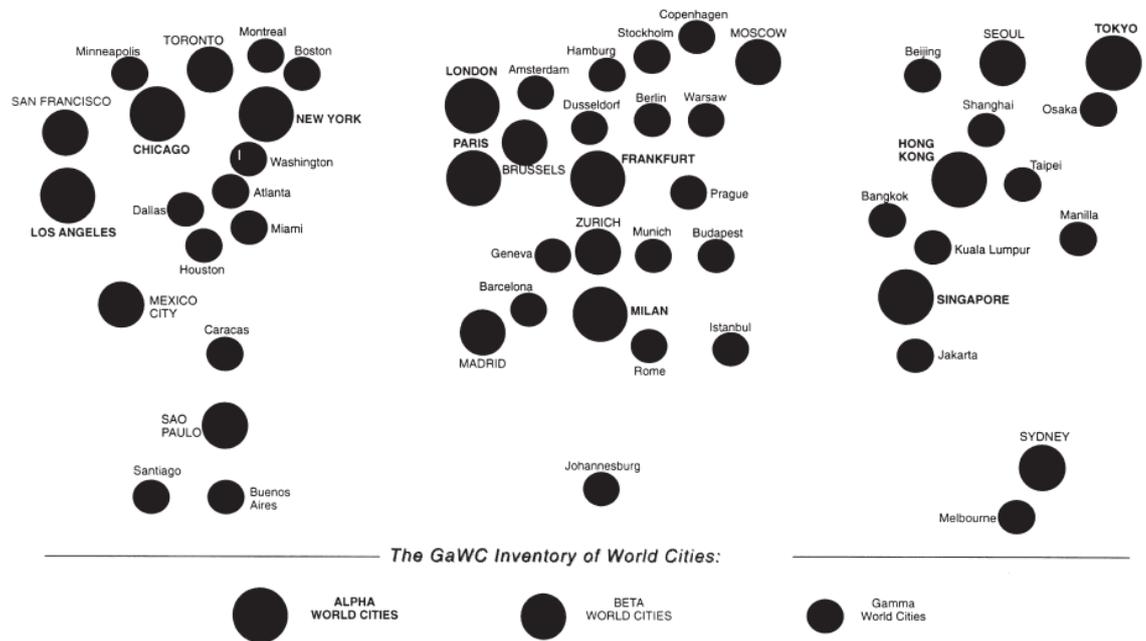
**Figure 3-1: The Hierarchy of World Cities**

Source: Friedmann, 1986

Sassia Sassen (1998) introduced the Global City Model as an analytical strategy in which the Global City represents a cross-border network of strategic sites, which she defined as: “a strategic space where global processes materialise in national territories and global dynamics use national institutional arrangements” (p. 478). With the Global City Model, Sassen (1998) refers to a selective group of cities who have attained new strategic roles in the global economy that have been derived from “the combination of spatial dispersal and global integration” (p. 3). Sassen’s main argument is that the concentration of top-level control and management functions in a small number of cities has led to the rise of these cities as frontier zones for global corporate capital, as production sites and as ‘global assembly lines’ for specialised services and financial innovations (Sassen, 1998, p. 10; Sassen, 2013).

Beaverstock, Taylor, and Smith (1999) have used Sassen’s (1998) definition of Global Cities to create an inventory of GaWCs (Figure 32). Cities were scored as global service centres in four key sectors (accounting, advertising, banking, and law) to create this inventory of GaWCs (Beaverstock, Taylor & Smith, 1999, p. 446). From the scores, 10 ‘Alpha’ world cities, 10 ‘Beta’ world cities, and 35

‘Gamma’ world cities were identified which together form the ‘GaWC inventory’.



**Figure 3-2: The World According to GaWCs**

Source: Beaverstock, Taylor, and Smith, 1999

What makes GaWCs valuable are the global networks of value making, financial transactions, and managerial function they host (Castell, 2010, p. 2741). Attempts to map a global urban hierarchy have, therefore, focused on the integration of cities in the world economy by measuring the presence and strength of international capital from corporate headquarters and their subordinate networks in these locations. It is, however, questionable if this is actually measuring inter-city relationships or if it is measuring the networked power relationships between global firms (Robinson, 2005). In addition, this approach excludes other forms of capital, ignores other types of globalisation, and places a disproportional weight on the global economy (Roy, 2009). If the goal of GaWC frameworks is to conceptualise cities around the world it is doubtful if it is for this purpose necessary to compare and reference cities against each other in a global hierarchy (McCann, Roy & Ward, 2013, p. 581; Robinson, 2005).

The use of GaWC frameworks to identify an urban hierarchy by assessing the relative performance of cities against a set of normative and evaluative criteria assumes a blueprint for achieving GaWC status exists (Brenner, 1998; McCann,

Roy and Ward, 2013). This is ironic as research has told us little about how a city might become a Global City (Marr, 2013, p. 5). There is, moreover, a lack of empirical evidence to support the existence of a global urban hierarchy, as there is insufficient data available about the relationships between cities across state boundaries (Taylor, 2004, p. 324). Taylor (1997) is, furthermore, contradicting the existence of urban hierarchies in itself. As despite the conditions being present for a single world urban hierarchy, he argues: “creating conditions for something is not the same as creating its actual existence” (p. 329). A fully developed global hierarchy assumes a level playing field within a fully integrated global economic space, which in reality does not exist (Taylor, 1997).

Despite the lack of empirical evidence for the existence of an urban hierarchy and criticism against the validity of research frameworks to make this visual, these frameworks have become prophecies and panaceas for successful social and economic development in the eyes of city managers across the world (Robinson, 2002; Watson, 2014). It is in this regard, the discourse and perception of what constitutes a global city that attracts cities to be part of this global network, although this does not necessarily represent the quality of life for its dwellers (Yeoh, 1999; Shatkin, 2007). The city has, in this context, been reduced to a metaphor in which the representation of the city is important, while real problems are overlooked (Yeoh, 1999, p. 612.).

GaWC frameworks have changed overtime from a theoretical and analytical research tool into a descriptive and heuristic concept to understand and measure the degree of ‘global city-ness’ by analysing global economic linkages between cities and placing them in a global hierarchy (Friedman, 1986; Knox, 1996; Sassen, 1998; Yeoh, 1999). This has led to inter-city competition within a system of networked capitalism for a place in the urban hierarchy (Roy, 2009, p. 821). Whereas some cities have the strategic resources to be competitive in the global economy, others do not and find themselves excluded (Sassen, 1991; Taylor, 2004). GaWC frameworks and their restrictive analysis have, therefore, created geographies of exclusion by producing an uneven geographical development, a dualism between those cities that are included and those who are excluded. For example, in the GaWC inventory, it is suggested that world city formation predominantly takes place in ‘globalisation arenas’, North

America, Europe, and Pacific Asia, simultaneously excluding other areas of the world (such as the entire African continent) (Beaverstock, Smith & Taylor, 1999).

A number of (marginalised) cities across the world are unable to fit within the existing GaWC hierarchy networks, as they are unable to meet GaWC requirements and have consequently “fallen off the map” (Yue-man, 2000; Robinson, 2002, p. 546). Shatkin (1998) refers to this as the emergence of a ‘fourth world’, which is composed of places that find themselves excluded and deemed ‘structurally irrelevant’ in the world economy, although places considered ‘structurally irrelevant’ are integrated into the global system in various ways. As Marr (2013) questions: “where do you locate cities such as Lagos, Gaborone or Kinshasha which are very much globally plugged in ...?” (p. 8). Just because cities do not appear on global city rankings, does not mean they are not globalised. Cities form networked relationships with other cities, which may exist outside the scope of GaWC hierarchies, but they are nonetheless affected directly and indirectly by access to a global flow of goods, services, people, and information (Knox, 1998; Sassen, 1991; Shatkin, 1998; Taylor, 2004).

Despite a lack of empirical evidence, the performative structures of GaWC frameworks are now used as benchmarks for analysis and evaluation to inform policy makers and city managers around the world for city (re)making and (re)modelling (McCann, Roy and Ward, 2013, p. 581). These aspirational and competitive strategies are guiding cities around the world in strategizing and renegotiating their visions and identities alongside GaWC frameworks (Knox, 1997). The re-imagination, re-making, and re-modelling of urban spaces to meet perceived international standards has for that matter become a prominent discourse to respond to the changing needs of the global economy.

It is deemed imperative to provide infrastructure, specialised office spaces, communication networks, and human expertise alongside international standards to attract residents, visitors, and investors (Goss, 1997; Knox, 1998; Kamaran, 2008). To modernise, beautify, and increase overall urban attractiveness and competitiveness, cities across the world are now trying to improve their status in the GaWC urban hierarchy through large-scale urban transformations. Matusitz (2010, p. 1) calls this process ‘Glurbanization’ (the terms ‘globalization’ and ‘urbanisation’ merged together), which refers to urban transformations and

reconfigurations of cities to develop global competitive advantages that will lead to an improved hierarchical position within GaWC frameworks. Economic globalisation and the rise of GaWC frameworks has, therefore, directly affected the function and form of architecture and planning (Mehan, 2017, p. 212).

### 3.4 A call for new urban theory

It is important that the centre of theory making represents new geographies when developing new urban theories capable of capturing different urbanisation experiences from a diversity of cities around the world (Roy, 2009). Given their previously discussed limitations, GaWC frameworks no longer have the explanatory power to adequately and satisfactorily explain the diversity and complexity of cities around the world. Some authors (Shatkin, 2002; Roy, 2009; Marr, 2016) have made suggestions to change the centre of theory making. Roy (2009, p. 822) proposes to move the centre of theory-making to Asia, Africa, and Latin-America “to view all cities from this particular place on the map”. This is similar to Marr (2016, p. 17) who proposes to reverse the flow of theory making by centring cities located at the ‘margins’ as exemplars, as opposed to exceptions, from where theoretical frameworks can be developed that can be applied to cities located in Europe and North America. Shatkin (2002) proposes to focus on the role of ‘fourth-world cities’ (those excluded by GaWC frameworks) and how they are integrated into, and impacted by, global economic forces.<sup>35</sup>

New urban theories, in addition, need to be flexible enough to include a diversity and variety of cities. Robinson (2002, 2005) states, to achieve this goal, it would be recommendable to view all cities as ‘ordinary cities’. The emphasis placed in urban theory on GaWC frameworks, and on cities that dominate these hierarchies, has so far failed to appreciate the diversity and complexity of ‘ordinary cities’ per se. Viewing all cities as ‘ordinary cities’ could also end city

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<sup>35</sup> Not everyone agrees with a need for new theories emerging for/in/from cities in the Global South. Mabin (2014), for example, is sceptical and, amongst other reasons, fears these attempts might rather become an effort to understand Southern cities from Northern locations that analyses cities of the South through ‘concepts and tools emanating from long-standing urban studies elsewhere’ (p. 26). Therefore, from his viewpoint these attempts do not directly contribute to Southern scholarship or advance Southern urbanism, nor do they make substantially different contributions or speak from the South, but rather speak about the South from the ‘Western/Northern’ canon (Mabin, 2014, p. 26).

classification into dualistic categories and it should ensure another form of dualism will not be imposed (Zeiderman, 2008; McCann, Roy & Ward, 2013). GaWC frameworks have become synonymous with the classification of cities as places of hope, or dystopian failures, but have also geographically placed cities within north–south, first–third world or core–periphery categories.

With the expressed need for the development of new urban theories in mind, this thesis aims to contribute to this need by placing Addis Ababa, as an ‘ordinary’, ‘fourth-world city’ located at the ‘margins’, centrally. Addis Ababa represents a city that has proverbially ‘fallen off the map’. It does not appear in any global- and world-city rankings, such as: the A.T. Kearney 2018 Global Cities Report, the Global Power City Index 2017 from the Institute for Urban Strategies, or the GaWC index 2016 from the Globalization and World Cities Research Network, although this is a city that is very much globally connected and integrated in various ways (Marr, 2013; Robinson, 2002, p. 546).

For this research, Addis Ababa was selected as a single case-study to understand how an ordinary fourth-world city located ‘at the margins’ is integrated and impacted by global economic forces from this particular location (Marr, 2016, p. 17; Shatkin, 2002; Roy, 2008, p. 822; Roy, 2009; Robinson, 2002). By selecting a city located outside the usual European and American research epicentre, this study also aims to represent new geographies in urban theory making (Robinson, 2002; Shatkin, 2007; Roy, 2009, p. 820). This study is, thus, informing the development of new urban theories from a specific geographic location from where it can be appropriated, borrowed, and remapped (Roy, 2009, p. 820).

At the time of writing, Addis Ababa is trying to change its position in the global urban hierarchy through a large-scale, urban transformation, achieved by inner-city urban renewal and redevelopment for the construction of a City-within-a-City on top of the existing urban fabric, as a type of New City, to meet GaWC requirements. Little empirical data about the rise of New Cities has been collected at the time of writing, mainly because they have mostly emerged since the early 2000s and, therefore, their impacts are still unknown (Watson, 2014; Moser, 2015). This study contributes to this research gap by providing empirical data on a City-within-a-City, as a type of New City development, in Addis Ababa.

Whereas studies related to development-induced relocation and displacement in Addis Ababa have been conducted before, this research is different as none of the other studies were conducted in relation to GaWCs and New City making.<sup>36</sup> In addition, these studies have mostly focused on households who received compensation. This study also defines itself by having included all displacement-affected groups, including households ineligible for compensation, and, therefore, it also aims to contribute to this gap in the literature. Furthermore, this thesis aims to contribute to the literature of displacement effects on social- and economic-networks and to the literature on spatial consequences of renewal and redevelopment, such as gentrification and spatial-segregation.

Potential beneficiaries of this research are policy makers, researchers, or individuals who are working on similar issues in Addis Ababa, or on comparative cases in other cities located elsewhere in the world.

### **3.5 Summary**

The aim of this chapter was to substantiate a call for new urban theories by discussing the strengths and limitations of GaWC frameworks. The key point of this chapter is that GaWC frameworks have placed cities into a global urban hierarchy, which has created inter-city competition and has turned these frameworks into benchmarks for analysis and evaluation for (re)making and (re)modelling cities through large-scale, urban transformations. This, however, is a restrictive method and has caused geographies of exclusion, as some cities are unable to meet GaWC requirements and are unable to compete in the global economy. It is imperative, therefore, to develop new urban theories that are flexible enough to capture the different experiences from a diversity of cities around the world. The next chapter is discussing the research strategy, design and methodology of this study.

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<sup>36</sup> For instance in non-specific order Megento (2013), Yintso (2008), Planel & Bridonneau (2017), Keller & Mukudi-Omwami (2017), Duroyaume (2015), Abebe & Hesselberg (2013, 2015), Alemayehu (2008) and Gossaye (2008).

## **4 Research Strategy, Design and Methodology**

### **4.1 Introduction**

The aim of this chapter is to discuss the research strategy, design, and methodology used in this research, while also addressing other aspects of this study such as research ethics, reflexivity, and positionality. This chapter begins by introducing the research strategy, which highlights the study's philosophical underpinnings and the qualitative research strategy. It continues by discussing the design of the research, which includes the selection of an embedded, single-case study design. This is followed by a discussion of the research's validity and reliability. Next, the research methods employed are discussed as well as the sampling strategy, size, and participant recruitment. Then, the in-depth, semi-structured interviews and other data sources used in this study are discussed, followed by an explanation of the data analysis. Next, research ethics related to this study are discussed, while also reflexively discussing the researcher's positionality. The chapter ends with a brief summary.

### **4.2 Research aim and objectives**

#### **4.2.1 Aim**

The aim of this thesis is to assess large-scale, inner-city renewal, redevelopment, and displacement in Addis Ababa for the construction of a City-within-a-City as a type of New City development to remake and remodel the city alongside Global and World City (GaWC) standards, while referring to the wider historical, contextual, and global setting in which this process takes place.

#### **4.2.2 Specific objectives**

The specific objectives of this research are:

1. To assess how Addis Ababa's history of planning and housing development is linked to aspirations for GaWC making through large-scale, urban renewal and redevelopment to construct a City-within-a-City as a type of New City development.

2. To assess how large-scale, inner-city urban renewal and redevelopment for GaWC and New City development leads to development-induced displacement and how this impacts displaced households.
3. To assess how large-scale, inner-city urban renewal and redevelopment-induced displacement for GaWC and New City development impact social and economic community networks.
4. To examine the ways in which households adapt and cope with these impacts in the post-resettlement phase.

### **4.3 Ontological and epistemological position**

This study was grounded in an epistemological, interpretivist, research paradigm, in which the social world is understood through “an examination of the interpretation of that world by its participants” (Bryman, 2004, p. 380). From an epistemological, interpretivist position, knowledge is defined as: “the knowledge of how things are is a product of how we come to understand it” (Bryman, 2004, p. 30). An interpretivist paradigm was applied in this research, which views the production of social phenomena as culturally derived, historically situated, and influenced by the social context in which it takes place. This research, furthermore, accepted there are multiple realities, or interpretations, of a single event or phenomena, while reality is something which is “always in the process of being formed” (Bryman, 2004, p. 18; Blaxter, Hughes & Tight, 2010; Braun & Clarke, 2013).

The constructionist, ontological position this study took considered social properties as outcomes of the interactions between individuals, rather than as phenomena ‘out there’ and separate from those involved in its construction (Bryman, 2004). This research, therefore, considered social phenomena as socially constructed and produced through social interaction, and they are in a constant state of revision (Bryman, 2004 p. 33).

The epistemological and ontological position have focused the study on understanding the personal position and perception of the research participants towards inner-city renewal and redevelopment in Addis Ababa. Emphasis was placed on the lived experiences and realities of urban dwellers directly affected by inner-city urban-renewal- and redevelopment-induced displacement. In this

research, knowledge was produced by extracting meaning from the multiple realities of people affected by urban renewal and redevelopment (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). The epistemological and ontological position have, furthermore, guided the selection of a qualitative research strategy and qualitative data collection tools to enable a thorough understanding of the multiple lived experiences and realities of participants in this study.

This study was exploratory, descriptive, and explanatory, as it sought a form of inductive reasoning to generate and build theory from data, while describing and explaining what is going on. Despite the inductive direction of this study, it also contained deductive elements, as the premises of this study was built on the foundation of existing GaWC theories, specifically the World City Hypothesis and Global City Theory. To fully comprehend the theoretical and empirical research niche, a thorough understanding of the theoretical foundation on which the research was built is imperative. The identified research niche came forth from a prolonged and continuous engagement with the literature. For that reason, the inductive approach of this study was embedded in a research niche that has been identified from the literature, while literature formed the background of this study (Bryman, 2004).

#### **4.4 Research design**

The research design for this study was an embedded, single-case study design, which enabled a detailed and intensive analysis of a single case (Bryman, 2004). The objective of this research design was to address the logical problem of this study by linking the research objectives with the type and way of acquiring evidence that was needed to answer them in a convincing way (De Vaus, 2001, p. 9; Yin, 2003). A single-case study research design was, thus, selected over other designs for the way and types of data that could be collected as evidence that could respond in a convincing way to the aims and objectives of this research. An embedded, single-case study design in this context has enabled the exploration of a case over time through detailed, in-depth data collection, with multiple sources of information (Creswell et al, 2007, p. 245).

A case study design was also judged as the most suitable, as the case itself in this research was an object of interest in its own right. The contextual

conditions of the case were deliberately covered in this research as an important part of the study (Yin, 2003, p. 13; Bryman, 2004). The case itself was, therefore, of significant importance in this research, as was what can be learned about this single case (Stake, 2005, p. 443). A case study research design, thus, fit the aim and objectives of this study, because this study asked 'why' and 'how' questions about the case in relation to inner-city renewal and redevelopment in Addis Ababa, while the researcher could not exercise control over inner-city renewal and redevelopment (Yin, 2003, p. 9).

There were, thus, different levels of analysis in this study. The larger unit of analysis was represented by the case itself: inner-city renewal and redevelopment in Addis Ababa within the wider national, global, and historical context in which it took place. The sub-units of analysis were represented by the research participants in two separate embedded units of analysis; the first embedded unit were the households affected by renewal and redevelopment induced displacement and the second were the local experts. This research, therefore, collected information from two different consecutive elements, as embedded units, within the single-case study (DeVaus, 2001, p. 220).

The single-case study has been geographically, thematically, and temporally bounded. First, this study was bound to a specific geographic location, the city of Addis Ababa. Second, this case-study has focussed on one specific theme, inner-city renewal and redevelopment. Third, this study has been narrowed down to a specific time-period. This study only took into account large-scale, state-led, inner-city renewal and redevelopment from 2004 to the time of writing. The first structure plan for Addis Ababa from 2004 introduced a different, large-scale approach towards inner-city renewal and redevelopment. Starting in 2004, inner-city renewal and redevelopment has transformed from a piecemeal approach into a large-scale, state-led strategy. This embedded, single-case study has, therefore, focused on post-2004, inner-city renewal and redevelopment in Addis Ababa.

## **4.5 Validity and reliability**

The concepts of validity and reliability are imperative to discuss for any research in respect to the trustworthiness, objectivity, and scientific rigour of a study

(Kirk & Miller, 1986). Here the validity and reliability of this research were qualitatively examined by using suitable evaluative criteria; this decision was deemed appropriate given the qualitative data collection and the qualitative analysis of the data (Mason, 2002; Bryman, 2004).

#### **4.5.1 Validity**

In this study, validity was interpreted as the integrity of the conclusions that were generated from the research and the conceptual and scientific soundness of the research (Bryman, 2004; Marczyk, DeMatteo & Festinger, 2005, p. 66). It was, therefore, defined as “whether the researcher sees what he or she thinks he or she sees” (Kirk & Miller, 1986, p. 21; Bryman, 2004). A distinction was made in this study between internal and external validity. Internal validity referred in this research to how well the research findings matched reality and how credible the research findings were in relation to the data (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016; Morse & Richards, 2002). Internal validity was, therefore, discussed in relation to the credibility of the research findings to confirm “that the investigator has correctly understood the social world” (Bryman, 2004, p. 273). External validity in this research referred to “the degree to which findings can be generalised across social settings” (Bryman, 2004, p. 273). External validity was discussed in this context in relation to the transferability of the study to different research contexts, and to different groups of people (Braun & Clarke 2013; Bryman 2004).

The credibility, or internal validity, of this study was demonstrated vis-a-vis research triangulation. Triangulation, also known as a diversity of methods by using multiple sources of evidence, means “multiple exposures of different kinds to the problem area” (Kirk & Miller, 1986, p. 30; Yin, 2003). In this study, triangulation was obtained by using different sources of data and data collection to examine the same phenomenon (Braun & Clarke, 2013, p. 285). Primary data was collected from two embedded units of analysis and the results were cross-checked against each other (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). In this case, the household interviews provided information about lived experiences; whereas the expert interviews provided information about the background and context of the process itself (Morse & Richards 2002). In addition, households were divided into different pre-specified categories so that their answers could be cross-checked

against each other. The primary data was also checked against data retrieved from context-specific, secondary data sources. Triangulation strengthened the interpretivist and constructivist position this research took, as it inherently necessitated comparing different viewpoints from where this case can be understood and, therefore, highlighted different realities (Stake, 2005).

The transferability, or external validity, of this study was placed on the reader, who has to judge whether this study could be transferred to a different context or to a different group of people (Braun & Clarke 2013; Merriam & Tisdell 2016). Study transferability could be the transferability to other New Cities (particularly, Cities-within-Cities) in other countries. This decision was placed on the reader, because it was assumed the reader will understand the context and the setting to where the study is hypothetically being transferred best. To enable the reader to make a decision about the transferability of this study a rich and thick research description of the data has been provided (Bryman 2004; Merriam & Tisdell 2016; Morse & Richards 2002).

A rich and thick research description was provided in two ways: first, through an assessment of saturation and, second, through a descriptive and detailed account of the research settings and context (Merriam & Tisdell 2016; Morse & Richards 2002). An assessment of saturation referred to the data saturation point of this study, and was reached when the data no longer offered new directions or insights and when it started to replicate itself (the data saturation point is further discussed in 4.6). The data saturation point provided certainty that a strong analysis could be produced, and was, therefore, able to function as verification of the research itself (Morse & Richards 2002). This study, in addition, provided a descriptive and detailed account of the research settings, which will enable the reader to evaluate the transferability of this study to other contexts and participants. This has been supported by providing detailed descriptions of the research context, participants, and settings of this study in the data analysis write-up (Braun & Clarke 2013).

The external validity of this study was challenged by its use of a single-case study, and in particular how a single-case study could be generalised so that it might generate findings that could be applied more generally to other cases (Bryman, 2004, p. 275). This study, however, did not seek generalisation, as

such. Generalisation was not a primary objective of this study, per se, because this study instead pursued an inductive and intensive examination of a single case (Bryman, 2004). This study, instead, sought to achieve a form of analytic generalisation, the ability of this study to generate a particular set of results from this particular single-case study to some broader theory (Yin, 2003, p. 30).

### **4.5.2 Reliability**

Reliability in this study questioned the dependability of the study's results and to what degree they were consistent with the data collected (Bryman, 2004; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016; Morse & Richards, 2002). Dependability and consistency did not question if the research findings could be found again, but rather they examined if the results presented in this study were consistent with the data collected and whether they were, therefore, dependable (Merriam & Tisdell 2016). Dependability and consistency were assessed in this thesis through an auditing approach, where the responsibility was placed on other academicians, who act as 'auditors' of the research to identify the extent the research procedures were established and followed (Bryman, 2004). The direct auditors for this study were both the supervisors, and the internal and external examiner of this thesis. The 'thick and rich description' as mentioned above supported the 'auditors' to assess the dependability and consistency of the study's results vis-a-vis the data collected.

## **4.6 Research strategy and data collection**

This research followed an inductive qualitative research strategy; a qualitative research strategy was deemed the best option to understand how research participants viewed and interpreted their social world. A qualitative research strategy has been selected for its ability to reveal patterns of social life through an inductive and exploratory approach, its emphasis on the meaning people construct of social events or phenomena they experience (within their cultural, social, and historical context), and its richly descriptive nature. This research strategy also enabled interacting with research participants in their own language, on their own terms, and on their own territory (Kirk & Miller, 1986, p. 9; Braun and Clarke, 2013; Merriam and Tisdell, 2016). This approach, therefore, allowed social phenomena to be described and understood by exploring human

experiences, meanings, perceptions, and feelings (Silverman, 2001; Kumar, 2005).

The methodological choices made in this research were in accordance with research objectives and research design, and were aligned with the philosophical position of this study. Primary data in this research was collected via in-depth, semi-structured interviews, for which thematic-based interview guides were used. This study also used subject-related secondary data, such as government reports, newspapers, and journal articles. In addition, photography, maps, and personal observations have been used throughout this study to illustrate the research findings whenever suitable and formed an additional source of information. Photographs were, for instance, taken across the city in various locations over the course of this study to capture the urban change.

#### 4.6.1 Data collection

The methodological congruence of this research has been illustrated in Table 4-1 below to demonstrate the link between the research objectives, research strategy, and data collection.

Objective	Type of data	Specific data collected
1	Secondary data	Academic articles, historical research, grey literature, and institutional and government reports.
2	Primary and secondary data	Household and expert interviews, photography, maps, and observations.
3	Primary and secondary data	Household and expert interviews, photography, maps, and observations.
4	Primary and secondary data	Household and expert interviews, photography, maps, and observations.

**Table 4-1: Methodological Congruence**

Primary data was collected in this study via in-depth, semi-structured interviews; this was aligned with the inductive approach of this research which allows theory to emerge from the data. Semi-structured interviews resembled seemingly every-day conversations, by combining flexibility and structure, which led to rich and detailed answers (Legard, Keegan and Ward, 2003; Bryman,

2004). Before fieldwork took place, two different thematic-based topic guides were developed for both expert and household interviews, in which the key themes of this study were used to guide the interviews. The selection of themes for the thematic-based topic guide was directed by the research aim and objectives to gather enough information to be able to answer the aim and objectives and was further informed by the literature.

Themes were presented in a specific order to ease into household interviews. 'Fact-sheet' information (such as the type of house or household composition) was, for example, first asked before going more in-depth (Bryman, 2004). The structure of the thematic guide was flexible and could change the order of questions or could explore relevant issues raised by the interviewee outside the thematic-based topic guide. The language used was tailored to the research participants and heavy terminology was avoided in the household interviews. This was necessary because some of the research participants were not formally well educated.

Respectively, two and three pilot interviews were conducted with experts and households before actual fieldwork began to fine tune the thematic-based topic guide and to establish a good working relationship with the translator. The thematic-based topic guides were finalised after the pilot interviews. Unless the research participant spoke English at a sufficient level to conduct the interview, interviews were conducted in Amharic. The translator translated word-by-word, as was feasible, what the research participants said. Therefore, the translator functioned as the mode of translation, but did not interfere with the interviewing process itself.

Informed consent was obtained before the interviews took place, and consent was re-negotiated during the interviews when potentially sensitive subjects were discussed. When appropriate, suggestions were made at the end of the interviews towards specific services or support groups, if the research participant was in need of further guidance and advice. At times, clarification and explanation was sought from the participants about the answers they provided, to ensure rightful interpretation of their wording. A number of probing techniques were also used to explore the answers participants provided.

The interviews were conducted face-to-face in a location chosen by the interviewee, although appropriate suggestions were suggested to them. The majority of the household interviews took place in people's homes or compounds. In all cases, the interviews took place in a private and quiet space in which they were able to speak freely. The areas where households lived were familiar, as these areas were frequently visited before this study and are located at busy central nodes in the city. Any potential threats to personal safety were minimised by always being accompanied by a translator as well as at least two other people were aware of when and where the interviews took place. The expert interviews took place in the offices of respondents or in other semi-formal, easily accessible places the participants preferred.

The interviews were recorded with a digital recording device when the participants gave permission. The recordings and transcriptions were saved in a password-secured folder to which only the researcher had access; the recordings were deleted after transcription. Most of the research participants felt uncomfortable with the interview being recorded, and so in those cases very detailed notes were taken (as possible, word by word). The interviews were focused on what people said, and not on the way it was said. Therefore, the absence of recordings was not a problem, as detailed note taking was sufficient for this purpose. The translator reviewed the notes, while the researcher's personal knowledge of Amharic helped to better understand the answers participants gave. A good rapport was established between the researcher and research participants by showing genuine interest, a respectful (culturally appropriate) attitude, and by attentive listening. Adaptation to the context in which the interviews took place was found to be an important element in the household interviews, as some of the research participants expressed their embarrassment about their circumstances and living conditions.

The household interviews began in June 2016 and were completed in September 2016. The household interviews began by interviewing households in renewal and redevelopment areas, and continued by interviewing households in relocation areas. This order was intentional, because this research used snowballing during the household interviews in renewal and redevelopment areas to identify relocation areas to where people were relocated. The expert interviews took

place from January 2017 to March 2017. The expert interviews began by interviewing prior identified participants and used snowballing to further identify and interview other research participants. On average, the interviews lasted between one and one-and-a-half hours. The shortest interview was about forty five minutes long and the longest interview neared two hours.

## **4.6.2 Sampling strategy**

The sampling process was guided by the research objectives and took place on two levels: sampling of the context and sampling of the units of analysis. The context are the residential areas from where research participants were purposively selected for the household interviews and the units of analysis are the participants in the expert and household interviews.

### **4.6.2.1 Sampling of context areas**

For the sampling of context areas, critical places were selected that permitted an observation of the phenomenon of interest (Bryman, 2004). The critical places in this study were areas in the process of, or soon to be subjected to, inner-city renewal and redevelopment. This research deliberately selected different renewal and redevelopment areas, at different stages of the renewal and redevelopment process, as this was instrumental for the recruitment of a large diversity of research participants for the household interviews. Different context areas were selected to avoid geographically isolating a specific group, and to acknowledge the physical trajectories and social relationships of research participants in the city, which were transitory, fluid, and constantly changing. The participants in this study physically interacted with different locations and their social relationships extended beyond their neighbourhood, as those are also based in other areas. Illegal settlers (particularly the homeless) were most often not bound by any physical location, neither did they stay confined within a geographically limited area. Instead, their physical trajectories across the city were guided by the social relationships they have.

Locations were purposively selected from the inner-city and from relocation areas in peri-urban zones to where it was known households had moved. Geographic maps (provided by the Addis Ababa City Government) were used to

identify inner-city urban renewal and redevelopment areas from the administrative years 2015 and 2016. The areas designated for urban renewal in 2015 were only pursued in 2016, due to various administrative delays, and so 2015 was included. Areas from before 2015 were already in the process of redevelopment; they had been vacated by the previous population and new buildings were already under construction and, therefore, these areas were excluded. When the 2015 and 2016 renewal and redevelopment areas were identified, they were then visited to assess whether they were suitable for this study, which depended on the actual progress of renewal and redevelopment made on the respective sites. For example, one area was earmarked for renewal and redevelopment, but after visiting the site, it was found no progress had been made yet and community consultations had not yet begun; therefore, this area was excluded. The areas in which participants have been interviewed have not been explicitly mentioned in this thesis to ensure the confidentiality of the interviews and the anonymity of the participants. The renewal and redevelopment areas were in this case important identifying factors, particularly for those households who stayed on the renewal and redevelopment sites.

The relocation areas were identified from a data base provided by the Addis Ababa City Government and were identified through snowballing. A snowballing technique was used by asking research participants from inner-city renewal and redevelopment areas at the end of their interview to what location they would move, or to where their previous neighbours had already been relocated. The identified relocation areas were visited and assessed for their suitability to be included in this study. Areas where people had received land or a condominium apartment were also identified in this manner.

#### **4.6.2.2 Interviews sampling strategy**

For this study, research participants were sampled by using a non-probability purposive sampling technique. This study used a form of purposive *a priori* sampling. The use of a purposive sampling technique enabled a focus in this research on specific issues and processes (Mason, 2002; Lichtman, 2014). By searching for information-rich cases in a systematic way, a sample was in this research obtained from where an in-depth understanding about the study's objectives could be learned (Bryman, 2004; Kumar, 2005; Merriam & Tisdell).

Selection criteria for an *a priori* sampling strategy of participants were established before fieldwork for this study took place and have remained unchanged. The selection criteria for an *a priori* sampling of participants were driven by the objectives of this research and were chosen to gain a deeper understanding of the perspectives and viewpoints from different groups. This form of strategic sampling enabled the recruitment of a maximum variety of research participants which permitted various perspectives and viewpoints to emerge in this study (Bryman, 2004). The selection criteria also avoided a tunnel vision bias towards a single group (Maxwell, 2013).

The selection criteria for the participants of household interviews helped to identify the type of person to be interviewed and were as follows:

- Households were selected from three different *a priori* identified housing types, which are (1) landholders, (2) public tenants, and (3) illegal settlers;
- Two different types of households were selected for this research: households who received compensation and households who were left uncompensated;
- Households were selected from two different stages of the displacement process, before and after they were displaced, and
- Households had to be relocated for inner-city urban redevelopment and renewal purposes after 2004.

The *a priori* selection criteria for the selection of participants for the expert interviews was as follows:

- A combination of the following groups was sought: private sector, non-profit, academia, and government, and
- The expert interviewed had to be in a decision-making position and work on a regular basis with inner-city urban renewal and redevelopment (related subjects) in Addis Ababa.

#### 4.6.2.3 Participant recruitment: Household interviews

Two different strategies were used to recruit participants for household interviews, the use of a 'sponsor' and snowballing. The first strategy for participant recruitment was the use of a 'sponsor', a member of the community who could introduce the researcher to prospective participants. The choice for a community member as a sponsor was used to circumvent possible power hierarchy differences, which might have occurred if a gatekeeper from a local government office was used instead. Sponsors were approached in open spaces in the sampled context areas; these open spaces were, for instance, market areas or other gathering places. It was made clear at the start that this research sought research participants who fit the sampling criteria, regardless of their personal background and situation. This recruitment of participants sought confirmation with the pre-determined criteria, and both typical and outlier cases were accepted, as long as they complied with the criteria.

Together with the research translator, the researcher approached sponsors and explained the objectives of this research, while inquiring if they would be able to point towards prospective participants. The researcher's, although limited, knowledge of Amharic enabled a good rapport to be established from the start between the researcher, the sponsors, and prospective research participants. Taking on a sponsor was a successful approach that directed the research to different community members who complied with the selection criteria and were willing to be interviewed for this study.

The second strategy used, as mentioned before, was the use of snowballing. Snowballing was used to identify prospective participants via recommendations made by research participants who had already been interviewed. Snowballing was used by asking *a priori* selected participants for recommendations for people who might fit the criteria and be willing to be interviewed for this study. Reaching out to prospective participants by using a snowballing technique was helpful, as this research recruited participants from difficult-to-access groups. In particular, finding illegal settlers willing to participate in this research was a difficult task, as they live transitory lives across the city. This group, however, has a strong social network and snowballing was found to be a successful

strategy in this study to reach out to this group via their extensive social networks.

In total, twenty-seven households were interviewed for this study (Appendix 2). From the twenty-seven, six research participants were living in illegal shelters, seven were public state tenants, two were private tenants, and twelve were landholders. Five landholders had changed their position from a public tenant to a landholder by relocating to an Integrated Housing Development Programme (IHDP) housing unit. All participants were displaced for the sake of inner-city renewal and redevelopment. From the twenty-seven research participants, nineteen were eligible for compensation and eight were not. Seven participants were on the verge of displacement, while twenty participants were already relocated. Relocation was in some interviews both a past and future event; from the twenty-seven participants, eight had been displaced before and were facing another move. Those research participants were asked about both their past and present experiences, and any differences they observed between their different moves.

#### **4.6.2.4 Participant recruitment: Expert interviews**

Before fieldwork began, a mapping exercise was carried out, based on secondary data sources, to identify prospective interviewees for the expert interviews.<sup>37</sup> The prospective interviewees were approached and asked for their participation in this study, after the objectives and aim of this study were explained. Similar to the household interviews, snowballing was also used here as a sampling technique to identify prospective participants via recommendations made by research participants who had already been interviewed.

It was, however, challenging to identify and contact suitable people to interview for this study, as it was difficult to obtain access to up-to-date contact information. Contact information available online was most often outdated and emails went unanswered. In addition, the phone network did not always work, and internet access was, during the time of this research, frequently interrupted

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<sup>37</sup> Through the mapping exercise, two non-governmental organisations (NGOs) were identified, who in the past had projects related to urban redevelopment and renewal. At the time of fieldwork they had, however, both ceased their activities for unknown reasons. The employees who had previously worked for these organisations were sought, but were not found.

by power cuts and blockages.<sup>38</sup> The most effective way to make appointments was, therefore, in person; this was, however, a time-consuming process.

Eight interviews were conducted with experts from the government, five with experts from the private sector, and two with experts from academia (Appendix 1). The different groups, however, sometimes overlapped, as often research participants had multiple jobs and were, therefore, working across the different groups. The research participants were interviewed about the work that primarily engaged them with urban renewal and redevelopment. All research participants were, to at least some extent, in a decision-making position, and they all worked on a weekly or daily basis with issues related to inner-city urban redevelopment and renewal.

#### **4.6.2.5 Sample size**

The sample size for the interviews in this research was determined by the data saturation point. A data saturation point is reached when no new information is deemed likely to emerge, until each category is rich and thick, and when a feeling of redundancy and replication occurs (Kumar 2005; Merriam & Tisdell 2016; Morse & Richards, 2002). The data saturation point was obtained in this study when the collected data offered no new questions, directions or insights, and became redundant (Mason, 2002). Redundancy happened when there was a personal feeling of 'I have heard it all before'. When this point was reached, new information no longer emerged, and new questions no longer arose. The way research participants were recruited, based on pre-determined categories and from different areas, helped to generate a wide diversity of participants as well as helped a thorough study of outlier cases. The data saturation point for the household interviews was achieved after twenty-seven interviews and after fifteen interviews for the expert-interviews. In total, forty-two interviews were conducted.

The relationship between data collection and the research objectives was also important in determining the data saturation point. The sample size was intended to be large enough to provide a sufficient amount of information to

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<sup>38</sup> Fieldwork for this study took place during the period preceding, and during, the first State of Emergency, when internet access was frequently blocked.

answer the research objectives satisfactorily. The simultaneous collection and analysis of the data has also helped to determine the data saturation point. Data collection and analysis were perceived as a simultaneous process. This is an iterative approach where a rudimentary analysis of the data takes place after the first data has been collected and, therefore, shapes the next steps in data collection, while it also supports the determination of the data saturation point (Silverman, 2001; Blaxter, Hughes & Tight, 2010; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016).

## 4.7 Data analysis

Driven by the philosophical underpinnings of this study, the qualitative research strategy, and the research design, a qualitative analytic method has been applied by using thematic data analysis. Thematic analysis was used as a systematic approach to identify, analyse, and report themes across the dataset (Braun & Clarke, 2013). This study has followed the approach proposed by Braun and Clarke (2006) for thematic data analysis.

The first step in the data analysis process was carried out by organising the data into a system to make it accessible (Seidman, 2013). The interviews were indexed with a number that corresponded to one assigned to each respective research participant. All the interviews were conducted anonymously and identifying factors were permanently removed from the interview transcripts. This system was consistently used across all the data collected. After transcribing the interviews, the files were moved to a password-secured online server that only the researcher had access to and removed from the computer to secure the confidentiality of the data.<sup>39</sup> The handwritten notes were stored in a locked drawer that only the researcher had access to in a locked office at the University of Glasgow. The data was managed, and will be destroyed, according to the guidelines of the UK Data Protection Act 2018, and as approved by the University of Glasgow's ethics committee.

Each interview was transcribed the same day, or the day after, the interview was conducted, as at that point the interview was still 'fresh'. Although it was a demanding and time-consuming process, the immediate transcription of the

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<sup>39</sup> The online server Secure Safe has been used for this purpose.

interviews was a deliberate and mindful decision and helped the researcher to become better acquainted with the interviews. Field notes were written after every interview; the notes included general observations about the interview itself, the setting, and other particularities that stood out. Contextual observations (such as smell, sights, and sounds) were noted down to help memory recall of the interview during the data write-up stage (Kleiman & Copp, 1993). In a separate document, notes were systematically made about the living conditions of the households interviewed, such as the type and condition of the house in which they lived, to further support memory re-call at a later stage. After transcribing an interview, general observations, reflections, and ideas that came forth from the transcription were also noted. These observations and early insights formed rudimentary data-analysis alongside the interviews without going in-depth, which helped to determine the data saturation point (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016).

When fieldwork was completed, an in-depth analysis of the interviews began, which built on the rudimentary analysis (Seidman, 2013). In a chronological sense, this study followed a number of steps for thematic data analysis: first, familiarisation with the data, second, the development of themes, and, third, the application of codes to the data. The familiarisation of the data began with the data transcription and was strengthened by reading through the interview transcripts and field notes twice after the interviews were completed. This process of 'immersion' was important to become intimately familiar with the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). First, all the documents were read through without taking notes, while during the second time, they were read more attentively and notes in a separate file were taken about the overall impressions, research ideas, observations, and possible codes and themes reoccurring in the data.

After familiarisation with the data, the data was coded on two levels: (1) basic coding, and (2) detailed coding. The codes were inductively identified and attached to passages in the interview transcripts. Passages of transcripts were often coded more than once; this was done to avoid data fragmentation. Coding was carried out by systematically working through all the interview transcripts and by identifying segments in the data that formed the basis of repeated patterns across the data set (Braun & Clarke, 2006). During the basic coding

stage, codes were applied for as many themes as possible. In the second stage of coding, detailed codes were applied within basic code segments and were applied on other segments. For instance, 'consultation' was a basic code, while 'community meetings' was applied as a detailed code.

The development of the basic codes as main 'themes' followed both an inductive and deductive approach to the data (Braun & Clarke, 2013). Bottom-up, inductive themes were identified that had emerged from the data itself. Deductively, the interview themes were used to identify themes from the data. For instance, the theme of social neighbourhood-based networks was included in the thematic interview guide and deductively identified as an important reoccurring theme across the interviews. Inductively overarching themes were formed from reoccurring codes applied to the data, mind maps, and visual representations of the codes and were used to help this process. For example, an important theme that inductively emerged was travel distance and the associated costs of travel from relocation areas to the inner-city. The themes were later used to organise the writing process.

Microsoft Excel was used to apply the codes to the data, after a comprehensive coding format was prepared. Other types of software, such as Nvivo and MAXQDA did not work satisfactorily, as they fragmented and de-contextualised the data, and the personal connection to the data was lost and coding became a mechanical task. Excel enabled the ranking of codes under various themes to be visually displayed together on one page. This permitted the identification of emerging themes by detecting relationships between the different codes.

## **4.8 Research ethics**

Being ethical in the context of this research was considered as, "being open to other people, acting for the sake of their good, trying to see others as they are, rather than imposing one's own ideas and biases on them" (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2005, p. 161). Ethiopia is in many aspects a very different place compared to where I come from, the Netherlands. I, therefore, tried to be sensitive to the social, historical, and cultural context of the country when I conducted my fieldwork (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2005, p. 162). For example, I tried to learn the language and understand the cultural norms.

It was made clear when research participants were approached that there would be no financial or other compensation for participation in this study. In addition, it was made clear that participation in this study did not imply direct or indirect support would be provided to them in the future. Whereas, I hope this research will inform future policy, there was no direct benefit obtained by the participants to contribute to this research (Furman & Lake, 2018). I found it particularly important in this respect not to make promises that may lead to disappointment and resentment on the end of the participants if these promises were to remain unfulfilled.

One of my main ethical principles was to avoid potential harm to research participants for their participation in this study at all costs. Harm was interpreted in this case as both emotional and physical, and as direct or indirect. An example of direct emotional harm could be harm which takes place during an interview when sensitive issues are addressed that make people upset. An example of indirect harm could be if a household experiences problems later for its participation in this study. For instance, if they are questioned by local government officials about their participation in this study.

In this study, direct and indirect harm was avoided by ensuring confidentiality and anonymity throughout the research process. The avoidance of harm has been further strengthened by the removal of identifiers from the data (such as particular locations). To ensure anonymity, photos taken in this study did not include people, neither were the homes of participants I interviewed photographed. The data has been managed, and will be destroyed, according to the guidelines of the UK Data Protection Act 2018 and was approved by the University of Glasgow's ethics committee.

In addition, potential harm was avoided by purposively avoiding potential emotionally loaded questions; although such questions could not always be anticipated from the start. For that reason, informed consent was renegotiated during the interview to avoid the risk of high levels of stress and anxiety. At the end of the interviews, suggestions were made, if applicable and appropriate, to specific services or other support groups, if the research participant seemed to need further guidance or advice.

The research participants were given a plain language statement and an informed consent form when they were potentially interested to participate in this study; these forms were reviewed and approved by the University of Glasgow ethics review committee. The research participants were also provided with as much information as they wanted to make an informed decision about participation in this study (Bryman, 2004). These forms were provided in both English and Amharic, and translated by a certified translation company to ensure a legitimate and accurate translation.

Before each interview began, the translator discussed the plain language statement and informed consent form in its entirety to ensure questions were answered and the objectives of participation were understood. This process was found to be particularly important for research participants who had low-literacy levels. Despite the Ethics review committee's emphasis for written consent, this was not always feasible and I felt was actually unethical to ask from research participants who were poorly literate or illiterate. I, therefore, offered participants the option for verbal consent, if written consent posed a problem and renegotiated consent during the interviews when appropriate.

## **4.9 Positionality and reflexivity**

This section reflexively discusses research positionality in retrospect of the study's findings, limitations, reliability, and validity. Reflexivity is important in this regard to understand how researchers are positioned within their research and how this subsequently affects knowledge production (Giwa, 2015, p. 10). Fieldwork for this study was conducted in a low-income country on the African continent. It is important to address this in fieldwork reflections as "no geographer should travel South without careful deliberation of what it means to be a 'privileged Western researcher'" (Griffiths, 2017, p. 2). As a white, tertiary-educated woman from Europe, I inherently enjoyed different forms and degrees of privileges while conducting fieldwork in Ethiopia. In Ethiopia, I was aware of different forms of privileges, the most important were skin colour, gender, and age. These different forms of privileges were experienced to different degrees.

These privileges were experienced in two different ways. First of all, I experienced these privileges while conducting fieldwork. As a white, young woman I faced dilemmas of power and inequality, both personally and observed in others, which were dealt with on an on-going basis as they arose (Giwa, 2015). The same privileges have, however, allowed me to transition effortlessly between different layers of society, from the powerful elite to the poor. When I first came to Ethiopia, I moved from a middle-class position to the top of a social hierarchy in an unfamiliar society (Sidaway, 1992). This privilege was used to the advantage of this research, as it has enabled me to gain access to places and people which I, otherwise, may not have been able to access. At the same time, even though I gained access to these places, people remained at times cautious and kept a distance from an outsider, such as myself.

These privileges were also experienced in a different way. Unlike others, I had the ability to exit the country and return to the UK, where I was provided with support and the opportunity to communicate and disseminate the findings of this study at a global level. It is important to acknowledge this privilege and inequality. There are brilliant Ethiopian researchers working on research projects in Ethiopia who, due to various reasons, may never be able to disseminate their findings through similar research outputs with equal levels of support.

This study has been both a personal and a professional experience, in the sense that I lived and worked for three years in Addis Ababa. During this period, I collected field data and completed the first three years (part-time) of my PhD. The process of entering and exiting the field have, therefore, not been straightforward. Whereas from a research perspective, I entered and exited the research areas when data was collected for this study at specific moments, but from a personal viewpoint, I remained part of the research context, as I continued to live in the city. This was a unique position that worked to my advantage, as I was both an insider living in the city, while I also remained an outsider for the participants who took part in the study.

The prolonged engagement I had in the field strengthened the findings of my research, as it formed a second research validity check (Kirk & Miller, 1986). While I was working on my PhD in Ethiopia, I tried to keep my educational,

professional, and personal life separate from each other. From time to time, however, these boundaries became blurred when personal observations about daily life in Addis Ababa inspired the direction of this study. For example, the frequent power and water cuts, traffic jams, busy street life, and the city's convenient social atmosphere have been personally experienced and have strengthened the direction of this study. As Heisel (2015) rightfully states, "Addis Ababa is not a city you can understand from books and computers - it has to be experienced" (p. 269). The struggles of every-day life in Ethiopia did not escape my attention, due to my prolonged engagement in the field. They had partially become my own personal struggles as well. Therefore, I strongly believe my personal prolonged engagement in the field ultimately supported this research and strengthened the outcomes of this study.

My plan is to disseminate the findings of this study in a reliable and responsible way through appropriate global platforms, for example, through conference presentations and publications in various journals. I am specifically interested to have my research act as a 'voice for the voiceless' for those who participated in the study, such as those who are now homeless and reside in plastic shelters, because they were displaced for the sake of urban renewal and redevelopment. This group is under represented in other studies conducted in Addis Ababa about the same issue.

The political situation in Ethiopia has changed over the duration that this thesis was written. It was, therefore, considered unwise to feed the findings of this study directly back into political and policy circles in Ethiopia at the time of writing, as this could have threatened my personal safety or the safety of the research participants. The appointment of Dr. Abiy Ahmed in April 2018 as Ethiopia's prime minister has been swiftly followed by a wave of reformations and changes, such as: the peace agreement between Ethiopia and Eritrea, the release of political prisoners, the appointment of a fifty per cent women cabinet and the appointment of Sahle-Work Zewde in October 2018, as Ethiopia's first female president. The appointment of Dr. Abiy Ahmed has, thus, marked a positive change, although unrest and dissatisfaction have not ceased to exist below the surface across the nation.

When the political situation in Ethiopia improves further, I may be able to share the findings of this study on the ground in appropriate ways, for instance through participation in Ethiopian conferences on the subject, if the opportunity arises, or through journal article publications in (Ethiopian) academic journals. At the time of writing, the findings of this study were intended to be disseminated through academic publications, targeting an international audience. Over time, the findings of this study will, hopefully, spiral down to inform policy makers on the ground.

#### **4.10 Summary**

The aim of this chapter was to discuss the research strategy, design, and methodology used in this study. The key point in this chapter was that this research followed an inductive qualitative research strategy. Within an embedded, single-case study design, primary data was collected for this research through in-depth, semi-structured interviews for which thematic-based interview guides were used. Research participants were sampled by using a non-probability, purposive sampling technique. The data was analysed thematically via a systematic approach to identify, analyse, and report themes across the dataset. The next chapter will discuss Addis Ababa's housing development and will present a housing typology.

## 5 Housing Development in Addis Ababa

### 5.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter the research design and methodology of this study was discussed. The aim of this chapter is to discuss housing development in Addis Ababa since its founding to the time of writing, and how this is linked to the city's ambitions to become, at last, an internationally competitive global city. This chapter was written to meet research objective one: to assess how Addis Ababa's planning and housing development history is linked to aspirations for GaWC making through large-scale urban renewal and redevelopment to construct a City-within-a-City as a type of New City development. This chapter will, first, chronologically discuss Addis Ababa's housing crisis from when it was first recorded until the time of writing. This chapter will, then, present a housing typology for Addis Ababa, followed by a discussion of the various housing types and their share of the housing stock. The chapter ends with a summary.

### 5.2 Addis Ababa's housing crisis

Research has estimated that 70% of Addis Ababa's housing needs either upgrading or immediate replacement, as they are below acceptable living standards (UN-Habitat, 2010; Wubneh, 2013). In addition, 77% of the housing in Addis Ababa is constructed from traditional, low-cost, and non-durable materials, such as: mud and straw, wood, with corrugated iron roofs (98%), and mud floors (40%) (CSA, 2007).<sup>40</sup> The remaining 23% of housing is built from more durable materials, such as: hollow blocks, stone, cement, or corrugated iron (CSA, 2007) (Figure 5-1).

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<sup>40</sup> Mud and straw is used as a traditional housing material and is called *chika* in Amharic.



**Figure 5-1: Inner-City Neighbourhood Seen from Above**

Source: Marjan Kloosterboer, 2016

The poor condition of housing is aggravated by under-maintenance. Households living in public housing can be unmotivated to maintain or improve their housing, as they fear this will increase their rent (Ayenew, 2009). Permanent improvements to public housing are also prohibited by legislation. An approval for a home renovation or repair is required, and will not be approved unless the condition of the house is causing a life-threatening living situation, and, in general, property expansions are forbidden (Mathema, 2005; Heibel, 2012, p. 267). The rental fees for public housing are highly subsidised and, generally, do not exceed 100 ETB per month, while in some cases public housing is actually provided free of rent (World Bank, 2015).<sup>41</sup> The maintenance of public housing by the city government is made difficult by the low income derived from them, which is insufficient to cover operation costs, maintenance, and management (World Bank, 2015).

The city is also faced with a large, unmet demand in housing, which is aggravated by urban growth (CSA, 2007; World Bank, 2015). The city

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<sup>41</sup> The exchange rate at the time of completing this thesis was 1 GBP to 35.79 ETB (27 November 2018).

experienced its first recorded housing shortage after the Italian occupation of Addis Ababa in the 1940s (Pankhurst, 1986). During the occupation of the city, buildings were demolished and set on fire, but the Italians forbade the repair and reconstruction of housing until the new Italian master plan was introduced, causing a housing shortage (Zedwde, 1986; Fuller, 1996; Mahiteme, 2007).<sup>42</sup>

Since the first recorded housing shortage in the 1940s, the city has continued to experience housing shortages. The most recent government data shows the existing housing stock at approximately 800,000 housing units, which would accommodate only 73% of the city's population and the housing shortage is estimated at 300,000 housing units (BOFED, 2010, 2013). Mathema (2005), furthermore, estimates that the housing shortage is growing by 30,000 housing units annually. The housing shortage has amplified illegal land occupation (further discussed in 5.3) and led to overcrowding. According to UN-HABIAT standards, a house is considered to provide sufficient living space if three or less persons share a room (UN-Habitat, 2009). Data on Addis Ababa indicates there is an average of 4.2 people per housing unit, with 40% of housing comprising only one room, indicating probable overcrowding (CSA, 2007).

There is nearly complete coverage of water and electricity services in Addis Ababa (both 98% coverage) (CSA, 2007; World Bank, 2015). The quality and accessibility of these services is, however, varied. For example, data shows 62% of households have to share their toilet facilities with others (CSA, 2007). It was observed during this research that one communal toilet may be shared between twenty households or more. If such facilities are absent, ditches are used. It appears, therefore, despite almost complete coverage, urban growth and unplanned expansion of Addis Ababa have over time outstripped the government's capacity to provide sufficient and adequate infrastructure and services for the growing demand (Assefa & Newman 2014).

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<sup>42</sup> Despite the anticipation of the new master plan, both Italians and Ethiopians continued to build illegally in a disorganised and unplanned manner (Fuller, 1996).

### 5.3 Housing development in Addis Ababa since the city's founding

When Addis Ababa was founded, housing was constructed using traditional techniques, such as: mud, straw, and wood. The city was growing from rural to urban migration by local farmers and pastoralists who moved to the city to escape famine, cattle plagues, cholera, and natural disasters (Assen, 1986; Giorghis & Gérard, 2007; Giorghis, 2009). Around 1912, it was estimated the city encompassed 14,000 traditionally built houses, 2,000 tents, and 200 'European style houses' (Pasquali, 2015). At the time, decisions about land use and housing construction were based on immediate local demand (Mahiteme, 2007; UN-Habitat, 2007). To accommodate this growth, a tenure system was introduced in 1907 that legalised the privatisation of land to enable housing development to take place (Giorghis & Gérard, 2007; UN-Habitat, 2007).

The introduction of the tenure system, however, slowly led to a concentration of land among a select group of nobility and powerful elites (Tolon, 2008; Gulema, 2013). Data shows that in the 1960s and 1970s about 95% of the land was concentrated in the hands of only 5% of the city's population (UN-Habitat 2007).<sup>43</sup> The overwhelming amount of private land-holdings caused land to be scarce, and during this time the private sector was involved in housing development only on a piecemeal basis. Without state-led housing developments, the only alternative was to rent or to construct illegally if one could not obtain a private land-holding. It is estimated in the 1970s about 75% of the city's housing was built illegally without building permits (Tolon, 2008; UN-Habitat, 2007).<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> It was estimated that at this time the royal family and aristocracy (who represented less than 1% of the Ethiopian population) possessed 70% of the land in Ethiopia (Kebbede & Jacob, 1985; Gulema, 2013). In Addis Ababa, it was estimated that the aristocracy owned about 58% of the land; it was divided among 1,768 landholders, who each held a plot size averaging 71,000 square metres. Other landholders were the Church, foreign embassies, and the Government. The remaining land, about 7.4%, was divided among 25,000 smallholders, who each had an average plot size of 150 square metres (Gulema, 2013).

<sup>44</sup> Sometimes illegal housing is also referred to a 'moon house', or *Chereka bet* in Amharic, which refers to a house built during the night, in the light of the moon, to minimise the risk for intervention (Alemayehu, 2008).

High demand for housing and low-availability of land intensified landlordism (Palen, 1974; UN-Habitat, 2010).<sup>45</sup> Data shows that in 1966 about 60% of the city's housing units were being rented (Kebbede & Jacob, 1985). Rent prices rose from high demand and land speculation, and consumed a large share of household's income (Palen, 1974; Kebbede & Jacob, 1985). This prohibited households from saving and they, therefore, could not afford to change their tenure position. Landlords maximised their profits by sub-dividing housing, which caused overcrowding, and for extra income they constructed (illegal) buildings in their backyards to rent out (UN-Habitat, 2007).

Landlords prioritised investments in residential buildings for the higher-paying upper class, and neglected the housing maintenance for low- and middle-income groups (Kebbede & Jacob, 1985). Insecurity of tenure, furthermore, demotivated households to improve or maintain their housing, causing housing units to deteriorate. Despite pressing land and housing problems, the city municipality did not intervene or respond until a first-of-its-kind, state-led, low-cost housing project was initiated in the 1960s (Palen, 1974; Gossaye, 2008).<sup>46</sup> The state-led Kolfe-Income Project took place from 1960–69 and relocated 91 households from inner-city housing to improved housing in peri-urban zones (UN-Habitat, 2007; Tolon, 2008).

In 1974, the Provisional Military Administrative Council (PMAC), also known as the Derg regime, seized power and declared Ethiopia a socialist state (Kebbede & Jacob, 1985). One of the main problems in Ethiopia addressed by the Derg regime was social inequality caused by unequal land distribution and landlordism. To resolve this inequality, the Derg regime proposed to 'liberate' tenants from their landlords and to distribute land equally. The equal distribution of land was achieved by nationalising and redistributing all land in Ethiopia in 1974. The 'liberation' of tenants from their landlords was achieved in

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<sup>45</sup> For instance, around 1974 it was estimated Addis Ababa was growing with an average growth rate of 50,000 new urban dwellers per year (Palen, 1974).

<sup>46</sup> It was not until the 1970s that the first federal and municipal housing policies were introduced (Palen, 1974).

1975 by nationalising and redistributing all rental and ‘extra’ houses in Addis Ababa.<sup>47</sup>

The nationalisation of land and housing had an important side-effect. When the city was founded Taitu’s plan imposed a residential clustered form of spatial organisation (*sefers*), where a social mix of high- and low-income groups resided (Taitu’s plan is further discussed in Chapter 6.3). This approach effectively prevented segregation between lower- and upper-class areas in the city (Palen, 1974; Baumeister & Knebel, 2009). The socio-economic mix became permanent with the nationalisation of land and housing during the Derg regime in 1975 (Palen, 1974). This social mix, at the time of writing, was still a recognisable feature in some of the old areas in the inner-city. A mix of social strata, functions, and economies has also caused a close proximity of everything everywhere in the city, which is supportive to the day-to-day survival of low-income groups (Baumeister & Knebel, 2009).

The nationalised housing was placed under two newly established agencies, depending on the amount of rent which was generated from each property. Housing that was being rented for under 100 ETB per month was placed under the *Kebele* Neighbourhood Association, which was 90% of the housing, while housing that was being rented for more than 100 ETB per month was placed under the newly established sub-government office, the Addis Ababa Rental Housing Agency (UN-Habitat, 2007).<sup>48</sup> *Kebele* neighbourhood associations encompassed 300 to 500 households each and functioned as a sub-administrative bureau for the municipality (Kebbede & Jacob, 1985). The introduction of *Kebele* housing was essentially the introduction of public housing in Addis Ababa. Before 1974, public housing, or other forms of government sponsored housing, did apart from the Kolfe-Income Project effectively not exist (Tolon, 2008).

The Derg regime introduced a law that prohibited a person from owning more than one residential house. If requested, a person could have one other place for

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<sup>47</sup> Extra houses were defined as houses not occupied by the owner, but available for rent (Kebbede and Jacob, 1985). These are houses built by landholders on their compounds and are out-rented as an additional source of income.

<sup>48</sup> Housing placed under the Addis Ababa Rental Housing Agency is also known as ‘*Kribetoch*’ housing. *Kebele and Kribetoch* housing are the same as public housing.

business purposes only. This intervention effectively ended landlordism at the time (Ambaye, 2012). To increase housing affordability, the Derg reduced rent, sometimes by as much as 50% (Duroyaume, 2015). The Derg regime, furthermore, effectively halted private sector involvement in housing development with Proclamation No. 292 in 1986 (UN-Habitat, 2010; Wubneh 2013; Duroyaume, 2015). This proclamation stated that residential buildings could only be produced by state-enterprises, municipal governments, housing cooperatives, and individuals who build dwellings for personal use (Wubneh, 2013, p. 261)

In 1978, the Derg introduced the concept of cooperative housing to alleviate pressure on the housing market and to improve housing conditions. Households were organised into four different cooperatives, tailored to household income levels, such as the 'self-help' cooperatives and the 'pure self-help' cooperatives (Kebedde & Jacob, 1985). During the Derg cooperatives produced an estimated 40,539 housing units (Wubneh, 2013). This success was mainly attributed to the level of support cooperatives received from the Derg. For example, building materials were subsidized by 60% at times (UN-Habitat, 2010). Despite the aforementioned rent reductions, household affordability did not increase, because incomes were frozen by the Derg to control wage growth, while inflation caused the price for building materials to rise, which (despite subsidized materials) affected the affordability of cooperative housing (Shiferaw, 1998). In the end, the nationalisation and redistribution of land and housing, however, was only a temporary solution and in the absence of affordable housing options, landlordism became overtime a common practice again.

Other urban projects also took place during the Derg regime. For example, a state-led upgrading project was carried out by the name of the '*Tekle Haimanot Upgrading Project*'. The main objective of this project, sponsored by the World-Bank, was to improve access to basic services and infrastructure, such as: access to sanitation, water, and roads (UN-Habitat, 2007). The project covered 100 hectares and benefited approximately 8,200 households (Gossaye, 2008).

At the time of writing, cooperatives are still in place and they are an affordable option for high-income households, who are interested in becoming

homeowners. Since the overthrow of the Derg regime in 1991, cooperatives have received varying levels of government support. For example, in the 1990s cooperatives were given the opportunity to receive loans from the Construction and Business Bank (UN-Habitat, 2007). At the time of writing cooperatives were provided with serviced land at below-market rates (UN-Habitat, 2010).

After seventeen years, the Derg was overthrown in 1991 by the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF). The EPRDF introduced Addis Ababa's first housing policy in 1994, which emphasised private sector involvement in housing development. By lifting some of the obstacles for the private sector to meet the housing demand, for example by making land more easily available, it was anticipated the private sector would be able to alleviate pressure on the housing market (UN-Habitat, 2010). However, the private sector was unable to live up to these expectations, because they were hindered by the slow release of the few parcels of available land as well as foreign currency shortages and difficulties to obtain construction loans (Eshete & Wolde, 2010; Wubneh, 2013).

In 1994, the Environmental Development Office (EDO) was established in Addis Ababa and led Addis Ababa's first slum upgrading programme in 1997 (UN-Habitat 2010; MUDHCO 2014). In this programme, emphasis was placed on the improvement of infrastructure and services, such as the construction of roads and improved drainage, latrines, and piped water facilities (Tolon, 2008). The programme's secondary objective was to improve housing conditions. However, households were unable to afford the proposed cost-sharing of upgrading expenditures and, therefore, this initiative was unsuccessful. In addition, the majority of the residents lived in public housing, which prohibited them from making repairs or renovations to their homes (UN-Habitat, 2007).

The 1997 slum-upgrading programme was followed in 2003 by the Eco-City project. This was a state-led, urban rehabilitation programme to implement Agenda 21 and respond to the outcomes of the 1992 Earth Summit.<sup>49</sup> The project was composed of ten selected sites across the city, where they upgraded urban

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<sup>49</sup> Agenda 21 is an action document about sustainable development that was one of the outcome documents of the 1992 Earth Summit held in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

infrastructure and services such as sewerage systems and waste management, but did not specifically address housing conditions (Alemayehu, 2008).

This research found that between 1987 and 2009 there were three Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and Community Based Organisations (CBOs) involved in neighbourhood upgrading, urban renewal, and redevelopment programmes in Addis Ababa.<sup>50</sup> These organisations are: (1) The NGO Save the Children Norway (Redd Barna) in partnership with the Ethiopian NGO Integrated Holistic Approach - Urban Development Project (IHA-UDP), (2) Concern Ireland and (3) Oxfam United Kingdom (UK) (Gossaye, 2008). Research from UN-Habitat (2010) shows these NGOs constructed 1,906 new homes and repaired 879 houses, amongst caring out other activities.

During the period this research took place (2014–18) no NGO or CBO was found that was actively engaged in urban upgrading, renewal, or redevelopment in the inner-city of Addis Ababa. During fieldwork for this research it appeared that plans from NGOs or CBOs to address inner-city housing conditions were, in general, not approved because those areas would be completely renewed and redeveloped in the (near) future anyway.<sup>51</sup>

In 2004, the government of Ethiopia introduced a new strategy for housing development to solve the housing crisis permanently. The Addis Ababa City Government, in cooperation with the German development organization Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ), launched the Grand Housing Programme (GHP) pilot project in 2003–04 (Wubneh, 2013).<sup>52</sup> During the GHP pilot project, 700 housing units were constructed in the Gerji area and transferred to their new homeowners. After a successful pilot project, they scaled-up the project and renamed the programme in 2005 the ‘Integrated

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<sup>50</sup> These were the only organisations for which this research found information. There might, however, have been other NGOs or CBOs involved in urban development in Addis Ababa whose activities have not been documented.

<sup>51</sup> NGOs and CBOs have also been affected by the ‘Charities and Societies Proclamation’ ratified in 2009, which states organisations operating in the area of human rights and advocacy cannot receive more than 10% of their funding from foreign sources. This law was implemented to restrict NGOs from engaging with sensitive human right and advocacy activities across the country, and has prohibited NGOs and CBOs from continuing their activities.

<sup>52</sup> This organisation is now called the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ), which merged together the three organizations DED, GTZ and Inwent.

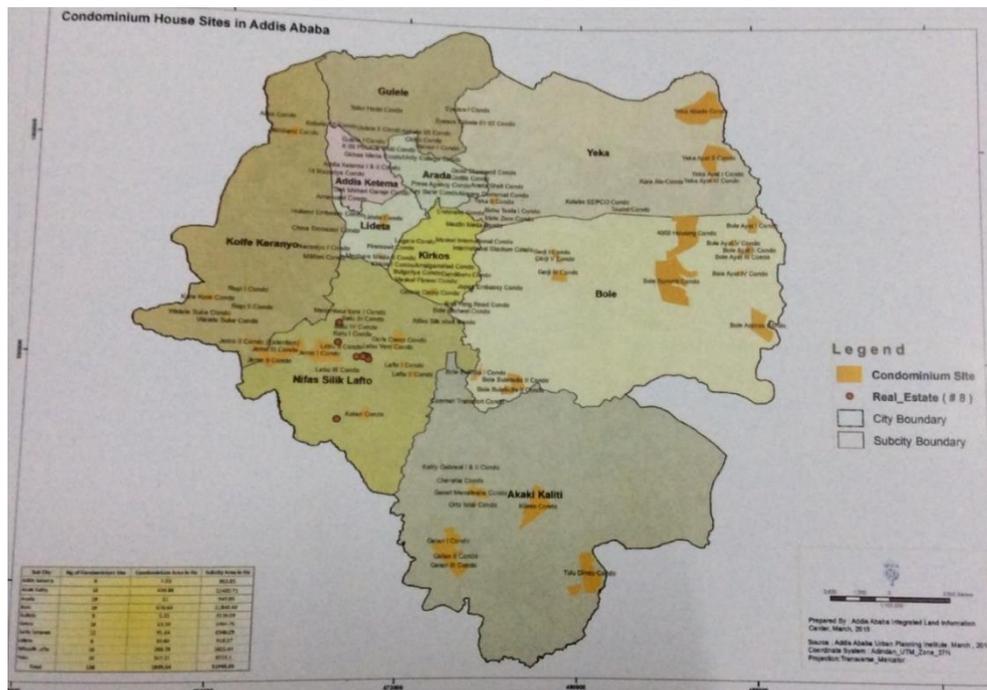
Housing Development Programme' (IHDP), also known as 'the condominiums'. The main objectives of the IHDP were to increase housing supply for low- and middle-income households, to generate employment opportunities in the process, and to improve wealth creation and distribution for the nation as a whole (UN-Habitat, 2010).

The IHDP is still ongoing and is the first large-scale, state-led project that primarily addresses housing; previous projects were piecemeal and placed a greater emphasis on the provision of infrastructure and urban services (UN-Habitat, 2008). The IHDP is also connected with a transition to private home ownership, by replacing public housing with private home ownership (Durroyaume, 2015). The first state-led, small-scale inner-city renewal and redevelopment projects were realised around the same time the GHP pilot took place in 2003–04. These projects, amongst others, include the Sheraton Luxury Hotel, the Dembel City Centre, and the construction of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) (MUDHCO, 2014).

After the GHP pilot project was completed in 2004, the IHDP in Addis Ababa continued in 2005 by constructing housing on ten 'infill' sites across the city, on which a few housing blocks were constructed in each area (Expert Interview No. 6). The Addis Ababa City Government, however, soon realised the scale of housing development on infill sites was not large enough to meet the housing demand, as there were only a limited amount of infill sites. The next phase of the project, therefore, selected areas large enough to build at least 20–30 condominium blocks at a time (Expert interview No. 6).

One of those areas is in the inner-city neighbourhood of Lideta, where 51 condominium housing blocks were constructed on 25 hectares of land, and for which 1,473 existing buildings were demolished (Expert interview No. 6; Asfaw, Zeluel & Berhe, 2011). The Lideta Redevelopment Project marked a change from the use of infill sites, as it was the first inner-city renewal and redevelopment project used, after it was cleared, for condominium construction. After the experience from Lideta, the IHDP, however, again changed its focus, as they moved the construction of condominiums to peri-urban zones, instead of on-site in the inner-city. They moved condominium construction to, for example, the Jemo area, where condominium sites 'Jemo 1' and 'Jemo 2' have been

constructed (Expert Interview No. 6) (Figure 5-2). They continued the renewal and redevelopment of the inner-city land, but for a new purpose and use.



**Figure 5-2: Locations of Condominium Housing**

Source: Addis Ababa Urban Planning Institute, 2014, prepared by Addis Ababa Integrated Land Information Centre, March, 2015

The Lideta experience has been used as an example case to persuade households to consent to relocation in later projects, although this project is deceiving for example-setting (Figure 5-3). In the case of Lideta, consultation and participation was extensive, there were extensive discussions with the local residents, whereas in later development projects consultation and participation were fast-tracked and not as inclusive. The case of Lideta was also a mixed development project, whereas later projects are not and were condominium housing only (Expert Interview No. 6).



**Figure 5-3: View of the Lideta Condominiums**

Source: Marjan Kloosterboer, 2016

When the IHDP was launched in 2004, 400,000 housing units were to be constructed over five years (2005–2010) across Ethiopia (World Bank, 2015). Between 2005 and 2010, the IHDP built 171,000 housing units in various places throughout Ethiopia.<sup>53</sup> After a slow take-up and higher-than-anticipated costs, the programme was suspended in 2010 everywhere, except for in Addis Ababa, where the IHDP has on the contrary grown over time in both volume and scale (UN-Habitat, 2010).

The ambition is to construct 50,000 housing units annually under the IHDP in Addis Ababa. From these housing units, 20,000 are premeditated to meet new demand from urban growth and new household formation, while 30,000 housing units are to be used to replace existing housing, to meet the housing backlog, and to resolve overcrowding (World Bank, 2015). Research from BOFED (2010) estimates, so far, the IHDP has managed to reduce Addis Ababa's housing

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<sup>53</sup> Although the IHDP did not meet its goal of 400,000 housing units, 170,000 it still is an impressive achievement. Construction averaged 2,850 housing units per month or 12 housing units per working hour (UN-Habitat, 2010).

shortage by 17.6% (BOFED, 2010). Since the start of the program, 244,436 housing units have been constructed in total across Ethiopia, of which 170,000 are located in Addis Ababa (World Bank, 2015, p. 32).

The low price of an IHDP housing unit has made them very popular in Addis Ababa, in 2005, for example, about 453,000 people registered for a housing unit (UN-Habitat 2010).<sup>54 55</sup> It seems, however, that the popularity and high demand of IHDP housing units is outstripping the capacity of the program to construct affordable housing fast enough (Keller & Mukudi-Omwami, 2017). It was observed during this study that there are households who have been registered since 2005 who have still not received their housing unit (Figure 5-4).



**Figure 5-4: Condominium Housing in Mexico Area**

Source: Marjan Kloosterboer, 2016

The condominiums encompass an extensive area in the city's peri-urban zones. They are generic, monotonous apartment buildings, with a life-expectancy of one hundred years (UN-Habitat, 2010).<sup>56</sup> There are four different condominium housing units: studios, and one, two or three bedrooms. Each housing unit comes

<sup>54</sup> Households can only register for a condominium, if they have lived in Addis Ababa for at least six months and do not yet own any property. Households relocated from inner-city areas and civil servants have priority (UN-Habitat, 2010).

<sup>55</sup> In 2013, a second registration round was held, but accurate data about the number of people who registered in this round could not be found at the time of writing this thesis.

<sup>56</sup> Condominium sites are sometimes so large, a form of public transportation is needed to move from one side to the other.

with a kitchen, toilet, and bathroom (with sewerage, electricity, and a water connection) (UN-Habitat, 2010). Different types of housing units are offered in each housing block, in combination with a system where households are allocated housing units based on a lottery system. This strategy is intended to enhance the socio-economic mix between different income groups from different areas of the city (Planel & Bridonneau, 2017).<sup>57</sup>

Housing units are allocated to households via a lottery system in attempt to circumvent unequal treatment and to enhance a social mix. Preference for a unit type and area can be pre-selected, but cannot be guaranteed and is dependent on the availability of housing units. The wished-for social mix has, however, in reality not emerged. The IHDP homeowner and rent-class that reside in condominiums represents a relatively homogenous comparably well-off group who can afford the (increasing) rent and sale prices (Planel & Bridonneau, 2017). Planel & Bridonneau (2017) question if the condominiums have, therefore, not rather began to represent the birth place of a new urban bourgeoisie, while also bringing about a new type of socio-economic spatial segregation.

The IHDP is not relying on donor funding, but is rather financed from public resources from the Addis Ababa City Government and from government bonds from the Commercial Bank of Ethiopia. The program over-time is, therefore, expected to be completely recoverable (MUDHCO, 2010; UN-Habitat, 2014). The housing units are sold for the construction price, which is a quarter of what a comparable house would cost if constructed by the private sector (World Bank, 2015).<sup>58</sup> To purchase a housing unit, households enter into an agreement with the state-owned Commercial Bank of Ethiopia. They agree to pay an upfront

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<sup>57</sup> The idea of mixing social groups can cause a role-model effect, where people imitate the behaviour and achievements of higher social groups in an attempt to achieve upward mobility (Abubakar & Doan, 2017). There is, however, a lack of evidence that mixing people with different socio-economic backgrounds through relocation will result in increased social interaction between different social classes (Curley, 2010).

<sup>58</sup> The government is able to keep the price low by exempting tax for the import of building materials and machinery for the benefit of the IHPD. In addition, serviced land is provided for the construction of IHDP housing units below market value. Units are built using a modular design and standardised materials, which furthermore keeps prices low. Households are expected to complete internal finishing, such as tiling, by themselves, to further limit costs (UN-Habitat, 2010).

down payment and to repay the remaining loan, including interest, through a fixed repayment scheme (World Bank, 2015, p. 32) (Table 5-1 and Table 5-2).<sup>59</sup>

Studios and one-bedroom condominiums are cross-subsidised by two- and three-bedroom condominiums, and repayment plans are also tied to household incomes.<sup>60</sup> For example, households who earn less than 1,200 ETB per month are eligible for a 10/90 arrangement (10% down-payment, 90% mortgage) for a studio unit (World Bank, 2015).<sup>61</sup> It is forbidden to resell condominiums within the first five years of purchase. Households are eligible for a one-year grace period, when they are unable to meet their payment deadlines. If non-payment continues, households can lose their housing unit by foreclosure (UN-Habitat, 2010).

Unit type	Percentage of planned units	Size	Loan eligibility
Studio	20%	<20 m <sup>2</sup>	10/90, 20/80, 40/60
1-bedroom	40%	20–30 m <sup>2</sup>	20/80, 40/60
2-bedroom	20%	30–45m <sup>2</sup>	20/80, 40/60
3-bedroom	20%	>45 m <sup>2</sup>	40/60

**Table 5-1: Unit Type and Costs**

Source: Tipple & Alemayehu (2014) cited in World Bank (2015)

Loan Type	Down-Payment	Term
10/90	10%	25 years
20/80	20%	20 years
40/60	40%	17 years

**Table 5-2: Loan Type, Down-Payment and Pay-Back Period**

Source: CAHF, Yearbook (2013) cited in World Bank (2015)

Despite the low cost of IHDP housing units, research from the World Bank (2015) shows the majority of low-income households find the smallest housing units (studios) unaffordable, or only affordable with high-payment-to-income ratios.<sup>62</sup>

<sup>59</sup> At the time of writing, interest was set at 8.5%.

<sup>60</sup> The cross-subsidy is -30% for studio units, -10% for one-bedroom condominiums, +5% for two-bedroom condominiums, and +10% for three-bedroom condominiums (UN-Habitat, 2010).

<sup>61</sup> The exchange rate at the time of completing this thesis was 1 GBP to 35.79 ETB (27 November 2018).

<sup>62</sup> Per capita income in Ethiopia is \$783 USD (World Bank, 2018, a).

In addition, even though housing options are tied to income, they do not correspond with family size. A studio, thus, may be affordable for a low-income household, but may not be large enough to accommodate their entire household, whereas the larger units are unaffordable to them (World Bank, 2015).

Housing development is also addressed in Ethiopia's long-term strategic planning. At the time of writing, Ethiopia is half-way through the Growth and Transformation Plan (GTP) II, a five-year national plan aimed at guiding the nation's development from 2015/16 to 2019/20. Under the preceding plan GTP I, 200,000 housing units were constructed in Ethiopia, the renewal and redevelopment of twenty-five slum areas was fully carried out, and 370,000 jobs were created in the process (MUDCO, 2013).<sup>63</sup> Under GTP II, Addis Ababa has, as is aligned with national development plans, continued to replace the housing stock, while simultaneously adding extra housing through the IHDP (World Bank, 2015).

Housing demand in Addis Ababa is high across all income brackets of the housing-market, and an oversupply of housing is therefore not likely to happen soon. Housing construction in this case does not automatically lead to upward mobility in housing, where households free up housing for others when they move elsewhere, due to a high unmet demand. In reality, households may continue to occupy both, for instance children may move out of their parents' house and start living independently, while the rest of the household remains in the previous home. Surging land and property prices might, however, over-time result in property bursts, when real estate prices, particularly in the high-end market segment, collapse (Harvey, 2012).

The impact of the Derg is still visible in Ethiopia's land-system, because land has remained state-owned since the EPRDF seized power. The EPRDF has, however, in Addis Ababa introduced a land lease system in 1993 to make land users' rights tradable (Bayrau & Bekele, 2007; Yusuf, Tefera & Zerihun, 2009; Ejigu, 2014).

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<sup>63</sup> The objective of GTP I was to construct 500,000 housing units, create 400,000 job opportunities in the process, and reduce the number of slum dwellers by half (MUDCO, 2013). The city had aligned these ambitions with the Millennium Development Goals, specifically Goal 7D: by 2020, to have achieved a significant improvement in the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers (the proportion of the urban population living in slums) (United Nations, 2015, p. 60).

Since the introduction of the land lease system in 1993, an individual in Addis Ababa can only acquire lawful possession over land when it is leased according to the principles set out in the law. The lease period is between 50 and 99 years, as dependent on the land use (Yusuf, Tefera & Zerihun, 2009). A landholder is defined in Ethiopian law as:

An individual, government or private organization or any other organ which has legal personality and has lawful possession over the land to be expropriated and owns property, situated thereon. (Proclamation 455/2005, 2.3)

Individual households with lawful possession of land through a lease in Addis Ababa are referred to in this thesis as ‘landholders’. The leasehold can be transferred, and the capital gains are subjected to a government tax and can be used as collateral for the lease value (Yusuf, Tefera & Zerihun, 2009). A leasehold can be acquired through tendering and negotiation (see Appendix 5 for the land grade and bidding prices). Direct negotiation is, however, the dominant form of acquiring a leasehold, accounting for 96% of the cases (Yusuf, Tefera & Zerihun, 2009). Abebe & Hesselberg (2015) state how this practice enables investors to have unrestricted access to any location they desire, if they are able to strike a deal with the City Government of Addis Ababa and if their prospective plans for the land fit within the city’s masterplan.

The revenue obtained from the bidding process is substantial for the Addis Ababa City Government. Research from UN-Habitat (2017) shows 99% of government investment income is derived from urban land leases (p. 28). This, however, is not a long-term sustainable income source, since land in Addis Ababa is finite. The revenues obtained from land leases are, furthermore, irregular, fluctuating, and will end if it is not replaced with an alternative (continuous) revenue stream, such as a property-tax system (Goodfellow, 2017, a).

The Ethiopian law requires the government to service land with basic minimum services before it can be leased (Proclamation 721/2011, Article 8).<sup>64</sup> This, however, is causing land to be released slowly; each year only a small amount of land is released, which intensifies the pressure on the land market (Cirolia &

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<sup>64</sup> In reality, land is not always serviced, creating extra expenses for the landholder (World Bank, 2015).

Berrisford, 2017). The slow release of land has caused land speculation and surging land prices, allegedly making the city one of the most expensive cities in Africa (Yusuf, Tefera & Zerihun, 2009). For example, in 2016 a plot of land was out-leased for 355,000 ETB per square metre (with a total plot size of 1,380 square metres, the total land lease price was 491 million ETB) (Getnet, 2016).<sup>65</sup>

<sup>66</sup> Yusuf, Tefera & Zerihun (2009) comment on land speculation in Addis Ababa by concluding that:

Urban land prices in Addis Ababa follow neither logic nor theory, neither policy priorities nor grades, neither floor prices nor size of plots. In most cases, a homogeneous plot of land does not fetch a similar price (p. 106).

Land speculation has led to investors leaving land they obtained bare and underdeveloped, awaiting an opportunity to resell it with profit. In 2009, Yusuf, Tefera and Zerihun (2009) estimated that more than 50% of land that had been leased had not been developed.<sup>67</sup> Different regulations have been put in place to discourage land speculation. For instance, a six-month period has been introduced during which a person who has acquired land may again sell it underdeveloped, but after this period, it is mandatory that 50% of a structure have been constructed for residential buildings, or 30% for commercial before it can be sold (Yusuf, Tefera & Zerihun, 2009). This has, however, now caused half-finished housing and commercial properties to be on the market.

If construction is not completed within three years, a land title can be revoked and the plot with the unfinished building can be auctioned off. The decision to revoke a land title is rarely made and rather this is used as a warning and threat, which does not actually discouraged speculation (Yusuf, Tefera & Zerihun,

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<sup>65</sup> The exchange rate at the time of completing this thesis was 1 GBP to 35.79 ETB (27 November 2018).

<sup>66</sup> Land lease prices are not a reflection of the actual payment, as after paying an initial down-payment on a lease of at least 10%, the remaining balance is paid in instalments over the total period of the lease-term, which may be as long as 99 years (Deme, 2016).

<sup>67</sup> This has led to resentment among those who have been resettled during the early stages, as they have been moved (in a rush) to make space for development, but then nothing has happened with the land on which they used to live (Kassa, 2015). For instance, households who lived near the presidential palace have been displaced for the expansion of the nearby Sheraton Hotel in 2010, but at the time of writing the land still has not been developed and lays vacant.

2009).<sup>68</sup> Land and real estate speculation are further incentivised by the absence of a well-regulated property tax that captures the combined value of land and buildings (Goodfellow, 2017, a). The tax system in place is relying on outdated property valuations and has not included additions made to the housing stock (Goodfellow, 2017, a).

Foreign investments in real estate have been rising in Addis Ababa; foreign investments were 4.8 billion ETB in 2007, which was almost equal to the 5.4 billion in domestic investments in real estate (Eshete and Wolde, 2010, p. 9).<sup>69</sup> In Ethiopia, foreigners cannot lease land, but can invest and access the real estate market in other ways. For example, a real estate company can be founded as an Ethiopian–foreign partnership, where land is provided by the Ethiopian partner and a building is constructed and financed by a foreign partner. Contrary to other New City developments, land ownership is, therefore, not accumulating in foreign hands, although with the high land leasing prices, it is likely concentrating in the hands of wealthy landholders.

The diaspora are one of the most important investors in real estate, as they are prohibited from investing in Ethiopia’s five key sectors (banking, telecommunications, media, insurance, and transport) (Goodfellow, 2017, b). Their inability to invest in other key sectors, the inflation and devaluation of the Ethiopian Birr, the high rate on investments, and the potential to target different segments of the low- and high-end market for a higher success rates, however, also makes the real estate sector an interesting investment opportunity for them (Durroyaume, 2015) (Figure 56).

Foreign construction companies, with foreign employees (for example, from the UAE, India, Pakistan, Turkey and China) are used by private developers to construct high-rise buildings across the city. There is, for instance, a large visible presence of Chinese companies in Addis Ababa; they are hired to deliver a project or perform a service, and are selected based on competitive bidding

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<sup>68</sup> In January 2018, however, a report was released that stated 410 hectares of land that had been awarded to investors had been returned to the Addis Ababa Land Bank and Transfer Office, because the land had still not been developed, after many years (Nsehe, 2018).

<sup>69</sup> The exchange rate at the time of completing this thesis was 1 GBP to 35.79 ETB (27 November 2018).

schemes. The construction of the ‘new’ Addis Ababa is linked, therefore, to global capital circuits through the importation of construction materials and through a transfer of labour and knowledge from elsewhere in the world.

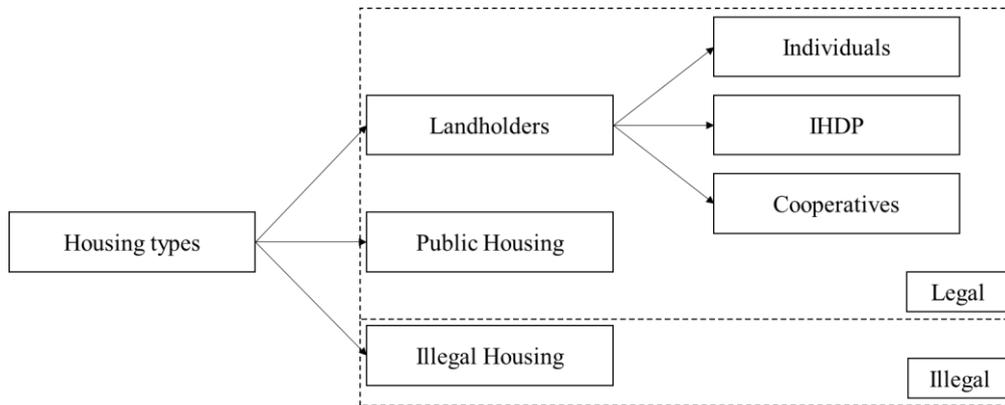
The construction of IHDP condominiums and private sector housing development have caused a visible transformation of Addis Ababa at a municipal scale, although most prominent in the inner-city. The redevelopment of the inner-city with high-standard, high-rise buildings that meet modern and international standards, the construction IHDP housing in peri-urban zones, and pockets of housing development by the private sector across the city, thus, are collectively transforming the face of the city.

## **5.4 Addis Ababa’s housing typology**

Addis Ababa’s housing types are historically rooted and different housing types have overtime emerged in a response to housing demand and affordability. To enhance readability, a housing typology has been presented in Figure 5-5 of the different housing types present in Addis Ababa at the time of writing. Housing types were identified for this typology by ownership, which refers to a legal right to live in a house or on its land; it does not refer to the spatial planning of housing. This housing typology distinguishes between three different housing types and their sub-categories: (1) landholders, (2) public housing, and (3) illegal housing, which have been further explained below in Figure 5-5.<sup>70</sup> Private tenants have not been presented in this typology, as a housing type on their own, but rather occupy one of the three housing types previously mentioned. Private tenants have been, nevertheless, discussed below as a separate category, because they form an important group of housing occupants in Addis Ababa, in the context of this research.

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<sup>70</sup> Occasionally housing has been constructed for free by NGOs or the private sector for selected beneficiaries or employees. For instance, Save the Children constructed in the 1980s a small number of standard housing units for a group of inner-city residents (Alemayehu, 2008). In these cases, housing has been either labelled as public when ownership has been transferred to the municipality or as privately owned when a title deed or the leasehold has been transferred to an individual household.



**Figure 5-5: Housing Types in Addis Ababa**

Source: Marjan Kloosterboer, 2018

In this housing typology, a distinction has been made between legal and illegal housing. Landholders and public housing are considered legal under Ethiopian law, while housing built on land held outside the lease system is considered illegal. Legal versus illegal housing does not refer to (non)conformity with building standards. For example, a house can be built without conforming to building standards on legally occupied land and is considered legal, whereas a house constructed on land for which the administrative leasehold is not held by the occupant, but may be built to standard, is considered illegal.<sup>71</sup> The visual difference between the housing types may, therefore, in reality be hard to observe.

<sup>71</sup> Ethiopian Building Proclamation No. 624/2009

Table 5-3 (below) provides an overview of the quantity of housing per housing type in Addis Ababa.<sup>72</sup>

Housing types		Number of housing	Number of housing	Share of housing type	Share of housing type by sub-category
<b>Landholders</b>		<b>377,545</b>		<b>49%</b>	
	IHDP		<b>181,461</b>		<b>24%</b>
	Individuals from the private real estate sector		<b>3,874</b>		<b>0.5%</b>
	Individuals		<b>35,760</b>		<b>5%</b>
	Housing Cooperatives		<b>156,450</b>		<b>20%</b>
<b>Public housing</b>		<b>200,607</b>	<b>200,607</b>	<b>26%</b>	<b>26%</b>
<b>Illegal housing</b>		<b>192,000</b>		<b>25%</b>	
	Built to standard on land for which the leasehold is not held by the occupant		<b>132,000</b>		<b>17%</b>
	Built below standard on land for which the leasehold is not held by the occupant		<b>60,000</b>		<b>8%</b>
<b>Total number of housing</b>		<b>770,152</b>	<b>770,152</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Table 5-3: Quantity of Housing per Housing Type**

<sup>1</sup>Source: UN-Habitat, 2017

<sup>2</sup>Source: Mathema, 2004

<sup>3</sup>Source: Central Statistical Agency, 2007

Note: IHDP data is from 2010.

Table 5-3 shows landholders hold the highest share of the housing stock with 49%. The IHDP caused the share of landholders to double since its introduction. Landholders are households who have a leasehold or title deed to their property. In the context of Addis Ababa, one can become a landholder in different ways: (1) through the IHDP, (2) as an individual by leasing land or by buying into private real estate projects, and (3) via housing cooperatives, where individuals

<sup>72</sup> The data in this table has been compiled from different sources. Expert interview No. 2 stated that there is no data base available in Addis Ababa in which all the different housing types have been combined. The interviewee said the way data is handled at the time of interviewing has not changed since 1997, as updating data is a long and bureaucratic process.

Accurate data for public housing is lacking. In 2005, a re-count was made of public housing, however, at the time of interviewing this re-count had still not been made official (Expert Interview No. 2). The data used in Table 5-3, therefore, has limitations, but was the most recent data available at the time of writing.

come together and construct housing together (such as in the case of large apartment complexes) (Figure 5-6, Figure 5-7 and Figure 5-8).



**Figure 5-6: Landholder in the Inner-City**  
Source: Marjan Kloosterboer, 2016



**Figure 5-7: Poli Lotus/Tsehay Real Estate Luxury Apartments**  
Source: Marjan Kloosterboer, 2016



**Figure 5-8: Villa in the Country Club Estate (Private Real Estate Project).**  
 Source: Marjan Kloosterboer, 2016

The private sector, however, is suffering from shortages in building materials and foreign currency, while licensing procedures and taxing regulations are numerous and fast changing (UN-Habitat, 2010). Households are prohibited from becoming landholders, furthermore, by the limited amount of financial options available to finance their homes. The first mortgage system to be introduced was tied to the IHDP and loans for housing construction are not commonly issued. For instance, households may not obtain a loan when they do not meet the requirements set by the bank, such as: evidence of regular employment, income, or collateral (MUDHCO, 2014, p. 44). When households cannot meet these criteria, they need to finance housing construction from their savings. This is effectively excluding low- and middle-income households from becoming landholders, because this is not an option they can afford. Real estate is, however, a lucrative business opportunity for those who have the capital to invest, with potential profits of 100% (Goodfellow, 2017, a, p. 558).

The Government of Ethiopia and the City Government of Addis Ababa are in this regard in control of both public and private housing development in the city. They control land and the housing supply (in the case of public housing and the IHDP), housing finance (through the state-owned development bank and the Commercial Bank of Ethiopia), and are actively involved in the production of construction materials (UN-Habitat, 2010). The Addis Ababa City Government also actively promotes homeownership to alleviate pressure on the housing market (Durroyaume, 2015).

Public housing comprises 26% of the housing stock (Table 5-3). This share is anticipated to decline overtime as new public housing is not being constructed at the time of writing and at the same time it is being targeted for demolition by renewal and redevelopment programmes (Figure 5-9 and Figure 5-10). The government of Addis Ababa wants to replace 50% of its public housing stock with housing units in the IHDP as compensation for the demolished units (Alemayehu, 2008). Households can acquire public housing in three ways: (1) when they have a letter from a recognised government organisation that refers them for public state housing, (2) when they have a physical or mental disability, or (3) when they are categorised as ‘low-income’. There are, however, long wait times for public housing, as there is a limited and declining supply, and new public housing is not being constructed (Expert Interview No. 2).



**Figure 5-9: Public House in the Inner-City**  
Source: Marjan Kloosterboer, 2016



**Figure 5-10: Public house with Added Mezzanine**

Source: Marjan Kloosterboer, 2016

Sometimes public housing is provided free of rent, for example for households living in temporary shelters provided by the government or sometimes for government employees (Tesfaye, 2007). On average, however, the rent for public housing is between 5–10 ETB per month (Ayenew, 2009).<sup>73</sup> Overall, public state housing is in poor and dilapidated condition, made of non-durable, low-cost materials, and below acceptable building standards (World Bank, 2015). The housing units are most often constructed together densely, as one- or two-room, ground-floor spaces.<sup>74</sup> Typically a public house comprises a single room that is 3–

<sup>73</sup> The exchange rate at the time of completing this thesis was 1 GBP to 35.79 ETB (27 November 2018).

<sup>74</sup> It was observed how sometimes a mezzanine or second floor was constructed to create more living space. However, the safety of these make-shift constructions was often of question.

4 metres wide and 4–5 metres long, accommodating an average of 5–10 people (Ayenew, 2009, p. 20).

Illegal housing comprises 25% of the city's housing stock, which indicates its scale and volume (Table 5-3) (Figure 5-11). Illegal housing is built on land for which the leasehold is not held by the occupant of the land. For example, households who 'bought' farmland in the peri-urban zones outside the land-lease system or who occupy vacant land in the inner-city.<sup>75</sup> As stated in 5.3, illegal housing is historically rooted in the city. High land prices, the small amount of annually released land for lease, high rent prices in the private sector, procedural problems, and long wait times for public housing have made illegal housing a more affordable and attractive option (Assefa & Newman, 2014; Lamson-Hall et al., 2018). Building standards are, in addition, a financial barrier for legal housing construction, as low-cost building materials (such as mud, wood, and straw) have been prohibited, while 'modern' and more expensive materials are now the (legal) norm (Melesse, 2005).



**Figure 5-11: Illegally Constructed Shelter in the Inner-City**  
Source: Marjan Kloosterboer, 2016

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<sup>75</sup> Even though a contract may exist, this does not make the land transfer legal, as land can only be transferred under the land-lease system.

Since the EPRDF came to power in 1991, they have made several attempts to prevent and reduce illegal housing in the city. A first intervention took place in 1998 with the introduction of Regulation No. 1. Under Regulation No. 1 a housing plot that was illegally occupied since the nationalization of land and housing in 1975 up to May 1996 received legal status if they complied with the master plan and if their plot size did not exceed 175 square metres (Melesse, 2005, p. 23). This however has encouraged households to construct illegal housing, research from Melesse (2005, p. 23) shows households misinterpreted the policy and thought all illegally constructed housing units would be given legal status. This has therefore indirectly contributed to the expansion of illegal housing, its inhabitants holding a silent hope for this legislation to apply to them (Melesse, 2005).<sup>76</sup>

A second intervention took place in 2004, when illegal housing was offered legal status, dependent on the year it was occupied and if the construction of the building complied with the building standards (Hailu & Rooks, 2016, p. 348). The second intervention was implemented in two different phases: the first phase is composed of landholders who occupied their land before 1996, while the second group were landholders who occupied their land between 1996 and 2004 (Hailu & Rooks, 2016). At the time of writing, the first group received title deeds, whereas the second group is still waiting for the outcomes of their pending cases (Hailu & Rooks, 2016). Research shows this intervention has had both positive and negative outcomes, for example, there is a positive correlation between providing title deeds and the quality of housing (Hailu & Rooks, 2016, p. 354).

Illegal housing will continue to exist as long as the housing shortage persists, options for housing finance do not become more inclusive, and as long as more public housing is not made available (Assefa & Newman, 2014). At the time of writing, low-income groups could not afford the IHDP housing units (World Bank, 2015), they were financially unable to buy land or housing in another way, while public housing was declining and had long wait times. Their demand is, therefore, not catered for by the market and this is causing illegal land

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<sup>76</sup> Research shows a positive correlation between the impact of land titling and households investment decisions. In particular, it shows an increased likelihood in housing investments (Hailu and Rooks, 2016).

occupation to intensify. Illegal housing can be found across Addis Ababa, although with renewal and redevelopment projects in the inner-city zones, illegal housing is increasingly being pushed to the outskirts of the city (Figure 5-12). This implies renewal and redevelopment programmes are not reducing the quantity of illegal housing, but is rather forcing it to migrate and reappear elsewhere (Mathema, 2005).



**Figure 5-12: Partially demolished area in the Inner-City**

Source: Marjan Kloosterboer, 2016

Private tenants are not mentioned in the housing typology, as they fall into one of three other typologies: their landlord is either a landholder, public tenant, or an illegal settler. Private rent is a common practice in Ethiopia, because it is an important source of extra income and can serve as a pension. Private renting has been around since the founding of the city in various forms; the entourage of the royal family and other nobility were, for instance, living in rented dwellings attached to their employers' housing.

There is no reliable data available about the number of private tenants in Addis Ababa. Landlords are obligated to register their tenants, but they often do not comply with this rule to evade tax. Renting in the private sector can be arranged through extended family and a kinship system, but can also be arranged through a system of informal local brokers or via property letting agencies. Private tenancy has become more regulated over the past decade. Trust-based verbal rent agreements have sometimes been replaced with rental contracts, for

instance. Tenants, however, are not well protected by the law. For example, private tenants are not entitled to receive any form of compensation when displaced.

An unintended by-product of the IHDP has been intensified landlordism by creating a new class of 'rent-seekers' (Wubneh, 2013). IHDP homeowners are taking advantage of the city's housing shortage by out-renting their housing units for high (and increasing) rental prices. Heisel (2012) estimates 70% of new condominium owners are renting out their condominiums. The government tolerates this practice, as they consider the rent an income source that can enable households to repay their loans and overtime turn them into homeowners (Keller & Mukudi-Omwami, 2017). Condominium units, in addition, have come to represent a speculative property investment, as they withhold an opportunity for profit making when they are sold (Goodfellow, 2017, b).

The IHDP, therefore, has led to a new cadre of landlords, households that have now become landlords via the IHDP, while they themselves move farther away into the periphery, where housing is still affordable for them (Planel & Bridonneau, 2017). They are now themselves competing for private rental housing in those areas, further increasing the pressure on the rental market there (Wubneh, 2013). The IHDP aimed to improve housing and living conditions. However, households who rent-out their housing units often continue to live in 'slum-characterised' areas, similar to where they lived before (Wubneh, 2013). The IHDP, therefore, does not necessarily prevent or reduce this type of housing, but on the contrary relocates and intensifies their presence elsewhere.

## **5.5 Summary**

The aim of this chapter was to discuss housing development in Addis Ababa since its founding until the time of writing, and link this history to the city's ambitions to become, at last, an internationally competitive global city. This chapter has discussed the evolving housing system and the key point is that the city's housing crisis is historically rooted, while the housing market at the time of writing is entirely directed and regulated by the federal and city government. The introduction of the IHDP and private sector housing that meets international GaWC requirements have enforced a modernisation and beautification of the

city simultaneous with the renewal and redevelopment of the inner-city. The housing strategy pursued is not, however, meeting the needs of the low-, middle-, and high-income housing segments equally. The slow release and low supply of land coupled with the absence of diversified housing and finance options tailored to different income groups have caused illegal settlements to persist and intensify, while the private rental market has continued to thrive. The next chapter builds upon this chapter by discussing the history of Addis Ababa's urban planning until the time of writing.

## **6 Addis Ababa's History of Urban Planning**

### **6.1 Introduction**

The previous chapter discussed housing development in Addis Ababa since its founding. This chapter addresses the history of Addis Ababa's urban planning in relation to New City developments and GaWC making. The chapter was written to meet research objective one: to assess how Addis Ababa's history of planning and housing development is linked to aspirations for GaWC making through large-scale urban renewal and redevelopment to construct a City-within-a-City, as a type of New City development. The chapter first discusses the founding of Addis Ababa, followed by a description of Taitu's indigenous settlement plan. Next, this chapter discusses the short Italian occupation of the city and its effect on the urban fabric. It, then, continues by chronologically discussing the impact of multiple (foreign-inspired) masterplans on the city's spatial layout and built environment. Finally, the chapter will provide a summary.

### **6.2 The founding of Addis Ababa in 1886**

Addis Ababa was founded as a New City in 1886 by Emperor Menelik II and his wife Empress Taitu as an economic strategy and as a visionary act to launch Ethiopia into a new era of modernisation and economic development. Emperor Menelik II had over time expanded his territory by seizing regions and placing them under his control (Wolde-Michael, 1973). Addis Ababa was thus founded as the economic and administrative centre of Emperor Menelik II's consolidated territory, from where he intended to rule his empire and establish international relationships (Garretson, 1974; Wolde-Michael, 1973). This vision resonates in the naming of the city as Addis Ababa, translated as 'New Flower' in Amharic, which symbolically refers to a new beginning of the empire and a prosperous future. The name also directly refers to the flowering mimosa trees in the area, which additionally served as a symbol for the city's aspiration for beauty (Gulema, 2013; Pankhurst, 1961; Tufa, 2008).

The founding of the city, thus, was not the outcome of a gradual growth pattern. It was a symbolic and purposeful act by the royal couple to change the course of the nation by moving their court to this particular geographic location

(Giorghis & Gérard, 2007; Palen, 1974; Zeleke, 2010).<sup>77</sup> The New City was envisioned by the royal couple as a modernist monument that would generate economic growth for the entire nation. It was simultaneously intended to be seen as a break with the past, thus, shedding off associations such as backwardness, incivility, and barbarism by showcasing a new identity to the world (Zeleke, 2010).

The founding of Addis Ababa as a permanent capital broke tradition of ‘moving capitals’ in Ethiopia.<sup>78</sup> Ethiopia has long been associated with a ‘lack of true urbanisation’; its capitals were known to rise and fall alongside its rulers (hence the origin of the term ‘moving capitals’) (Crummey, 1986). Emperor Menelik II, for instance, had at least five capitals in different locations, before he founded Addis Ababa (Wolde-Michael, 1973).<sup>79</sup> Ethiopian rulers were unable to sustain their capitals permanently for two reasons: first, different rulers of Ethiopia were unable to sufficiently govern their territories over large distances, and, second, they were unable to sustain large (and growing) permanent settlements for a long period with water, food, and (fire) wood (among other necessities) (Giorghis, 2009). This, therefore, necessitated previous capital cities to have a nomadic character that enabled the ruling court to move quickly to other strategic defensive and resource-rich locations (Giorghis, 2009).

Addis Ababa, however, experienced great difficulties to permanently sustain itself during the first two decades after its founding. The low availability of timber became a problem in Addis Ababa when the surrounding forest areas were depleted (Pankhurst, 1961; Giorghis, 2009). Due to the absence of adequate infrastructure, such as roads, the transportation of timber over

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<sup>77</sup> This location is referred to as the Finfinne area and is located on the slope of the Entoto mountains. The location exhibited a great attraction to the Emperor and his wife for its hot springs with an alleged healing effect, a convenient living climate, and adequate availability of water and fertile land, amongst others reasons (Pankhurst, 1961; Garretson, 1974; Mahiteme, 2007; Tufa, 2008; Pasquali, 2015). The land was at the time used by Oromo farmers. Ruins found of previous rulers in the Finfinne area, furthermore, fuelled the idea of the ‘reestablishment’ of an old and forgone settlement (Giorghis and Gérard, 2007; Pasquali, 2015).

<sup>78</sup> In Ethiopia, traces of the earliest urban settlements alongside trade routes and the sea shore date back to the 4th Century (B.C.), the pre-aksumite and aksumite era (Cherenet, 2009). The city of Aksum became the first alleged capital city of Ethiopia in the 1st century A.D. However, over time this function was placed on other cities such as Harar, Lalibella, Gondar, Adwa, and Ankobar (Giorghis & Gérard 2007).

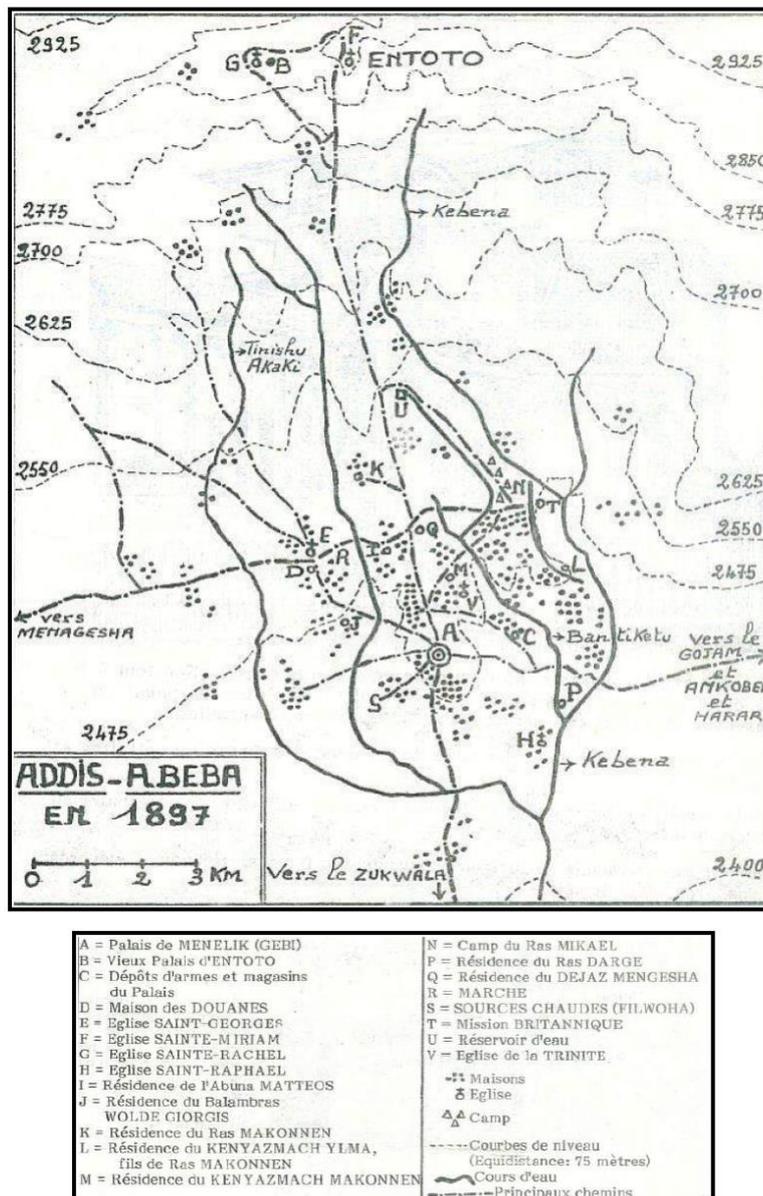
<sup>79</sup> The other locations were (1) Ankobar, (2) Lice, (3) Ankobar/Debre Birhan, (4) Entoto, and (5) Entoto, (6) Addis Ababa.

large(r) distances was not possible, while the forest became depleted faster than it could be replanted (Ellis, 1988). When the scarcity of wood began to threaten the ability of the city to sustain itself, the royal court was forced to consider moving the capital city elsewhere (Ellis, 1988; Pankhurst, 1961; Wolde-Michael, 1973). In the early 1900s, the Emperor, therefore, proposed to move Addis Ababa to a new location about forty kilometres from Addis Ababa's current location.

The New City 'Addis Alem' (translated into English from Amharic as the 'New World') was planned close to a forest area, where a new palace was being constructed (Wolde-Michael 1973; Tufa 2008). Addis Alem, however, never became the new capital city, as it turned out another move of the capital would undermine Emperor Menelik II's position. The Emperor had secured his position in Addis Ababa and was able to rule his country from this one place (Pankhurst, 1961). Emperor Menelik II and his capital, therefore, were forced to remain in their present location, while searching for alternative solutions to overcome the city's timber shortage (Pankhurst, 1961).

Emperor Menelik II came across the fast-growing Eucalyptus tree during his search for permanent solutions to the timber crisis when a trader brought him a few seedlings from Australia (Horvath, 1970). The plantation of Eucalyptus trees was successful and soon they spread across the city and its outer-regions, which gave Addis Ababa at the time a nickname of 'Eucalyptopolis' (Pankhurst, 1961; Horvath, 1970). The introduction of the Eucalyptus tree solved the timber crisis permanently around the 1920s and these trees have remained a permanent feature of the city's landscape (Wolde-Michael 1973; Ellis 1988). The tree was at the time of writing this thesis still being used for firewood and housing construction.

When the city was founded, besides the royal family, its dwellers were made up of nobility, people from the church, and soldiers. Around the turn of the century, the city's population had grown quickly from rural-to-urban migration to an estimated population of 60,000 people. Various people had moved to the city, driven by war, diseases, and natural disasters (Figure 6-1) (Assen, 1986; Giorghis & Gérard, 2007; Tufa, 2008).<sup>80</sup>



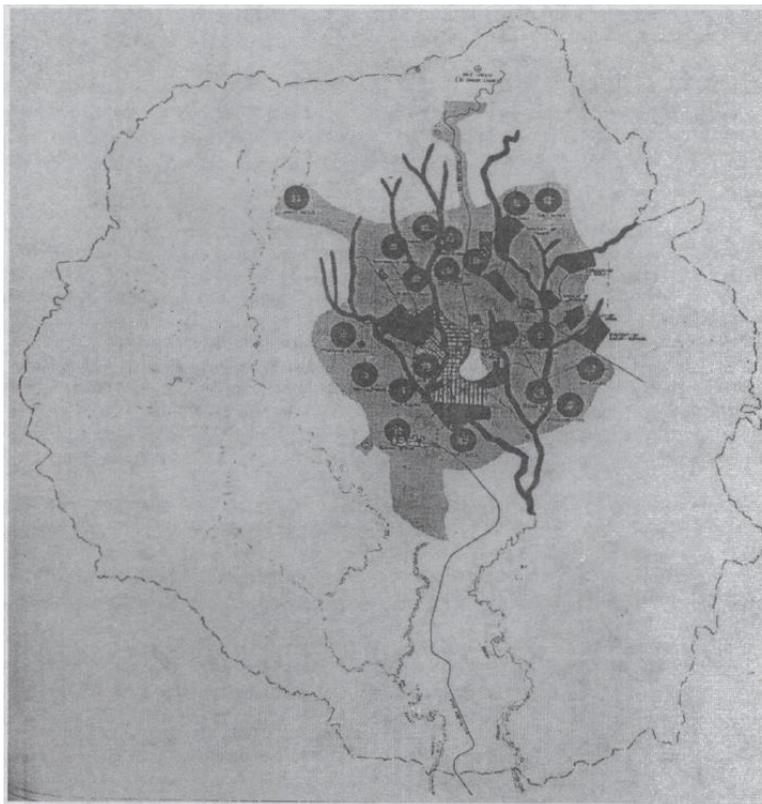
**Figure 6-1: Addis Ababa circa 1897**

Source: Bellier, 2015

<sup>80</sup> Notable events are the Battle of Adwa in 1886 and the Great Famine of 1889.

### 6.3 Taitu's settlement plan

The early settlement plan of Addis Ababa followed an indigenous, spontaneous, and organic growth pattern according to a social and political hierarchy (Cherenet, 2009; Tufa, 2008; Zewde, 1986).<sup>81</sup> This early settlement plan was ascribed to the efforts of Empress Taitu and, therefore, also became known as 'Taitu's plan' (Figure 6-2). Taitu's plan was inspired by, and shared resemblances with, the spatial organisation and layout of former capital settlements. Those cities were constructed as military camps with temporary structures on strategically selected defensive sites; this enabled them to relocate quickly to other locations (Cherenet, 2009; Garretson, 1974; Zewde, 1986). Addis Ababa at its founding, thus, did not resemble a permanent city structure, but instead shared visual and physical resemblances with a military camp (Garretson, 1974; Giorghis, 2009).



**Figure 6-2: Taitu's Settlement Plan**

Source: Aherom, 1984

<sup>81</sup> Even though Addis Ababa was founded during the height of colonisation on the African continent, the founding of the city was self-driven and free from colonial influences. The timing of Addis Ababa's establishment, nevertheless, coincided with the rise of political capitals across the African continent, Nairobi was for instance founded at approximately the same time (Lindahl, 1970).

Taitu's plan followed a form of social-spatial organisation; the spatial layout was organised in concentric rings around primary and secondary nodes (Tufa, 2008).<sup>82</sup> The plan, therefore, followed a traditional approach towards settlement formation in Ethiopia. In preceding centuries, settlements were shaped alongside three major institutions as primary and secondary nodes: the palace, the market, and the church. Nobility, military officials and other prominent households, along with their courts, and important people from the church were allocated land in concentric rings and strategic positions alongside the north, east, south, and west axis of the palace. This settlement pattern led to the construction of a town that spread from around the palace as the primary focal node (Giorghis, 2009; Giorghis & Gerard, 2007; Pankhurst, 1961). Political hierarchies were reflected in this settlement pattern by land size and the relative distance from the palace, which indicated the importance of the household in society (Mahiteme, 2007). It is estimated that around this time selected plots of land were divided between 31 selected high officials; more land was later divided between another 219 officials, who in turn sub-divided their land among their subordinates (Mahiteme, 2007).

Housing was grouped together in *sefers*, groups of residential clusters.<sup>83</sup> *Sefers* were named after the person to whom the land was allocated or they were named after the activity that was performed on the land by its inhabitants.<sup>84</sup> Large physical distances and physical barriers between the different *sefers*, such as natural boundaries like rivers, eucalyptus forests, gorges, grasslands for grazing animals and the like, functioned as physical barriers to prevent clashes between rivaling nobility (Garretson, 1974; Giorghis & Gérard, 2007). There was not much visible coherence between the different *sefers* and, therefore, in the first decades the city appeared as a group of rural villages, as opposed to a tight-knit and dense urban fabric (Mahiteme, 2007; Pasquali, 2015; Zewde, 1986). This image was reinforced by the absence of roads; at the turn of the

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<sup>82</sup> Other secondary nodes were the area's hot springs, the market, the church, and after its completion the railway station (Lindahl, 1970).

<sup>83</sup> Translated from Amharic as camp in English.

<sup>84</sup> At the time of writing, some neighbourhoods in Addis Ababa still carry the name of early *Sefers*, such as the areas of 'Lideta', 'Urael', or 'Kirkos' (Giorghis & Gérard, 2007).

twentieth century there were only two major roads through the city, otherwise people used animal tracks (Giorghis, 2009).<sup>85</sup>

In 1909, a city municipality was established to address the high demand for urban services and infrastructure that emerged shortly after the city's founding and was aggravated by the city's high urban growth (Giorghis & Gérard, 2007). They were unable, however, to solve pressing service and infrastructure problems, as they suffered from weak financial and administrative capacity. Their income was generated from taxes and fees, which were difficult to collect and, thus, their funds were insufficient to cover their operational costs, let alone carry out municipal works (Garetson, 1974; Giorghis & Gérard, 2007; Mahiteme, 2007). For this reason, the growing demand for services and infrastructure continued to be inadequately addressed until the Italian occupation in 1941.

In the first decades of Addis Ababa's founding, the city began to function as a focal node for the country as a whole, operating as the entrance point for European inventions. The royal couple successfully introduced European inventions, such as communication infrastructure (postal, telegraph, and telephone system) and motorised vehicles. Improved infrastructure, for example, the completion of a railway network to Djibouti, advanced the establishment of regional and international trade relationships (Wolde-Michael, 1973). Commodities—such as, salt, coffee, honey, and cotton—were traded from Addis Ababa to abroad and the city imported goods such as silk and firearms (Giorghis & Gérard, 2007). International trading attracted the first foreign traders (Indian, Greek, and Armenian) to move to Ethiopia and soon the first foreign embassies and their staff followed (Garretson, 1974). Another important step towards Ethiopia's integration into the world economy was made during this time by Emperor Menelik II, by changing the economic system from a barter

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<sup>85</sup> Infrastructure construction, nevertheless, was concentrated in Addis Ababa, as it was perceived greater opportunities were present in the capital, as opposed to elsewhere in the country. Overtime this, however, caused an unequal distribution of resources, leaving less resources for secondary cities and other towns to support their development (Bahir Dar, Gondar, or Harar, for example) (Kebbede & Jacob, 1985).

system to a coin-based economy. The first coins were for this purpose minted in Ethiopia in the early 1900s (Giorghis & Gérard, 2007).

## 6.4 The short-lived Italian occupation of Addis Ababa

During the height of colonialism, Ethiopia reinforced its position as an independent and autonomous nation after it won the historically famous ‘Battle of Adwa’ in 1896 defeating the Italians (Giorgis & Gérard, 2007).<sup>86</sup> The Italians did not, however, give up their attempts to include Ethiopia in their overseas colonies. Eager for land to benefit their domestic industrial production, they waged a second attempt in 1935 (Pasquali, 2015). The second attempt was more successful and led to a brief Italian occupation of Addis Ababa (and some other urban centres) from 1936–1941, which, despite its short duration, had a long-lasting impact on the city’s development.

The Italians, under the leadership of President Mussolini, occupied Addis Ababa on 5 May 1936 and subsequently announced the founding of the ‘*Impero dell’Africa Orientale Italiana*’ (A.O.I.) in Rome (Zewde, 1986).<sup>87</sup> Initially, Addis Ababa was deemed unfit to serve as the A.O.I.’s capital city, due to the city’s high altitude, complex topography, and its fragmented urban fabric (Pasquali, 2015). However, after a year of ongoing debates and an inability to move the capital to a different, larger or more convenient location, it was decided Addis Ababa was to be the A.O.I.’s capital city, after all. This had far-fetching consequences, as the Italians judged the city unfit for its new task and decided that Addis Ababa had to be renewed and reconstructed to be acceptable for its new position (Mahiteme, 2007).

In spite of the efforts from Emperor Menelik II and Empress Taitu to create a modern city, the city did not meet the criteria of modernity and worldliness, as judged by Italian standards. Despite imported, modern elements interwoven into the urban fabric, the city had, for example, kept its rural visual resemblance.

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<sup>86</sup> Ethiopia is one of two countries on the African continent that has officially never been colonised,.

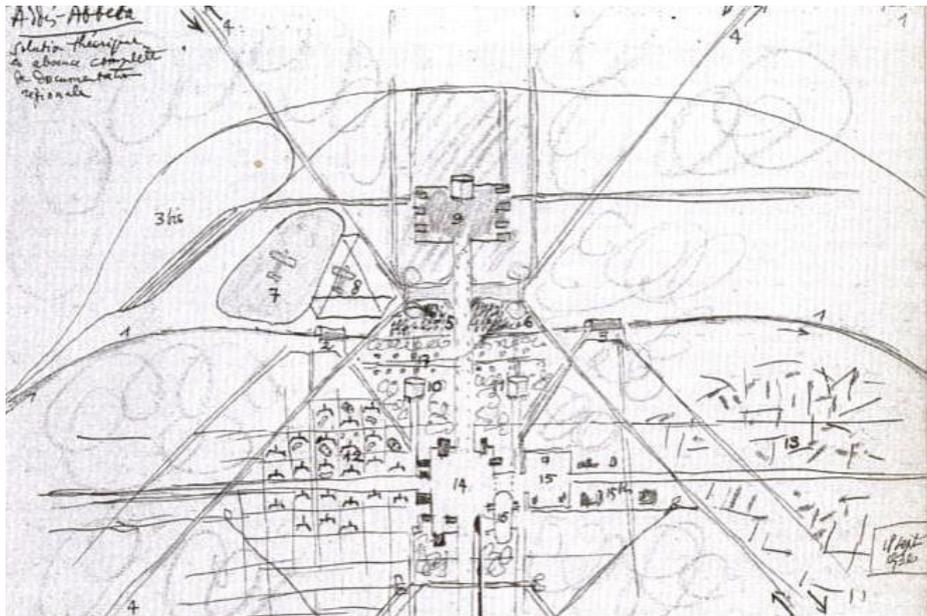
<sup>87</sup> The A.O.I. encompassed Ethiopia, Somalia, and Eritrea. The ‘*Impero dell’ Africa Orientale Italiana*’ is ‘Italian East Africa’ in English.

From an Italian point of view, the city, therefore, was in urgent need of renewal and redevelopment.

Italians imposed Italian planning practices onto Addis Ababa, as they envisioned the construction of a New City full of Italian design, constructed on top of, and around, the existing urban fabric as a City-within-a-City (Fuller, 1996). The Italian plan is, therefore, also the first historical recorded case of urban renewal and redevelopment (Mahiteme, 2007). The Italians discarded Taitu's settlement plan, while they introduced Italian planning approaches as a blueprint for success (Fuller, 1988). The Italians adopted a colonial planning approach by dividing Addis Ababa into different economic and racially separated districts. They also promoted a colonial planning approach of central regulation through planning and power to achieve an efficient form of administration and to maintain peace and security (Garretson, 1974; Mahiteme, 2007).

Based on a 'policy of apartheid', racial segregation was enforced by separating a 'native quarter' from a 'colonial quarter' (Zewde, 1986). The Italians did not think the city contained any (historical) features of importance, and important landmarks were superseded to weaken the 'native' Ethiopian presence and were replaced with Italian designs to symbolise Italy's newly gained power. The Italians, for example, planned to replace the royal palace with an Italian headquarter (Fuller, 1996). The Italians introduced monumental architectural features to impress the city's indigenous population with symbols of their 'grandeur of power' and as a symbolic gesture to 'the greater' European region to which they belonged (Giorghis & Gérard, 2007).

To realise their utopian urban vision for the A.O.I. capital city, the Italians selected two masterplans via a design competition. The first master plan was a sketch made by the Italian-Swiss planner Le Corbusier in 1936 (Tufa, 2008) (Figure 6-3). Le Corbusier's plan incorporated the Italians' wish for racial segregation by introducing separated areas based on race, ethnicity, and economic status in his plan, while also spatially segregating households by ethnicity and economic status within each of those areas (Ahderom, 1986).



**Figure 6-3: Guideline Sketch by Le Corbusier**

Source: Perotti, 2010

Le Corbusier envisioned a specific urban structure and layout for Addis Ababa that was to be realised. He had never, however, visited the city and, therefore, did not fully understand the city's complex topography, which became the plan's major pitfall. Le Corbusier's drawings turned out to be unsuitable for the city's complex topography and were rendered, therefore, inapplicable as they could not be realised (Ahderom, 1986).

The second master plan for the city was drawn by the Italian planning duo Guidi and Valle (Tufa, 2008) (Figure 6-4). Inspired by the drawings from Le Corbusier, Guidi and Valle incorporated the concept of racial segregation by separating the Ethiopian 'native' quarter from the 'Italian city'.<sup>88</sup> They also proposed, similar to the ideas of Le Corbusier, to separate the native quarter into different zones for different religious and ethnic groups (Ahderom, 1986; Fuller, 1996). Separate quarters were introduced for Muslims and Christians, and within those religious quarters further sub-divisions were proposed based on the different Ethiopian ethnic backgrounds (Fuller, 1996).

<sup>88</sup> Also referred to as the European quarter.



When the Italians were overthrown in 1941, the Italian's master plan was subsequently abolished. It, nonetheless, has been estimated that about 20% of the master plan had been implemented by that point and many of these features still remain recognisable features in the city at the time of writing. For example, the grid layout of the *Merkato* open-air market can be attributed to the Italian master plan (Zewde, 1986).<sup>89</sup>

When the Italians occupied Addis Ababa in 1936, the city was lacking basic services and infrastructure, such as sewerage systems (Pasquali, 2015). The Italians tried to improve the situation, for example: by organising a system for garbage collection; they installed street lights, and imported cars and buses to improve the city's modes of (public) transportation (Pasquali, 2014).<sup>90</sup> The Italian occupation of Addis Ababa, thus, marked a turning point in the city's history, as a transition took place from an organic and indigenous growth pattern to Italian and European inspired urban planning practices, as perceived blueprints and stepping stones towards global success.

## 6.5 A City with different urban imprints

After the Italian occupation of Addis Ababa ended, a relaunch of the city's identity and modern aspirations was deemed necessary to break-free from Italian influences in the 1950s. It also became urgent to address deeply rooted urban problems that had remained unaddressed since the city's founding (Mahiteme, 2007). Taitu's plan, for example, had not paid attention to the city's emerging social and economic problems (such as physical services and social well-being), which without being addressed had exacerbated over time. The city, furthermore, suffered from financial shortages, inadequate urban management, and institutional incapacity that led to overall shortages of urban services and infrastructure provision (Mahiteme, 2007). Ethiopia selected a British Town Planning model, the planning fashion of that time, as a 'blueprint

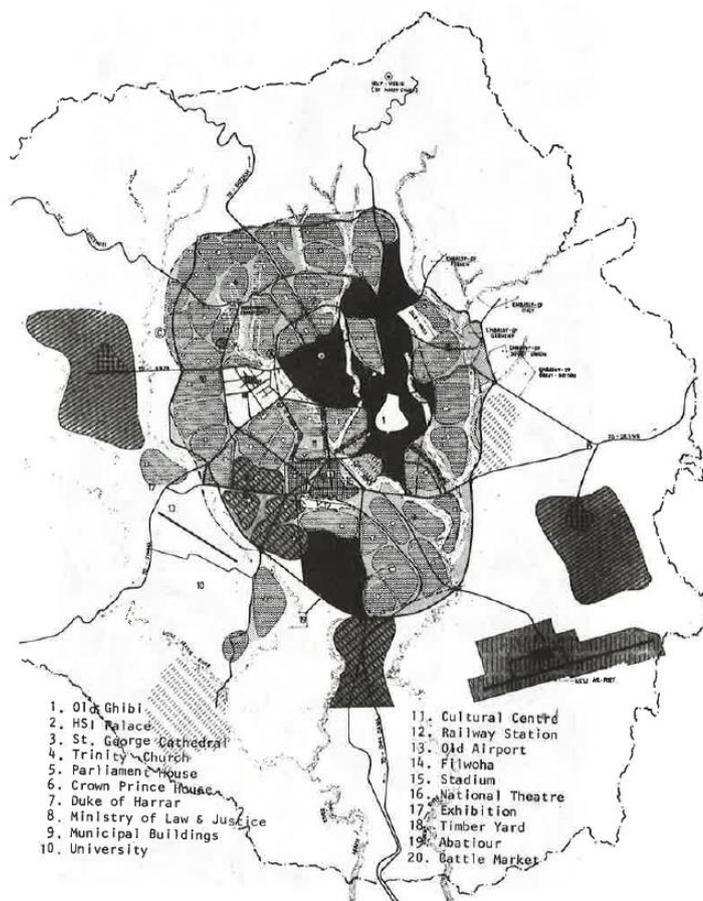
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<sup>89</sup> *Merkato* is supposedly the largest open-air market on the African continent.

<sup>90</sup> The Italians also constructed schools, hospitals, cinemas, factories, and a small number of flats (Pasquali, 2014). In addition, the Italians organised infrastructure development across the nation, which was a necessity to extract and transport Ethiopia's resources (Kebbede & Jacob, 1985).

for success' to address its socio-economic problems and finally become, at last, a modern city.

The globally recognised British town planner Patrick Abercrombie was invited to plan “a beautiful capital city that would serve as a model not only for Ethiopia, but also for the rest of Africa” for the period between 1945–1954 (Tufa, 2008, p. 17) (Figure 6-6).<sup>91</sup> Abercrombie’s plan was organised around the basic element of neighbourhood units and can be summarised by three major interventions: (1) the introduction of political, residential, commercial, and industrial land use zones; (2) the introduction of six satellite cities for a population of 300,000 people to absorb future urban growth and relieve the existing urban fabric from severe congestion, and (3) the introduction of a series of ring roads (Ahderom 1986; Mahiteme 2007).



**Figure 6-6: Abercrombie's Plan**

Source: Ahderom, 1984

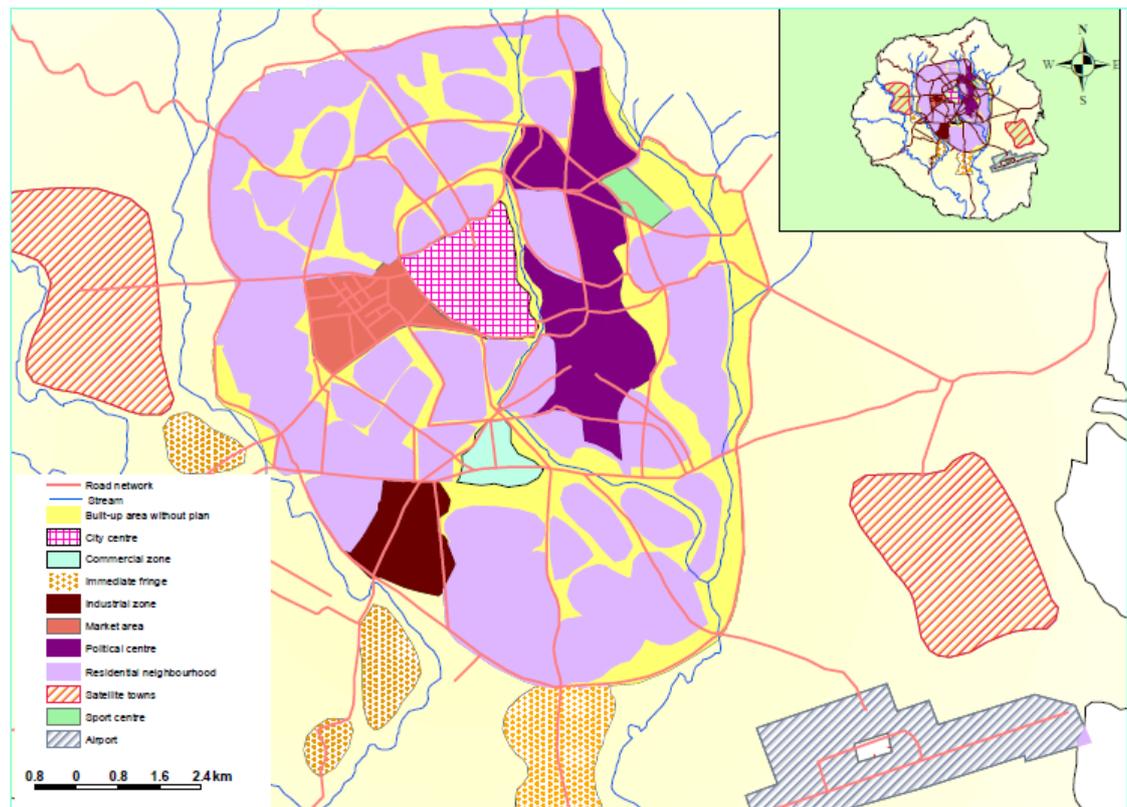
<sup>91</sup> Addis Ababa was able to carry out its urban development plans through a 12 million ETB loan from the International Development Bank in 1946 (Habtemariam, 1986).

Abercrombie's plans, however, were never implemented because he failed to appropriately incorporate the local context and characteristics into his plans (Mahiteme, 2007). The biggest pitfall of Abercrombie's plans was wrongly estimating urban growth rates. Abercrombie estimated a very low annual urban growth rate of 1.5% for a thirty-year period; in reality, however, urban growth rates were much higher and the urban population quickly outpaced his projections. In addition, Abercrombie had incorporated elements of the Greater London Planning proposal, which he worked on previously, into his proposal for Addis Ababa, such as proposed ring-roads and a green belt to control the city's growth (Mahiteme, 2007). Urban growth, however, was taking place in a different context and under very different conditions in Addis Ababa as compared to London, and, therefore, the application of similar concepts was unsuccessful.

Despite several efforts to later revise Abercrombie's master plan, the plan was never implemented and, therefore, it has not left any significant changes to the urban fabric (Zewde, 1986). Without a master plan to guide the city's expansion, the city continued to grow spontaneously alongside the principles of Taitu's settlement plan, according to the logic of *sefers* (Palen 1974; Zewde 1986). The city, therefore, remained during the 1960s visibly 'rural' with relatively few urban characteristics due to the physical organisation of *sefers* as dispersed residential clusters, despite its growing urban population (Palen, 1974; Zewde, 1986).

In a second attempt to adopt British Town Planning, the British planners Bolton and Hennessy were approached in 1959 to make a new master plan (Figure 6-7). Bolton and Hennessy used Abercrombie's plan as a guideline and as a source of inspiration, while they refined and adapted it for a larger population size (Ahderom, 1986). For example, they preserved Abercrombie's concepts of neighbourhood units, satellite towns, and special zones (such as industrial zones) in their plans. The concept of neighbourhood units, however, implied a major transformation of the entire urban fabric, which until then had formed either through *sefer* formation or through the Italian's imposed grid lay-out, which was

not financially and practically feasible (Tufa, 2008).<sup>92</sup> For that reason, Bolton and Hennessy's plans were only partially implemented.



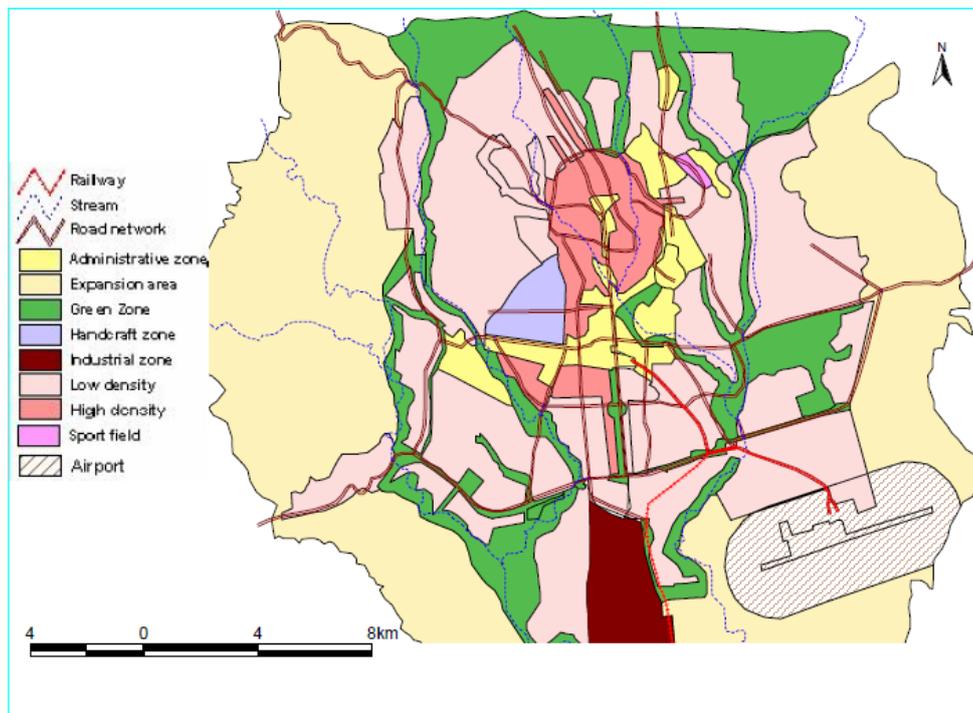
**Figure 6-7: Bolton and Hennessy's Masterplan**

Source: Mahiteme, 2007

When British Town Planning did not yield the desired success, the city administration opted for a different approach by sending an invitation to the French Mission for Urban Studies and Habitat, led by L. De Marien, in 1965 to design a new master plan for the city (Palen, 1974) (Figure 6-8). De Marien followed the concept of a 'monumental city' in his planning proposal, with a strong emphasis on axis development. For example, he introduced a city axis in his proposal comparable to Paris's Champs Elysées, where he worked before, (Tufa, 2008). De Marien also tried to address the service and infrastructure problems in the city, by incorporating an improved water and sewerage network in his proposal, alongside a series of ring roads (Ahderom, 1986). His plans, however, had shortcomings as they failed to adequately respond to the city's

<sup>92</sup> Some of the proposed street networks and satellite towns have successfully been implemented.

socio-economic problems and neglected the city's peripheral areas (Mahiteme, 2007).



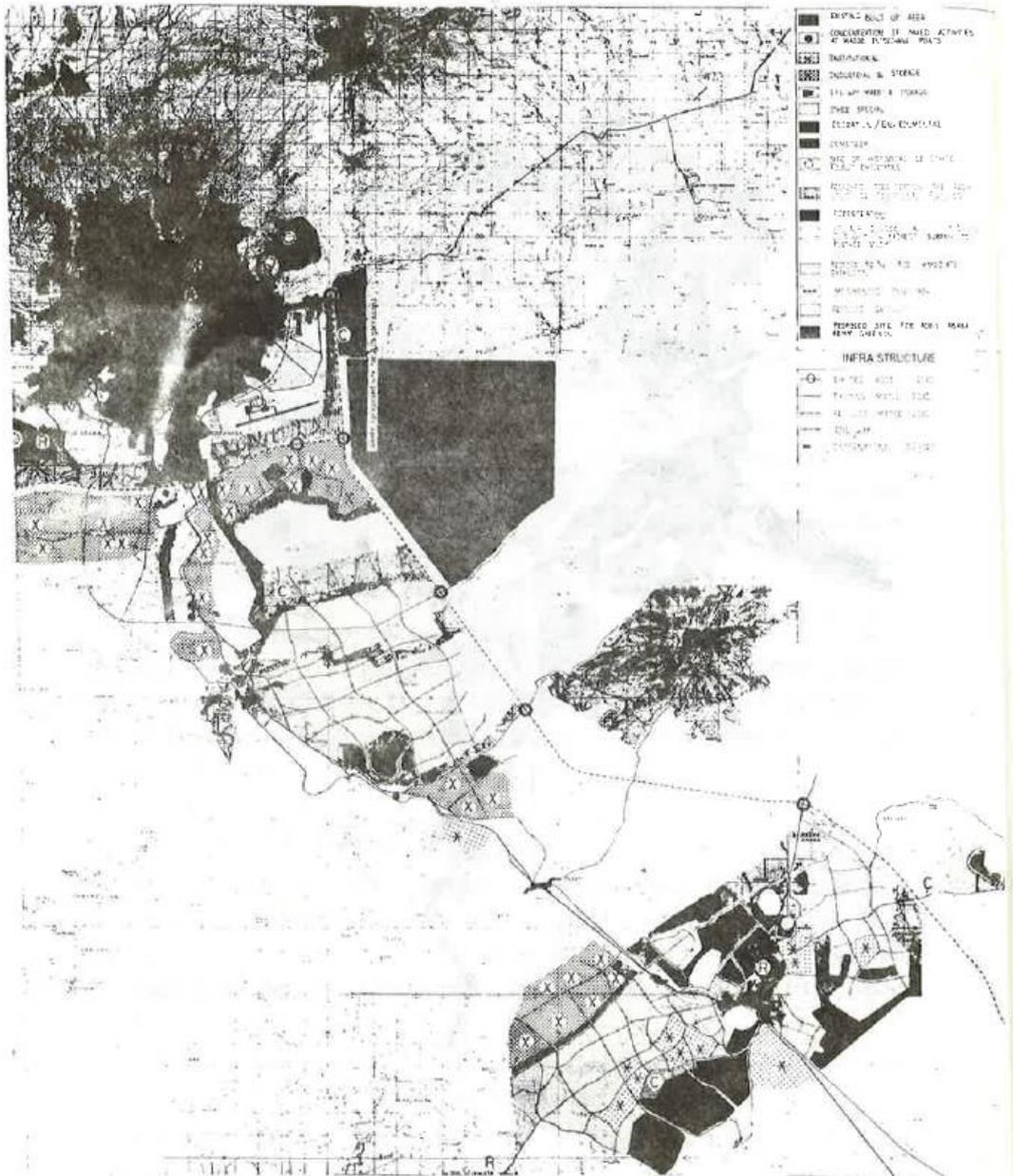
**Figure 6-8: De Marien's Master Plan**

Source: Mahiteme, 2007

Despite its shortcomings, a substantial amount of De Marien's plans were being realised until their implementation was interrupted by the Ethiopian Civil War (Mahiteme, 2007). In 1974, Emperor Haile Selassie was dethroned by the Provisional Military Administrative Council (PMAC), also known as 'the Derg', who declared Ethiopia a socialist state (Kebbede & Jacob, 1985). De Marien's master plan was subsequently revised alongside the principles of socialism by a team of Ethiopian planning experts and under the supervision of the Hungarian Professor C. K. Polonyi (Mahiteme, 2007) (Figure 6-9).

There were two main differences between the original and the revised master plan. First, rural–urban linkages were integrated into the revised plan. This was achieved through a megalopolis development plan with a linear axis of 100 kilometres towards the south, wherefore this plan incorporated nearby towns such as Nazareth (Ahderom, 1986). Second, the revised plan proposed the (re)development of inner-city areas in Addis Ababa to integrate socialist ideals

into the urban fabric (Tufa, 2008). For example, Polonyi proposed the design and construction of Revolution Square as a gathering spaces for assemblies.<sup>93</sup>



**Figure 6-9: Polonyi's Masterplan**

Source: Aherom, 1986

Following De Marien's revised master plan, a new master plan was proposed in 1986 by a cooperation between Italian–Ethiopian experts, which was to guide the city's development for twenty years (Mahiteme, 2007; Tufa, 2008).<sup>94</sup> However, due to the overthrow of the Derg regime in 1991, its approval was

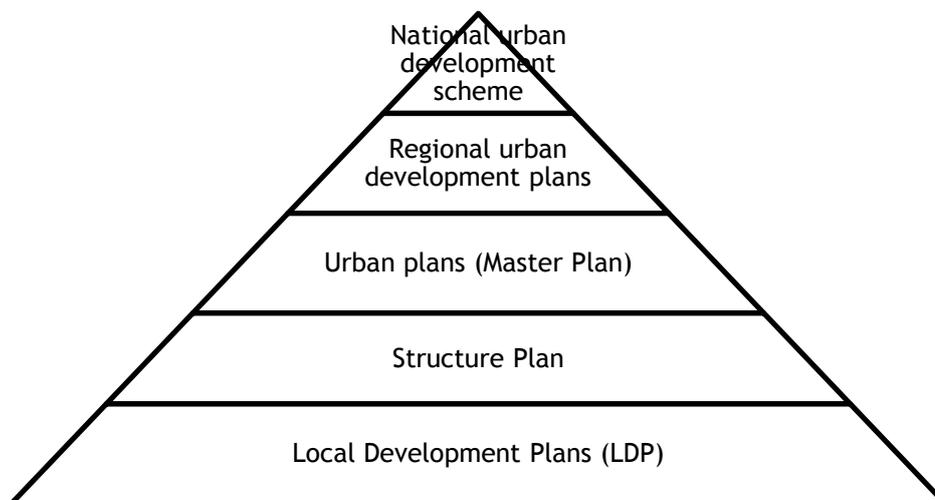
<sup>93</sup> This square was renamed after the overthrow of the Derg regime as 'Meskel Square'.

<sup>94</sup> This cooperation included 45 Ethiopians and 75 Italians.

further delayed, because the transitional government had to review and approve all policies drafted under Derg leadership and, thus, it took a total of eight years until this masterplan was eventually approved in 1994. By the time the plan was approved it was effectively already out of date. In the meantime, the city had continued to expand without of a masterplan to guide and support its expansion, which caused urban sprawl and fragmentation (Tufa, 2008).

## 6.6 Post-1991 urban planning

After the overthrow of the Derg regime, the Office for the Revision of Addis Ababa Master Plan (ORAAMP) was established in 1999 by the new government with the aim to devise a (revised) master plan that, amongst other concerns, would address the city's socio-economic problems (Mahiteme, 2007). Under the direction of ORAAMP, first, the hierarchy of urban planning was revised. This revision resulted in a five-tier national urban planning scheme, which was published as Proclamation No. 574/2008 and is visualised in Figure 6-10 below.

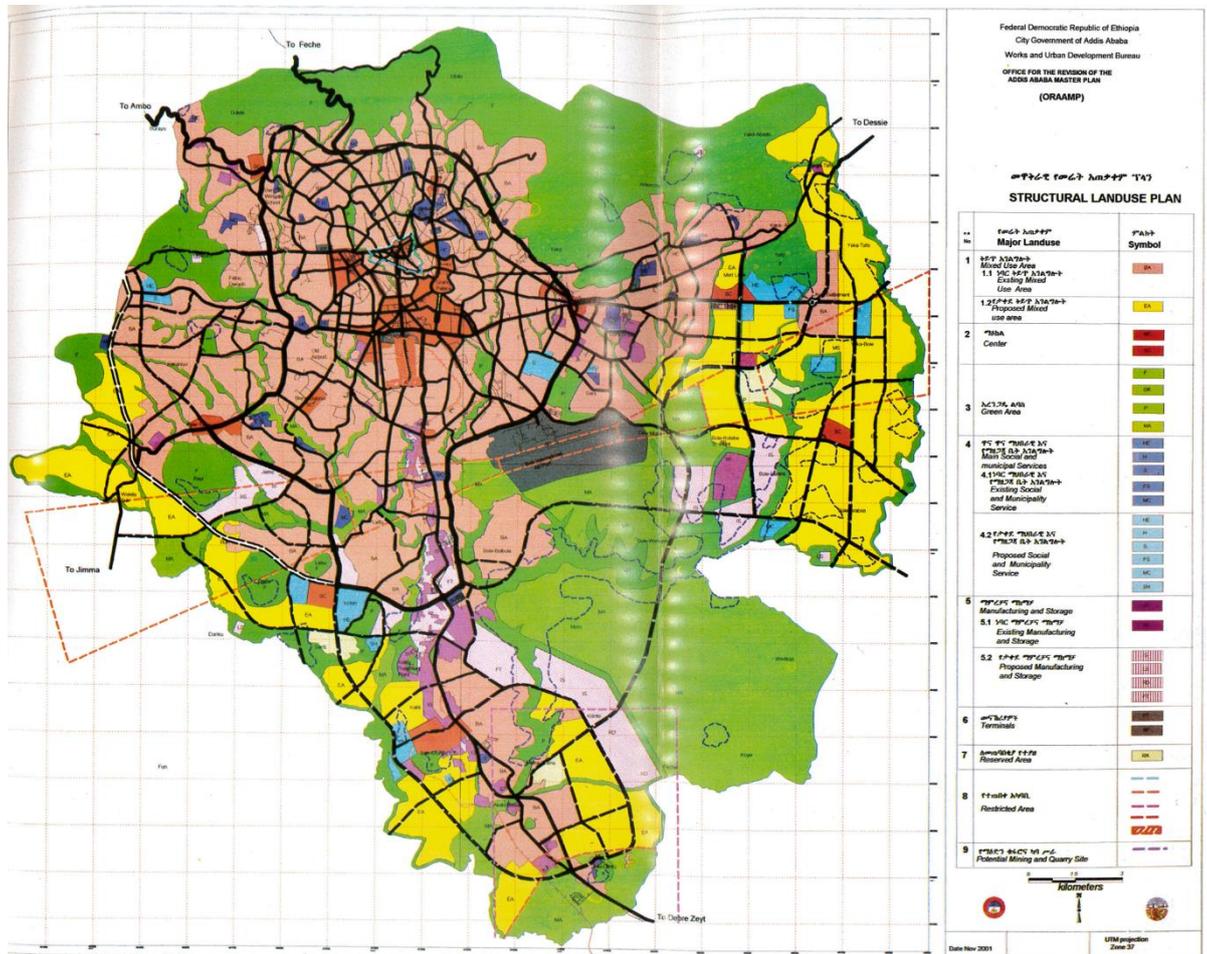


**Figure 6-10: Five-Tier National Urban Planning Scheme**

Source: Proclamation 474/2008, Article 7 and 8

Addis Ababa has a dual status as both the federal capital city and as a regional state and, therefore, the regional urban development plan is also the city's urban plan. ORAAMP revised the Addis Ababa Masterplan from 1986 in 2002, when it introduced a structure plan for Addis Ababa (ORAAMP, 2002). Whereas previous plans emphasised physical and spatial change, the structure plan was intended to be more balanced by also addressing socio-economic problems. The structure plan was approved in 2004 and was to guide development for ten years

from its date of approval. For the implementation of the structure plan, Local Development Plans (LDPs) for specific areas were introduced (Figure 6-11).<sup>95</sup> LDPs focused on areas that required immediate intervention, and they guided urban renewal, upgrading, and reallocation in intervention areas (Proclamation 574/2008, Article 11.3e).



**Figure 6-11: Structure Plan**  
Source: ORAAMP, 2002

With the introduction of a structure plan and local development plans, the Addis Ababa City Government used a form of goal-setting, which was anticipated to be a more successful approach to meet the deliverables of the structure plan over a longer time period (ORAAMP, 2002). The introduction of a structure plan, therefore, marked a change from a ‘strict’ masterplan to a plan that enabled

<sup>95</sup> A structure plan is defined, by Proclamation 574/2008, as a plan for the entire urban area which sets out the “basic requirements regarding physical development” (Art. 9.1). It includes, amongst other aspects, urban redevelopment intervention areas in the urban centre (574/2008, 9:2).



Ababa are either left on shelves or wrongly implemented” (p. 6). A different evaluation confirms this by its finding that several aspects of the structure plan had not been implemented ten years after its approval, due to continuous problems regarding their implementation (Cirolia & Berrisford, 2017).

Improvements have been made in the preparation and implementation of LDPs to overcome the prior identified problems, for example through the introduction of an LDP manual. Despite the increasing coverage of LDPs, there are still many areas without an LDP, while older LDPs need updating and revision. Even though inner-city areas at the time of writing are completely covered by LDPs, the peripheral areas are not. An expert interview revealed the financial budget is a constraint in this regard (Expert Interview No. 11).

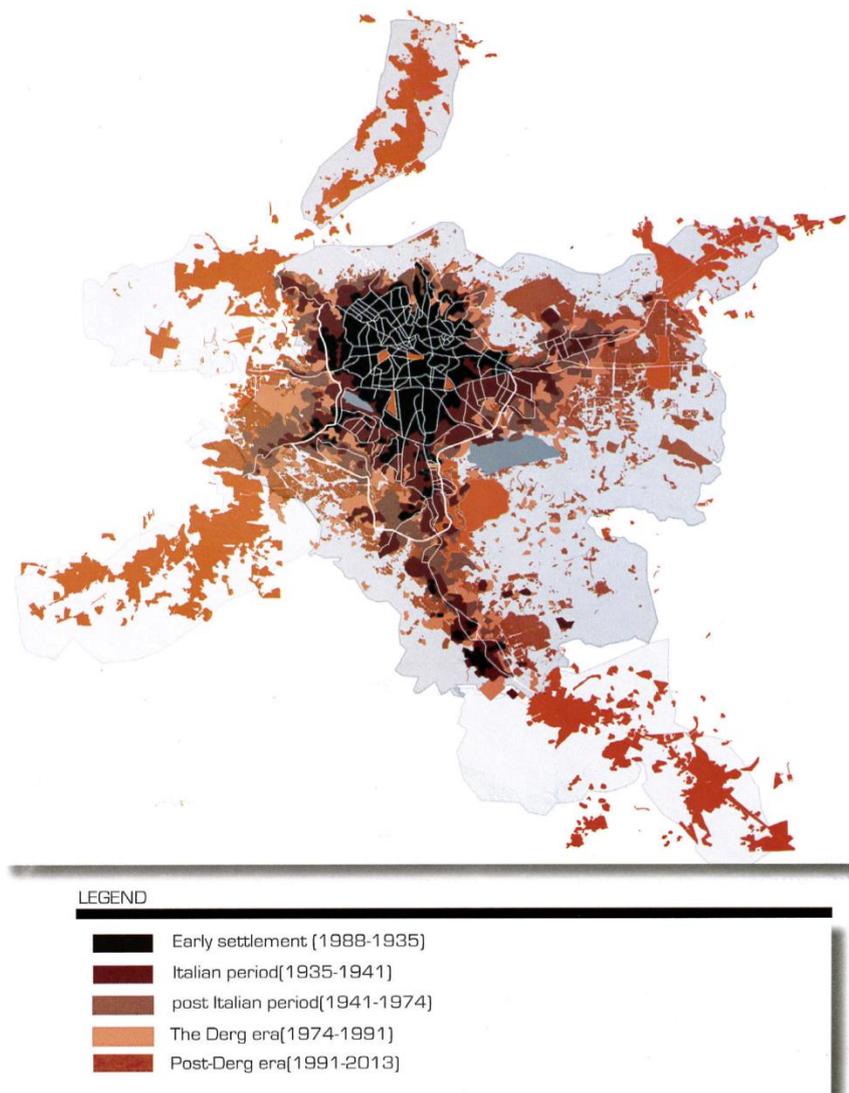
## **6.7 The ‘new’ Addis Ababa**

The 2004–2014 structure plan was succeeded in June 2013 by the ‘Surrounded Oromia Special Zone Integrated Development Plan’ for the period 2014–2038, which was prepared by a special project office set up for this purpose, ‘the Addis Ababa and Surrounding Oromia Special Zone Integrated Development Plan Project Office’ (AASZDPPPO) (AASZDPPPO, 2013; Cirolia & Berrisford, 2017). The ‘Surrounded Oromia Special Zone Integrated Development Plan’ proposed to expand the city into the Oromia region, by approximately 1.1 million hectares and include those areas into the city’s economy (Endeshaw, 2016).

Addis Ababa’s 2014 plan, and its subsequent revision, have been inspired in its design by field visits, for example, to Turkey, China, and South Korea. For the preparation of this masterplan, a French cooperation, furthermore, has been highly involved (financially and technically) through the French Agency for Development and through the municipality of Lyon, as the sister city of Addis Ababa. The French have been supporting urban planning in Addis Ababa since the 1990s (Cirolia & Berrisford, 2017).

The presentation of the plan, however, triggered social unrest and protests among the neighbouring region of Oromia, as it implied expansion into the region, and, therefore, instigated a fear for eviction and loss of control over land. During these protests, at least 140 people have died and a large number of

people were injured (Chalk, 2016). Addis Ababa has historically grown through outward expansion, but reached its municipal boundaries in 2010 (Asfaw, Zeluel & Berhe, 2011; World Bank, 2015) (Figure 6-12). The city is geographically confined within the Oromia regional state, and, therefore, can only further expand outwardly if it expands into another regional state. This creates conflicts over control over land and aggravates tensions already existing between the regions and ethnic groups.

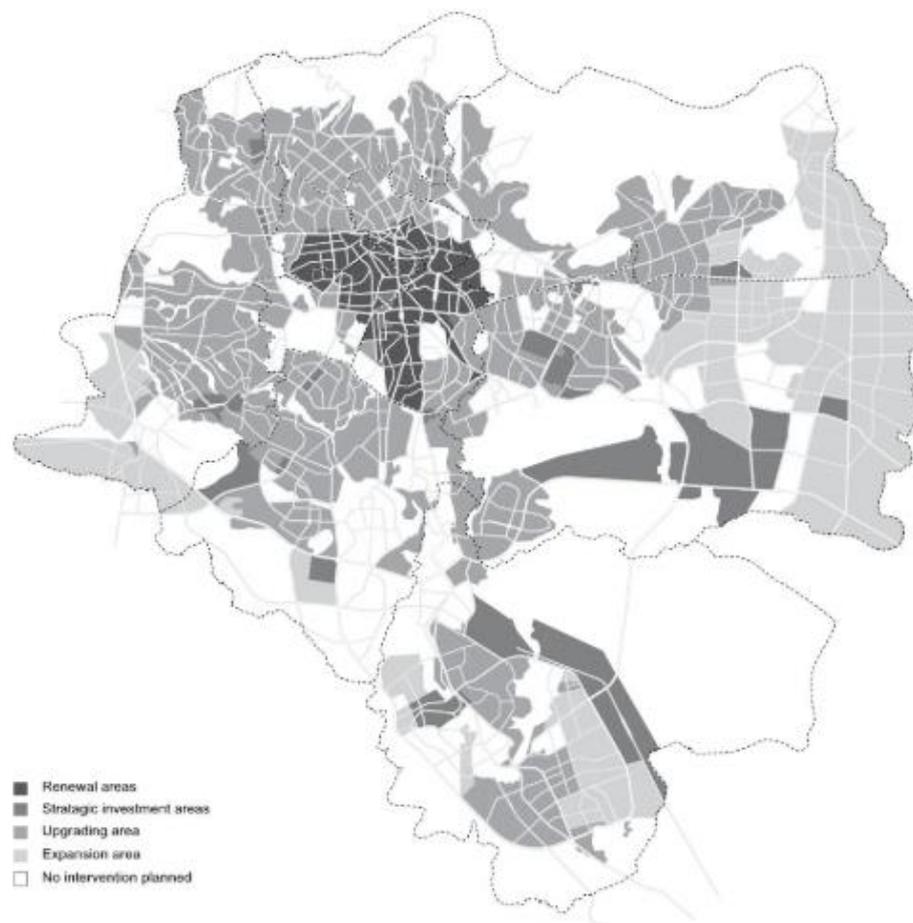


**Figure 6-12: Growth of Addis Ababa**  
Source: AASZDPPPO, 2013

The ‘Surrounded Oromia Special Zone Integrated Development Plan’ plan, subsequently, has been withdrawn and revised to only cover the area within the municipal boundary. Since 2014, however, news regarding the revised masterplan has only sparsely been communicated, and, in general, it is difficult to access reliable and credible information. The change to the masterplan,

however, highlights that land in Addis Ababa is finite and scarce, and to host a growing population, the city will need to improve its land management to make more efficient use of its available space (Yusuf, Tefera & Zerihun, 2009).

Another objective of the masterplan was the introduction of a metropolitan main centre that expands the inner-city with a newly revitalised core and a distinguishable Central Business District (CBD).<sup>96</sup> Figure 6-13 shows a map of planned interventions in Addis Ababa from 2010 and visually demonstrates the spatial concentration of renewal and redevelopment in the inner-city.



**Figure 6-13: Map of Planned Interventions in Addis Ababa from 2010**

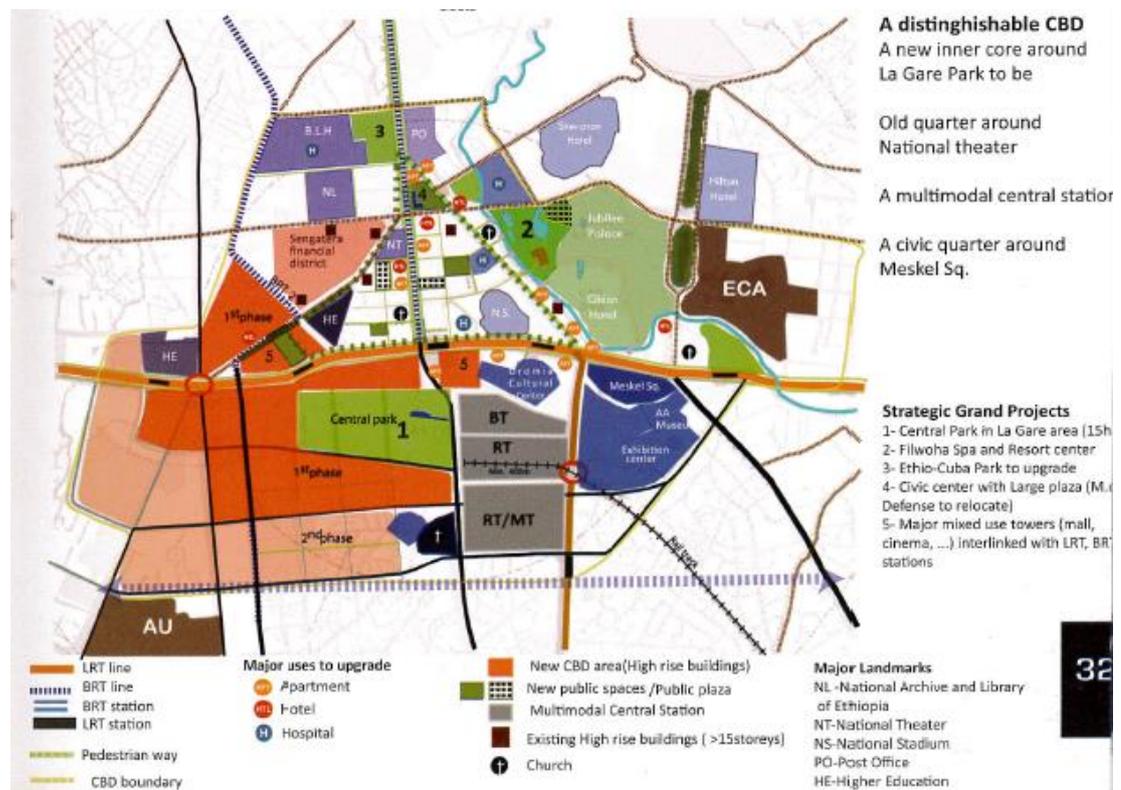
Source: Heisel, 2015

<sup>96</sup> Data from the Addis Ababa City Government and the Land Development and Urban Renewal Agency confirms that renewal and redevelopment projects are spatially concentrated in the four inner-city sub-cities: Arada, Addis Ketema, Lideta, and Kirkos. <sup>96</sup>

The CBD has been proposed in the heart of the inner-city on 335 hectares of land that is being renewed and redeveloped (Expert Interview No. 8; AASZDPPPO, 2013) (Figure 6-14). As expert interview No 10 said regarding the idea behind a CBD:

Addis Ababa is an international city, this needs to reflect in the built environment. This city is undoubtedly the capital of Africa, Africa and its cultural and international values. After the implementation of this masterplan we will have a land mark. People from abroad who visit here ask us, what is your city centre? Our current lay-out confused them. But now, with this masterplan, we will have a landmark.

The renewal and redevelopment projects being pursued in the inner-city are leading to a mono-centric form of city development with a clear and designated city centre, although the city has historically been poly-centric. It has been anticipated that this city centre will function as an important landmark that will become a distinguishable skyline and make Addis Ababa a ‘modern African city’ (Integrated Land Information Center, 2015).



**Figure 6-14: The Proposed CBD**

Source: AASZDPPPO, 2013

This strategy, therefore, serves two objectives (Wubneh, 2013). First, to renew and redevelop the inner-city into a metropolitan main centre with a

distinguishable Central Business District to achieve compactness and densification, while also modernising, beautifying, and improving the ‘urban quality’, and simultaneously boosting the local economy. Second, the strategy seeks to reduce slum areas and prevent their formation, while providing alternative standard housing, and improved infrastructure and services through the Integrated Housing Development Programme (IHDP).

Inner-city neighbourhoods with run-down and dilapidated housing settlements are considered in this context as visual pollution that actively undermine GaWC ambitions. These housing settlements are contrary to the world-class urban image the city wishes to project with a modern, ordered, and well-functioning urban fabric (Kamaran, 2008; Abubakar & Doan, 2017). The goal of large-scale renewal and redevelopment in Addis Ababa, therefore, is to replace all inner-city areas with high-rise, high-density mixed-use buildings (AASZDPPO, 2013, p. 41). Small-scale upgrading and interventions are no longer considered appropriate to address the large-scale, historical and deeply rooted social and economic problems, nor are they considered appropriate to overcome the pressing housing problems with which the city is faced, which were discussed in the previous chapter (MUDHCO, 2014).<sup>97</sup>

With a sense of urgency, the city, therefore, has embarked on a state-led strategy of large-scale inner-city urban redevelopment and renewal. An emphasis on densification and compact-city development has been reinforced by the city’s inability to further expand into the Oromia regional state. At the same time, urban upgrading and intervention projects are no longer expected in these inner-city areas, despite the lack of urban services and infrastructure. Addis

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<sup>97</sup> The national Government of Ethiopia is at the same time trying to relieve pressure from Addis Ababa by promoting the growth of secondary cities and towns. For example, they introduced the project ‘from rural settlements to rural recreational centers’ as part of a ‘rural development strategy program’ in 2016. This project anticipates for future urbanisation with the construction of 8,000 new towns across the country by 2020 (Gardner, 2017; Kahsay, 2018). This plan intends to take the pressure of urbanisation off existing cities by stimulating the development of towns, while generating employment in them (Kahsay, 2018). After an initial research period in which thirteen blueprints for town planning were developed, the plan has now entered the second phase with the construction of these thirteen centres across the nation. These centres will be replicated to establish 2,000 rural town centres, and eventually the project is expected to be up-scaled to 8,000 town centres (Kahsay, 2018).

Ababa, in general, does not have comprehensive slum upgrading policies and regulations (Tolon, 2008, p. 17).

Data from the Addis Ababa City Government, Land Development and Urban Renewal Agency (2017) shows that 638.13 hectares of land were renewed and redeveloped between 2009–2016.<sup>98</sup> These areas are concentrated in the four inner-city sub-cities (Addis Ketema, Lideta, Kirkos, and Lideta), which are the city's oldest areas and have a comparably high population density (UN-Habitat, 2008) (Appendix 6). At the time of fieldwork for this research, another 186 hectares were at different stages of preparation for renewal and redevelopment, and another 360 hectares were proposed to be renewed and redeveloped soon (Expert Interview No. 9), which in total is 1,184 hectares. Overall 4,000 hectares of land has been earmarked for renewal and redevelopment (Expert Interview No. 11). To place this in perspective, this equates to almost the entire area of the four inner-city sub-cities, as they total 4,920 hectares; the entire surface area of the city is 53,998 hectares (CSA, 2007).

People residing in these prime urban areas earmarked for renewal and redevelopment find themselves at risk of (future) displacement. Displacement is involuntary in this case, and residents do not actively seek or demand to move (Cavalheiro & Abiko, 2015). Data from the Addis Ababa City Government, Land Development and Urban Renewal Agency (2017) shows between 2009–2016, at least, 28,584 households have been displaced in the process of renewal and redevelopment.<sup>99</sup> The actual figure is presumably higher as this one excludes private tenants and illegal settlers. Displacement has in this regard become justified as necessary in the name of the greater good to improve the well-being of the larger society (Cernea, 1997; Harvey, 2012; Bisht, 2014).

Displacement is also a type of sorting practice in this case, where certain urbanised people (highly skilled professionals and expatriates) are attracted to

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<sup>98</sup> Even though urban renewal has been taking place since the early 2000s, government data from before 2008 was not available. The missing data includes projects such as the Sheraton Hotel Expansion, Meskel Square, E.C.A area, Basha Wolde Chilot area, and Lideta (MUDHCO, 2014).

<sup>99</sup> The data set had various problems. Most important of which was missing information. For example, the dataset was missing information about households relocated in 2016. The numbers presented above, therefore, provide context and are an indication of the phenomenon, but are by no means representative of the entire scale and extent of displacement.

the newly built areas in the inner-city, while low-skilled workers and services, when eligible for compensation, are displaced and relocated to peri-urban zones (Lees, Slater & Wyly, 2008; Shin, 2014, p. 510). Addis Ababa follows an *ex-situ* approach to relocation; households are relocated to condominium housing or land in designated areas in peri-urban zones of the city. The high value of inner-city land is in this regard prohibiting the possibility for *in-situ* or near-by relocation (Mejia, 1999). Abebe and Hesselberg (2013) state condominiums for relocation purposes are located about 20 kilometres away from the inner-city on the urban fringe. This is far from the original location of people's homes and is producing geographies of exclusion (Moser, 2015), as low-income households become excluded from the inner-city, because they can no longer afford to buy or rent housing there.

What is evident here is that Addis Ababa is trying to renew and redevelop its inner-city 'into a higher and better use' by transforming itself into a GaWC (Bang Shin, 2014, b, p. 510). The displacement of households, followed by a process of gentrification aimed to attract a particular type of urbanite (highly skilled professionals and expats) and the high-end service industry, signals to a wider process of new-build gentrification. The inner-city, however, is not a closed space; it is open for everyone's participation and to access. It, therefore, is possible that the renewed and redeveloped inner-city will create positive spill-over effects into other areas of the city, which could benefit the wider urban society. For example, the inner-city can offer employment opportunities, access to advanced services, and infrastructure.

The complete renewal and redevelopment of the inner-city of Addis Ababa is effectively the construction of a 'new' Addis Ababa on top of the existing urban fabric as a City-within-a-City. Through erasure and re-inscription (Bhan, 2013), low-density and low-rise slum areas located on prime-land in the inner-city are being replaced by high-rise and high-density buildings. These renewal and redevelopment projects transcend neighbourhood scales and form a separate enclave, or a City-within-a-City, by replacing the existing urban fabric with something entirely new (Watson, 2014; Datta, 2015).

The construction of a 'new' Addis Ababa is also a modernisation strategy pursued to strengthen the city's national, regional and international position, and to

reinforce Addis Ababa's self-proclaimed status as Africa's diplomatic capital city (Wubneh, 2013). These global ambitions are reflected in the city's mission statement:

By 2023, Addis Ababa and the surrounding Oromia will provide a safe and liveable environment for their people and become Ethiopia's hub to ensure the national vision of becoming a middle income country, Africa's diplomatic capital and international competitive city. (AASZDPPO 2013, p. 4)

Addis Ababa's host function demands a modern international environment as a prerequisite to be an international city and to cater for the demands of its foreign residents (Keller & Mukudi-Omwami, 2017). Modernisation projects are, therefore, now fast-tracked to impress the international community visiting Addis Ababa (Ejigu, 2014).

Addis Ababa at the time of writing, thus, is experiencing a building boom, visible through towering building constructions that aim to showcase a global and modern environment (Figure 6-15). This building boom is financed by both the private sector (who lease land) and the Addis Ababa City Government. The city government is using for this purpose the revenues they obtain from land-lease auctions, amongst other resources.<sup>100</sup> Private developers who obtained a leasehold for land, finance their construction from savings, loans, or by foreign investors.

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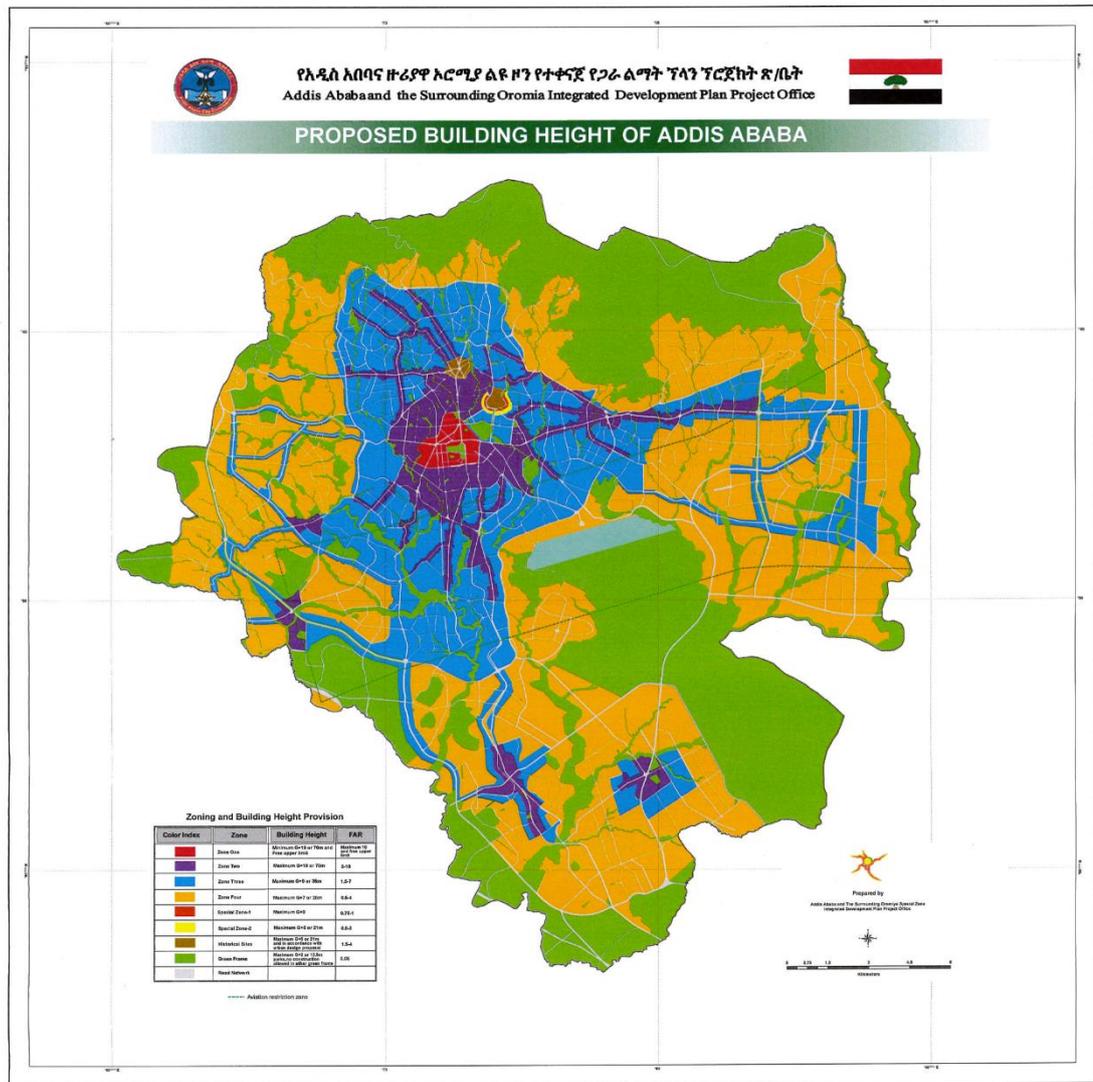
<sup>100</sup> This money is used for compensation, demolition, clearing the area, infrastructure development, and servicing.



**Figure 6-15: The Construction of Another Landmark: the Commercial Bank of Ethiopia Headquarters**

Source: Marjan Kloosterboer, 2016

A minimal building height of seventy metres in selected areas (with a minimum of nineteen floors) is expected to provide the city with an outstanding and distinguishable skyline (Figure 6-16). This aim is not without challenges. Expert interview No. 8, for example, relayed how within a five-year period the land use and building height plans can change as many as six times. Each time adjustments need to be made in local development and project plans as well, which is costly and time consuming.



**Figure 6-16: Proposed Building Heights**

Source: Addis Ababa Masterplan Project Office

Aesthetics play an important role in the construction of the ‘new’ Addis Ababa. For example, image building is taking place across the city through skyscraper constructions, modelled against world class examples that line construction sites, and through gigantic billboard advertisements that show futuristic images of buildings in the ‘new’ Addis Ababa. The aspiration to have a city with a world class status has influenced the form and function of the city’s spatial and physical development. Actual images on the periphery on construction sites as well as a site’s very essence exhibit strong symbolic messages of modernisation, prosperity, and diplomacy. Hence, the city wants to show modern gestures and international connectivity through its built environment, although access to the accompanying lifestyle only belongs to the affluent (Zelege, 2010). The transformation of the urban fabric and the construction of a higher standard of housing is accompanied by a transformation in urban lifestyles, for example,

through the imposition of higher standards of homes through the IHDP (Harvey, 2003).

It is envisioned that the city centre, which portrays the city's image, needs to be further strengthened by symbolic landmarks (AASZDPPPO, 2013, p. 31). The African Union building functions, for example, as an important urban metaphor and as a symbol of international linkage. Similarly, the Light Rail Train (LRT), the International Airport (under construction), shopping malls (such as Edna Mall with a 3D cinema complex), and international chain hotels (such as the Sheraton, Hilton, the Marriot, and Radisson Blue) display iconic and symbolic messages of modernisation, international connectivity, and diplomacy, and, thus, strengthen the nation's message of modernisation and economic prosperity. Although, it is questionable if the city has the capacity to facilitate the day-to-day running of services required for the landmarks and high-rise buildings that comprise the 'new' Addis Ababa. For example, they require a great amount of electrical power, but with frequent power cuts in the city, it is uncertain if electricity can be adequately delivered, or if the city's frequent power cuts and water shortages will ultimately undermine the modern vision the city wishes to display.

Vertical physical development in the form of high-rise buildings and estates, however, does not guarantee modernisation and development, nor does it immediately make a city a GaWC or ensure a rise in urban hierarchies (Sassen, 1998). Addis Ababa has, similar to other GaWCs and New Cities, imported 'global' attributes and shared concepts of modernity and development. The emphasis that has been placed on modernity and symbolic power in the case of Addis Ababa, however, has created a distinguishable division between the city and its dwellers. There is an observable visual contrast between the perceived modernity of the emerging skyline and the day-to-day reality of city dwellers who live behind these high facades. The 'glittering skyline, luxurious homes and modern commercial areas of the city' can be, therefore, potentially misleading of the actual state of the city (Keller & Mukudi-Omwami, 2017, p. 175). Even though the IHDP has been fast-tracked alongside the renewal and redevelopment of the inner-city to provide housing, infrastructure and services, it appears the focus has been placed on the city's appearance in a pursuit for 'fantastical

creations' over more modest improvements for its dwellers that aid in their well-being (Bhan, 2013; Watson, 2014; Lamson-Hall et al., 2018).

The design of the 'new' Addis Ababa is, furthermore, a replication of high-rise buildings and housing styles found elsewhere. Such design and architecture does not relate to the local context, nor has it inherited any cultural characteristics, and it could easily be found elsewhere in the world. This signals a form of inter-referencing with existing 'world-class cities', similar to the experience other GaWCs and New City developments, where cities begin to share a visual resemblance with the built environment of other cities located elsewhere in the world. The construction of a CBD, in particular, is in this case reflecting a form of 'Dubai fever' or 'Dubaization', from its shared similarities with the city of Dubai (Stoll, 2010). The legacy of Taitu's authentic settlement plan and the use and knowledge of traditional building styles and materials, therefore, is being threatened to be lost in the city's pursuit for 'modernity' (Figure 6-17). Around the turn of the millennium, the use of traditional building materials (such as, mud, straw, and wood) was outlawed, while building materials associated with modernity, such as: concrete and bricks have been mainstreamed (Ejigu, 2014).<sup>101</sup>



**Figure 6-17: 'Modern' High-Rise Buildings under Construction in the Inner-City**  
Source: Marjan Kloosterboer, 2017

<sup>101</sup> The combination of mud, straw, and wood is a building material referred to as *chika* in Amharic.

## 6.8 Summary

The aim of this chapter was to demonstrate how Addis Ababa's evolving historical narrative is linked with aspirations of becoming a GaWC and a New City development. The key point of this chapter was that Addis Ababa was founded as a New City and since its founding has relaunched itself several times to become a modern city. The city has gone through various stages of foreign-inspired urban planning by a strategy of substituting one master plan with another as blue-prints for success, all of which adhered to the political ideologies, economic interests, and planning fashions of their time. The concepts of New City development and also GaWC making, therefore, have resurfaced at various times during the city's history through a sequential relaunch into perceived modernity and economic development. Addis Ababa at the time of writing is constructing a City-within-a-City through large-scale urban renewal and redevelopment as a type of New City development. This chapter has also discussed renewal- and redevelopment-induced displacement as a by-product of the city's large-scale urban transformation. The next chapter will discuss renewal- and redevelopment-induced displacement in-depth.

## 7 Renewal and Relocation Induced Displacement

### 7.1 Introduction

The previous chapter discussed the history of Addis Ababa's urban planning, the construction of the 'new' Addis Ababa, and explained how this was related to renewal- and redevelopment-induced displacement. This chapter discusses renewal- and redevelopment-induced displacement in-depth and was written to meet objective two: to assess how large-scale, inner-city urban renewal and redevelopment for GaWC and New City development leads to development-induced displacement and how this impacts displaced households. The aim of this chapter is to assess the impact of renewal- and redevelopment-induced displacement from different perspectives. This chapter first provides background information; it then discusses the displacement of tenure-secure households and reflects on different aspects of the relocation process, such as assistance in relocation. This chapter continues by reporting on and examining the displacement experience of tenure-insecure households. Finally, a summary of this chapter is provided.

Displacement of tenure secure households residing in prime urban areas in Addis Ababa are living with a constant threat of displacement. The system of land ownership used in Addis Ababa plays an important role in the government's ability to clear land and to displace its residents. Land in Ethiopia has remained state-owned and housing, therefore, can be expropriated by the Addis Ababa City Government if its subsequent use is for general public purposes or interests (Proclamation 455/2005, Article 3.1). Public purpose in this context is defined as:

The use of land defined as such by the decision of the appropriate body in conformity with urban structure plan or development plan in order to ensure the interest of the peoples to acquire direct or indirect benefits from the use of the land and to consolidate sustainable socio-economic development. (Proclamation 455/2005, Article 2.5).

It is not specified what activities are considered for the benefit of 'public purpose and interest'; this is subjective and free to interpretation. The ability of the government to clear the land makes households tenure-insecure and at risk

of losing their land for redevelopment and renewal activities (Figure 7-1). Security of tenure, for instance by having a leasehold, does not make a difference regarding displacement in Addis Ababa, as households can be displaced regardless of security of tenure. Legal tenure security in this case, therefore, does not automatically lead to perceived tenure security when households perceive that they have a high probability of future displacement and are insufficiently reassured they will receive full, just and timely compensation (Obeng-Odoom & Stilwell, 2013; Nakamura, 2016). However, even though tenure security in Addis Ababa does not guarantee protection against (forced) eviction, it is pivotal for the provision of compensation and resettlement options that will enable them to rebuild their livelihoods elsewhere.



**Figure 7-1: Land Clearance in the Inner-City**

Source: Marjan Kloosterboer, 2016

Ethiopia has overtime expanded its legal framework for relocation and compensation, alongside the intensification of urban renewal- and redevelopment-induced displacement. The right to compensation and relocation is mentioned in the Constitution of Ethiopia, which states in section 44.2:

All persons who have been displaced or whose livelihoods have been adversely affected as a result of State programmes have the right to commensurate monetary or alternative means of compensation, including relocation with adequate State assistance.

The Constitution's position has been refined for practical application since the early 2000s by various Proclamations, which outline the rights and obligations of

displaced households by tenure position. As mentioned in Chapter 5, a distinction has been made between legal and illegal housing in Addis Ababa. Landholders and tenants of public housing are considered legal by law; they are tenure secure and, thus, eligible for a form of compensation and relocation when they are displaced. Tenants in the private sector and illegal settlers are tenure insecure, and are ineligible for compensation when they are displaced from their land. The rights for compensation and relocation for both landholders and public tenants, and their personal experiences, are discussed in the following section.

### **7.1.1 Compensation and relocation of landholders**

Landholders receive compensation in both cash and kind. The compensation in cash households receive is the sum of three parts:

1. Compensation for any dwelling and permanent improvements made to the land;
2. Compensation for rent for the period a household needs to rent a house in the private sector while constructing a new house on their compensated plot of land, and
3. A moving allowance of eleven thousand ETB (11,000 ETB).<sup>102</sup>

First, a landholder receives financial compensation for the building(s) and structure(s) situated on a plot of land, and any permanent improvement(s) made to the land. This calculation is based on the replacement cost of the property (Proclamation 45/2005, 7.2). The replacement costs are defined as the cost per square metre or unit-size for constructing a comparable building (Proclamation 135/2007, 3.1). The formula used for calculating the compensation in cash is as follows:

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<sup>102</sup> The exchange rate at the time of completing this thesis was 1 GBP to 35.79 ETB (27 November 2018).

Cost of construction (current value) + cost of permanent improvement on the land + the amount (of) refundable money for the remaining term (of a) lease contract. (Proclamation 135/007, Article 13.1)

Theoretically, this appears to be an appropriate process with which to compute financial compensation. However, this research found a discrepancy when it is applied.

Housing in the inner-city is most often made of non-durable, low-cost traditional materials (such as mud and straw plastered on a wooden framework) which have a low replacement cost. Around the turn of the millennium, the use of mud, straw, and wood as building materials was outlawed, while at the same time building standards changed and materials associated with modernity (such as concrete and bricks) have become the norm (Ejigu, 2014).<sup>103</sup> Thus, households are not permitted to construct a comparable building of low-cost materials on their compensation land, but are obligated to use materials of a higher-standard, such as bricks, or concrete or hollow blocks (Figure 7-2). This implies a price difference in compensation which is not factored in; households are compensated for low-cost building materials, while they have to invest in materials of higher standards and costs. Research from Abebe & Gezahegn (2015) shows, in addition, that prices for building materials used to compute compensation are out-dated and below market prices. Households, furthermore, stated in the interviews that their compensation was not adjusted for inflation.<sup>104</sup>

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<sup>103</sup> The combination of mud, straw, and wood is a building technique referred to as *Chika* in Amharic.

<sup>104</sup> Inflation averaged 16.12% from 2006 to 2018 (Trading Economics, 2018).



**Figure 7-2: Relocation Neighbourhood in a Peri-Urban Zone**

Source: Marjan Kloosterboer, 2016

In general, compensation for displacement rarely reflects the true replacement value of lost assets. The most common problems in this regard are property underassessment and depreciation of lost assets (Cernea, 1994). This resonates in the case of displaced households in Addis Ababa, while the City Government aims to improve housing standards by imposing higher construction standards, the costs becomes inflated due to the obligatory use of higher standard ‘modern’ building materials over the use of local and traditional materials. Households, thus, are not financially or otherwise compensated for the full investment they have to make for building materials that meet construction standards.

The financial gap between compensation and the investment households need to make may not have been intentional or anticipated at the start. However, the problems encountered and described in this thesis are known. This was confirmed in expert interviews with government employees, who mentioned the problem (Expert Interview 8 and 9). Another expert mentioned how the problem will not be openly acknowledged and discussed publicly by the National or City Government until they can present a feasible solution (Expert Interview 6). Expert Interview 4 mentioned that overtime they have increased the amount of financial compensation people receive; although a financial gap continues to exist. Another interview stated different solutions have been pursued to solve

the problem. For instance, a platform to form associations and build together was provided. This, however, was not effective nor successful, and the problem has continued to exist (Expert Interview 11).

Overall, this research found all landholders interviewed for this study irrespectively agreed the amount of monetary compensation they received was insufficient for the construction of a new house which was able to accommodate the size of their family and met building standards (Figure 7-3). To deal with increased expenses, research finds households develop different coping strategies to reduce or avoid impoverishment (Ghani, 2014). It was observed in this study that (extended) households pooled their resources together to accumulate sufficient financial funds to construct a house that complied with building standards. Irrespective of individual circumstances, households employed various short- and long-term financial strategies, such as: they used personal savings, remittances from relatives abroad, borrowed through traditional *equb* saving systems, borrowed from informal money lenders, sold fixed assets, and had children who contributed or searched for (higher paid) employment.



**Figure 7-3: House Constructed in a Peri-Urban Zone in a Relocation Area**  
Source: Marjan Kloosterboer, 2016

Other strategies were employed to save money. For example, households interviewed for this study temporarily moved in with family or friends during the construction phase instead of renting. This, however, can separate household members for a longer or shorter period, if they stay with different people, until their house is constructed. Another strategy, pursued by three out of the five interviewed landholders post-relocation, was to move into self-constructed, temporary, low-quality shelters on the land during the construction phase (see Appendix 2). In this case, temporary does not necessarily mean short-term, as households may reside in these shelters for several years. It was observed during this research that these shelters were constructed from low-cost, non-durable materials and are most often without basic services, such as water, electricity, and sanitation. Households were without access to these facilities in the neighbourhood as well; these neighbourhoods did not have access to communal public sanitation and water facilities as the inner-city had, and it is expected households construct their services by themselves.

The lack of options for borrowing money by the Ethiopian financial sector limits a household's financial options to cover expenses for housing construction. Households are unable to access formal lending services and there is no mortgage system (the mortgage system from the Commercial Bank of Ethiopia is tied to the IHDP scheme). Instead, households turn to alternative lending systems, such as informal money lenders. However, these lenders charge hefty interest rates, sometimes up to 100%; as one research participants said,

We received 40,000 ETB in compensation. That was not enough to construct the house. It only helps to build the basement, and the support, the foundation, but it does not pay for the full construction. We borrowed around 60,000 ETB, and spent around 100,000 to construct the house, now we are left with around 11,000 ETB to repay. (Household Interview No. 22)

This research found low-income households did not have financial resources such as savings or they had a low amount of savings that was inadequate to fill the gap, and, therefore, often turned to more extreme strategies.<sup>105</sup> For example, research participants referred to other households who had been unable to pool

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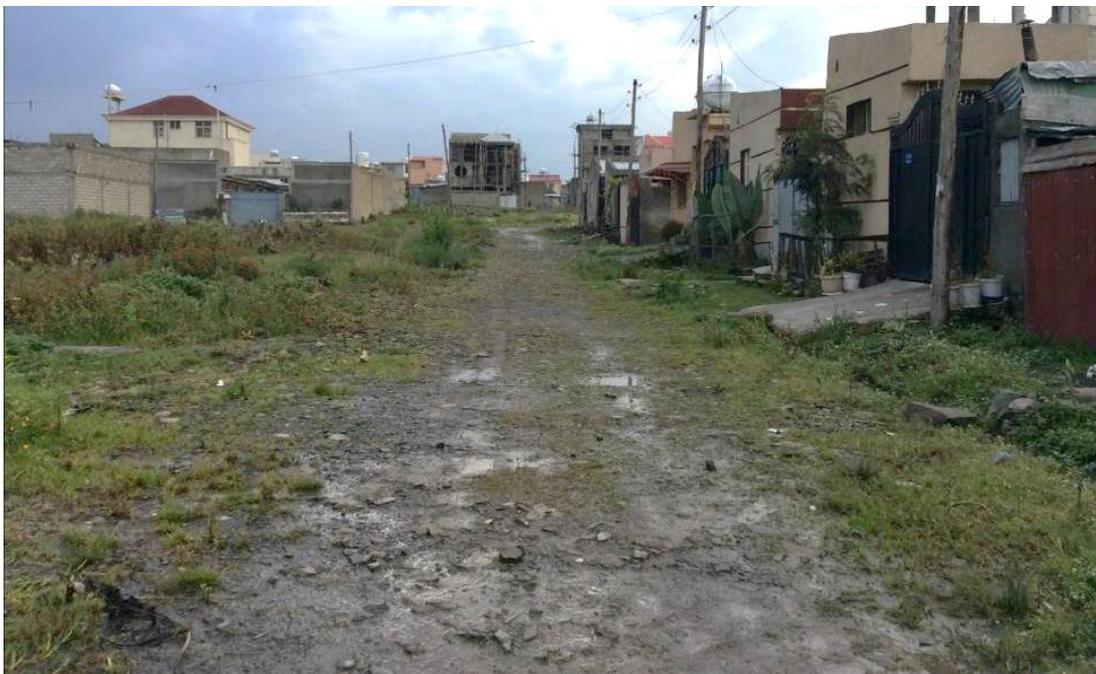
<sup>105</sup> The per capita income in Ethiopia is \$783 USD (World Bank, 2018, a).

together enough financial resources and eventually sold their land. As one research participant mentioned,

Most of the people here sold their land and left the area. They sold the land between 200,000 ETB and 300,000 ETB, because they did not have the capacity to build a house on it. (Household Interview No. 14)

<sup>106</sup>

The inability of households to be able to afford housing construction and the subsequent sale of housing or land weakens Addis Ababa's objective to systematically increase home ownership. It, furthermore, implies households will not directly benefit from resettlement, despite improvements in housing, infrastructure and services, if they cannot afford the associated costs and living expenses (Koenig, 2014). Unless these households buy land or housing elsewhere, they will become illegal settlers or rent in the private sector, and will continue to live in similar or worse conditions than before (Figure 7-4). In addition, under the pressure of poverty and financial insecurity, households run the risk of selling their land and property for a price that does not reflect its market value (Harvey, 2003; Neuwirth, 2006).



**Figure 7-4: Relocation Area in a Peri-Urban Zone**

Source: Marjan Kloosterboer, 2016

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<sup>106</sup> With rising land prices in Addis Ababa, acquiring and keeping land for some years, with the intention of selling, has been observed to be a lucrative practice.

Monetary compensation provides households the freedom to use money according to their own preferences; they are able to replace what has been lost or use it for other purposes (Mariotti, 2014). The danger, however, in providing monetary compensation is when households who, inexperienced in handling large sums of money, do not use the money for productive investments to support the reconstruction of their livelihoods, but rather spend it on old debts, for general consumption, or for social expenses (Mejia, 1999; Marriotti, 2014; Vanclay, 2017). In this study, three of the five landholders post-relocation relayed they had already finished, or nearly finished, their monetary compensation by the time they received their land and began construction. Research participant No. 14, for example, said:

The money that we received was already finished (when they moved to their land). The rent was so expensive, that finally we came here and made a small house out of corrugated iron and stayed for two years in those shelters. (Household Interview No. 14)

Households in this study said they have experienced additional costs in rent that were not covered by their financial compensation, which was identified as the main reason for their compensation to be exhausted. Although, their limited engagement with the monetized economy could also, in this case, be a reason.

Instead of providing households with temporary housing during the construction and land-transfer period, households received money for renting a house. It was planned that this money would cover the cost of private-sector renting for six months. However, households critiqued the amount of money they received for being insufficient, since it had not been adjusted to accommodate for increasing rent prices.<sup>107</sup> In addition, households felt the calculation for rent should be adjusted to include family size, they felt this was not currently the case now. The six month period estimated for house construction, furthermore, is not enough, as some households had not even received their land by that point. Both

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<sup>107</sup> At the time of this study a studio or one-bedroom apartment in the inner-city Lideta condominiums for example costs between 3.000 and 10.000 ETB per month dependent on unit size. The exchange rate at the time of completing this thesis was 1 GBP to 35.79 ETB (27 November 2018). For that reason, it appeared the amount of rent money provided is insufficient to cover rental prices in the inner-city areas.

research participant No. 14 and 15 received their land one year after they had moved out of their previous housing. As research participant 14 said,

We already got the money when we left for the rental house, but only after a year we received the land (they received 52,000 ETB, which included 7,000 ETB for rent). All the money we received was finished by the time we moved to our land. The rent was so expensive. (Household Interview No. 14)

Although households are provided with money for rent, an additional financial burden is placed on them by the extra costs they encounter. A transitory period in (different) rental accommodation, furthermore, signals a cycle of moving, which implies households are unable to regain their social and economic livelihoods until they move into their new homes.<sup>108</sup>

Research from Cernea (1994) shows delays in land transfers and additional expenses households face when renting temporary accommodation may force households to go into debt to survive. This is also the case in Addis Ababa, for example, one research participant said,

I stayed around Kotabe in a relative's house for about four years ... In those years I was busy building this house. I didn't have enough money, as I took a rest from building and construction ... After that, when I found somebody to lend me the money I continued. I moved here two years ago into this compound. I stayed in the corrugated iron house for about eight months while this house was being built. My husband and I were separated for those years. My husband lived around Shiro Meda in a relative's house for all that time, while I lived in Kotabe. (Household Interview No. 22)

A landholder is entitled to receive a substitute plot of land as compensation in kind, but the size will be decided by the urban administration (Proclamation 721/2011, 12.2). The urban administration in the case of Addis Ababa is the Addis Ababa City Government and the sub-city administration. The Addis Ababa City Government follows an *ex-situ* approach to relocation, where households are relocated to peri-urban zones of the city and are provided with substitute plots of land in pre-identified areas (Figure 7-5). Households were also offered priority access to a condominium housing unit as an alternative option to land.

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<sup>108</sup> Interviewees mentioned that this was very disruptive for their children's education, as they had to transfer schools several times.

However, none of the households interviewed for this study chose this option. Households interviewed said they preferred the freedom land offers. They could decide, based on their family size and their financial capacity, the kind of housing they wanted to construct by incrementally constructing a house at their own pace and according to their financial means.



**Figure 7-5: Neighbourhood under Construction in Bole Bulbulla**

Source: Marjan Kloosterboer, 2016

In the expert interviews, the option for *in-situ*, on-site, relocation was mentioned several times. At the time this fieldwork took place (2016), landholders were, dependent on future land uses, occasionally provided with the opportunity to construct individually or in cooperatives on-site on low-graded land. Provided they met the criteria and were financially capable of building in accordance to building standards and proposed building heights, and if their plot-size met the minimum standards (when permitted to construct on the same location).<sup>109</sup> It is questionable how many landholders can comply with the above-mentioned criteria, while there are usually only a few plots of land available for on-site relocation. The prospective value of the land, furthermore, is prohibiting the possibility for on-site, or near-by relocation and land may have already have

<sup>109</sup> One respondent was interested in constructing on-site and had the financial capacity. However, she was not allowed, as her plot size did not meet the requirements. Her brother (and neighbour) did meet the requirements and, at the time of this research, was constructing a high-rise building.

been out-leased (Mejia, 1999). At the time fieldwork took place (2016), it was proposed to relocate communities within a one-kilometre radius of their previous location. However, at the time of writing (2017-2018), there was no information that this had happened yet.

Households mentioned they were disappointed with the size of the land they had received. The size of the land households held before was not equally compensated after relocation. The interviews showed households received an average standardised plot size between 75 and 90 square metres, regardless of the plot size they had before. From the interviews, it appeared there was no specific logic applied in the allocation of land, besides what standardised plots were available. One respondent, who previously had 300 square metres of land, was particularly disappointed after relocation, as the amount of land owned was reduced to 90 square meters.

Expert Interview No. 7 relayed that, for the calculation of compensation, land witnesses are present which the landholder can choose, while video and photographs are also taken of the process as evidence. However, there was confusion among interviewed households about the computation method used to determine the size of land to be compensated. Two landholder research participants stated that only the surface area of their houses was measured, rather than the area of the entire compound.<sup>110</sup> Households who have occupied their land since, or before, the Derg regime do not comply with the 1993 land-lease system, unless they have converted their land to this system. The City Government, thus, considers their land as national property and a household will only be compensated for the surface area of their house, rather than for their entire compound. Households who leased land under, or converted land to, the post-1993 land lease system are eligible to receive compensation for their entire plot. It appeared from the interviews that households were not adequately informed about the nuances of the computation method used. Compensation of land is determined on a case-by-case basis. It, however, was also mentioned by

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<sup>110</sup> Two landholders who were already relocated said that only the surface area of their houses was measured. Five landholders were unsure or did not comment on the calculation process, and one landholder did not receive compensation and his land was not measured.

respondents how this enhances corruption and favouritism, which may lead to different evaluations.

Landholders, furthermore, stated that land was only handed over to them shortly before they were told to move away from their homes or after they had moved. Four of the five landholders interviewed for this study who had already been relocated received their compensation land after vacating their previous homes. As one research participant said:

They told us we won't give you another land before you give us your land. They told us if you don't move out, we will demolish your house forcefully, on your head, by bulldozer. (Household Interview No. 13)

This practice made the interviewees reluctant to cooperate; they mentioned they felt hesitant to believe the government's promises that land and cash compensation would be provided to them after they moved. Research shows this kind of practice can lead to dysfunctional relationships between planners, policy makers, and households, which can adversely affect the project, as it can make households hold on to their land for long and resist the development (Cernea, 1997; Mariotti, 2014), as has also been the case in Addis Ababa.

Research shows compensation often only reflects a small fraction of a land's market value (Cain, 2017). In those cases, households are thus not able to equally benefit from development profits, despite the personal sacrifices made (Cernea, 1997). This has also been the case in Addis Ababa, households interviewed for this study complained the locational value of their land was not included in the financial compensation they received. They lived on prime-location land which was leased after their departure to private developers for large amounts of money. They resented the government for making large profits from the land, whereas they did not have enough money to build a new house.

### 7.1.2 Compensation and relocation of tenants from public housing

Lawful tenants of public housing are entitled to,

A facilitated purchase of a condominium housing unit, if displaced due to urban renewal programs (Proclamation 721/2011, 12.4).

They received priority for a condominium housing unit in the IHDP and received a moving allowance of 11,000 ETB.<sup>111</sup> Mejia (1999) showed relocation can in such cases become intertwined with social housing programmes. In Addis Ababa, relocation has become intertwined with the IHDP, which supplies housing units for the resettlers. Households stated during the interviews that they did not receive any other form of support, be it from the government, from the private sector, or from other organisations.<sup>112</sup>

This study found, as an alternative option, public housing is sometimes offered to households who are unable to afford a condominium housing unit. As one research participant replied,

We did have a choice, a *Kebele* house or a condominium. But considering our income and expenses, we cannot afford a condominium. So, we asked for this *Kebele* house. (Household Interview No. 18)<sup>113</sup>

This option has not been included in any legal or other policy documents, but rather it has revealed itself as an option through common practice. This can only be an option, if public housing exists and is available. However, public housing is being reduced, as its stock is being targeted for demolition; it is, therefore, questionable how long this option can remain.

The majority of housing in the four inner-city sub-cities, subjected to renewal and redevelopment, is public housing. Addis Ababa wants to replace 50% of its public housing, while providing its occupants with housing units under the IHDP

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<sup>111</sup> The exchange rate at the time of completing this thesis was 1 GBP to 35.79 ETB (27 November 2018).

<sup>112</sup> For instance, in terms of employment opportunities.

<sup>113</sup> *Kebele* is the Amharic word for public housing.

as compensation homes, which is now leading to public housing shortages (Alemayehu, 2008; MUDCO, 2014). The shortage of public housing manifests in unavailability, exacerbated by demolitions, and long-waiting times until a public house becomes vacant. Households, in addition, may refuse a public house, if the particular house does not meet their needs, which may imply even longer waiting times.<sup>114</sup> As one research participant mentioned,

They showed us other *Kebele* houses made of *Chika*, but the problem is they were too small. They were as big as this room. It is not big enough for ten people. We chose this place, because it is wider. It can accommodate ten people. (Household Interview No. 18)

Households relocated to public housing may be faced with another forced eviction with time, if this house is also located in an area earmarked for renewal and redevelopment. From the interviews it appeared households were directed in their choice towards selecting condominium units, because public housing was referred to as a temporary solution, and the choice for a condominium housing unit, therefore, an inevitable scenario. One research participant said:

*Kebele (house)* is a temporary solution for those who cannot afford a condominium. You can move there, and after a month or six months, they can tell you the area will be redeveloped and you will be forced to move out again. (Household Interview No. 17)

Not all research participants were offered a public housing choice, when there were no longer public houses available in their areas. This, however, created a form of inequality. Some households were offered, a choice, public housing, whereas others were not (Figure 7-6).

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<sup>114</sup> Despite the shortage of public housing, households are not obliged to accept any public state house presented to them. They are able to either accept or refuse a house based on its size, location, and general state. Households stated they were faced with additional expenses when moving to public housing, as they most often had to renovate the housing and make it fit for living. For example, one research participant was provided with a house without a roof, which they had to construct themselves. Rain had caused interior damage to the house, which they also to repair from their own personal expenses. Considering the temporary nature of public housing in respect to future demolition, households considered these expenses as wasteful.



**Figure 7-6: Half Demolished Public Housing**

Source: Marjan Kloosterboer, 2016

Overall, data shows that the relocation of public tenants to IHDP housing units is systematically transforming homeownership. Before relocation, 68% of households displaced between 2009 and 2016 were public tenants and 32% of households were landholders. After relocation, 91% of households were homeowners (74% condominium housing and 17% landholders), compared to 9% of households who continued to be public tenants after relocation (Data from the Addis Ababa City Government, Land Development and Urban Renewal Agency, 2017). The last group may face another relocation, if they continue to live in housing on land earmarked for renewal and redevelopment, and, thus, they will eventually be obligated to select an IHDP housing unit when the option for public housing runs out.

In theory, households were free to choose the size of their IHDP housing unit according to their family size and financial capacity. In reality, this was not always possible. One household said they were not offered a choice of a housing unit, due to a limited supply of available sizes. Another research participant said her family chose a three-bedroom condominium, but was forced by the sub-city government administration to register for a one-bedroom, as this was the only available housing unit at the time.<sup>115</sup>

<sup>115</sup> This family was told, as an alternative solution, to wait for a condominium unit of their desired size to become available. However, it was unknown how much time this would take and this time had to be bridged, with their own expenses, in alternative accommodation elsewhere. The other respondents received condominiums based on their personal choices.

We didn't have a choice, but the 'choice' for a one-bedroom, unless we moved out without taking any compensation. (Household Interview No. 2)

Calculations have been made for the IHDP that state a one bedroom is for 1–3 family members, two bedrooms for 4–6 family members, and three bedroom units are for 6+ family members (Yintso, 2008). There, however, appears to be a mismatch between anticipated family sizes, financial capacity, and the quantity of different unit sizes that are constructed; three-bedroom housing units, in particular, are in high demand (Yintso, 2008). The unavailability of housing units that match family sizes and the unaffordability of the payment scheme is now forcing families to continue to live in small, overcrowded housing (Figure 7-7).



**Figure 7-7: Condominiums in the Kality area**

Source: Marjan Kloosterboer, 2016

Conflict and competition can arise in the allocation of compensation when land and housing is subjected to overlapping legal, customary, and social claims from the different households who reside there (Earle, 2014). The Addis Ababa City Government compensates per house via the sole registered home-owner, instead of to each member of the household.<sup>116</sup> This approach does not consider the extended family system in Ethiopia and their communal lifestyles, it excludes (vulnerable) household members who may also have a claim and while it increases the tenure security for the land holder, it simultaneously decreases tenure security for others (Payne, 2001; Ubbink, 2009). The government does

<sup>116</sup> Different family members may share a plot of land on which they built their individual housing units. However, administratively and legally, the land remains undivided.

not offer a solution to this problem. Households interviewed said they had to find their own solutions. One research participant said,

The house was inherited from my grandfather, to both myself and to father. The house, therefore, was in the name of two people, two households, not one, but we were given just one compensation. My father was really disappointed about the compensation. We decided to give him all the money, and we took the land (Household Interview No. 23).

The incompatibility between the compensation schemes and a social system based on the extended family means some members of the family forfeit their compensation. For example, one person interviewed had lived together with her extended family in a public house before they were relocated. The household received a two-bedroom condominium into which seven family members had already moved. The research participant and her immediate family had stayed behind in the public house, as there was not enough space to also accommodate them in the condominium. The research participant has appealed to the local *Kebele* and sub-city office to give her another compensation home (public housing), but a final decision had not been made at the time of the interview, though she had already been waiting for several months. Households could have administratively applied for a sub-division of their house number as a solution. However, it appeared from the interviews, households were not previously informed about the procedure and necessity to do so. Research Participant No. 4 said after the redevelopment was announced they were no longer permitted to subdivide their house number.

Households are generally faced with increased expenses associated with their new housing post-relocation, such as costs for servicing or housing fees associated with a long-term mortgage (Cernea, 1997; Koenig, 2014). Depending on the unit type selected, this study found households are required to pay an initial down-payment and repay the remaining debt in monthly instalments (Figure 7-8). All interviewed households who moved to condominium housing units stated they found the upfront down-payment and monthly mortgage payments unaffordable. Only one research participant living in public housing was able to save for the required down-payment. The other four respondents, who had already relocated to the condominiums, said they had insufficient

financial capacity to save.<sup>117</sup> One research participant said the following, “As you can see with the salary of this country, it is unimaginable to pay for it. But it is a must, what can we do?” (Household Interview No. 7).



**Figure 7-8: Condominium Housing in Lideta**

Source: Marjan Kloosterboer, 2016

Research from Mejia (1999) shows this type of financial arrangement can force households into debt, as in Addis Ababa. Moreover, it implies households will post-relocation have to earn more to maintain their previous living standards (Cavalheiro & Abiko, 2015). Public housing as an alternative option in this case is only a temporary relief, as households will eventually have to move to IHDP housing units. Ultimately, in the case of Addis Ababa, there are, therefore, no debt-free alternatives.

Research shows when imposing improved housing standards, the cost of housing can become inflated, due to the use of higher-standard building materials versus the use of local materials and building styles (Abubakar & Doan, 2017), this was also the case in Addis Ababa. The mortgage scheme is a steep increase in a

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<sup>117</sup> Whereas some households struggle to afford a condominium housing unit, for households with a diversity of income sources or a higher income, it was easier to meet the required payments. For one household, the down-payment was paid by a relative as a gift. Two households combined savings, a loan, and money from family members. Another respondent used remittances for the down payment.

household's monthly expenses. Households participating in this study paid before relocation not more than 28 ETB per month for their public housing and some even lived rent-free. After relocation, payments ranged between 600 and 2,800 ETB per month, depending on the unit size.<sup>118</sup>

The Commercial Bank of Ethiopia introduced a one-year grace period households can take before starting or during the process of making mortgage payments. One household took the grace period, but complained their debt further increased due to the continued interest, which they expected this would be discontinued during the grace period. This research participant said,

My children paid a few times, but (then) we took the grace period. When we asked what the interest was, it had become somewhere between 10,000 to 11,000 ETB. It is not a break time – the grace period. (Household Interview No. 12)

If households fail to pay, it could ultimately result in the foreclosure of their housing unit by the government. Although, in reality, the foreclosure of housing is more a threat and a warning. The foreclosure of housing would exclude these households from the housing sector, if they could not afford to buy land or housing elsewhere (Planel & Bridonneau, 2017).

Households who relied on informal income sources said they found it difficult to stick to the re-payment scheme, because their income fluctuates and is unreliable. Their income earning activities do not provide a consistent income and set payments on a pre-specified date, therefore, are incompatible with their way of life. They said for them, the repayment scheme implies a different way of thinking and a behavioural transition. In addition, they find saving difficult or even impossible. Some research participants mentioned their main priority is simply to survive. The financial barriers to their relocation homes therefore, can, have far-reaching consequences, such as the sale of the housing unit, and can cause impoverishment (Rutten, 2009). Moreover, households may feel as if higher living standards have been imposed upon them, regardless of their previous living circumstances (Cavalheiro & Abiko, 2015).

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<sup>118</sup>The exchange rate at the time of completing this thesis was 1 GBP to 35.79 ETB (27 November 2018).

Households stated they are faced with additional expenses when their housing units are handed over to them; units are 80% completed when transferred and finishings are left to be completed by the new homeowners. Planel and Bridonneau (2017) estimated these finishings cost between 65,000 and 70,000 ETB.<sup>119</sup> Even though households can adjust the quality level of finishings to their financial capacity, it is, nonetheless, an additional financial burden. The degree to which finishings have been completed has created a visible segregation between different income groups in the condominiums. Some housing units are beautifully finished, while others have remained bare concrete boxes.

These additional expenses can cause a household to delay their move into a condominium, if these are expenses they cannot afford. For example, one research participant had, after five months since the handover of her new housing unit, still not moved out of her public housing in the inner-city. She stated,

Since it is the fourth floor, I estimate the costs for the finishings will be 40,000 ETB. Because there are many finishings, not only the walls and the floors, but it also needs a ceiling. I cannot afford the finishing. Therefore, I still have not moved and the apartment is empty now. (Household Interview No. 10)

Households rented (or sold) their housing units to afford the condominium repayment scheme and as an additional source of income.<sup>120</sup> Two respondents intermittently rented their housing units, and another research participant will sell their condominium apartment, when she receives it:

My plan is to sell the one-bedroom to someone who can afford it and with the money buy a studio. I am planning to buy a studio apartment in a remote area of Addis, where it is cheaper than here. There are brokers who do such work. The broker will find someone who can afford the apartment. Those people will give us the money to pay the down payment, and after that we will sell that apartment to those people. We will receive the whole amount of money and with that

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<sup>119</sup> The exchange rate at the time of completing this thesis was 1 GBP to 35.79 ETB (27 November 2018).

<sup>120</sup> The Addis Ababa City Government is aware households rent their housing units and allow this practice, as they believe this provides households with a means to repay their mortgages (Abebe & Hesselberg, 2011)

money we can pay for a studio on another site. (Household Interview No. 2)<sup>121</sup>

Research shows renting or selling apartments due to being unable to pay for the associated costs can leave these households to be ultimately worse off, particularly when they continue to compete for housing in similarly dilapidated areas as where they had previously lived (Neuwirth, 2006; Koenig, 2014). In this regard there is also a danger that low-income households may more easily be persuaded to sell their properties for prices that do not necessarily reflect their true market values, due to pressure from poverty and financial insecurity (Harvey, 2003). This was also the case in Addis Ababa, the practice of renting and selling housing units, when owners cannot afford the re-payment scheme otherwise, is a sign that the IHDP housing units do not meet their objective of providing low-cost housing. While renting housing units is also not without risk. Research participants reported negative experiences with tenants, such as failure to pay rent and damages to the apartments. One research participant said,

We rented it out before (for one year) but we stopped renting it out, because there were problems ... The people who rented this apartment would not pay on time, therefore, I would also not pay the bank on time. This created a conflict between the renters, myself, and the bank. (Household Interview No. 17)

Research from Cernea (1997) and Mejia (1999) shows in such cases the cost of relocation is only partially covered by the government, while the remainder is placed on the displaced population. This was also the case in Addis Ababa, it is questionable to what extent a facilitated purchase of condominium housing is really compensation, or if it is only priority access, as households are subjected to the same mortgage schemes as other households with condominium housing units.

Although the IHDP payment schemes and housing units have been designed to meet the social and economic needs of households, since their introduction, studies from the World Bank (2015) and UN-Habitat (2010, 2017), for example, have been published that demonstrated housing units are unaffordable for low-

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<sup>121</sup> It is not legal to sell a condominium housing unit within the first five years of it being received. Sales within this period are, therefore, established via different constructions.

income households. The problem of unaffordability, therefore, is known. An Expert Interview with a government employee (No. 9) demonstrated this, while referring to households who might prefer a public house based on their financial capacity:

The city is being reconstructed, and those houses are also a slum, located somewhere else ... We have a problem of supply and demand. We cannot deliver that type of house to everyone ... We don't have what they prefer as a compensation option.

Expert Interview No. 9 also mentioned they are planning to prepare low-cost housing for this group. At the time of writing, however, no further information was available if houses had been constructed.

### **7.1.3 Assistance in relocation**

Even though relevant Proclamations and other policy documents do not mention assistance in relocation, two years before this fieldwork took place (in 2016), a moving allowance was introduced to support households during the relocation process. Before the moving allowance was introduced, there was no other form of assistance for households. The reasons for introducing this allowance and the method of how it is calculated are not specified anywhere. An interview with a government official, however, revealed the moving allowance is calculated, as follows:

We will give them money for transportation, which is 5,000 ETB. And we will give them an additional 6,000 ETB in compensation for psychosocial loss. This is because they are moving from an area where they lived for a long time and where they have established many functions (social and economic). (Expert interview No. 9)

From the interviews, it appears the moving allowance is used as an incentive to expedite the relocation of households. Households only receive this allowance once they hand over their keys and move. Not every household interviewed for this study had received this allowance at the time of fieldwork for this research (in 2016).<sup>122</sup> In interviews, however, households mentioned the existence of this allowance and their confusion who is entitled to receive it and who is not.

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<sup>122</sup> Five respondents mentioned they will or had received a moving allowance. Other respondents had not received it or, in case of landholders, may not have recognised it.

Households, furthermore, may not recognise part of the compensation money as a moving allowance. Landholders, for example, receive the compensation, rent money, and moving allowance at the same time in one sum. One research participant said,

There are some people that got money. They received 11,000 ETB, but now they say the funding has stopped. Others say it will be given - it is a rumour! (Household Interview No. 10)

#### **7.1.4 Consultation and participation**

The process of consultation and participation is achieved in Addis Ababa through community meetings, held before an area's redevelopment and renewal (MWUD, 2008). This is perceived as an ongoing process that takes place from the start of a project and informs the community of their future displacement ahead of time and explains how it may affect them (MWUD, 2008). Although it seems paradoxical to advocate for community participation in a project that seeks to involuntarily displace them, it is important for a project's success to involve a community early in the process via meaningful and genuine consultation and participation (Cernea, 1994, p. 5; Cernea, 1997; Mejia, 1999). Meaningful and genuine consultation and participation can lead to less tension, conflict, and negative social impacts, if it builds trust and collaboration (Mejia, 1999, p. 164). Neglecting consultation and participation, however, can cause project delays, threaten project feasibility, and increase project costs, while it is also a form of social exclusion (Mejia, 1999, p. 164; Abubakar & Doan, 2017, p. 552).

The process of consultation and participation was described in an interview with a government official, as follows:

First, we communicate orally to the people and then we will send them a letter to invite them for a meeting. After that we discuss in the meeting with all of the people what our plan is (for renewing and redeveloping the area). We will sign an agreement with the community representatives. Those representatives will be elected on the meeting that will be held. If the community agrees, the representatives and officers will after time sign the agreement in the office for the area renewal. The process (to clear the area and relocate the residents) will continue after the agreement is made. (Expert Interview No. 13)

Household interviews, however, revealed research participants have not experienced the process of consultation and participation as genuinely participative, but rather as an insincere method of communication. Research from Mejia (1999) showed that in such cases participation is about avoiding conflict, as opposed to including stakeholders in the decision making processes and in sharing responsibilities. It was in this case perceived by residents as a form of token participation, aimed at gaining the cooperation of the community, but not participative by including them (Abebe & Hesselberg, 2015).

Research participants experienced the meetings as one-sided communication, in which government officials tried to convince the community to collaborate and move forward, by stressing the necessity and urgency for urban redevelopment and renewal, as opposed to a dialogue. This is a top-down approach that excludes urban dwellers from meaningful participation and rather sees them as obstacles (Abebe & Hesselberg, 2015). In the case of Addis Ababa, it appears redevelopment and renewal projects have already been agreed on between the Addis Ababa City Government and prospective land developers beforehand, thereby excluding the active participation of residents in this process and their wishes, desires, or thoughts on the future use of the area (Abebe & Hesselberg, 2015). Hence, similar to renewal and redevelopment projects elsewhere, this ‘rhetoric of urgency’ is fast-tracking these plans for the sake of development, but at the expense of citizen participation (Kamaran, 2008). This, furthermore, is raising questions after whose interest and desires the ‘new’ Addis Ababa is being shaped and raises concerns about urban equity, democracy and (spatial) justice (Sassen, 2015).

Research participants relayed that the meetings did not allow for discussion and did not have a question and answer session, but they were rather used as a channel to pass on information. One research participant explained,

You can ask questions in the meetings, but there won’t be a reasonable answer. Even those people (from the *Kebele*) don’t have information; they are just messengers. (Household Interview No. 24)

During the meetings, households were informed about the redevelopment and renewal of their neighbourhood, and about what compensation was available to them. Research Participant No. 14 mentioned,

The meetings were held for two main reasons: first, to choose committee members to follow the situation from the people's point of view. Second, to fill the forms for compensation. (Household Interview No. 14)

Another research participant said,

In those meetings they told us, 'The country is under development. For the purpose of development, your home (your land) is needed and you have to move out'. We will give you compensation based on the type of house that you have now. (Household Interview No. 13)

According to the household interviews, the meetings sought to convince the community to cooperate in their involuntary displacement, without actually letting them participate. An expert interview strengthened this finding. He said the following regarding the meetings:

Their idea of participation is manipulation, they try to convince the people this is the only way ... The government's idea of public participation is convincing. They won't ask about the financial capacity of households to afford the housing offered to them. They won't put any effort in understanding the people's way of life. They negotiate with the people based on a 'take it or leave it' approach. (Expert Interview No. 6)

The number of meetings households had was different for each research participant, and depended on the area where they had lived previously. Whereas some respondents had two meetings, others had six, for example. Households felt when there was a greater urgency to move forward, less meetings were held to expedite the project's progress.

Research participants said they elected community representatives in the meetings to become members of a committee which was meant to represent the community's shared interests in the decision-making process. This, however, did not always work satisfactorily. Interviewees mentioned they suspected committee members of receiving the first round of compensation and better compensation, while they felt the committee members did not always sufficiently represent the community's concerns and interests. Households relayed that even though the community representatives were there to improve communication between the government and the community, in reality, their presence diminished their trust in the process. Research from Cernea (1997)

showed mistrusts can cause a dysfunctional relationship between the people affected by displacement and local authorities. These types of dysfunctional relationships can cause reverse participation, where the process leads to active opposition to the project (Cernea, 1997).

Across the expert and household interviews, a sense of urgency revealed itself through fast-tracked consultation and public participation processes as a response to the city's housing crisis, and its desire to meet perceived international and modern standards. Although this fast-tracked approach aims to expedite projects, it can actually create project delays, if important issues are surpassed in the process (Watson, 2015). Expert Interview No. 7 mentioned the reoccurring sense of urgency does not allow people enough time to get their proof-of-ownership papers ready and occasionally households do not apply for compensation, because they do not have the necessary legal documents. Another Expert interview (No. 14) revealed that, together with a group of experts, they had proposed a detailed social-economic study to better understand the population's background. However, the city municipality was not interested in this idea, as they preferred to fast-track the project by continuing to clear the area.

Households said they felt misinformed, due either to incorrect information, a lack of information, or through misunderstandings. Two research participants said they were persuaded to agree with relocation with a promise that they would be relocated on-site, which was a promise that was not kept. One of these research participants said,

They told us, whether it will be a condominium or a *Kebele* house, it will be built here on this location. They made us sign for it. On the paper we signed, it said it would be constructed here. We had to choose based on our affordability (financial capability) for what kind of house we wished. Finally, however, the *Kebele* changed their mind and told us we had to move to a new area. (Household Interview No. 10)

Expert Interview No. 1 mentioned in this context how the government is over-promising to people and not making these promises a reality, which creates conflict and dissatisfaction among the relocated population.

All research participants were, when provided with their compensation, given a different amount of time to move, which appeared to be dependent on how urgently the land needed to be cleared. Household interviews revealed in some cases they were first informed that their neighbourhood was going to be redeveloped and renewed years before. They did not always feel adequately informed about the actual demolition of their homes and the cut-off date to move.<sup>123</sup> One research participant mentioned,

Around six months before relocation took place, we were first informed about everything. However, the process of moving was very sudden at the end of the six months. My children went to Jemo (relocation area) in the middle of the semester and stopped their classes suddenly, because of the sudden move. (Household Interview No. 13)

An interview with government official No. 4 revealed that there is no uniform time line for when people need to move in the different renewal and redevelopment projects. Some have a short time, whereas he said others have much longer. In general, however, it was mentioned households have to move within one month upon receiving their compensation, but this period can be stretched up to three months (though in reality it sometimes takes two years before everyone has moved) (Expert Interview No. 4). According to the Proclamations, households should be given 90 days to vacate a property when they receive their compensation; this is the same for both landholders and public state tenants (Proclamation 455/2005, article 4.3 and Proclamation 721/2011, article 27.3). The interviews, however, revealed one research participant was given a period of six-months to move (Household Interview No. 10), another was told to move out as soon as possible after she was given the key to her condominium house (Household Interview No. 11), and a third research participant said she was given two months to move (Household Interview No. 17).<sup>124</sup>

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<sup>123</sup> One respondent said they were invited to a meeting five years before they were relocated. Other respondents first heard about the renewal and redevelopment of their neighbourhood between 6 months and three years before they were relocated.

<sup>124</sup> The interviews showed public tenants received the key to their housing unit with a letter that contained information, such as the location and house number. The waiting times for housing units, however, can be long, with only 10% of the condominiums being built reserved for those who have been relocated from the inner-city (Planel & Bridonneau, 2017).

### 7.1.5 Complaints and appeals

It is expected households are informed how to make a complaint when they choose their form of compensation, if necessary (MWUD, 2008, p. 28).

Proclamation 255/2005 (Article 11.2) states in this respect:

Where the holder of an expropriated urban landholding is dissatisfied with the amount of compensation, he may lodge his complaint to the administrative organ established by the urban administration to hear grievances.

In the interviews, however, households mentioned they were unsure where to express complaints and appeals, and had to find out the process by themselves. One research participant said a notice was posted on the gates of the *Kebele* office with information where to direct complaints. Other research participants randomly visited different government officials in their *Kebele* and sub-city offices and were provided with further directions. Research participants also mentioned other various places they visited to make appeals, such as the sub-city office, the city administration, the women and youth organisation, the federal parliament, and the EPRDF's (the ruling party) head office. It appeared that, in the meetings held, attendees were either not told or not told adequately what their options were in respect to complaints and appeals, when they had grievances regarding their relocation and compensation.

The correct process for making complaints or appeals is to visit the sub-city administration, which has established an office to handle grievances. If this office is unable to solve a case, they can forward their complaints to a tribunal that has been established by the Addis Ababa City Government to handle grievances over compensation and relocation (Proclamation 721/2011, Article 30.1). Previously these cases were handled by the court and the transfer of these cases to an office established under the Addis Ababa City Government has raised questions about its objectivity. At the time of writing there was no evaluation structure in place, or an external body, to hold the tribunal accountable for decisions made (Expert Interview No. 12).

Sixteen of the research participants said they had made complaints about the amount and type of compensation they received or they had complained about

not being compensated at all. One research participant, for example, applied for three-bedroom condominium housing, but due to the scarcity of two- and three-bedrooms she received a one-bedroom IHDP housing unit and then she complained (Household Interview No. 2). Another research participant appealed after being forced to choose a condominium housing unit, due to the scarcity of public housing, whereas this was not an option she could afford (Household Interview No. 7). Similarly, a landholder appealed that she considered the size of the land and amount of money given to her unacceptable (Household Interview No. 15). Research participants, however, stated complaining about compensation is more or less one-way communication from an affected household to the responsible government officials. They relayed their appeals were not considered and acceptable solutions were not offered.

Research participants also mentioned they experienced delays in receiving responses, due to a high staff turnover in government offices. They had to explain their cases again each time, while the person may not be familiar with their personal history or the necessary steps for action. Expert Interview No. 14 said the high staff turnover is causing a loss of knowledge, and rebuilding it every time a staff member changes is a time consuming process. One cause for the high staff turnover is the low salary they receive, which is demotivating them from doing their, often challenging and demanding, work. Another problem that was mentioned regarding this is the changing systems within government offices, which make the high staff turnover even more time consuming (Expert Interview No. 14). In addition, it appeared responsibilities are frequently shifted between offices and new (project) offices open regularly, whereas others close. The different offices do not necessarily communicate effectively with each other, as they are mostly concerned with their individual tasks (Expert Interview No. 13).

At the time of writing (2017–2018) the ruling party, the EPRDF, holds all the seats in the National Parliament and, therefore, controls all government offices. Research participants, thus, felt to complain to different government offices would effectively be like complaining to one-and-the-same entity, the EPRDF, as there is no actual separation between the ruling party and the government. A

neutral and objective body, free from government influences, to oversee the relocation and compensation process was not present at the time of writing.

## 7.2 Displacement of tenure insecure households

Tenants in the private sector and illegal settlers are ineligible for compensation when faced with displacement. An illegal settler is defined as a household occupying land for which they do not possess the leasehold. Illegal housing is unlawful and, therefore, its residents are not provided with any form of support when they are displaced from the land. A private tenant is defined here as a household that rents privately from someone else, who could either be a land holder, public tenant, a private tenant, or an illegal settler. In Addis Ababa, illegal settlers are most often households who squat in open spaces in self-constructed dwellings or households who construct housing on plots leased by friends or relatives (Figure 7-9). This type of communal land-share has enabled households to access land they could not afford otherwise (Payne, 2001). For example, this could be children who construct annexes to their parents' house for their own family. Expert Interview No. 4 stated the large extended families are what make displacement so difficult in Addis Ababa, with dependents and disabled people living together who over time built many annexe, while only the landholder will receive compensation when they are displaced.



**Figure 7-9: Illegal Settlement**  
Source: Marjan Kloosterboer, 2016

The Addis Ababa City Government makes a clear distinction between households with, and without, lawful land and tenancy rights. As opposed to compensation based on social vulnerability (Meija, 1999), regardless of tenancy status, they only compensate people with a lawful title or claim to housing. This, therefore, ignores households who hold a social or customary claim outside the formal land titling system and creates insecurity (Payne, 2001; Simbizi, Bennett & Zevenbergen, 2014). The anticipation of displacement is particularly distressing for households without security of tenure, such as private tenants and illegal settlers in the case of Addis Ababa, and makes them vulnerable, because they will not receive any form of support when they are faced with displacement (Lees, Bang Shin & Lopez-Morales, 2016). Proclamation 721/2011 outlines the approach towards illegal settlers as follows:

Without the need to issue a clearance order and payment of compensation, to clear an illegally occupied urban land by merely serving a written notice of seven working days to the occupants in person or by affixing it to the property situated on the land.  
(Proclamation 721/2011, 26:4)

In other Proclamations that refer to relocation and compensation (Proclamation 135/2007 and Proclamation 455/2005) there are no further references made regarding the compensation of private tenants and illegal settlers.

References are made regarding illegal settlers and private tenants in the Resettlement Policy Framework (RPF) of Ethiopia (MWUD, 2008). The RPF states a person without a legal title will be supported to secure accommodation and restore their livelihoods through the following: (1) support will be provided by giving them jobs: (a) directly, as created by the project; or (b) through the MSE development program which is underway in most Ethiopian cities ... (MWUD, 2008, p. 19); (2) in addition, assistance will be provided by the project, those displaced persons who are not urban landholders and who, as a result of project activities, lose fixed improvements on land they occupy, to secure accommodation as per the housing policies and programmes of the ULG (MWUD, 2008, p. 20).<sup>125</sup>

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<sup>125</sup> Whereas in itself the introduction of the RPF is positive, the function of this document is more of a guideline, as its legal power and mandate are unspecified and, therefore, unclear. In addition,

Even though the RPF states households without a legal title are entitled to receive support in securing alternative accommodation and participation in employment creating opportunities (MWUD, 2008), households said they were not offered the before mentioned support, nor were they supported during displacement by the Addis Ababa City Government, Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), Community Based Organisations (CBOs), or religious institutions (such as a Church or Mosque).

Private tenants often fall short in compensation arrangements (Shin & Kim, 2015). This is also the case in Addis Ababa, as private tenants are not compensated, nor do they receive any other form of support. According to the RPF, tenants in the private sector will be provided with assistance “to maintain their livelihoods and find alternative accommodation” (MWUD, 2008, p. 20). In addition, “they will seek redress from their private lessor by referring to the terms and conditions of their tenancy and the civil law” (MWUD, 2008, p. 20). In reality, however, none of the research participants in this study were aware of this and for that reason none of the participants had explored this option. The absence of rental contracts or other proof of tenancy, furthermore hinders private tenants from using this approach. Households, in addition, may experience a social barrier when seeking retribution from their landlords, if they rent from friends or family members.

The approach taken by the City Government of Addis Ababa deviates from the UN ‘Basic Principles and Guidelines on Development Based Evictions and Displacement’, which state in article 61 (United Nations, 2007, p. 14):

All those evicted, irrespective of whether they hold title to their property, should be entitled compensation for the loss, salvage and transport of their properties affected, including the original dwelling and land lost or damaged in the process.

From this viewpoint, all households (irrespective of lawful rights) are entitled to compensation. The position taken by the UN is similar to the World Bank’s, who state regardless of lawful or unlawful land rights, all persons affected need

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it is unspecified how the RPF is implemented, evaluated, and followed-up, nor is it specified how implementers are held accountable.

to be compensated for loss of assets on their land (World Bank, 2001, article 15 and 16).

This study found private tenants and illegal settlers had various displacement experiences (Figure 7-10). Some households rented elsewhere, others moved in with family or friends, while some moved back to rural towns. The respondents for this research had all remained behind on land subjected to renewal and redevelopment, where they lived in self-made shelters, most often on the debris of their previous shelters. This demonstrates, forced evictions do not automatically prevent or reduce the formation of informal settlements if there are no alternative housing options. It may simply force these households to migrate elsewhere.

These are challenging areas to live, as they often lack access to urban services, such as: water, electricity, and sanitation. In anticipation of renewal and redevelopment, local authorities often discontinue the maintenance and installation of these services and infrastructure (Scudder, 1993). In this study, it was observed that public toilets, other sanitary facilities, and waste management services were demolished in anticipation of an area's renewal and redevelopment.<sup>126</sup>



**Figure 7-10: Illegal Settlement**  
Source: Marjan Kloosterboer, 2016

<sup>126</sup> The reliance of households in these areas on alternative, unsafe water, and sanitary and waste systems may cause outbreaks of parasitic and vector-borne diseases. During the time this fieldwork took place, there was an Ebola outbreak in West-Africa. If Ebola would have reached Addis Ababa, and these places, it would have had a devastating effect.

The areas where these households live resemble poorly organised camps, with self-made plastic shelters, fenced off in some cases with corrugated iron sheets.<sup>127</sup> Alternatively, these households become pavement dwellers (Koenig, 2014), where they live on the edges of roads in self-made shelters. They essentially move ‘anywhere’ they can find a space. Research shows that, out of economic necessity, illegal settlers reappear elsewhere in a city, where they can reproduce their livelihoods (Harvey, 2003). The demolition of their shelters, therefore, does not indicate their disappearance from the urban fabric. Despite new housing developments, illegal settlements, thus, continue to exist. In Addis Ababa the housing shortage, the minimal release of land, procedural problems, high rent for private tenants, and higher-standard building regulations are further stimulating the expansion of illegal settlements (Assefa & Newman, 2014; Melesse, 2005).

It appeared from the interviews that households change between private tenancy and illegal shelters dependent on their financial situation. Respondents said they are unable to afford to rent a house privately, as this is beyond their financial capacity. For example, they would need to pay a down-payment upfront for several months in advance. One research participant said,

We tried to rent somewhere else, but it was too expensive. It was 1,500 ETB a month around Aware (an semi-central area in the city); we could not afford this. (Household Interview No. 20)

This signals a type of ‘new-build’ gentrification, which excludes households from accessing housing in neighbouring communities, as they can no longer afford to buy housing in these neighbourhoods due to its gentrification (Lees, Slater & Wyly, 2008, p. 140; Shin and Kim, 2015). In the case of Addis Ababa this is a type of sorting practice, where a particular type of person is attracted that can afford the (rising) housing prices, while simultaneously low-income households and services are displaced (Lees, Slater & Wyly, 2008; Bhan Bang Shin, 2014, p. 510). This, consequently, is a type of social-spatial re-structuring that leads to spatially segregated neighbourhoods by class and socioeconomic status and,

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<sup>127</sup> It is mandatory to erect green and yellow fences made of corrugated iron sheets around land designated for urban renewal and redevelopment. However, given that some of this land remains undeveloped for long after demolition, they also hide illegal settlers who are living on there from the public eye.

simultaneously, results in geographies of exclusion (Harvey, 2012; Abubakar & Doan, 2017). For Addis Ababa, this implies a segregation and divide between the inner-city and its periphery, which can lead to spatial economic and distributional differences.

Households said they were also inclined to continue living in the area as illegal settlers to remain visible in the eyes of local government officials, while delaying the project until they are, at last, forced to move. They, furthermore, hope the previously discussed interventions (Chapter 5) that legalized illegal housing will include them or that a similar regulation will be issued soon for which they can apply. At the same time, households stayed to retain their connection with place-based social and economic networks. Households do not only lose their house when they are displaced, but they also lose their support systems to cope with these losses (this is further discussed in Chapter 8) (Mejia, 1999; Koenig, 2014).

Households, furthermore, are limited in where they can construct new illegal shelters. One research participant explained,

We don't have the financial capacity to go and rent a house somewhere else. We are also not allowed to build somewhere else. We are only allowed to rebuild a house in the *Kebele* where we were living before. In other *Kebeles* it is now allowed for anybody to build their own building - without an ID of that *Kebele*. (Household Interview No. 3)

Households stated once they moved they had no means to prove they had previously resided in a particular location and could not ask for support. This was described as a feeling of 'out of sight, out of mind'. The strategy of staying can yield success. One research participant interviewed for this research received a public house after making appeals for her family for long. She appealed for four years at local government offices for a public house to accommodate her family, stating the need of her physically disabled husband to have suitable accommodation. The research participant said they received a public house, because of her persistency, because they are poor, and because her husband is blind and cannot work. Her husband said,

It is because of my physical disability that I was able to get this house. Otherwise, if I was illegal but in a good physical condition, they would not have given me this house. There were five to six people that were disabled in my previous area and all received a house. (Household Interview No. 8)

Before they moved into their public house, this family lived for four years in a self-made plastic shelter on the debris of their previous home. The research participant said they endured health problems during this time, because they did not have access to water, sanitary facilities, and electricity (Figure 7-11).



**Figure 7-11: Illegal Housing with the City's Skyline in the Background**

Source: Marjan Kloosterboer, 2016

While households continue to reside on land where their previous houses stood, they are faced with a continuous pressing threat of the forceful destruction of their shelter by local government authorities in an attempt to force them to move (Figure 7-12). Two research participants mentioned how their shelters had been periodically burned by government officials, two and three times, respectively. Research participants, furthermore, mentioned how these periodic 'burn-downs' have coincided with AU and UN-ECA meetings. It seems that the forceful removal of their shelters served as a 'removal of eye-sores' and visual pollution, in an attempt to showcase the city as free of struggles and informality (Kamaram, 2008). These demolitions take place with short, or without, notice and create feelings of fear and anxiety of losing personal possessions and domestic goods, and it instigates a feeling of distrust against the state.



**Figure 7-12: Illegal Settlement in the Inner-City**

Source: Marjan Kloosterboer, 2017

The forceful destruction of the homes of illegal settlers, however, is not necessarily moving them away. The interviews revealed that households rebuilt their shelters again, on approximately the same location, overnight.<sup>128</sup> For this group of urban dwellers, relocation is both a past and future event, if they remain in the inner-city (particularly when they remain on the land they had previously occupied) and they continue to stay on land earmarked for future renewal and redevelopment, they become caught in a cycle of displacement. One respondent said,

My first and second homes were rental homes. The third house was a plastic shelter (informal), and the fourth house (where I live now) is also informal (a renovated *Kebele* house that is half demolished).  
(Household Interview No. 9)

Addis Ababa has no clear rules for households with de-facto, or other, claims to land.<sup>129</sup> For example, the supply of services (water and electricity) can make

<sup>128</sup> This is also referred to as '*yechereka betoch*', which translates into English as 'moon houses', which describes housing built over night, by the light of the moon, to avoid interference from authorities (Alemayehu, 2008; Melesse, 2005).

<sup>129</sup> This research included two participants with cases of potential de-facto ownership. For example, one research participant is now living in the inner-city, but had been previously displaced from his land in a peri-urban zone. He had purchased this land from a farmer and has a legally witnessed contract to demonstrate this land-transfer. However, as the land was not transferred according to the rules established by the Addis Ababa City Government and was not registered in the land cadastre, claims to the lawful possession of the land were denied, when the land was subjected to renewal and redevelopment. This research participant, therefore, was left without compensation.

illegal settlers de-facto owners, wherefore they may be entitled to compensation (Abebe & Hesselberg, 2015).

In Addis Ababa, a registration system is in place that hinders free movement. A move from one *Kebele* to another (in the same or another city) requires a letter of leaving from the *Kebele* administration and new registration in the destination *Kebele*. To be registered, households need a place with a registered house number and upon registration they will receive an identity card.<sup>130</sup> Households residing in dwellings without a registered house number, thus, remain unregistered.<sup>131</sup> This limits access to free public services, such as health care, which require a *Kebele* identity card to access (World Bank, 2010). One problem is that, from an administrative point of view, these households are invisible, as they do not exist in administrative records. When households are ‘invisible’, they consequently cannot be included in relocation and resettlement programmes (Mejia, 1999, p. 170). As one research participant said,

We are not registered anywhere. We are like a blind-spot, which makes us the primary target of abuse. (Household Interview No. 21)

A lack of household registration is at the heart of the problem. These households do not administratively exist and, therefore, cannot be catered for. Although their visible presence cannot be ignored, they are unlawfully occupying land and for that reason, in accordance with respective Proclamations, are evicted from the land without compensation. The displacement of these households without compensation, therefore, is known and wilfully carried out. In expert interviews, the belief that these households have ‘no right to compensation’ was constantly repeated, but at the same time it was mentioned there is a government responsibility and need for these people to receive support (Expert Interview No. 9). An expert interview with a government official from the Addis Ababa City

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<sup>130</sup> In Addis Ababa, designated street names hardly exist and if they exist they are not used. Instead, people refer to the given name of an area, to a dominant building, or other landmark, such as the ‘Lideta area’ or ‘National Theatre’. (Berhanu, 1990).

<sup>131</sup> During the interviews, five respondents said that they do not have identity cards and two respondents had ‘temporary’ cards without a house number. This gives them access to free health care, for instance, but does not entitle them to compensation.

Government revealed that they are thinking of a solution for private tenants and illegal settlers.

We will prepare a low-cost house for them We cannot give them (households who do not currently qualify for compensation) a *Kebele* house, because the number of *Kebele* houses we have is very small in number. We expect, therefore, to re-house them between six months and one year to Bole sub-city and Nefas Silk. The houses we will built for them in those locations will be low-cost, single story, and made of low-cost materials. (Expert Interview No. 9)<sup>132</sup>

Whereas this potentially signals a possible solution for private tenants and illegal settlers, when this fieldwork was completed, the research participants interviewed for this study remained in place. It, therefore, is unknown whether these solutions are genuine and will be followed through, or if they are a silencing tactic to suppress social upraising. Meanwhile, illegal settlements continue to be constructed around the city and they are not being stopped, even though they are considered unlawful constructions (Figure 7-13).



**Figure 7-13: Inner-City Area under Demolishment**

Source: Marjan Kloosterboer, 2017

A change in the attitude toward illegal settlers and private tenants became visible during Ethiopia's first state of emergency in 2016. Research participants

<sup>132</sup> Bole and Nefas Silk are sub-cities in Addis Ababa. The proposed location of the housing is on the outskirts of those sub-cities in peri-urban zones.

revealed this caused a sudden increase in state-organised community meetings, to which illegal settlers and private tenants were also invited, whereas previously they had not been. The forceful removal of people from their land by police forces and the military was taking place in public in front of the entire city to see. To avoid social unrest and protests, special meetings were organised for illegal settlers who had remained in self-made settlements to appeal for their peaceful cooperation. Respondents revealed they were promised alternative housing in those meetings, if they would remain silent, cooperate, and not engage in demonstrations and protests. As one research participant said,

Before when they called us for meetings, they would tell us we are living here illegally, we had to move out, find other places to live, but nothing about solutions, and they didn't even offer us shelter. But recently, after the unrest broke out, they were scared we would pose a threat and they told us we will build temporary shelters for you ... This was because we told the government officials, if they don't give us shelters...if we have to live in these conditions ... we will protest at some point. When we said that government officials got scared and said they would give us temporary housing (Household Interview No. 21)

The state faces additional challenges in this regard, as the number of families living in these redevelopment areas constantly changes. They are confronted with a number of households who have not been displaced, but move into these areas hoping to gain access to housing (Mejia, 1999). These households are more often considered as people 'pursuing personal interest at the expense of public gains', or taking advantage of the situation (Shin and Kim, 2014, p. 553). The invasion of illegal settlers in project areas is thus a problem, particularly how to handle this situation appropriately (Mejia, 1999, p. 169).

Participation and information sharing are essential in projects that involve displacement, this is primarily achieved by timely informing an affected population (Cernea, 1994). When households are not well informed, it can cause local resistance, increase political tension, and delay a project (Cernea, 1994). Household interviews revealed access to official information channels in Addis Ababa is only possible for households residing in legal housing. This was confirmed by Expert Interview No. 4 with a government official, who stated only households who have a right to compensation will be invited these meetings.

Illegally living households and public tenants, thus, are excluded from these official information channels. One research participant stated,

Only those who get compensation were invited to the meetings the government organised. They don't consider the settlers in the plastic shelters or the tenants as people. (Household Interview No. 24)

Moreover, it is silently assumed that landlords will inform their tenants of the future demolition of an area ahead of time. Landlords, however, may have other priorities, such as a fear of losing a source of income from out-renting their property, if tenants move early to find housing elsewhere. This source of income may be something on which they are relying in preparation for their own relocation. One research participant replied,

The owners might have known about the relocation, but we were not notified. The owners wanted to keep renting the house for as long as possible. There was no notification at all. Two or three days before it was demolished, the landlord told us. (Household Interview No. 20)

Both private tenants and illegal settlers depend on second-hand information from other households in a neighbourhood, which affects the reliability and trustworthiness of the information. Households mentioned the only official communication they received was a visit by sub-city or *Kebele* officials a few days before demolition was scheduled to occur urging them to move. As one research participant said,

The *Kebele* comes a day or two before they demolish your house and they will tell you to move your stuff out, as they will demolish it. Then, when you least expect it, they will come and burn down your house. They don't care whether you are in there or if you still have personal belongings inside. (Household Interview No. 21)

Research from Mejia (1999) shows exclusion from meaningful consultation, participation, and opportunities for relocation can make residents feel they are 'third-class citizens', less worthy of receiving equal treatment in displacement; this was also the case in Addis Ababa (Figure 7-14). Private tenants and illegal settlers interviewed for this study stated they were not well informed, and rather they felt displacement caught them by surprise and they were inadequately prepared to move when they were threatened with the immediate

demolishment of their homes. This has created anxiety and stress, and households felt reluctant to cooperate. As one research participant relayed,

My source of information is the society ... I did not receive a letter. I was not invited to any kind of meeting, and no one came to my home to inform me. (Household Interview No. 9)



**Figure 7-14: An Area Cleared for Renewal and Redevelopment**  
Source: Marjan Kloosterboer, 2017

### 7.3 Summary

The aim of this chapter was to discuss the effect of renewal- and redevelopment-induced displacement in-depth by assessing the process from the perspective of different households. The key point of this chapter was that a distinction has been made in the provision of compensation between those who do, and do not, have lawful land or tenancy rights. Even though landholders and public tenants receive compensation, the associated relocation costs may not be affordable for them and may put them at risk of impoverishment. Illegal settlers and private tenants do not receive compensation or any other form of support. Low-income households who do not receive compensation and cannot afford housing elsewhere in the city continue to live, or turn to a life, in illegal settlements hopeful a solution will be provided to them in time. The next chapter discusses the effect of displacement on the social and economic networks of households after displacement and their adaptation to spatial changes.

## **8 The Loss of Social-Economic Networks and Adaptation to Spatial Changes**

### **8.1 Introduction**

The previous chapter discussed renewal- and redevelopment-induced displacement for households with and without lawful land or tenancy rights. This chapter follows from the previous chapter by addressing the impact of renewal- and redevelopment-induced displacement on social and economic networks post-relocation. The chapter was written to meet objective three: to assess how large-scale, inner-city urban renewal and redevelopment-induced displacement for GaWC and New City development impact social and economic community networks, and objective four: To examine the ways in which households adapt and cope with these impacts in the post-resettlement phase. The chapter discusses the loss of social ties, followed by a discussion about the loss of economic networks, and then reflects on how relocated households are faced with, and adapt to, spatial changes after they have been relocated. The chapter concludes with a summary.

### **8.2 The loss of social networks**

Relocation does not end when households have moved from their previous homes to their relocation homes. Adaptation to a new site and new housing possess challenges for social and economic rehabilitation that goes far beyond the physical relocation process (Mejia, 1999, p. 176). The resettlement process in fact only starts once households have moved to their relocation areas. This phase of resettlement is also referred to as the transitional phase during which a displaced person begins to adapt to new realities (Scudder, 1993). Scudder (1993) refers to this phase as one of 'initial adaptation', which he describes as a difficult phase in which people must adapt to a new habitat and to new neighbours, amongst other challenges (p. 131). If a household is able to adapt successfully, a stage of economic development and community formation begins. The adaptation process, and the departure from a familiar area, however, can be extremely stressful (Scudder, 1993).

Displacement can fragment and disperse communities, tear apart their social fabric, and dismantle social organisations and interpersonal ties (Cernea, 1997, p. 1575). Households do not only incur a physical loss of land and housing, but also lose their social and economic networks within their community and between neighbouring communities (Ghani, 2014). These networks function as coping strategies and are safety nets for solidarity, mutual assistance, and crisis situations (Willems 2005; Mitra 2006; Greene et al., 2011; Bisht, 2014; Koenig, 2014). Social networks contain vital elements of sharing, exchanging, borrowing, and other aspects of informal support systems that form an important basic survival strategy for households (Cernea 1993; Mitra, 2008). Whereas relocation programmes generally emphasise the physical aspects of relocation, turning them into housing projects, informal structures, social networks and practices play an important role in the day-to-day life of urban dwellers and are often forgotten in the process, but are important intangible assets (Bisht, 2014). This research found both inter- and intra-neighbourhood-based community networks and social ties have been dismantled and lost during the process of relocation (Figure 8-1).



**Figure 8-1: Social Gathering for an Ethiopian Holiday**  
Source: Marjan Kloosterboer, 2016

## 8.2.1 Neighbourhood-based community networks

Community networks are bottom-up, informally established networks that require membership and active participation; they can be neighbourhood based or non-neighbourhood based. In Addis Ababa, three types of community organisations exist: (1) *idir*, (2) *equb*, and (3) *mahiber*. Both an *idir* and an *equb* are indigenous savings associations, functioning outside the scope of the formal banking sector.<sup>133</sup> Both organisations are self-help organisations that support individuals to overcome short- or long-term social and/or economic shocks. For example, Yintso (2008) mentions how organisations such as an *idir* are also known to support struggling households to afford their daily needs. Whereas an *idir* requires relatively permanent involvement, an *equb* is flexible and accommodates temporary membership.<sup>134</sup> A *mahiber* is a societal organisation established to strengthen and maintain social ties. It is predominantly used to keep in touch with friends, family, or colleagues. On predetermined regular intervals *mahiber* members will facilitate a get-together in rotating turns.<sup>135</sup>

This research found *idir*, *equb*, and *mahiber* organisations have been dismantled in the process of relocation. Research shows such social networks enable mutual help, support, and reciprocity (Cernea, 1994). One research participant gave the following explanation regarding the dismantling of community networks:

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<sup>133</sup> An *idir* is an inter-religious savings organisation meant to support households in times of hardship, particularly during funerals. An *idir* provides an important safeguarding mechanism, particularly for low-income households, as through regular contributions to the *idir*, they are ensured of a proper burial and mourning ceremony. Research participants in the interviews mentioned monthly contributions to an *idir* can be as low as 10 ETB per month. It was observed when a member of an *idir* association passes away, the association organises a gathering of members at the deceased's home, where they serve food to the mourners who sometimes come from far.

<sup>134</sup> An *equb* is used to purposefully save for large incidental expenses, such as a car or a laundry machine. An *equb* is a voluntary savings scheme, which functions on a rotating basis, and can be organised between neighbours, friends, or at work between colleagues, for instance. An *equb* could have only a few members or could be very large. At regular intervals and on a voluntary basis members put in a pre-specified amount of money. In rotating turns, the collective inputs will be given to one member of the group. For example, if five people put in one hundred Ethiopian Birr every month, then every month in rotating turns one member of the group will receive the collective five-hundred birr. Households interviewed in this research found participation in an *equb* important to help them save. The exchange rate at the time of completing this thesis was 1 GBP to 35.79 ETB (27 November 2018).

<sup>135</sup> This occurs mostly once a month, but can also be twice a month, once a week, or once every three months, for instance. The interval for meetings depends on a group's interest and common decision.

Both *idir* and *equb* networks are now dismantled because of relocation. The *mahiber* (neighbourhood-based) is also dismantled, simply because people now live too far away. They moved to opposite sides of city. When people were relocated, they did not continue the different community networks, as they were all localised institutions. (Household Interview No. 25)

Illegal settlers and private-sector tenants interviewed were not members of any community networks, with one exception, due to prohibiting financial and psychosocial barriers.<sup>136</sup> The entrance costs and monthly contributions can be a financial barrier. These households mentioned they experience psycho-social barriers, as they feel they are considered unreliable members by society, because they are considered transitory and temporary residents, who will eventually move from the neighbourhood.

Forming new community-based networks is a challenging process, as they are informally established in a bottom-up manner and this takes self-initiative, time, and organisational skills, while people also have to learn to trust their new neighbours. This could provide new opportunities for the private sector. For instance, it could lead to the rise of funeral companies. However, it was observed how these community networks continue to be in demand. Obtaining new membership in locations where organisations are already in place may be difficult, as there may be financial barriers in accessing existing networks, due to an upfront entrance fee, for example. One research participant said,

I am not a member of any network now. The entrance fee for an *idir* is about 2,000 ETB. We cannot afford that. It is very difficult. I would want to be a member, if I could afford it. (Household Interview No. 19)<sup>137</sup>

Relocated households, thus, are without membership to neighbourhood-based community networks for various amounts of time, depending on their ability to regain membership or establish new organizations in relocation areas. One research participant said,

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<sup>136</sup> From the total of eight research participants who were either an informal settler or a private tenant, only one research participant was a member of an *equb* and one research participant was a member of an *idir*.

<sup>137</sup> The exchange rate at the time of completing this thesis was 1 GBP to 35.79 ETB (27 November 2018).

Losing membership to those organisations is very difficult for us. For instance, for organising and financing the ceremony that takes place for a funeral. When our *idir* was dismantled, we lost that opportunity. Membership was very useful for us. When we move from here, all the people 'there' are new. It will take us time to create new social networks. Therefore, losing the networks we had before is affecting our social life a lot, particularly with helping each other. (Household Interview No. 7)

These type of networks are important for the daily lives and survival of (low-income) households (Mitra, 2006). When households experience a personal drawback, the absence of these networks can create social and/or economic shocks, as they are without support mechanisms that help them cope. This can have various social, economic, and cultural repercussions. As one research participant said,

I am feeling very angry for losing (my) *idir*. When my friend died, she didn't even have a proper burial service. It was difficult going to a funeral with no proper ceremony to honour that person. (Household Interview No. 10)

Households can retain membership to non-neighbourhood-based community organisations, unless they are dismantled for other reasons. Households, however, may be faced with difficulties in continuing membership, due to the physical distance between the organisation and where they now live and the financial costs they may experience in travelling to the community meetings. From the interviews, households stated it is possible to keep non-neighbourhood-based membership, but it is time-consuming and costly to continue participation.

This research found a *mahiber* was used by one research participant to keep in touch with her community after relocation. She said,

We created a new *mahiber* which serves the purpose of finding everyone who has been relocated and moved to the different parts of Addis Ababa. The purpose is to meet with each other after relocation. (Household Interview No. 2)

Research participant No. 17 had a similar experience. Together with others who have been relocated, they have been able to organise themselves as a group and have met once a month since their relocation.

In general, it was observed during this research that, despite the presence of various community organisations and strong social networks, communities do not come together and are not organised regarding discussions of relocation-associated issues. Although, these associations can provide a source of support for households and ease their post-resettlement transition (Greene et al., 2011).

### 8.2.2 Neighbourhood-based social ties

Households are not only moved from the inner-city to peri-urban zones, but their community is also dispersed across different relocation areas. Even when households are moved to the same location, they may be allocated housing in different parts of an area. The dismantling of communities and the destruction of social networks through relocation, therefore, is destroying both intra- and inter-community networks (Cernea, 1997; Bisht, 2014).

When households are relocated in a dispersed manner, it becomes more difficult to rebuild the dismantled social networks (Cernea, 1997). In addition, when households are relocated in a dispersed manner to distant relocation areas, this simultaneously detaches them from networks they formed with neighbouring communities that did not move (Koenig, 2014). Detachment is further aggravated when households experience an increased physical distance from family members. The dismantling of inter- and intra-community networks is a source of mental distress, due to the loss of friends, neighbours, family members, familiar places and material possessions (Greene et al., 2017; Vanclay, 2017).

Social networks are used for solidarity and mutual assistance, they are socially shared, internalized, and are a way of life (Bisht, 2014; Koenig, 2014). Strong social networks allow members to act from a collective identity and responsibility that enables them to deal with emergencies together, which alone they might not be able to overcome (Bisht, 2014). Strong social bonds and a communal lifestyle can particularly be found in the old neighbourhoods of Addis Ababa. One research participant said,

We support each other. For instance, when there is no *injera* in the house, I can take it from another house. We take *wott* from each other and so on ... The loss of my social network affected me a lot. We

helped each other in every activity and way of life. We helped each other regarding money, the *equb*, and in our social lives. When you want to talk to someone, there is always a person around to listen to you. It is not easy to find someone new that you trust and who will listen to your problems. (Household Interview No. 2) <sup>138</sup>

Research shows when social networks are lost in relocation, households may no longer be able to respond to everyday life situations and emergencies or they may (temporarily) overburden their remaining social and economic networks and people for the extra resources they require to bounce back (Carillo, 2009; Cao et al., 2012; Bisht, 2014). This system of interdependence can consequently become overburdened when other households also begin to seek assistance and support (Downing & Garcia-Downing, 2009). One research participant mentioned this as follows:

Everyone runs for their own lives. They spend all their time working to survive, selling different things, washing clothes, selling tea. We don't have time to help each other anymore. We are in a rush to take care of our own families first ... Everyone has their own food in the house. We eat *injera* for our own personal use. We don't eat it together, but we eat individually. We don't have the economic power to share anymore. (Household Interview No. 3)

The dismantling of social networks can cause emotions of loss, when social ties are broken by relocation and people miss the support of their friends and relatives (Cavalheiro & Abiko, 2015). The difference between previous and current living circumstances and situations can exacerbate these feelings further, which may cause households to return to their previous neighbourhoods (Fullilove, 1996). This research came across some households who expressed an interest to move back to their previous areas in the inner-city to maintain and regain their previous social and economic networks. One expert, a government officer, mentioned in this respect:

What we find is when we displace people, they might come back and occupy another place. They do not want to leave their area for economic and social reasons. It is not that they don't like the development, but they don't want to move for personal reasons. (Expert Interview No. 9)

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<sup>138</sup> *Injera* and *wott* are traditional Ethiopian foods.

Respondents said distance was a prohibiting factor to maintaining their prior social networks after relocation, and, therefore, people sometimes would rather move back. As one expert explained,

There is no transportation and there is a lack of employment in the relocation areas. Relocated households come back to shanty houses in the inner-city areas, because they lose their ties and cannot regain them in the relocation areas. The government is trying to solve this problem, but this is not successful yet ... (Expert Interview No. 13)

Neighbourhoods, in this regard, need time to grow and bond into social communities and its people have to build trust with each other (again) (Koenig, 2014). The interviews revealed that while some research participants were able to form new social networks over time, others had not been successful in regaining them at the time of the interviews. Rebuilding social networks that once mobilised people to act around common interests to meet their most pressing needs is a difficult task, if at all possible (Cenrea, 1997). One research participant relayed, “Back there we grew up together. The bonds we had then and the bonds we are trying to create now are not at all comparable” (Household Interview No. 18).

### **8.3 The loss of economic networks**

Participants in this study relied on a diverse range of neighbourhood- and non-neighbourhood-based, informal and formal income sources, which were in some cases supplemented with a pension, savings, or with remittances. A diverse range of income sources reduces economic risk; if a source disappears, households are resilient to cope with this loss (Mejia, 1999). Housing in this context not only provides a shelter, but often also relates to the place where people’s income sources are based, has cultural and social meaning, and provides safety and security.

The informal sector plays an important role in the economy of Addis Ababa. Data from the Addis Ababa City Government shows that 25% of the population in Addis Ababa depends on the informal sector for employment. Although, in reality, this number may be higher, if occasional informal income sources are included (BOFED, 2010). In these cases, displacement may cause the loss of informal

income sources due to asset depletion, the loss of locational advantage, and clientele (Carrillo, 2019).

Seventeen of the research participants had one or more informal income sources in combination with other sources of income. One respondent was fully reliant on remittances, and nine respondents had income from a formal income source. The informal income sources mentioned by research participants were, for example: street vending, market selling, petty trading from home, washing laundry, baking and selling *injera*, shoe shinning, animal slaughtering, cleaning, carrying, and construction work (daily labour) (Figure 8-2).<sup>139</sup>



**Figure 8-2: Road-Side Fruit and Vegetable Stall as an Informal Income Source**  
Source: Marjan Kloosterboer, 2017

One research participant, for example, rented out rooms in her house before relocation, as an informal income source. She said,

<sup>139</sup> A market is called a *gulet* in Amharic and refers to small markets, as either a stand-alone activity or more formalised and regularised in designated areas. Popular street vending items are coffee, tea, lentil samosas, and other deep-fried snacks, like Ethiopian doughnuts. Another popular activity for households to earn extra money is by brewing and selling local alcohols. Local alcohols are *tella* (a traditional beer), *tej* (honey wine), or *araki* (clear Ethiopian hard liquor) made of locally grown grains and spices. Preparing and selling local spices also provides extra money. Examples of local spices used for traditional Ethiopian cooking are *berbere* (a blend of chilli and other local spices), *shiro* (a blend of ground chickpeas, peas, and lentils), and *kibbeh* (traditional home-made butter infused with spices giving it a very distinctive aroma and taste).

Before relocation, I rented a small house and let-out beds for individuals to stay the night, like a guest house. I asked 10 ETB per person per night and I would earn 900 ETB per month from this business. There were two beds that I rented out and, in addition, I would put mattresses on the floor for extra customers. Now I don't have business anymore. (Household Interview No. 9)<sup>140</sup>

The interviews revealed informal income sources are an integral part of households' incomes, either as a temporary or as a more permanent source of income.<sup>141</sup> In this research, tenants in the private sector and informal settlers, irrespectively, relied on income sources from the informal sector (Figure 8-3). These types of income sources, however, are the most difficult to regain post-relocation (Koenig, 2014). It is important to understand how households and their economic networks are linked and dependent in different ways to the particular neighbourhoods in which they reside (Mejia, 1999, p. 177). It was observed during this study how social studies in Addis Ababa do not sufficiently address this spatial aspect. The studies conducted are most often reduced to quantitative socio-spatial information, overlooking important qualitative functions that these neighbourhoods fulfil.



**Figure 8-3: Road-Side Shoe Shiners**

Source: Marjan Kloosterboer, 2017

<sup>140</sup> The exchange rate at the time of completing this thesis was 1 GBP to 35.79 ETB (27 November 2018).

<sup>141</sup> Caution is required regarding considerations about informal income sources, as it may seem households make a substantial income. However these forms of income are volatile and subjected to labour instability, making them unstable and unreliable (Mejia, 1999).

Relocation projects have a tendency to turn into housing projects in which the livelihood aspect is forgotten (Mejia, 1999). Neglecting to consider sources of livelihood runs the risk of impoverishing households who lose their income sources or other productive assets (Koenig, 2014; Mariotti, 2014). Likewise, even if housing standards may be improved, if the economic base for improving livelihoods is forgotten, households may actually not be able to afford their new living situation and will not directly benefit from their resettlement (Mejia, 1999, p. 154; Koenig, 2014).

Ten respondents stated income sources from the informal sector had been lost and not easy to regain (if even possible) after they were relocated. Households lost these income sources when either the area where their income source had been based was demolished or when they were unable to continue travelling to the location after relocation. It takes time for new income sources to take root. In this study, it was observed that households began small businesses tailored to their new living styles over time. For example, it was observed how one household began to bake and sell *injera* in the condominiums as a small business, while advertising throughout the buildings with leaflets containing information about the pick-up location and price.

The loss of social networks is often intertwined with a loss of economic networks. For example, when households are dependent on their social networks for clientele, they lose their income when these networks are dismantled and subsequently have to find new income-earning activities (Mitra, 2006; Koenig, 2014). The loss of both inter- and intra-community networks in this case can imply a loss in income sources and economic power (Cernea, 1997; Koenig, 2014). Social networks also play a crucial role in access to information about jobs and income-earning opportunities after relocation; the loss of social networks can, therefore, prohibit employment success post-relocation (Mitra, 2008).

Locational advantage plays an important role in accessing clientele and employment opportunities post-relocation for informal income earning activities. It determines the ability of a person to restore productive activities, income sources, and access to services (Mejia, 1999; Koenig, 2014). A locational advantage can be explained as proximity to and accessibility of places such as

schools, hospitals, health clinics, and market areas, but also access to clientele and employment opportunities (Koenig, 2014). For the interviewed households, these were previously within walking distance, but post-relocation they are most often only accessible with public transportation, which incurs additional expenses. Distance and the cost of transportation, thus, may prohibit households from accessing areas where they had previously earned their income (Mejia, 1999). One mother explained the situation of her son's daily commute problems, as follows:

The incomes of my sons have become less, due to increased transportation costs. It is expensive to get to this area (from the inner-city). The transportation problems affect their employment significantly ... After seven in the evening, there is no longer transportation to this area. Therefore, we can't come to this area late in the evening by public transportation. It is very hard. (Household Interview No. 12)

Research participants mentioned distance was prohibiting them from accessing central market areas, where food could be purchased in bulk for less and then resold. When households move from the inner-city to peri-urban zones, they lose the locational advantage of the inner-city, while also losing their neighbourhood clientele (Figure 8-4). As one research participant stated,

We lost our income sources. Before demolition, I baked and sold *injera*. I stopped baking *injera*, as there is no one around to sell it to anymore. I cannot do my business anymore, as the area was affected by relocation and I lost my customers. (Household Interview No. 4)



**Figure 8-4: View from Bole Bulbula Condominiums**

Source: Marjan Kloosterboer, 2016

Post-relocation households are often faced with increased expenses associated with their new housing; such as costs for services or the housing fees associated with long-term mortgages (Cernea, 1997; Koenig, 2014). In addition, other factors may also lead to increased expenses, such as increased travelling costs and expenses for services households did not need previously (Mejia, 1996). This implies that displacement directly and indirectly leads to an increase in daily expenses and households will have to earn more to maintain previous living standards. Households with non-neighbourhood-based income sources may be economically affected by rising expenses, but if they are able to maintain (or even improve) their income post-relocation, they can become resilient in their ability to manage these costs. This is in particular the case for households with a stable income from formal employment, such as in a government office, self-employed (with a business license), or in the private sector. These households are able to maintain their income, as long as their employment is not affected by renewal and redevelopment. In these cases, households may experience an improvement in their quality of life in relocation areas.

This study, however, found that households were often prohibited from continuing employment in the inner-city post-relocation, due to increased

travelling distance, the associated costs, and the absence of sufficient and reliable transportation linkages.<sup>142</sup> Households may have improved housing conditions, but their standards of living may become compromised when they need to earn more to maintain their previous living standards or achieve upward mobility (Koenig, 2014). As one research participant relayed,

Before relocation, I used to bake and sell *injera* in my neighbourhood, but I did not take up that business again here ... One of my children was a tailor, but because of the travelling distance, she had to quit her job. We are living in the condominiums for three months now, but we have not found any other job in this area. It is not very developed here. (Household Interview No. 11)

To successfully re-construct livelihood sources after relocation, it is imperative to combine relocation with employment generation, by the state but also with the possible involvement of other parties (Cernea, 1997; Mejia, 1999). In Addis Ababa, the IHDP successfully created jobs in the construction sector alongside the construction of housing. These jobs, however, are temporary, as they only last for the duration of the construction. Research has shown in such cases housing development has not succeeded in creating employment opportunities that stretch beyond project construction (Mejia, 1999). Project-related jobs are, furthermore, only temporary solutions, because they only last for the duration of the project and, therefore, result in unemployment at a later stage. Research found unemployment in Addis Ababa rose after relocation and this is exacerbated by increased travelling distances to jobs and rising transportation costs (Yintso, 2008). Employment opportunities, in general, limited to local demand, which can prohibit employment success (Mitra, 2006). Households participating in this study said they experienced a lack of formal employment opportunities in relocation areas. At the same time, they may be hindered in finding employment by a possible lack of skills and low-education levels, or

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<sup>142</sup> The types of public transportation available from the peri-urban zones of Addis Ababa to the inner-city, are the LRT (the Light Rail Train), public busses (Ambessa and Sheger, for instance), mini-vans that take up to twenty passengers a time, metre (private) taxis, and blue service buses for public servants. However, these modes of transportation are all burdened by the high demand, despite the prolonged efforts of the city municipality to improve the situation by introducing new modes of transportation, and expanding the existing public transportation networks. Households who own a car are not less affected by the traffic problem, as the roads are crowded and subjected to massive traffic congestion during peak hours. Therefore, transportation remains a challenge.

conversely they may be overqualified for the jobs available in post-relocation areas (Cernea, 1997; Mitra, 2008) (Figure 8-5).



**Figure 8-5: Waste Collection in Addis Ababa as a Source of Income**

Source: Marjan Kloosterboer, 2017

Households said they lost income sources as well as they mentioned increased living expenses. The cost of housing has substantially increased in the case of the condominiums, while respondents also found shops in relocation areas more expensive, as compared to the inner-city. As one research participant mentioned in an interview the following:

I cannot estimate my expenses now, because my daily expenses are more expensive compared to my previous place. I feel the price has doubled now. Even if before my income was not too much, at least I could eat whatever I wanted. (Household Interview No. 14)

Even though households have a better quality housing, their standards of living might eventually get compromised when they experience an increase in living expenses (Koenig, 2014). In addition, households may feel expensive living standards are imposed on them by moving into higher standard relocation homes (Cavalheiro & Abiko, 2015, p. 347).

The loss of income sources, unemployment and underemployment have an impact that may continue long after physical relocation has been completed (Cernea, 1997). Households mentioned a combination of different coping strategies to afford their living expenses, while rebuilding their livelihood sources. Household members, for instance, pooled their financial resources together to share costs, they use remittances, pensions, or loans to supplement their income, while compromising on other expenses, such as food or healthcare. Research participant No. 22, for example, said after they finished constructing the main house, they rented it out as an additional source of income, while they continued to live in the service quarters. A few research participants transitioned to other jobs. One research participant left Ethiopia to work in Kuwait, as a shop keeper and maid, to supplement her family's income and support the construction of a house (No. 13). As this research participant explained,

I left for Kuwait to go to my sister and work there. The money my sister and I send home was, amongst others, used for the construction of our current house. Now we have two rooms: one spacious living/dining room and a second room. In the front of the house, we were constructing bedrooms and bathrooms, but we paused the construction, as we are out of money. (Household Interview No. 13)

#### **8.4 Adjusting to spatial changes after relocation**

In Addis Ababa, the establishment and upkeep of social networks is historically rooted in the organisation of space. Place, in this regard, has multiple unique spatial and social meanings for each individual, as the social and economic networks people establish over time are strongly embedded in the physical space they occupy (Fullilove, 1996; Greene et al., 2011). Under Taitu's plan, housing has been built incrementally over-time alongside a social-feudal hierarchy. This has now amassed into a spatial layout, in the city's older neighbourhoods, that facilitates social networks to thrive. As one research participant referred to his neighbours, "We see each other every day. We eat, drink, live, and spent the day together" (Household Interview No. 1). Heisel and Yitbarek (2012) stress the importance of neighbourhoods in Addis Ababa as places that satisfy the social, cultural, and psychological needs of people. In Addis Ababa, Heibel (2012) observed, "the close-knit relationship between these single housing units creates one big social community 'building', where each unit cannot survive without the

other” (p. 268). The multifunctional use of pockets of open spaces and the significance embedded in the multiple activities taking place every day in these spaces, as socially constructed practices that strengthen social ties, are the two most important factors (Figure 8-6).



**Figure 8-6: The Ethiopian Coffee Ceremony**

Source: Marjan Kloosterboer, 2016

One research participant described the social relationships in his neighbourhood before relocation as follows:

When someone doesn't have *injera*, we share. When someone is sick, we take care of that person. When someone gives birth, we support that person. If someone doesn't have money, they will help us with household chores, and we will provide them with food in return...<sup>143</sup>

The organisation of space in Addis Ababa is an important factor for the formation and sustenance of social and economic networks. Pockets of open spaces in the old neighbourhoods of Addis Ababa have a multifunctional use. They are used for various neighbourhood activities that have both a practical and social significance, such as: washing clothes, watching children, and preparing local

<sup>143</sup> *Injera* is a staple Ethiopian food. It is a 'pancake' made of fermented teff flour and can be eaten with a variety of 'sauces'. These sauces are called *wott* in Amharic, and many of them contain some type or a combination of beans or pulses, such as chickpeas, lentils and split-peas, but may also contain fish, meat or other vegetables. Different types of *wott* are, for instance, *shiro* (thick chickpea sauce), *misir* (lentil stew), *doro wott* (a chicken stew traditionally eaten at holidays), or *key wott* (a spicy beef stew).

spices, food, and beverages.<sup>144</sup> The multiple activities that take place in these spaces on a daily basis have a hidden significance, as they also function as socially constructed practices that strengthen social ties.

This practice extends from the street into people’s homes and, perhaps due to a lack of space, outdoor space serves as an extension of indoor space (Figure 8-7). Living-room spaces, in addition, are used for multiple purposes; a living room may also function as a bedroom, study area, and business space in one. Research shows that in 77% of cases, living spaces serve various functions in the old inner-city neighbourhoods of Addis Ababa (Heisel, 2012). Living spaces not only perform several residential functions, research from Asfaw, Zeleul & Berhe (2011) show the majority of housing in older neighbourhoods in Addis Ababa also functions as a source of income, as they have a mixed commercial–residential function.



**Figure 8-7: Courtyard Surrounded by Public Housing**

Source: Marjan Kloosterboer, 2016

<sup>144</sup> The Ethiopian coffee ceremony holds a special place here. In this ceremony, coffee is prepared from scratch and can last for several hours, with up to seven rounds of coffee served to guests (each round has its own traditional name and purpose).

Households, thus, are confronted with a spatial change by relocation. Spatial change is represented by a new physical and cultural landscape, characterised by the building types which have been produced. Therefore, households need to spatially adjust to their new environment and the accompanying changes in housing and social atmosphere by acquiring new skills and knowledge post-displacement (Green et al., 2011). In the case of Addis Ababa, shortage of space has necessitated building upwardly, and expanding vertically, rather than outwardly and horizontally. Neighbourhoods in the relocation areas of Addis Ababa are designed using a grid layout with individual housing units, and largely without common spaces, as were present in the previous neighbourhoods.<sup>145</sup> Landholders are faced with boundaries, walls, and gates that prohibit social interaction with neighbours. One research participant said,

Since everyone is new and has their own individual compound, we don't see each other frequently ... We don't help each other out, as we did before. (Household Interview No. 13)

The built environment in relocation areas, thus, confronts households with a spatial change from the neighbourhoods in which they had previously resided, and the traditional and communal lifestyle they practiced there. This place-specific identity is referred to by Yoseph (2013) as the 'footprint of Addis Ababa', which he states is being wiped out with the demolition of old neighbourhoods.

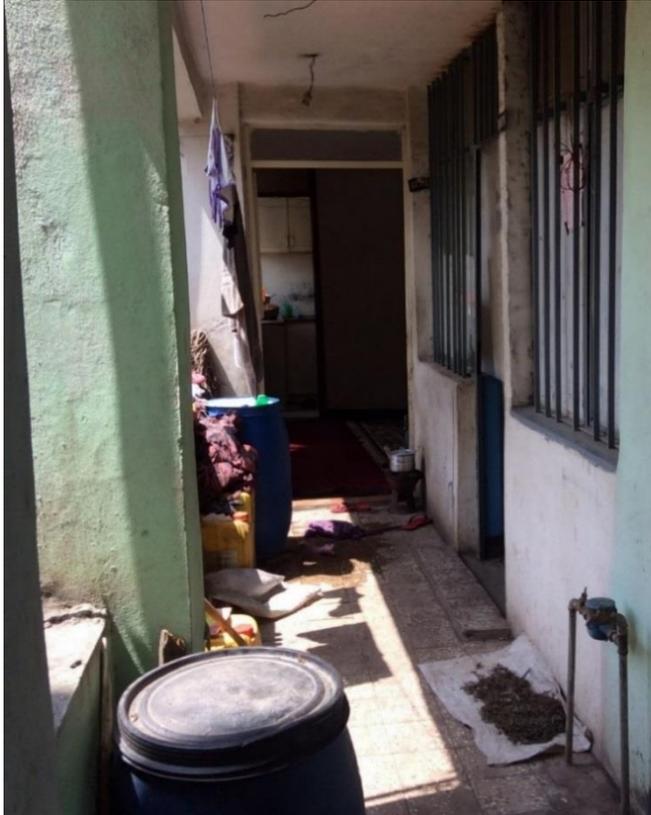
People do not continue their lives in a new location without a history or a past. On the contrary, they do refer to their traditional culture and the way of life they practiced before, as this has enabled them to deal with their daily life struggles in the past (Bisht, 2014). Ejigu (2014) refers to this practice as a tension within oneself, where households are part of the future by living in a progressive building project, or in progressive neighbourhoods, but continue to appropriate these spaces by referring to their historical cultural use and desires for a space.<sup>146</sup> The organisation of space in relocation areas, however, is

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<sup>145</sup> It was observed how open spaces between buildings, reserved for greenery, are now being turned into parking lots which further leaves areas without recreational spaces. This partially relates to the absence, or failure to implement, detailed plans for green and open spaces in these areas.

<sup>146</sup> During the interviews, households, who had not yet been relocated, expressed fear of living in high-rise buildings. They felt this type of living was not part of their culture.

confronting households with a spatial change that hinders them from continuing to practice their socially and culturally constructed activities in the same way, as they had practiced before (Figure 8-8). The loss of housing and shelter is linked, in this case, with the loss of a group cultural space, which can cause feelings of alienation and deprivation (Cernea, 1994).



**Figure 8-8: Hallways as an Outdoor Extension of Indoor Living**

Source: Marjan Kloosterboer, 2016

It was observed in this research how spatial change also implies a lifestyle transition from communal to individual. In this regard, the different types of housing into which people were relocated also implied different lifestyle and neighbourhood interactions (Cavalheiro & Abiko, 2015). In this case, the collective identification of the neighbourhood becomes lost and is replaced with a competitive individualistic attitude (Bisht, 2014). Households may experience a rise in their expenses, when systems of interdependence and communal living are dismantled and services which had previously been provided for free, such as childcare and neighbourhood security, are no longer provided for free (Mejia, 1999).

Relocation areas lack the multi-purpose, community spaces that had organically formed over time in old-neighbourhoods, while the new spatial layouts promote an individualistic lifestyle. The absence of these shared public spaces is prohibiting social interaction from occurring, and, therefore is hindering households from regaining social and economic networks post-relocation (Curley, 2010). Households are unable to conduct the previously described practices, which have both a practical and social significance, and community-based organisations may also be prohibited from organising their activities in the new spaces. A lack of adequate planning, or poor implementation, in this case can adversely affect post-resettlement adaptation (Scudder, 1993; Cernea, 1997).

It was observed during this research that without these shared public spaces, these activities instead take root in unusual locations, such as in elevator platforms, where they also form physical obstacles. Whereas before communal cooking on open fires took place on the street, this is now a fire hazard when it takes place in condominium hallways. Another example relates to the slaughtering of animals. It is a custom in Ethiopia to acquire animals before important holidays to be fattened and slaughtered, but this becomes a nuisance when the animal (a sheep or goat) is kept in a small corridor on the fourth floor of a condominium building.

In Addis Ababa, relocation schemes work via a lottery system that disperses households across relocation areas. Despite a lack of evidence, it is perceived dispersing households across neighbourhoods will change their social composition by creating economically mixed communities, which is anticipated will lead to a decrease in poverty concentration, improve employment access and increase opportunities for upward social mobility (Curley, 2010). Mixing different population groups, however, can cause tension between the different life styles and social behaviours of people who are part of the host community, those who have involuntarily resettled and those who voluntarily moved after obtaining land or housing (Scudder, 1993; Carillo, 2009). This research observed that mixing different socio-economic groups from different parts of the city caused tension between households from different income levels, who pursued different lifestyles. Conflicts arise between households who pursue a communal lifestyle when they make an appeal to households who pursue an individualistic lifestyle.

Whereas previously, housing performed multiple functions and often fulfilled a mixed residential–commercial function, this is not possible in relocation areas. Seven respondents had used their housing as a multifunctional residential–commercial space. In the condominiums, a housing unit can only be used for residential purposes. Households can rent a business unit for commercial use, but the start-up and rental costs form economic barriers which prohibit many.<sup>147</sup> These ground-floor commercial spaces are targeted at medium-sized enterprises and without other appropriate spaces for small businesses, people find themselves excluded.<sup>148</sup> During this research, it was observed how some households eventually find creative solutions to overcome this barrier. For instance, they created a street-side market area and began to engage in new income earning activities that do not necessarily require a fixed space (like professionals, such as plumbers or electricians would need, for example).

## 8.5 Summary

The aim of this chapter was to discuss the impact of renewal- and redevelopment-induced displacement after displacement. The key point from this chapter was that households lose their social and economic, neighbourhood-based, inter- and intra-community networks in displacement, as they are displaced through an *ex-situ* approach far from their original areas in a dispersed manner. These networks are difficult and time-consuming to rebuild, if it is possible at all. This process is further complicated by a spatial change with which households are confronted, which challenges them through a lifestyle change and prevents them from returning to their old ways of life. Next, this thesis discusses the study's key findings and recommendations in relation to the aim and objectives of this study.

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<sup>147</sup> This is similar for landholders. Although while conducting fieldwork, it was observed how some landholders built a small shop in front of their house from where they sell household items and food, which is tolerated by local authorities.

<sup>148</sup> Research Participant No. 11 stated a business unit in her building costs 10,000 ETB per month to rent, which is an unaffordable amount for a small business.

## **9 Conclusion**

### **9.1 Introduction**

This chapter first refers to the main aim and objectives of this research, including a discussion of the key findings. This is followed by key lessons from this specific case-study and a discussion of the theoretical contributions of this research. The chapter continues with an assessment of the strengths and limitations of this study. It then proposes some ideas for future research. Finally, the chapter provides recommendations for improving the process of renewal, redevelopment, and displacement in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

### **9.2 Findings**

The aim of this research was to assess inner-city renewal, redevelopment, and displacement in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, as an exemplary case-study of the construction of a City-within-a-City as a type of New City. This study, furthermore, connected the concept of New Cities with GaWC theory. By doing so, this study demonstrated how the concept of New Cities was used as a strategy to achieve an improved Global and World City status and rise in global urban hierarchies. Through an embedded, single case-study design with a qualitative research strategy, primary and secondary data was collected to answer the aim and objectives of this research. The key findings are discussed below, alongside the four research objectives, in chronological order.

#### **9.2.1 The history of planning and housing development**

The first objective was to assess how Addis Ababa's planning and housing development history is linked to aspirations for GaWC making through large-scale urban renewal and redevelopment to construct a City-within-a-City as a type of New City development.

Addis Ababa's housing crisis is historically rooted and has been discussed extensively in chapter 5. This chapter discussed how the city is faced with a housing crisis, they have a large housing shortage, they need to replace parts of the existing housing stock and also need to anticipate for future demand at the same time. While the private sector has become more involved in housing

development, particularly through construction work for the IHDP, it is questionable to what extent genuine market freedom and a fair level playing field exists in the housing market in Addis Ababa. The housing market at the time of writing is heavily regulated by the government. The National Government of Ethiopia and the Addis Ababa City Government are in control of housing development. They are in control of legislation, licensing, land supply, and housing finance (through the Commercial Bank of Ethiopia), amongst others things.

Chapter 6 discussed how Addis Ababa was founded as a New City and has since gone through various stages of urban planning. After Taitu's indigenous plan was discarded by the Italians in the 1930s, a series of different urban plans have been introduced that have been drawn-up, supervised, or inspired by (foreign) experts or planners that reflected the political ideologies, economic interests, and planning fashions of their time. This was a strategy of substituting one plan with another, as perceived blue prints for success and has caused a sequential of relaunch towards perceived 'modernisation' and economic development.

The plans proposed by planners, such as Bolton and Hennessy, were designed with utopian future images in mind, but did not achieve their desired success in reality. They did not consider the local context and complex topography of the city in their drawings and, thus, their plans were rendered inapplicable for the cultural, financial, and geographic context (Ahderom, 1986; Mahiteme, 2007). The plans, furthermore, did not seek solutions for the real problems of the city and were unrelated to its actual state, and, therefore, they did not aid its development (Mahiteme, 2007). Social and economic problems, therefore, remained largely unaddressed until the 1960s and 70s. The (foreign-inspired) imprints these plans have left on the city's spatial layout and the built environment are recognisable features in the city to the day of writing this thesis, through the different building materials and building styles employed. This, however, has caused a visual mismatch and has given the city a 'confused urban identity' (Zelege, 2010).

The appropriateness of the different planning approaches to which Addis Ababa has been subjected is debatable. It is particularly questionable, if those plans rooted in the selective experiences of Western cities, who urbanised in a very

different context and under very different conditions, were appropriate for Addis Ababa's context. Even though these models may have been a successful strategy for particular cities in the West, it does not immediately make them a panacea for success for cities elsewhere.

The unique socio-economic mix that exists in Addis Ababa is being threatened at the time of writing by the redevelopment and renewal of the inner-city. Inner-city renewal and redevelopment has imposed a segregation between commercial and residential areas, between the centre and the periphery, and between different socio-economic groups. Due to land speculation, the inner-city is now only accessible to those who can afford access, for example. Simultaneously the IHDP and other private sector housing development projects have created pockets of residential space, which exist spatially separated from each other and are targeted at specific socio-economic groups. A socio-economic spatial divide, which did not exist before, has therefore now emerged in the city between different income groups.

In chapter 6, it was discussed how the city is trying to become an internationally competitive, modern city, at last, by branding itself as the diplomatic, economic, and political capital of Africa. They hope to achieve this position by, amongst others, fulfilling a host function for international, continental, and regional headquarters. This host function attracts temporary and long-term (international) visitors to the city, who bring new demands for a modern environment with state-of-the-art infrastructure, specialised office spaces, communication networks, and human expertise (Goss, 1997; Knox, 1998; Kamaran, 2008).

This ambition, however, does not coincide with the city's visual image. As mentioned before, the city is faced with a housing crisis, which visually undermines their ambition to be a modern African city. Small-scale upgrading approaches are perceived as no longer sufficing to address the housing crisis and, therefore, the city has embarked on a massive urban transformation through large-scale, inner-city renewal and redevelopment (Wubneh, 2013). This approach is strengthened by the need for efficient land management, which is achieved via densification and compact city development, due to the city's inability to expand beyond its regional state boundaries.

The renewal and redevelopment projects in the inner-city are a form of clean slate development that transcends neighbourhood scales and forms a separate enclave; this is essentially the construction of a City-within-a-City (Watson, 2014; Datta, 2015). They are replacing the existing urban fabric with something entirely new. The city in this sense is conceived again through a re-imagination of the existing urban fabric to make more efficient use of space and to transform the city into a GaWC (Bhan Shin, 2014b). Land in the inner-city is being transformed by replacing 'underused', low-rise housing with high-density, high-rise buildings to achieve optimal land use and profit maximisation (Harvey, 2003; Lees, Bang Shin & Lopez-Morales, 2016). In the inner-city, high-rise buildings and skyscrapers with hyper modern facilities are now being planned and constructed, while the original occupiers of the land (when eligible for compensation) are relocated, via an *ex-situ* approach and in a dispersed manner, to housing or land in the peri-urban zones of the city.

The aim is to develop a clearly demarcated city centre that can function as an important landmark with a designated Central Business District (CBD). The construction of skyscrapers, such as the new Wegagen Bank building or the African Union headquarters, are in this regard iconic buildings that express international connectivity and power. They display a symbolic message of diplomacy and strengthen the nation's message of modernisation and economic prosperity. This is anticipated to amass into an impressive skyline that can portray Addis Ababa as a modern African city. The goal of this urban transformation, therefore, is to project modernity and to show economic success to the rest of the world.

### **9.2.2 Urban renewal and redevelopment induced displacement**

The second objective of this research was to assess how large-scale, inner-city urban renewal and redevelopment for GaWC and New City development leads to development-induced displacement and how this impacts displaced households.

Chapter 7 discussed how landholders are compensated in cash and kind for their lost property and land. This study found the compensation landholders received for their property is not equal to the full investment they had to make by using

higher-standard building materials to construct new housing that can also accommodate the size of their household. This study also found households had to bridge a transitional period before they received their land and completed housing construction. The money to cover their rental expenses was insufficient for the amount of time they needed to rent and for rental prices. This, therefore, formed an additional financial burden. While the government is aware of this problem and has taken steps to reduce the gap, the problem has not been adequately addressed and continues to exist.

Chapter 7 also discussed how legal tenants of public housing are entitled to a facilitated purchase of a condominium housing unit under the IHDP and a moving allowance. This study found households are also offered the option to relocate to public housing, when they are unable to afford an IHDP housing unit. This option, however, is only available as long as public housing is available. Moreover, it is only a temporary solution, as over time this housing may also be subject to demolition. This study, furthermore, came across a mismatch between anticipated family sizes, affordability, and the quantity of different IHDP unit types. Households were restricted in their choice for a housing unit by the quantity of housing types available, which has indirectly forced households to continue to live in small, overcrowded housing. Low-income households who have moved to the condominiums found the down-payment and monthly mortgage payments unaffordable. The finishing costs for the condominiums were also mentioned as an additional financial burden and made some households postpone their move. Various studies referred to in this thesis have demonstrated the unaffordability of condominium housing for low-income households. However, even though this problem is acknowledged, at the time of writing, an alternative solution was not offered.

Irrespective of individual circumstances, public tenants and landholders had to pool their financial resources together and employ various short- and long-term financial strategies to earn and save extra money. The absence of formal lending options in Ethiopia is limiting households' financial options and is forcing them to consider more extreme strategies, such as selling or renting their housing or land. This study also found the moving allowance households received has created inequality (between those who did, and did not, receive this allowance),

but is also being used as an incentive to expedite the relocation of households, by motivating them to move faster. Overall, households felt displacement was rushed, as when it finally began, it caught them by surprise, which made them feel inadequately prepared to move.

This study found households had various complaints about their relocation and compensation, particularly when compensation was only provided to one household rather than to multiple households, who had shared a house or plot of land. The respondents interviewed, however, were not appropriately and adequately informed what their options were in order to express their grievances over compensation and relocation. The process of making a complaint, moreover, was perceived as one-way communication, their appeals were heard, but they did not receive a response or a solution. This experience resonated in the consultative and participative process held before relocation with households. This study found households did not perceive this process as genuinely participative. They experienced it as a top-down, one-sided communication, and as simply a channel to pass information. Sometimes respondents also mentioned they felt misinformed, due to either incorrect information, a lack of information, or through misunderstandings.

The dominance of the EPRDF ruling party in the Ethiopian government resonated across all the affected groups. For example, this study found there is no independent and objective institution, free from government influences, where households can turn to for advice or appeal. With 100% seats in parliament, the EPRDF controls all government offices, thus, there is effectively no segregation between the Government and the EPRDF, and they have overtime become intertwined. Urban dwellers, therefore, in addition cannot use their voting power, as there are no votes to really win over.

Chapter 7 also discussed that in Addis Ababa only households with lawful land or tenancy rights are compensated. Private tenants and illegal settlers, thus, are excluded from compensation schemes. Addis Ababa does not have clear rules for households with de-facto, or other, claims to land on which they reside. The absence of proof of tenancy and social barriers further hinders private tenants from seeking compensation from their landlords. These households were not only excluded from compensation schemes, but were also excluded from receiving

official information; for instance, they were not invited to the before-mentioned community meetings.

Some displaced households stay behind in renewal and redevelopments areas, as they are unable to afford other options. They continue to rebuild their self-made shelters on the debris of their previous homes and often they are caught in a cycle of moving. They also remain behind to stay visible in the eyes of local government officials, with hopes of eventually receiving compensation. While for some households this strategy has been successful, they nonetheless have to endure a constant threat of the forceful destruction of their shelters by local government authorities, all while living in low-quality shelters without access to basic services. This problem is known amongst government officials and although alternative solutions were mentioned during this study, at the time of fieldwork, households had not yet received alternative housing and continued to live in illegal shelters.

### **9.2.3 The impact of displacement on social- and economic networks**

The third and fourth objective of this research were; to assess how large-scale, inner-city urban renewal and redevelopment-induced displacement for GaWC and New City development impact social and economic community networks, and; to examine the ways in which households adapt and cope with these impacts in the post-resettlement phase. Chapter 8 discussed that both landholders and public tenants interviewed for this study were relocated via an *ex-situ* approach to peri-urban zones in a dispersed manner. Neighbourhood-based community networks and intra- and inter-community networks are being dismantled in the process and cannot post-relocation be easily renewed, due to, among other things, access barriers. This study found that while a few research participants were able over-time to form new social networks after relocation, others had not yet been successful in regaining social networks at the time of interviewing. Without these social and economic networks of interdependence, households may no longer be able to respond to everyday life situations and emergencies. This means they may be confronted with social and economic shocks, but without the support systems that enabled them to cope. It also implies they may (temporarily) overload their remaining social networks, who

may also be in need of assistance and support (Downing & Garcia-Downing, 2009; Bisht, 2014).

This research found research participants relied on a variety of neighbourhood and non-neighbourhood-based, informal and formal income sources, supplemented by pensions or remittances. This research also found income sources from the informal sector were an integral part of a household's income, as a temporary resource or a more permanent source of income. Neighbourhood-based, informal income sources were lost when the area where they had been located was demolished. The loss of neighbourhood clientele and locational advantages were further prohibiting households from restoring lost-income sources after they relocated. It also implied a decline in income, while households are being confronted with increased expenses post-relocation. Households with income sources that have not been affected by renewal and redevelopment projects were, nonetheless, affected by an increased travelling distance, the associated travelling costs, and the absence of sufficient and reliable transportation linkages, which prohibited them to continue employment in the inner-city post-relocation.

This study found the reconstruction of social and economic networks is further prohibited by spatial changes post-relocation that hinders households from continuing to practice their economically, socially, and culturally constructed activities in the same way as they had been practiced before. Neighbourhood activities that were previously pursued as socially constructed practices, strengthening social ties, could no longer happen without multifunctional community space. The different type of housing, the spatial lay-out, and the high-density design of relocation areas are linked to an implied transition from a communal to an individual lifestyle, which dismantles systems of interdependence and communal living.

### **9.3 Key lessons and theoretical contributions**

The aim of this thesis was to assess large-scale, inner-city renewal, redevelopment, and displacement in Addis Ababa for the construction of a City-within-a-City as a type of New City development to remake and remodel the city

alongside Global and World City (GaWC) standards, while referring to the wider historical, contextual, and global setting in which this process takes place.

This section first discusses the key lessons from this single case-study in relation to the aim of this research and then discusses the analytical generalisation of this study and how it contributes to theory building.

### **9.3.1 Key lessons from this case-study**

Regarding Cities-within-Cities as a type of New City development, this case study found that the concept of New Cities has resurfaced at various times during the history of Addis Ababa. First, the city was founded as a New City, because it did not emerge from a pattern of gradual growth and expansion, but rather it was deliberately built at its location with a specific purpose in mind. The concept of New Cities resurfaced during the Italian occupation in the 1930s when they planned to construct a City-within-a-City as a type of New City on top of the existing urban fabric. At the time of writing, the concept of a New City has resurfaced again in Addis Ababa through large-scale renewal and redevelopment with the aim of constructing a City-within-a-City.

This study found that the construction of the ‘new’ Addis Ababa is being used to remake and remodel the inner-city alongside international standards to become a competitive GaWC, at last. The city is branding itself as Africa’s economic and diplomatic capital city and is using this brand as a strategy to generate economic development. Addis Ababa has imported international and global attributes, and has constructed numerous landmarks that show a symbolic message of international connectivity, diplomacy, and economic success. This is creating a spatial enclave in the inner-city that exists separated from the rest of the city. This separate enclave however does not exist in isolation of the rest of city and can over-time have spill-over effects into other areas of the city.

This study, thus, found that the construction of the ‘new’ Addis Ababa is producing socio-economic spatial segregation, which is linked to a form of new-build gentrification. Displacement is moving residents to relocation areas in peri-urban zones, while the high market value of inner-city land and the higher building standards are inflating housing prices in the inner-city, which attracts

more affluent groups who can afford to live there. Hence, the inner-city is being developed and shaped by the interests, needs, and desires of this specific target group in mind. This is a type of gentrification, a sorting practice, and a form of socio-economic restructuring, where low-income groups become systematically excluded from accessing housing in the high-priced, inner-city areas which they cannot afford. Socio-economic spatial segregation can overtime lead to distributional differences between the inner-city and the rest of the city, when resources are allocated strategically to selective areas, causing a form of spatial inequality (White, 1998; Robinson, 2002).

This study also found that the construction of the 'new' Addis Ababa is causing a loss of social and cultural heritage, diversity, and authenticity. This is caused by the replacement of old and diverse neighbourhoods with placeless, 'modern', and homogenous buildings. Cultural and historical buildings are not retained and conserved, as part of the city's heritage, but are targeted for demolition, because the government states that it does not have the 'comfort of retaining existing structures' beyond a few historical buildings (MUDHCO, 2014). This is linked to the promotion of 'modern' building materials and techniques and the simultaneous rejection of indigenous knowledge, craftsmanship and local materials.

The displacement of people from their land in the inner-city has been examined in this thesis. This study found that for all affected groups, the majority costs of relocation are externalised and placed partially, or entirely, on the relocated populations. Thus, it appears they are being sacrificed through displacement with a belief that it is for the greater good and to improve the well-being of the society at large (Cernea, 1997; Bisht, 2014).

Another key lesson from this study is that those in power in Addis Ababa have not sufficiently studied how households and their social and economic networks are linked to their particular neighbourhoods before displacing them. The importance of housing, as a place where income sources are based and as a place with cultural and social meaning that provides safety and security, has been undermined. It was also found that this city transformation process is occurring in a top-down manner, which has been fast-tracked under the urgency

of their pending housing crisis, but in its haste has excluded urban dwellers from meaningful participation.

This study found that although relocation has become intertwined with housing programmes, by fast-tracking the IHDP alongside urban renewal and redevelopment of the inner-city, labelling this as compensation is misleading. Households are required to pay the full price for a housing unit, without additional financial support for these expenses. A key lesson from this study is therefore that the inability of households to be able to afford their housing unit is undermining the city's goal to systematically increase homeownership across different income groups. In general, the housing market appears to be dysfunctional, as it fails to adequately address different income groups equally with tailored housing and financial options.

This study found that, in the case of private tenants and illegal settlers, Addis Ababa's policy deviates from UN and World Bank policy recommendations and best practices on displacement, while it also neglects these people's basic rights to housing (United Nations, 2007, p. 14; World Bank, 2001, article 15 and 16). A key lesson is that in Addis Ababa, renewal and redevelopment are not reducing or preventing illegal settlements, but rather they are forcing a specific group of low-income urban dwellers to migrate and reappear elsewhere in the city as illegal settlers. The absence of diversified housing and financial options, amongst other factors, such as the slow release and limited supply of land and land speculation, has exacerbated the presence and construction of illegal housing.

### **9.3.2 Theoretical contributions**

This study applies to broader theories in several ways. The introduction of this thesis stated the need to evaluate and update existing planning approaches, while simultaneously introducing new planning concepts and ideas to anticipate for urbanisation, in a renewed context, under different conditions (Robinson, 2002; Rapoport, 2014; Shatkin, 2007; Watson, 2009). This research also argued it is imperative to develop new urban theories that are flexible enough to capture different urbanisation experiences from cities around the world.

This study has placed Addis Ababa in a New City framework as a new form of urbanisation, which responds to the need to evaluate, update, and introduce new planning concepts. This study, furthermore, has connected New Cities in general to GaWC theory. By doing so, this study found that New Cities are being used as a new form of urbanisation to simultaneously achieve or improve GaWC status. Even though this is paradoxical, given the discussed limitations of GaWC theory.

This study found that, in the case of Addis Ababa, urban renewal and redevelopment have transcended, in volume and scale, into a new form of urban development. They have used this approach to construct a City-within-a-City on top of the existing urban fabric, as a type of New City. Simultaneously it can be concluded that in this case a New City approach has been used as a large-scale solution to respond to existing urban problems (the city's housing and infrastructure crisis) and to anticipate for future urban growth.

This thesis contributes to theory making by its selection of a 'fourth-world' city located on the 'margins' as a case study. Addis Ababa is typical of a city that has proverbially 'fallen off the map', because it does not appear in any GaWC rankings. Although this is a city that is very much globally connected and integrated in various ways. At the time of writing, the efforts to create a dense and compact modern city, that meets international standards, had not yet equated to global success, at least not when measured by the standards of GaWC rankings. While this raises the question what makes a city a successful GaWC and based on what standards should this be examined. It also remains to be seen, if the current construction of the 'new' Addis Ababa will ever be completed or if its attempts will always remain 'partial, undone, and fragmented' (Bhan, 2013, p. 234).<sup>149</sup>

Regarding planning theory, this study suggests that the ambition to adhere to international and modern standards is paradoxical for the case of Addis Ababa.

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<sup>149</sup> To avoid this scenario the Addis Ababa City Government has announced, shortly before submitting this thesis, the construction of five piecemeal developments in the inner-city area of Addis Ababa. These five high-end luxury developments are designed, constructed and financed through partnerships with various foreign-based companies, pre-dominantly from the United Arab Emirates (Addis Standard, 2018).

Taitu's plan (used when the city was founded) was a unique and indigenous African city plan. Taitu's plan produced important qualitative elements that could have been appropriated and adjusted and used as an African planning model to inform planning practices elsewhere, but these elements are now being lost in the city's rush to adhere to perceived international and modern standards (Baumeister & Knebel, 2009). The preference for planning practices that comply with perceived international and modern standards, in Addis Ababa and elsewhere, and the simultaneous disregard for ideas that are associated with a 'backward past', overlooks alternative options, which are perhaps more appropriate. This finding strengthens the idea that new urban theories need to be developed that are inclusive to a diversity of cities and urbanisation experiences around the world, such as from Addis Ababa.

This study, furthermore, contributes to the literature on displacement effects with an in-depth and thorough analysis of displacement, relocation, and compensation practices in Addis Ababa. The case of Addis Ababa demonstrates that land titling and formalisation does not assure (perceived) tenure security, as it does not protect someone from being displaced. However, it does guarantee a form of compensation for displaced households that can support the reconstruction of livelihoods. Nonetheless, to compensate households based on their legal tenure security status, as is the case in Addis Ababa, overlooks other legal social or customary claims people may have on the land they hold, and has excluded (vulnerable) households from equally benefitting from this development.

Additionally, this thesis contributes to literature on social- and economic networks by demonstrating how people and their social- and economic networks are dependent on, and linked to, specific locations. Subsequently, the dismantling of these inter- and intra-community networks results in social and economic losses, which prohibits people from responding to every-day life situations and emergencies. The spatial changes post-relocation households had to adapt to, and the different lifestyles imposed upon them, furthermore prohibited the reconstruction of these networks. Social- and economic spatial attachments, therefore, have caused illegal settlers to return to or to remain at, their previous residential locations.

Finally, this study contributes to literature on gentrification and social-economic spatial segregation; first by linking the construction of a 'new' Addis Ababa to a form of 'new-build' gentrification and, second, by linking this to an emerging form of social-economic spatial segregation. The emergence of a social-spatial divide and new-build gentrification, in the case of Addis Ababa lead to geographies of exclusion by directly and indirectly displacing and excluding households from occupying residential space in high-priced, inner-city areas.

## **9.4 Limitations of this research**

This thesis has used an embedded, single-case study research design to place Addis Ababa in a New City framework. The use of a single-case study, compared to a multiple-case study design, could be considered a limitation.

A multiple-case study design, however, would be difficult to pursue because, first of all, there are only a few known cities that can be considered a City-within-a-City and fit into a New City framework, particularly on the African continent. The only other African city, known at the time of writing, pursuing a comparable approach was Kigali, the capital of Rwanda. To compare these two cities, apart from financial constraints, was not feasible. The time allocated for this PhD was not sufficient to study both. Moreover, the specific history of Rwanda and Ethiopia need to be analysed separately. New City developments do not emerge isolated from their social, economic, and cultural history. Therefore, a comparison between the two would not do them justice, given the different contexts in which these New City developments have emerged.

In addition, a single-case-study design was selected over a multiple-case-study design, because a comparison would imply the continuance of comparing and measuring the differences between cities, which is similar to GaWC frameworks and has led to geographies of exclusion. On the contrary, this study sought to interrogate a single city as a unique city in its own right and to do justice to its unique social, economic, and cultural history and its specific geographic context.

This study has used a qualitative research strategy by carrying out semi-structured, in-depth interviews for primary data collection. The use of one data collection tool, although with two embedded units of analysis, may be

considered a limitation. At the start of this PhD, I had anticipated that I would conduct focus groups for between-method triangulation. However, this was infeasible due to the political climate at the time the fieldwork was conducted. Respondents relayed that they were uncomfortable disclosing their feelings in a group settings and, therefore, focus groups were not an option. The use of two embedded units of analysis, therefore, was used as an alternative to provide within-method triangulation.

This study attempted to follow households in the displacement process by conducting interviews before and after relocation and by purposively selecting areas for interviewing where it was known households had moved. This can be strengthened in future studies by following specific households from different neighbourhoods through the whole relocation process in a longitudinal study to also assess their adaptation post-relocation. This, however, would need to span several years, particularly when ‘overtime effects’ are taken into account. There was not sufficient time in this study to conduct this type of research. A difficulty in conducting such a study would be the timeline of renewal and redevelopment, which differs from project to project and is often subjected to time-delays.

## **9.5 Strengths**

At the time of writing, a comprehensive record of New Cities, under construction or already completed, had not been recorded. Moreover, at the time of writing, little empirical data had been collected about these cities, because the concept of New Cities was still fairly recent (Watson, 2014; Moser, 2015). Therefore, this study sought to contribute to this research gap by providing empirical data on the case of a New City development in Ethiopia. As mentioned before, at the time of writing, there were only two City-within-a-City, New City types in Africa, Addis Ababa and Kigali. The empirical data from this study, therefore, contributes to an understanding of this specific type of New City development. The use of a qualitative research strategy and a single-case-study research design strengthened this objective by supporting the collection of detailed information.

Another empirical gap to which this study contributed is related to urban renewal, redevelopment, and displacement in Addis Ababa. Other studies have been conducted in this field, but households displaced without compensation have only been sparsely included. This study differentiates itself by using an inclusive research design that incorporated all displaced households, irrespective of their security of tenure.

Addis Ababa was selected for this research as an ordinary ‘fourth-world city’, located ‘in the margins,’ to represent new geographies in urban theory making and to understand how the city is integrated, and impacted by, global economic forces from this particular location (Marr, 2016, p. 17; Shatkin, 2002; Roy, 2008, p. 822; Roy, 2009; Robinson, 2002). This study, therefore, informs the production of theory from a specific place, from where it can be appropriated, borrowed, and remapped (Roy, 2009, p. 820). By selecting a case study outside the usual European and American research epicentre, this research differentiates itself. This opens up theoretical geographies, while also contributing to ‘post-colonial’ policy and academic ideas and promotes the experiences of a wider range of cities (Robinson, 2002; Shatkin, 2007; Roy, 2009, p. 820).

This study has explained the construction of a City-within-a-City, as a new form of urbanisation, which responds to the need for new urban theories, by placing Addis Ababa in a New City framework. From this viewpoint, this study has described, explored, and explained the large-scale urban transformation the city is undergoing. The approach taken in this study, moreover, has examined the construction of the ‘new’ Addis Ababa from different perspectives: from a global and nation-wide scale, from a city perspective, and from individually impacted households. By doing so, this research has addressed different facets of New City making in Addis Ababa holistically, through a multi-scalar analysis.

## **9.6 Ideas for future research**

Ideas for future research arising from this study are both methodological and theoretical, but are primarily related to the concept of New Cities. In terms of methodology, it would be interesting to study other New Cities in Africa using co-production and partnership-based research. This would be a form of

translational research, where the boundaries of the study are set by the researcher, but the type of data, the way data is gathered, and the outputs of the study are established through a form of co-production and collaboration with local researchers, policy makers, community members, and the private sector (this was inspired by the approach suggested by Parnell & Pieterse (2015)). The findings of this study, therefore, should directly feed back into the New City that is being studied and have a larger effect, as compared to a conventional, one-directional North–South research study. This simultaneously challenges geographical epistemological questions about the production of knowledge: who, how, where, and by whom knowledge is created.

A theoretical research idea is to study the link between New Cities and climate change, and, for example, the ability of New Cities to protect its residents from the effects of climate change. This can lead to new forms of inequality and segregation, between the people who can, and cannot, afford to buy into a climate-resilient project and to shield themselves from the future effects of climate change (Lukacs, 2014). For example, Eko Atlantic (Nigeria) has been constructed in Lagos as a climate-resilient city, but it is not affordable for 60% of Lagos's urban population, who live on less than one dollar a day (Lukacs, 2014).

Another idea for future research is to study the relationship between China's expansionist agenda and New City developments in Africa. Research from Cain (2017) shows how Chinese real estate investment has become an important driver of new forms of urbanism on the African continent. With an overcrowded domestic real-estate sector, Chinese firms have begun to look abroad for lucrative investment opportunities and have increasingly started to appear on the African continent, as key influencers of African urban development (Cain, 2017). Chinese styled buildings are now being erected across urban areas on the African continent, and amassing into a form of 'Chinese urbanism' (Pedrazzini et al., 2014). This may indicate a form of soft-power extension and possible neo-colonialism that could be explored in future studies.

Related to this, another idea is to study the relationship between resource extraction and the construction of New Cities in Africa. Cain (2017), for example, describes how in Angola Chinese credit facilities were used to build

prestigious urban projects, which were backed by petroleum-based guarantees. The construction financing of New Cities from resource extraction, and/or the construction of New Cities close to natural-resource reserves (such a mine towns), is an interesting relationship that has not been explored in literature in-depth from a New City perspective.

Finally, a different idea for future research is to develop bottom-up, community-development practices and policy proposals to support relocation practices. The case of Addis Ababa has demonstrated on-the-ground practices could be improved. Future studies might address different ways for community engagement and bottom-up planning, or might address alternatives for on-site or near-by relocation, while also studying what type of housing is appropriate for the different social, cultural, and economic attachments people have with their housing and neighbourhoods.

## **9.7 Suggestions towards improving the displacement experience of households in Addis Ababa**

From the key findings a number of suggestions are made below to improve the experience of urban renewal, redevelopment, and displacement in Addis Ababa.

First, it is important to provide compensation to all the affected households, irrespective of their land or tenancy rights, and to compensate everyone for their psycho-social, economic, and physical losses. The current compensation scheme is placing part, or all, of the relocation-associated costs on the displaced populations, which puts them at risk of impoverishment. Other ways to support households is by providing different financial options for lending, so households do not have to resort to more extreme strategies to be able to afford the relocation associated costs (if such costs need to exist). Regarding this, it is important to diversify the housing options by replacing public housing with alternative, low-cost housing for low-income households who cannot afford the IHDP scheme.

Second, it is important to identify how households and their social, cultural, and economic networks are linked to their particular neighbourhoods before they are displaced. This information could be used to devise a strategy that could enable

them to restore their social and economic networks post-relocation successfully. For example, they could enable people to restore their economic networks post-relocation by providing job opportunities, skills training, education, and institutional support for the creation of income-generating activities. Community-based organisations, such as an *idir*, *equb* and *mahiber*, could be utilised to maintain social and economic networks after relocation, to organise a community before relocation, and to support communal saving for relocation-associated costs (if such costs need to exist).

Third, to keep social, economic, and cultural networks intact, it is important to relocate neighbourhoods as a group to the same area and to the same buildings. For this purpose, the feasibility of on-site or near-by relocation should be studied. Housing and neighbourhoods should be designed in consultation with a community to make them more appropriate for their lifestyle, financial capacity, and their household's needs.

Fourth, it is necessary to streamline the process of relocation and compensation and make it uniform. Make the same information available, at the same time, outlining the timeline and process of relocation, stating the rights and obligations of residents, and distribute this to every household in the community (without exception). This information should be provided in both a written and oral form to households and be distributed to local radio stations, television, and newspapers to ensure everyone has (equal) access to this information.

Finally, until the time of writing, the process of relocation and compensation has been state-led, where the government acted as an intermediary party and 'risk-taker' between the private sector and residents. The private sector could become more involved in this process, while the government could assume a facilitator role. One way of doing this would be for the private sector to share the benefits of a project with the affected residents. For example, by providing them with a share of the land lease which reflects the true land value, they could then choose to reinvest this in on-site housing constructed for themselves by the private sector, or choose to spend it otherwise.

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## Appendix 1

No.	Stakeholder group	Organisation
1	Academia	Research and lecturer at Addis Ababa University
2	Government	Housing agency
3	Private sector	Urban planning consultant
4	Government	Sub-city
5	Private sector	Real estate company
6	Academia	Researcher and lecturer at Addis Ababa University
7	Government	Sub-city
8	Government	Sub-city
9	Government	City Administration
10	Government	Masterplan project office
11	Government	Planning institute
12	Private sector	Lawyer experienced with compensation court cases
13	Government	City Administration
14	Private sector	Consultant in urban planning
15	Private sector	Consultant in urban planning

## Appendix 2

No.	Housing category	Compensation eligibility	Relocation status
1	Landholder	Yes	No yet relocated
2	Public tenant	Yes	Not yet relocated, but will move to a condominium
3	Illegal settler	No	Displaced and will have to move again
4	Public tenant	Yes	Not yet relocated
5	Private tenant (before public)	No	Was displaced before, will have to move again.
6	Illegal settler	No	Displaced and will have to move again
7	Public tenant	Yes	Not yet relocated
8	Public tenant	Yes	Relocated to public housing
9	Illegal settler	No	Displaced and will have to move again
10	Landholder (before public tenant)	Yes	Relocated to condominium
11	Landholder (before public tenant)	Yes	Relocated to condominium
12	Landholder (before public tenant)	Yes	Relocated to condominium
13	Landholder	Yes	Relocated to land
14	Landholder	Yes	Relocated to land
15	Landholder	Yes	Relocated to land
16	Landholder (before public tenant)	Yes	Relocated to condominium
17	Landholder (before public tenant)	Yes	Relocated to condominium
18	Public tenant	Yes	Relocated
19	Public tenant	Yes	Relocated
20	Illegal settler	No	Displaced but will have to move again
21	Illegal settler	No	Displaced but will have to move again
22	Landholder	Yes	Relocated to land
23	Landholder	Yes	Relocated to land
24	Illegal settler	No	Not yet displaced
25	Landholder	Yes	Not yet relocated
26	Public tenant	Yes	Relocated to public housing
27	Private tenant	No	Displaced from land without compensation

## Appendix 3

Themes	Sub-themes
<b>General information</b>	Type of office Office activities in urban renewal process Interviewees activities in urban renewal practices
<b>Urban Renewal</b>	Motivations for urban renewal Success factors Points of improvement and potential solutions Locations of urban renewal Current practices of urban renewal In-situ vs. ex-situ Future plans
<b>Relocation &amp; compensation practices</b>	Amount of households relocated before and now Lessons learned from past practices / drawbacks Compensation provided Alternative options offered Government support
<b>Due process of relocation</b>	Dissemination of information (accessibility and availability) Organization of public consultations Participation of the private, public and non-profit (NGO) sector
<b>After relocation</b>	Experiences of relocation on households Regaining social networks Regaining economic livelihood sources Affordability of housing and services Mobility Safety Provided housing under the IHDP
<b>Potential solutions</b>	Alternative pro-poor housing ( <i>Kebele</i> ) Base line studies Participation of other actors (such as NGOs, private sector, public sector) In-situ relocation On-site job creation

## Appendix 4

Themes	Sub-themes
<b>Household information</b>	Household members Household employment (type, location) Household income Informal sector employment Influence of relocation on the above themes
<b>Housing</b>	Tenure ownership (type and documentation) Monthly payment Functions the house performs Influence of relocation on the above themes
<b>Access to basic services</b>	Access to water Access to sanitation Access to electricity Use and mode of transportation Use of cooking facilities Influence of relocation on the above themes
<b>Social networks</b>	Access to group membership (such as <i>Idir</i> , <i>Equb</i> or <i>Mahiber</i> ) Neighbourhood relationships and social networks Presence of neighbourhood criminality Influence of relocation
<b>Relocation</b>	Source of information Responses to relocation Personal feelings The opportunity to stay
<b>Public consultation</b>	Opportunity for participation in public consultation Guidelines and regulations on relocation Grievance Involvement of private actors
<b>Compensation</b>	Compensation offered Fairness of compensation Government assistance
<b>Type of compensation</b>	Land-lesars Location of land Land use <i>Kebele</i> house renters Rational for choice Quality of the house Future expectations Condominium Type of housing unit Rational for choice Down-payment Mortgage payment Future expectation Informal settler

	Housing situation after relocation and rational of choice Reason for no compensation Government support Future expectations
<b>Impact of relocation</b>	Impact of relocation on livelihood sources Impact of relocation on access to urban services Impact of relocation on mobility Impact of relocation on social and economic networks
<b>Concluding remarks</b>	Alternative solutions Overall feeling about relocation

## Appendix 5

### Land grade and bidding price

No	The city's zone	Bidding price(Birr)	Existing road width as a negotiation multiplying factor			
			None	<10	10-20	>20
1.	Central zone					
	1	1686	1.2	1.5	1.7	1.9
	2	1535	1.2	1.5	1.7	1.9
	3	1323	1.2	1.5	1.7	1.9
	4	1085	1.2	1.5	1.7	1.9
	5	894	1.2	1.5	1.7	1.9
2.	Transition zone					
	1	1035	1.2	1.3	1.4	1.5
	2	935	1.2	1.3	1.4	1.5
	3	809	1.2	1.3	1.4	1.5
	4	685	1.2	1.3	1.4	1.5
	5	555	1.2	1.3	1.4	1.5
3.	Peripheral zone					
	1	355	1	1.2	1.3	1.4
	2	299	1	1.2	1.3	1.4
	3	217	1	1.2	1.3	1.4
	4	191	1	1.2	1.3	1.4

Source: Addis Ababa City Administration, 2016

## Appendix 6

Density levels for Addis Ababa per sub-city

	<b>Population</b>	<b>Area in km<sup>2</sup></b>	<b>Density in Percentage</b>
Akaki Kaliti	181,270	126.13	6.62%
Nefas Silk Lafto	316,283	63.59	11.54%
Kolfe Keraniyo	428,895	65.1	15.65%
Gulele	267,624	32.73	9.77%
Lideta	201,713	12.4	7.36%
Kirkos	221,234	16.26	8.07%
Arada	211,501	11.56	7.72%
Addis Ketema	255,372	8.98	9.32%
Yeka	346,664	82.3	12.65%
Bole	308,995	120.93	11.28%

Note: This data is from the 2007 national census (CSA, 2007), which was the last conducted national census.