

BIRKBECKER

CITIES OF CHANGE ADDIS ABABA

SECOND AND
REVISED EDITION

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TRANSFORMATION STRATEGIES FOR URBAN TERRITORIES IN THE 21ST CENTURY

PEOPLE

WATER

SPACE

MATERIAL

CAPITAL

INFORMATION

ENERGY

ETH zürich
DARCH
Faculty of Architecture

PREFACE

Soon after *Cities of Change: Addis Ababa* first appeared in 2010, a second and revised edition was called for to mirror the rapid development of the city. Moreover, the first edition sold out fairly quickly, no doubt reflecting the ongoing interest in Ethiopia as Africa's "tiger state." What at that time seemed a mere prediction – loosely drafted ideas and scenarios derived from a sense of how things might evolve – has since become reality: Addis Ababa is indeed one of the fastest transforming urban environments on the globe, developing at breathless speed. As a matter of fact, our expectations have been surpassed. The city has undergone dramatic changes and, one must add, not always for the better. New light rail transit lines cut through the urban fabric; roads have been extended, widened, and partially moved below ground; high-rise buildings, a rare phenomenon just a few years ago, now dominate the skyline. While more and more people migrate to the city, further exacerbating living conditions for the poor, more and more capital is entering the city and stimulates development for a chosen few. Massive amounts of material and energy are deployed to fuel infrastructure projects, business districts, housing enclaves, and the like – accelerating the circulation of resource flows and increasing the accumulation of material stocks within the urban terrain.

Within this context, the questions originally raised are now more pertinent than ever. What can architecture and urban design as disciplines contribute to such transformation? According to which criteria can processes of the kind encountered in Addis Ababa and elsewhere be evaluated? And, how can all of this be steered?

Reaffirming understandings of the city as a dynamic system in perpetual change, this second edition further foregrounds the concept of stocks and flows in order to address urban and rural transformation processes. Original texts were updated only where necessary and new essays added, particularly on the role of foreign actors in so-called development cooperation projects (see Sascha Delz's contributions on homeownership and international relations), and on the role of the so-called informal sector as a key force in Addis Ababa's development (see the contributions by Felix Heisel and Marta H. Wisniewska on alternative design initiatives).

Not only did the city change since 2010, the national education system changed as well, including the promotion of teaching and research in the fields of architecture and urban design. Almost concurrently with the publication of the first edition, the Ethiopian Institute of Architecture, Building Construction and City Development (EiABC) was inaugurated as an autonomous unit of Addis Ababa University. This book is dedicated to the students and faculty of this new institution, which has become an important player in all matters concerning the future of Addis Ababa.

Marc Angélil and Dirk Hebel

Addis Ababa and Zurich, March 2016

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MIRROR, MIRROR, ON THE WALL

URBAN PRODUCTION AT ECONOMIC CROSSROADS

// MARC ANGÉLIL AND CARY SIRESS

Mirror, mirror, on the wall, who in this land is fairest of all? Grimm Brothers 1

What could be read as a fairytale was in fact nothing less than a plan motivated by self-interests. In the early 1930s, the French Natural History Museum and the Institute of Ethnology at the University of Paris organized a research expedition to Africa: *The Ethnographic and Linguistic Mission Dakar-Djibouti 1931–1933*. A group set off with a youthful, gung-ho spirit of conquest. The young writer Michel Leiris was commissioned as both secretary and archivist, being given the mandate to meticulously document findings based on systematic criteria. While political, economic, and territorial motives were at the heart of the journey, it was nevertheless declared a matter of cultural and scientific investigation. The purported goal was to gain firsthand insight into the societal structures, local traditions, rituals, languages, artifacts, and building practices of ethnic groups in those African provinces under French rule.

Instead of adopting the scientific method of objective and distanced analysis, Leiris took the liberty to frame his observations with more subjective and intimate modes of engagement. His notes were recorded in the form of a travel log, and subsequently published under the title *L'Afrique fantôme* in 1934.² The book reads like a personal diary that mirrors the reality of sampled material, conflating self-reflexive bias with fact. What was plausibly undertaken in good faith and with a certain degree of naïveté abroad, erupted in scandal, outraging those in expert circles back home. For Leiris flaunted academic conventions of the time, changing, as it were, the “rules of the game” – a phrase he later used to title his autobiography.³ His report laid bare a number of things that many had thought but never dared to talk about: the unrivaled arrogance of the West vis-à-vis indigenous cultures, the reserved point of view of the scientist vis-à-vis the object of study, and the exploitative ethos of the colonial political economy vis-à-vis annexed nations.



According to Leiris, Africa could not be observed from a removed vantage point. On the contrary, one could only encounter another culture and do it justice when one is willing to research his own position and question his own assumptions. In other words, what is investigated must be understood simultaneously as a surface for both reflection and projection – a process of identity formation that mutually defines both the one who sees and what is seen. This marked a veritable “mirror-stage” for Leiris and the field of ethnography. Africa performs as a mirror, so to say, as referred to by the title of the posthumously published collection of Leiris’s work: *Miroir de l’Afrique*.⁴ When viewed with Western eyes, “Black Africa,” as he called it, revealed uncanny and phantom-like traits that threatened to shatter the already fragile relationship between ethnologist and object of study.⁵ Yet things were more complicated, in that Africa no longer represented a virgin, archaic condition as conventionally assumed – the land of so-called primitive tribes – but rather a place that had by then been inundated by Western norms; a place torn by the conflict between traditional customs and modern values.



1 // Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, “Little Snow-White,” *Grimm’s Complete Fairy Tales*, trans. Margaret Hunt (San Diego: Canterbury Classics/Baker & Taylor Publishing Group, 2011), 187; translation based on the definitive edition of the Grimm Brothers’s *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* (Berlin 1857).

2 // Michel Leiris, *L’Afrique fantôme* (Paris: Gallimard, 1934).

3 // Michel Leiris, *The Rules of the Game*, trans. Lydia Davis (New York: Paragon House, 1991).

4 // Michel Leiris, *Miroir de l’Afrique*, ed. Jean Jamin (Paris: Gallimard, 1996).

5 // Michel Leiris, *Afrique noire: La création plastique* (Paris: Gallimard, 1967).

a // Alice through the African mirror
b // Photographs taken by Michel Leiris during the expedition to Africa (1931–33)

6 // UN-Habitat, *Situation Analysis of Informal Settlements in Addis Ababa* (Nairobi: United Nations Human Settlement Programme, 2007), 22, 26. Although called "informal settlements," these areas are actually the result of a much more formalized system of urban governance.

But what is the current condition of Africa? Today, the continent seems hardly capable of freeing itself from its past insofar the wounds run deep. After the colonial powers, Belgium, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Portugal, and Spain, had plundered all that was to take, they abandoned ship, however reluctantly, leaving behind what is often referred to as "the lost continent." One reads daily in the press that conditions are bleak, perhaps hopeless, and the statistical portraits of Africa are by now too well known: poverty and famine are widespread; civil wars are giving rise to ever growing surges of refugees; governments are poisoned by tainted elections, pervasive corruption, and interminable one-man regimes; medical services are in short supply to reduce infant mortality rates and combat health crises arising from either insufficient sanitation or the spread of epidemics; already overcrowded cities are pressured by the effects of rural to urban migration, leaving both the hinterland and metropolitan regions in disarray. Add to this dystopian list one failed state after another, as tracked by official index upon index, and who could deny that Africa now manifests a catastrophic ecology. These circumstances leave perceptible marks on built environment, whether urban or rural, with the impact being even more severe in those territories labeled as slums.

Known as the "Roof of Africa," Ethiopia is no exception. Although this country was nearly able to maintain its autonomy during the age of colonization, it has more than its own share of difficulties. One encounters a situation offering few prospects that would serve to dignify the human condition. Misery prevails. A UN-Habitat study reports that close to 45 percent of the population subsists below the poverty line and nearly 80 percent of urban inhabitants live in impoverished settlements.⁶ In study after study, the narrative of underdevelopment repeatedly foregrounds Ethiopia's status as one of the world's poorest nations, thus justifying its recurrent low ranking on the list of the United Nations Human Development Index, a global monitor of country performance measured by standardized criteria. Nonetheless, there is another side to Ethiopia that seldom draws attention. Current developments on the fringes of this culture could be seen as a prospective model for success throughout Africa. While they are tenuous, measures undertaken to promote communal solidarity and self-empowerment could be considered an alternative to dominant socio-economic orders that sustain the status quo of despair. Of significance in this context are efforts made to formalize the informal sector, for informality – as history has shown throughout the world – often provides the grounds for exploitation. As the term informal implies, one operates outside the formal system of civic norms, and is left without the attendant network of social security.

The nascent attempts in Ethiopia to enable other means of community-driven governance capable of resisting the predatory dynamic of global capital take root in the priority given to local forms of organization. Rather than alienating local culture by advancing top-down modes of market economy from the outside, the initial steps taken pursue the integration of shared resources from within communities, a move that encourages bottom-up participation. But this operation is far from smooth. Although constantly thwarted, such attempts have much to do with the vision of the collective appropriation of territory serving to link identity with one's physical environment. Should the vision succeed, Ethiopia would become a testing ground

c // Aerial view of Mercato district

d // Mercato main street

e // Side alley in Mercato district





f //



g //



h //

f // Italian master plan for Addis Ababa, ca. 1939

g // Italian master plan for the relocated market quarter, ca. 1939

h // Mercato district, figure-ground plan, Addis Ababa 2008

for “a socio-territorial movement,” to borrow an expression from Elmar Altvater, that builds on the idea of a mutual correspondence between social and spatial structures.⁷ With that said, could not such a movement become a central theme for contemporary ethnology? For, just as Leiris suggests, a look in the mirror of another culture might reframe reflections upon our own, as contradictory and disheartening as those reflections may be.

MERCATO

Let us take a look at a specific case of the Mercato in Addis Ababa, one of Africa’s largest open markets. Here, the dynamics of transactions, the hustle and bustle of activities, the hodge-podge assortment of goods, as well as the colors and smells, are all simply breathtaking. Corrugated-metal roofs cover stalls that are piled with diverse products offered for sale: woven baskets, coffee, charcoal, manure, used tires, building materials of every sort, and wood coffins. Thousands of people crowd the streets and alleys, bartering along the way, in the hope of making a good deal where possible. As the popular saying goes: “Around here one can even bargain for a new soul.”⁸

The place exudes an intoxicating sense of chaos to any outside observer. Like an astonished Alice, one realizes that in this part of Addis “things go the other way” – a most curious place it is, indeed.⁹ A closer look at the everyday lives of a local population going about its business, however, reveals that this first impression is deceptive, calling into question the allure of the place as seen by foreign eyes. The raw normativity of reality here is lived out spontaneously as circumstances permit, for there is little time or space, let alone the luxury for contemplating the next move. It would seem that life in the Mercato follows unwritten rules.

The very fact that the name of the market is of Italian descent points to Africa’s troubled past, when European powers carved the continent into pieces. Although Ethiopia defiantly asserts to have never been a colony, the country was nonetheless under Mussolini’s rule from 1936 to 1941. During this short phase of Italian occupation, the Fascist regime undertook an ambitious restructuring of the city to give it a new face – a declarative sign of territorial appropriation. Whereas Mussolini’s administration authorized the construction of large public works in an effort to pacify local resistance, racial separation was enforced as thoroughly as possible.¹⁰ Part of this strategy entailed relocating the indigenous market from the center to the outskirts. As a clear measure of urban segregation, the new European elite overtook the city’s core and the local population was removed and kept at safe distance. Laid out on a grid, the new neighborhood of the Mercato arose straight from the drawing board, a matrix of sorts to be filled when needed by market stalls, booths, or shops. In keeping with the rules of good planning, public buildings and amenities – such as a mosque, a square with a bus station, a city hall, a cinema, a hotel, and a courthouse – were envisioned for the community, but only a few were ever realized.¹¹

Notwithstanding the politically motivated origins of its formation, the Mercato emerged during the following decades as the central platform of urban commerce. Even though today it is most often portrayed as a slum, replete with all of the distressing conditions that come with poverty, newcomers quickly learn that it is the economic hub of the Ethiopian capital, a central platform of urban commerce that encompasses a core area of approximately 300 hectares and is the home and workplace for roughly 200,000 to 250,000 people, with market correlated activities spreading far into adjacent districts.¹² This number fluctuates drastically given the

7 // Elmar Altvater, *Das Ende des Kapitalismus, wie wir ihn kennen: Eine radikale Kapitalismuskritik* (Münster: Verlag Westfälisches Dampfboot, 2005), 15, 203–09. The title translates as: “The end of capitalism as we know it: a radical critique of capitalism.”

8 // Katrina Hilde Mann and Martin Fitzenreiter, *Äthiopien* (Bielefeld: Peter Rump Publishers, 1999), 28. English translation by the authors; original quote in German: “Du kannst um alles feilschen, auch um eine neue Seele!”

9 // Lewis Carroll, *Through the Looking-Glass, and What Alice Found There*, originally published in 1871 (London: Penguin Books, 1996), 125–26. The full passage reads: “there is the room you can see through the glass – that’s just the same as our drawing room, only the things go the other way.”

10 // Thomas P. Ofcansky and Laverle Berry, *Ethiopia: A Country Study* (Whitefish, MT: Kissinger Publishing, 2004), 158–60.

11 // Heyaw Terefe, *Contested Space: Transformation of Inner-city Market Areas and Users’ Reaction in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia* (Trondheim: Norwegian University of Science and Technology, 2005), 126.

12 // “Mercato Local Development Plan,” *Addis Ababa Development Plan* (Addis Ababa: City Planning Commission, 2002), 73. Cf. also Thomas Vesper, “Masterplan for the Mercato,” *Akzente Special: Urban Management*, published by Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ), (December 2005), 15.

fact that the market has a particular appeal for rural migrants hoping for the prospect of a better life; there are also an estimated 300,000 commuters coming in and out daily from all over the country. Given this sheer volume of people and the market's conspicuous presence in the city, the usually hidden face of poverty becomes all the more apparent. Not merely a hub of trade, the quarter serves as a settlement in its own right, integrating a multitude of mutually supporting functions: it is a place where goods are sold and produced; it is likewise a place of residence, social encounter, and religious worship. This programmatic blending is mirrored directly in the structure of the built fabric: market stalls are oriented outward, facing the streets, with workshops and living spaces commonly located to the rear – a socio-material diagram reflecting a spontaneous mode of bottom-up land appropriation.

This ostensibly simple spatial scheme is underwritten by a complex social network that ensures the performance of the overall urban system. The administrative layer of the kebele – similar to a ward – forms the legal framework for the Mercato district as elsewhere, a still active holdover of the socialist era – which lasted from 1974 to 1991 – that was introduced in Ethiopia as a vehicle for bringing law and accountability to the urban milieu while empowering residents. The collective web is reinforced by craftsmen associations and trade unions housed in low-rise clusters, market halls, or, more recently, multi-story buildings. In turn, the neighborhood is zoned according to specific categories of services and products. One encounters, for example, a sector for spices, another for agricultural produce, and still others for light metalwork, textiles, plastics, or imported electronic equipment. Although ordered, the boundaries between various subdivisions are blurred by the casual unfolding of events, or simply by the way things go, for the quasi-formal market organization is persistently thrown off balance by informal market practices.

With respect to the coexistence of formal and informal frameworks, the Mercato takes on the role of a key relay between rural and urban communities. A majority of the migrants in the district are not legally registered and thus stand little chance of getting a commercial license. Their presence is nevertheless tolerated; they occupy temporarily unclaimed spots wherever possible, peddling their products in the middle of the street if necessary. In this regard, one encounters yet another level of land appropriation, only this time in the form of a roaming proprietorship.



i // Recycled scrap metal for kitchen utensils



j // Recycled metal drums for coffee filters



k // Ship containers integrated into a building facade



Within this machinery of sorts, not only people are on the move, but also the city's material resources. Goods no longer wanted by their original owners are salvaged and reconditioned for sale in the market, a type of recycling *avant la lettre*: a literal and opportunistic mining of the city that involves reprocessing whatever is at hand. What is typically considered in the West to be waste, and thus worthless, is re-appropriated in Addis Ababa through modest means and on-the-spot ingenuity: old tires are converted into satchels for pack-mules; soft-drink bottles are turned into toys; scrap metal is transformed into household utensils. Other products, from discarded plastic sheets to recovered copper pipes, reinforcing rods, or beverage crates, need only be cleaned before being recirculated as building materials. When the interplay of supply and demand is constrained by an economy of scarcity, there is no limit to improvisation; bottom-up resourcing is the rule. When set into motion, such a principle gives rise to a self-fueling system operating across multiple scales – a trickle-up urban ecology that reframes the very discourse on sustainability. Despite dire conditions, the makeshift processing of resources engenders a special form of market economy, namely that of small-scale measures of subsistence empowered through the thousand-fold repetition of minute elements; an undertaking carried out by the masses and organized from below.



l // New workers' cooperative in Mercato district
 m // Micro and small enterprises, site of vocational training program for construction

This is how the Mercato works on the inside, no fanfare, it just happens. But a note of caution is due with regard to seeing this rough reality in naively heroic terms. When viewed from an outsider's perspective, these practices of "making do" are most often perceived in terms of an inspired, duct-tape ingenuity of underdog populations harboring a fugitive know-how and putting it to work below the radar of normative expertise. This ascendant refrain in contemporary discourses, whether in academia or in policy-making circles, characterizes what urban scholar Ananya Roy critically describes as "a new global imaginary about poverty, which views the economies of the poor as economies of entrepreneurship and dynamic informality" that, in being so framed, represent as of yet untapped markets.¹³ Or differently stated, places like the Mercato are currently portrayed in terms of what one could call an "economic primitivism," a mode of primal capitalism that, although seemingly exotic in its current forms, could be appropriated as a new frontier for capital accumulation and circulation – a proto-economy waiting, so it goes, to be lifted into the formal market economy.

And yet, the frail economy of the Mercato recently faced an existential threat when the livelihood of local stakeholders was directly confronted by the interests of a global consortium seeking a takeover of the quarter. What sparked the crisis was an offer by Southeast Asian investors to buy all rights for use of the area, with the intention of turning the Mercato into a business and shopping district – an outside infringement that sounded the alarm of a new form of domination on the rise. Followed scrupulously by the local media, the affair set off a public debate on the future development of the city. While politicians were occupied with the question of whether partaking in the global game would be both desirable and feasible, it was finally the estimated cost of mass relocation – which the new development would require – that brought the entire venture to a grinding halt.¹⁴

The debate was accompanied by two occurrences that facilitated resolution of the conflict. First, the standoff reinforced social ties within the community while galvanizing its political representation within the city at large. The worker associations were proactive in demanding an equal voice in shaping their environment; new trade unions and building cooperatives were formed, which further strengthened communal bonds. Second, at the time of the clash, the municipal administration was in the process of revising the existing zoning ordinance, the Addis Ababa Development Plan, and an entire chapter of building regulations was then drafted for the Mercato area. To those responsible, it became clear that neither planning from the outside nor exclusively top-down would appease stakeholders; their involvement in decision-making processes had become paramount.¹⁵

What is referred to as participatory (or discursive) planning was legally ratified. Rather than succumbing to the demands of potential investors who aimed at securing provisions for a high-rise business district, the city government sought consultation with citizens.¹⁶ In place of dictated power, self-empowerment was promoted and became the maxim for all planning matters. Notable from the perspective of urban discourse is that the mandate in Addis Ababa to move from informal to formal structures is only possible under the condition of dialogue – between public interests framed from above and those determined from below by the needs of the local population.

If we were to take another look in the mirror, another image of Africa would surface. Whereas the purported "dark continent" displayed ghostly traits to Leiris in its sheer otherness and invisibility – a phantom Africa, so to speak – it becomes apparent that what today harbors phantomlike features is that strain of a market economy that is engulfing the planet.¹⁷

13 // Ananya Roy, "The Agonism of Utopia: Dialectics at a Standstill," *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review* (TDSR), vol. XXIII (Fall 2011): 20. Cf. also Lukas Kueing and Dirk Hebel, "Lernen von Addis Abeba," *archithese. Zeitschrift und Schriftenreihe für Architektur* (March/April 2007): 26, 31.

14 // The authors were informed of the unfolding of events in a series of discussions in Addis Ababa with representatives from the Association of Ethiopian Architects in May 2007.

15 // *Addis Ababa Development Plan*, 5, 43, 73, 74.

16 // Cf. Jürgen Habermas's thesis pertaining to communicative action in *Theorie des kommunikativen Handelns* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1981).

17 // Leiris, *L'Afrique fantôme*, 581, 855.



18 // The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia was formed in the early 1990s following the collapse of communist rule under the Derg regime, which had lasted from 1974 to 1991. This political transition was anything but smooth and took nearly four years to be implemented, resulting in a hybrid form of economy drawing on both socialist and capitalist values.

19 // Cf. Naomi Klein's play on the two years 1926 and 1962, in *The Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism* (New York: Henry Holt, 2007), 64–70.

Reflecting on the case of Addis Ababa shows us that what appears to be backward is actually a forward-looking tactic of how to effectively circumvent the dictates of global capital through the implementation of communicative action in planning. Good intentions aside, such initiatives were short-lived as rare instances of resistance-led development, providing lessons on how to effectively circumvent the dictates of global capital.

CROSSROADS

The case of Mercato is not an isolated one. Other cooperatives and unions are being formed throughout various sectors of the economy, whether in the textile industry, the coffee business, or the flower trade. Of specific relevance in this regard are those policies underwriting micro and small enterprises, as well as vocational training programs in construction. Such measures were initiated, for example, to implement the Grand Housing Program, launched by the Addis Ababa Housing Administration in the early 2000s with the goal of providing affordable places to live for low- and middle-income families. Other public works that contribute to a consolidation of social capital in the buildup of urban identities are likewise underway. Still, such modest success stories cannot be taken for granted as they are constantly on the verge of being sidetracked by pressures from both domestic and international investors whose presence is felt all over the city. And, just as any mirror can be shattered, so too can fragile, grass-roots visions such as these.

Commercial developments spring up here and there in Addis Ababa, leaving spotty traces of a foreign form of economy. Often in close proximity to poor neighborhoods, yet isolated from the surrounding context, these multi-story buildings with their curtain walls of glass rise above a sea of corrugated-metal shacks. What is at stake with these new high-rise structures is less an issue of postmodern motifs applied to International Style architecture than that of an ideology premised on the need to wear the badge of modernity as proof of not having missed the global economic game. Similarly, entire tracts of land are being developed on the outskirts of the city with countless suburban homes stamped out at cookie-cutter pace. Emulating American real estate ventures, well-rehearsed building typologies are appropriated to again affirm that at least some have not been left behind.

While the contrast between tradition and modernization is as great as it is ubiquitous, the country faces pressing questions of how to modernize while simultaneously cultivating its inherited culture. The bigger question, however, is which direction will Ethiopia take in doing so? Which political economy will be considered suitable for this relatively young democratic republic? Opinions concerning such questions could not be more at odds. During the country's period of political transition in the early 1990s, the way forward was framed around two conflicting mindsets.¹⁸ Whereas some argue for a state-regulated marketplace that would stimulate more local ventures and social participation in decision-making processes, others call for a globally connected, free-market economy that would increase foreign investment in national affairs. Marked by unresolved forms of governance, Ethiopia was – and still is – at the crossroads of its political, economic, and cultural development.

Zooming out for a moment from the specific case of Ethiopia, two specific dates stand as more general symbols for this debate: 1926 and 1962.¹⁹ These years mark the respective publications of two texts that, likewise, could not be more opposed to one another in their ideological bearing on the coupling of state and market; a link having a direct impact on the



n // Sino-Africa

o // New commercial buildings in Addis Ababa

p // Ayat suburban real estate development on the outskirts of Addis Ababa

q // African Union Building, Addis Ababa, gift of China to Africa

organization of territory and the constitution of urban space. Two authors are pitted against each other across time: John Maynard Keynes and Milton Friedman, their distinct philosophies being debated during the phase of negotiations that led to the ratification of Ethiopia's new constitution in 1995, a debate that continues today.

The year 1926 is when the British economist Keynes published a pamphlet entitled *The End of Laissez-Faire*, in which he articulated the fundamental difference between the objectives of public institutions and those of the private sector.²⁰ The interests of the collective, according to Keynes, do not coincide with the interests of individual parties – whether understood in terms of a person, a business, or a company. The task of the state is to maintain the well-being of all by providing social and technical infrastructure, while ensuring a distribution of wealth through a balanced system of taxes. Conversely, the private sector is primarily self-centered in its orientation, securing wealth through competition, while pursuing financial supremacy.²¹ An advocate of capitalism based on democratic principles, Keynes backed strong public institutions, and was skeptical of the privatization of collective resources.²² He opposed any form of laissez-faire politics that granted absolute power to investors to exploit human, natural, or territorial resources. He anticipated, with acute analytical foresight, the fallout of the Great Depression in the 1930s: mass unemployment and widespread poverty, as well as the collapse of the economic system and its subsequent bailout with public funds. It comes as no surprise that U.S. President Franklin Delano Roosevelt was drawn to Keynes's model when drafting the New Deal, a public works program aimed at resolving the financial crisis through reforms that benefited the social body, while keeping market liberalism in check.

The year 1962 is when Friedman released *Capitalism and Freedom*, still viewed today as the "Bible" of neoliberal and neoconservative economics.²³ In this treatise, *laissez faire* takes on a whole new meaning as it is now attributed with positive values. Elevated to the status of a fundamental principle, *laissez faire* becomes an engine of society fueled by market competition, where individual parties are free to act in accordance with their own interests. Economic freedom is thereby equated with political freedom.²⁴ Any form of state intervention is consequently viewed with suspicion and must be avoided at all costs; the government itself is portrayed as a "Frankenstein-like monster" that destroys liberty.²⁵ Friedman later turns to the collapse of the Soviet Union in the early 1990s to prove his point concerning the evils of state interventionism. This very tactic of making the government a scapegoat for the ills of society was embraced by none other than U.S. President Ronald Reagan and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, both vigorous proponents of tax cuts, reduced federal spending, privatization of public institutions, market liberalization, and the elimination of trade unions. Thatcher even went so far as to lionize Friedman as an "intellectual freedom fighter."²⁶

But what only few could have anticipated is that, when viewed from the vantage point of Friedman's model, developing countries appeared all too attractive to footloose investors. Such countries, due to their tenuous political structures and propensity for crisis, were ripe for unlimited business opportunities. Particularly enticing for multi-national corporations were forms of "informal" social conditions labeled by the UN International Labor Organization as early as 1972.²⁷ The term "informal" refers to people operating outside the normative framework that orders social relations of production, who are thus relegated to shadow economies devoid of state regulation and protection. Informality, in this respect, offers a surplus value to be exploited for profit. This explains why, today, Africa is again viewed by many as the final

20 // John Maynard Keynes, *Essays in Persuasion* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1963), 312–22.

21 // *Ibid.*, 312. "The world is not so governed from above that private and social interest always coincide. It is not so managed here below that in practice they coincide. It is not a correct deduction from the Principles of Economics that enlightened self-interest always operates in the public interest."

22 // For more on the concept of democratic capitalism cf. John Maynard Keynes, *The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

23 // Milton Friedman, *Capitalism and Freedom* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2002).

24 // *Ibid.*, 30.

25 // *Ibid.*, 24, 26.

26 // Klein, *The Shock Doctrine*, 18.

27 // International Labor Organization, *Employment, Incomes and Equality: A Study on the Labor Conditions in Kenya* (Geneva: United Nations, 1972).

28 // *Merrill Lynch Advisor: The New Africa* (December 2007), 6–11.

29 // Policy statement from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs entitled “China’s African Policy,” 2006.

30 // Melaku Sahlu, “Method to the Madness of Urban Land Lease Rates in Addis,” *Ethiopian Business Review* (July 29, 2015).

*frontier for investment, a financial Eldorado with vast untapped markets and a people eager for progress, as paraded, for example, in the Merrill Lynch Advisor, shamelessly subtitled “Cultivate Your Personal Wealth.”*²⁸

Models of political economy have both a direct and an indirect impact on the formation of social and physical space. Zooming back into Ethiopia, and in light of its socialist legacy, indecisiveness reigns as to the choice of which path to take. Here, the respective models of Keynes and Friedman coexist in fragmented form despite their incompatibility with each other and incompatibility with the standing collectivist agenda. Some argue that Friedman’s principles provide the only means to accelerate the local economy; others acknowledge that partaking in the global market will do little to alleviate rampant poverty. And faced with the difficult decision of which way to go, Ethiopia now stands before the mirror – in conjunction with socialist principles that have been preserved, will it be Keynes or Friedman who is the fairest of all?

There is, however, a third figure looming in the mirror, who is currently advancing a new form of political economy that is strictly dictated from above and beyond – a brand of neo-capitalism raised to the highest power. And with this, a new form of colonization is well underway. Having spied lucrative trading prospects on the continent, China has now stepped through the window of opportunity that Africa has opened up. Making the West ill at ease, an unexpected Sino-African dynamic is building, evoking memories of the European seizure of the continent. Notwithstanding complaints from Western companies that Chinese bids are impossible to match, the People’s Republic has learned how to play the game better of coaxing African countries along the path of development. And Ethiopia has begun to follow this lead. China-sponsored infrastructure projects, schools, and factories are being built; favorable trade agreements are being signed; and vocational programs are being funded. On top of this, a gift of U.S. \$150 million was given by China for an annex to the African Union headquarters in Addis Ababa. And this is just the beginning. Even larger urban developments, with ever grander visions of a fairytale skyline for the capital, include countless high-rise buildings. But all of this comes at a price: substandard wages, no retirement benefits, no customs revenue from imports, no income due to tax-free accords, and above all, general disregard for the rights of citizens. This stance is openly admitted by the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs in its African policy statement, promising “to develop and exploit rationally Africa’s resources.”²⁹ Those walking through Mercato today would not be surprised to discover artifacts bearing the label “Made in China” like some discrete index signaling that exploitation remains the name of the game.

Still there are more blatant signs that this is the case, with exploitative real estate ventures being played out all over the country. Even the Mercato has been pulled into this profit-making machine, as state-owned land was put on the market in 2015 and auctioned for lease to the highest bidder, leading to an outrageous inflation of prices in a context usually noted for its slum-like conditions. Such practices suggest that neoliberal principles à la Friedman are gaining the upper hand, whether pursued by the East or the West, and the earlier-won spirit of participatory planning that empowered stakeholders in the district is being steadily stifled, perhaps for once and all.³⁰ As Ethiopia looks in the mirror, it cannot avoid seeing other figures there ready to overtake, and to its surprise realizes that objects in the mirror are closer than they appear. //

URBAN LABORATORY – ADDIS ABABA

DESIGN RESEARCH ON TERRITORIAL TRANSFORMATION

// MARC ANGÉLIL AND DIRK HEBEL

Mirrors should think longer before they reflect. Jean Cocteau

An installation in the Swiss Pavilion at the Venice Biennale in 2008 under the title “Explorations in Architecture: Teaching, Design, Research” depicted the conceptual diagram of an academic collaboration involving the Addis Ababa University and the Swiss Federal Institute of Technology Zurich.

Prominently displayed in the middle of the exhibition space was a large, semi-translucent screen, on which images were projected from two opposing sides. Standing on one side of the screen, viewers saw both projections simultaneously, one as if through a mirror. The form and content of the exhibition aligned. The double projection expressed two sides of one and the same research undertaking, which addressed the potential development of contemporary urban territories: on one side of the screen, a series of rapidly transforming sites in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia were depicted, and on the other side, an equally fast-changing agglomeration in Switzerland, known as the Schwyz Valley. Notwithstanding the differences of the two case studies, similarities were identified and transfers of strategies from one location to the other investigated. What can each culture learn from the other?

On each side of the screen physical models were placed, three-dimensional representations of the territories in question, on which design scenarios and their attendant processes were digitally projected and superimposed; a kind of temporal, four-dimensional display for the simulation of urban patterns. Hypothetical – but nonetheless real – design propositions for developing territories were shown, emphasizing the gradual transformation of current urban and suburban conditions. The projects mapped out a prospective future, yet, to borrow an aphorism by Paul Valéry, acknowledge “the future is not what it used to be.”

On the far-end wall of the exhibition hall a large panorama offered views of the two territories. Upon closer examination a peculiar scene unfolded, as the sites were shown not separate, but gradually merge into one comprehensive image. As imaginary as such a proposition might be, it nonetheless suggested that the differences between ostensibly antithetical conditions – as upheld by the juxtaposition of opposites, such as north vs. south, rich vs. poor, developed vs. developing – rely more often than not on tacit clichés that often maintain an unambiguous hierarchy between terms. Whereas differences undoubtedly exist, what is of interest here, independent of how dissimilar territories might appear, are the mechanisms at work in the production of space: their characteristics, causes, effects, hidden agendas, biases, contradictions, conflicts, and failures.

URBAN LABORATORY

The installation presented at the Venice Biennale shows but one facet of a research project done within the context of the Urban Laboratory Addis Ababa, comprising faculty from both Ethiopia and Switzerland, along with architecture, landscape design, and urban planning students from all over the world. The laboratory was conceived as an interdisciplinary think tank, dedicated to sustainable development and the advancement of knowledge in the key disciplines relevant to the formation of the urban environment. By combining different formats, such as colloquia, conferences, design studios, exhibitions, lectures, project reviews, and publications, the laboratory aims to establish a link between research, teaching, and practice.



a // Exhibition installation based on comparative case studies of rapidly changing territories in Ethiopia and Switzerland, 11th International Venice Architecture Biennale, Swiss Pavilion, Venice 2008

b // Panorama montage merging the territories of Addis Ababa and the Schwyz Valley, Venice Biennale 2008

b //

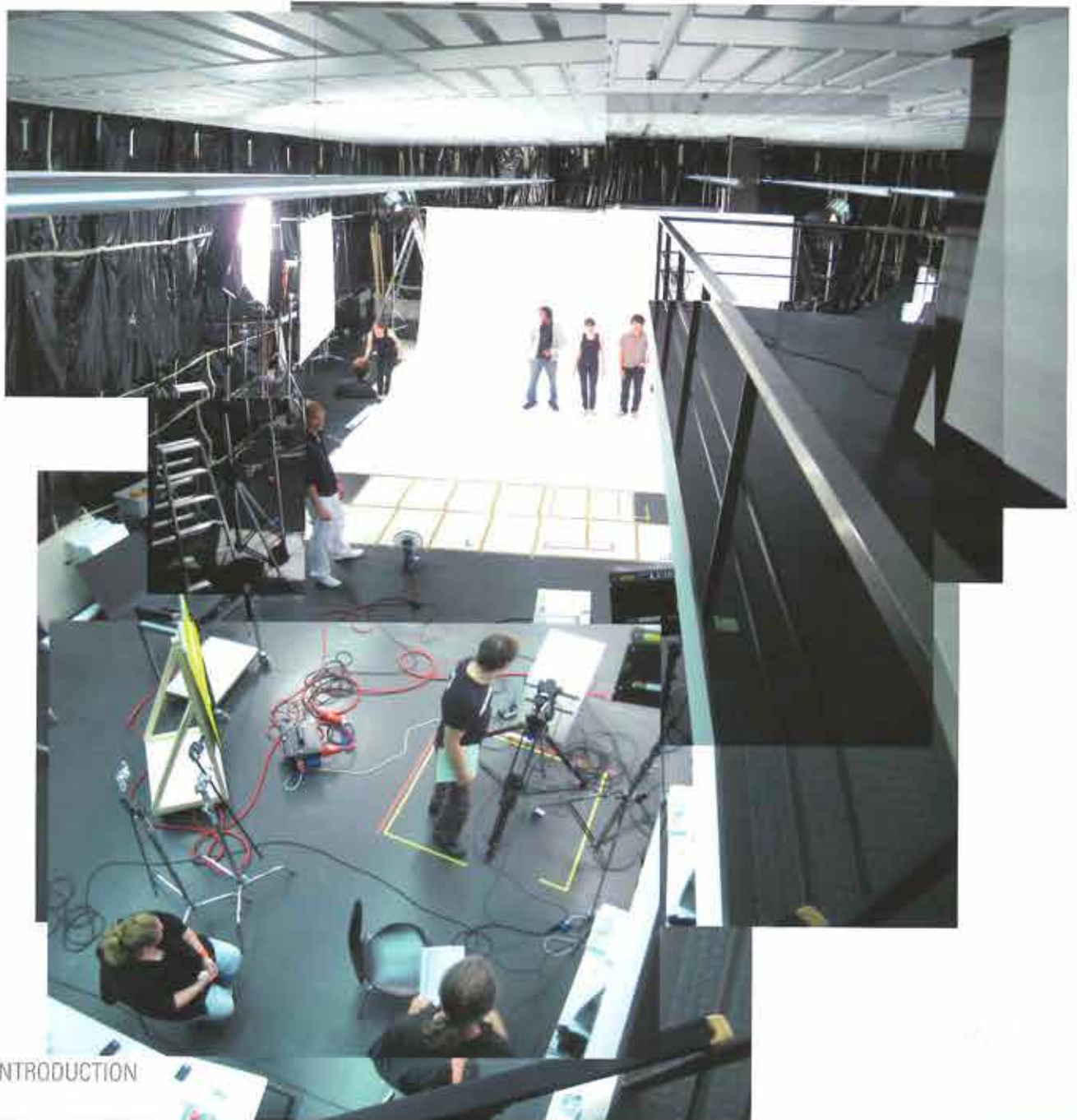


c // Workshop space for the Urban Laboratory ~ Addis Ababa, temporarily transformed into a film studio

Using Addis Ababa and other cities as case studies, the motivation of the laboratory is to combine expertise from a broad range of fields via interdisciplinary collaborations and integrated design processes, in order to promote strategies for achieving sustainable settlements. Reaching beyond the realm of academia, the research is inspired by a mandate for innovation within practice and offers solutions for implementation; it is an inquiry directed toward practical performance.

As cities are in a constant state of flux, the design of anticipated developments offers a viable means of identifying, and possibly directing, forthcoming urban transformations. Rather than upholding an a priori vision of an ideal city – one that would suggest prevalent tabula rasa practices – the continuing change of existing urban structures is given priority. Recognizing that Rome was not built in a day, the inquiry emphasizes the role of temporal techniques and process-oriented approaches. While research can use diagnostic techniques of analysis to trace the past evolution of urban systems in order to understand the status quo, it must also anticipate future developments. Accordingly, one of the key aspects of the work encompasses scenario planning: designing potential future conditions according to varying constraints. The long-term effect of changing parameters is tested and analyzed. Examples include scenarios of shrinkage and growth, the rate of development, questions of density, migration from rural to urban areas, changes in

c //



the demographic constitution of the social body, the allocation (or lack) of energy and monetary resources, and the impact of forms of governance, as well as the flow of information.

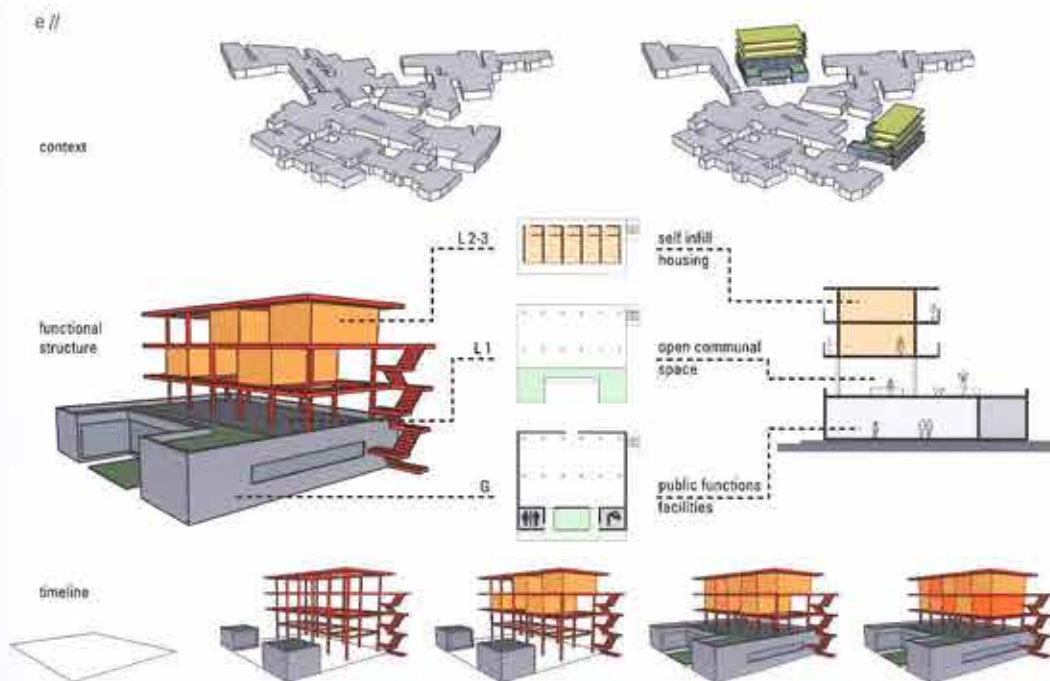
All of those different aspects were taken into account, when in 2012 the Urban Laboratory Addis Ababa was asked to develop a vision for the Ethiopian capital, called "Addis 2050." The title suggested an intellectual play with the Amharic language, as "addis" translates into "new." The Green Forum Ethiopia under the leadership of the Heinrich Böll Foundation initiated this research into different tools and methodologies by addressing differing scales: the single unit, the city, and the nation as large. This approach suggests that the urban realm is a complex interplay of different systems, which need all to be addressed when we think of future urban design scenarios. As such, the work concentrated on investigations into the fields of energy, mobility, cultural and social space, housing, and information. Working partially in Singapore at the Future Cities Laboratory – a research outpost of ETH Zurich and the National Research Foundation of Singapore – computation scientists helped the Urban Laboratory team composed of five Ethiopian and five ETH Zurich researchers to develop digital tools simulating different development strategies for Ethiopia, based on the questions of energy supply, resource availability, health, and environmental as well as social impact. The work of the team was finally presented in a conference at the Ethiopian Institute of Architecture, Building Construction and City Development with immense interest from the media as well as the City Administration. As guest of honor, the Swiss Ambassador H. E. Dominik Langenbacher attended the conference as well as delegates from several federal ministries and UN-Habitat. The example shows how research can bridge the gap between theory and practice, and offer propositions for decision makers.

Accordingly, the Urban Laboratory conducts its research along two different, but nevertheless related, methods of investigation. The first trajectory, on questions of urban sustainability, follows the principle of conducting in-depth academic work in specific fields of inquiry, highlighting particular themes and integrating input from supporting disciplines. The second trajectory, on questions of urban design, situates the work in the context of scenario-orientated design research studios, a workshop setting in which concepts are tested through specific design propositions, aiming for the synthesis of findings from an array of fields. Both approaches take advantage of the interdisciplinary nature of the laboratory and rely on empirical data gained from comparative analysis. The publication *Cities of Change: Addis Ababa* explores the intersections of these two trajectories, linking the mandate for sustainable development with the projective perspective of urban design.



d // Design-review boards of a project proposing a series of green public spaces along existing creeks in Addis Ababa – the stocks and flows of water (Matthew Skjonsberg, Sebastian Fuscaldo, Noboru Kawagishi)

e // Slum upgrade strategy – introduction of open public spaces, semi-public facilities, and new housing typologies (design studio project by Charis Christodoulou and Hyeri Chang Park)



URBAN RESILIENCE

Central to the undertaking is the involvement of multiple experts and stakeholders. A network of collaborators – members of the academic community, professionals from a range of disciplines, and representatives of governmental agencies – frames the dialogues and negotiations pertaining to potential transformations of the built environment. These transformations are guided by the mandate to promote ways of achieving socially, ecologically, and economically balanced urban conditions. What feasible means, techniques, and methods can be brought into play to increase the sustainable performance of cities?

In order to address this question, the laboratory bases its efforts on a specific theoretical framework, identified as the *flux model*. In it, the city is viewed as a dynamic system, one delineated by stocks of resources and interrelated networks of material flows, including input and output cycles relative to long-term development. Considering that stocks, flows, and their transfer coefficients are temporal, or time-dependent, the research models the behavior of urban systems according to parameters that change over time. At the core of the research is an investigation into the flux of people, water, space, material, capital, information, and energy addressed in terms of both their physiological demands and morphological consequences. Ultimately, the impact of stocks and flows on the constitution of cities, and the potential for steering their performance toward the principles of sustainable development, form the main thrusts of the endeavor. Based on this flux model, seven research streams have been delineated:



Stocks and flows of *people*: Since cities are settlements for their inhabitants, the role of individual subjects within the framework of social collectives must be at the forefront of urban research. Within this, sociology offers insights into the relationship between social and physical space. Developments in the demographic composition of communities and their impact on forms of urbanization are considered.



Stocks and flows of *water*: This increasingly contested resource has a significant impact on future city development; thus, the environmental potential of water in urban ecosystems is addressed. Specific emphasis is placed on the management of water, including its retention, collection, reuse, and discharge, in order to minimize consumption and maximize the effectiveness of water distribution and irrigation systems.



Stocks and flows of *space*: Considering space as a resource, urban research must address questions of territorial allocation, organization, logistics, and use. Specific attention is given to infrastructural systems and the optimization of flows of people, goods, and materials. Means are identified for maximizing the capacity of limited spatial resources in view of qualitative demands.



Stocks and flows of *material*: As cities are physical artifacts, investigations into material behavior and means of construction play a considerable role within the research. Reframing questions of recycling and waste management in consideration of circular metabolisms, the impact of materials throughout the life cycle of structures as well as the material stocks found in cities are taken into account.



Stocks and flows of *capital*: Although cities generate money, they likewise require significant financial investments. By bringing together questions of urbanism with those of economics, the ramifications of financial models on the constitution of cities are assessed in an effort to strike a balance between public and private sectors, local and global economies, and formal and informal structures.



Stocks and flows of *information*: Acknowledging that the flow of information plays a key role in urban formation, emphasis is placed on communication within the social body and the participation of stakeholders in decision-making processes. Methods of territorial governance that are oriented towards consensus among various actors are highlighted.



Stocks and flows of *energy*: With sustainable city development forming a primary investigatory arm of the laboratory, energy – in terms of resources and their attendant emissions – plays a prominent role in the research. Taking into consideration that the ecological footprint of cities must be minimized, renewable energy sources and technologies for reducing emissions are promoted.

URBAN DESIGN

One of the laboratory's primary objectives is to encourage the interaction of the disciplines that are relevant to the formation of the built environment, for it is only through their interface that new ideas can arise pertaining to the sustainable development of cities. Of significance within this framework is the role attributed to the design research studio, understood as a platform for the mining of knowledge, its synthesis, and its production through design.

Contemporary city design requires distinct methods. State-of-the-art research in architecture, urbanism, and planning has recently advocated the instrument of the design research studio as the place for investigatory work in which ideas are tested in models, plans, diagrams, statistics, renderings, animations, and so on – with design as the core discipline that integrates the findings of other fields of inquiry. Such studios provide a forum for teaching, collaborative research, and discussions with and among stakeholders.

In order to tackle the complexity of urban systems, the work is structured according to different scales of analysis, ranging from the territory of a region to building assemblies – taking into account, however, that the allocation of land, energy, material, capital, and other resources must cut across distinctions of scale. The inquiries specifically advance along three vectors: territorial design (large-scale), urban design (medium-scale), and building design (small-scale), aiming at sustainable developments of the city as an entity, of urban neighborhoods, and of architectural structures. Central to this approach is the intermediary role of urban design as a bridge discipline between regional planning and architecture. Since measures in the small scale have an effect at the large scale, and vice versa, sustained communication among the various levels of investigation is paramount. Thus, the design studios pursue a twofold objective: to link the different scales and to concurrently synthesize findings from a range of disciplines.

Using Addis Ababa as a case study, various hypotheses and propositions for its future development are assessed. While working with real conditions, the explorations are speculative – predicting forthcoming challenges and identifying potential solutions. An important objective is to foresee how Addis Ababa might evolve in the future. The design of anticipated developments offers a practical means to identify prospective transformations. Mindful that the only constant is change, the urban fabric of a given site is understood not as an entity fixed in time, but as an incessantly evolving system. Thus designing also entails the design of processes. A form of projective investigation is promoted, combining strategies for analysis, design, and realization.

Current studio work is structured according to three phases of investigation, each demarcated by specific methods and understandings of design research. "Learning from Addis" (phase 1) builds on Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown's analysis of Las Vegas, using mapping techniques as design tools to delineate both rereadings and rewritings of Addis Ababa's social and physical spaces. "Addis Through the Looking-Glass" (phase 2) explores, as in Lewis Carroll's Alice adventures, the possibilities of viewing the world from another vantage point, through the mirror, so to speak, to test design propositions as prototypical urban strategies in the differing cultural contexts of cities in both the developed and developing worlds. "Quo Vadis, Addis?" (phase 3) seeks, with a nod to Henryk Sienkiewicz's political novel, to generate design projects for implementation at the local level – countering prevalent tendencies of engulfing developing countries in the global economic game.

Considering that cities are highly complex amalgamations – the results of multi-faceted and, to some extent, contradictory forces – design studios must be driven by a plurality of viewpoints generated through interdisciplinary discourse and team collaboration. The crossing of conventional boundaries is precisely what needs to be promoted and practiced. In doing so, research must bring to the forefront questions of method and procedure that can be transferred to other conditions, while still focusing on proposals for specific solutions. Studios are, in this sense, places of knowledge production, exposing design, whether of buildings or entire territories, to an array of methods from other fields of knowledge. The work done by the laboratory, documented here in *Cities of Change: Addis Ababa*, will hopefully contribute to a discourse on method by combining the research trajectories of urban sustainability and urban design. //



g // Scenarios for transformation of an existing site – introduction of infrastructures for sports and public transportation (design studio project by Anne-Charlotte Malterre Barthes and Valentina Genini)



RICHARD PRINCE'S ARTWORK APPROPRIATES AN ADVERTISEMENT FOR COSMETICS THAT DEPICTS A WOMAN USING A MAKEUP MIRROR AS AN INSTRUMENT TO SURVEY HER SURROUNDINGS. (RICHARD PRINCE, *UNTITLED [MAKE-UP]*, 1982-84)

IN A SERIES OF PERFORMANCES ENTITLED *PERFORMER / AUDIENCE / MIRROR*, DAN GRAHAM, WHILE OFTEN FACING AWAY FROM THE AUDIENCE, WOULD LOOK AT THEIR REFLECTIONS IN A LARGE MIRROR AND DESCRIBE HIS ACTIONS. ACCORDING TO THE ARTIST, THE PIECE IS ABOUT "THE AUDIENCE BEING IMPLICATED IN THEIR OWN PERCEPTUAL SITUATION." (DAN GRAHAM, *PERFORMER / AUDIENCE / MIRROR*, RIVERSIDE STUDIOS, LONDON, 1979)

CHIMPANZEES ARE THE ONLY ANIMALS OTHER THAN HUMANS THAT ARE CAPABLE OF SELF-RECOGNITION. EXPERIMENTS CONDUCTED AT THE STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK AT ALBANY DEMONSTRATED THE ANIMALS' CAPACITY TO RECOGNIZE THEIR OWN REFLECTIONS. ONCE THIS AWARENESS SET IN, "THERE WAS AN ABRUPT THREE-FOLD INCREASE IN THE AMOUNT OF TIME SPENT VIEWING THEIR REFLECTION IN THE MIRROR." THE CHIMPANZEES ALSO USED THE MIRROR TO EXAMINE PARTS OF THEMSELVES OTHERWISE IMPOSSIBLE TO SEE. (GORDON GALLUP, STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK, ALBANY, 1970)



MIRRORING RESEARCH // MARC ANGÉLIL AND JESSE LECAVALIER

THE WORK OF THE URBAN LABORATORY – ADDIS ABABA EVOLVES ALONG DIFFERENT TRAJECTORIES OF INVESTIGATION, EACH DEMARCATED BY SPECIFIC TECHNIQUES AND UNDERSTANDINGS OF RESEARCH. CONSIDER, FOR EXAMPLE, THE MIRROR AS A TROPE INDEXING DIFFERENT METHODS OF INQUIRY. SOMETIMES SUPERIMPOSED AND SOMETIMES DISCRETE, THESE TRAJECTORIES ARE IN PURSUIT OF A MORE LUCID COMPREHENSION OF A GIVEN TERRITORY'S CONTEXT, CONDITION, AND POTENTIAL. IN ORDER TO CLARIFY THESE APPROACHES, THREE CATEGORIES ARE IDENTIFIED AND ELABORATED IN INDIVIDUAL SECTIONS INTERSPERSED THROUGHOUT THIS BOOK:

"LEARNING FROM ..." PORTRAYS RESEARCH AS A PROCESS IN WHICH THE CITY-AS-MIRROR CONTINUALLY RECONSTRUCTS THE VIEWER'S IDENTITY. TAKE, FOR EXAMPLE, ROBERT VENTURI'S PROJECTION OF ROME ONTO LAS VEGAS AS A WAY TO REFLECT UPON A CULTURE THAT ONE MIGHT CALL HIS OWN.

"THROUGH THE LOOKING-GLASS" VIEWS RESEARCH AS A PORTAL INTO ANOTHER WORLD FROM WHICH FAMILIAR NORMS ARE PERSISTENTLY REFRAMED. TAKE, FOR EXAMPLE, PETER EISENMAN'S PROJECT *MOVING ARROWS, EROS, AND OTHER ERRORS*, WHICH CHALLENGES DISCIPLINARY CONVENTIONS BY PASSING THEM THROUGH THE LENS OF ROMEO AND JULIET'S TRACES IN VERONA.

"QUO VADIS, ...?" CASTS RESEARCH AS A PROJECTION THAT AIMS TO LOOK AHEAD WHILE MONITORING PERIPHERAL EVENTS THAT MIGHT UNEXPECTEDLY REDIRECT ONE'S COURSE OF ACTION. TAKE, FOR EXAMPLE, REM KOOLHAAS'S DEPICTION OF LAGOS AS A PROPHECY OF WESTERN CITIES IN HYPERBOLIC GUISE. WHAT TIES THE THREE INITIAL CATEGORIES TOGETHER IS AN EFFORT TO FRAME MODES OF INVESTIGATION IN VIEW OF A DISCOURSE ON METHOD, THEREBY AVOIDING THE TRAP OF PROCLAIMING ONE'S OWN RIGID BELIEFS AS TRUTHS. THE DEVICE OF THE MIRROR PRESENTS OPPORTUNITIES TO REFLECT ON LIMITATIONS OF ASSUMPTIONS AND TO ILLUMINATE POSSIBLE DIRECTIONS. AS THESE NEW ORIENTATIONS COALESCE, HOWEVER, CONSULTING A MIRROR FROM TIME TO TIME MIGHT CONTINUE TO BE WORTHWHILE.



LEARNING FROM ...

ONE MIGHT CONSIDER RESEARCH AS AN IDENTITY-FORMING PROCESS IN AN INTROSPECTIVE SENSE. WHILE LOOKING AT ANOTHER CULTURE, UNEXPECTED MIRROR EFFECTS COME INTO PLAY AS ONE'S OWN IMAGE IS REFLECTED IN THE OBJECT OF INVESTIGATION. A FEEDBACK MECHANISM IS AT WORK HERE, WHERE OBSERVATION AND ANALYSIS TAKE ON A SELF-REFLECTIVE, COGNITIVE ROLE – POSSIBLY IN THE SENSE OF JACQUES LACAN'S *MIRROR STAGE*, REPRESENTING A FORMATIVE FUNCTION OF THE SELF. MORE THAN JUST A BRIEF PHASE IN A PROCESS OF DEVELOPMENT, THE MIRROR STAGE IS AN EVERLASTING CONDITION, WITH THE VIEWER PERMANENTLY CAUGHT AND CAPTIVATED BY HIS OWN IMAGE – CALL IT A TRAP – FROM WHICH RESEARCH CAN HARDLY ESCAPE.

REFERENCING OVID'S POEM "ECHO AND NARCISSUS," CARAVAGGIO'S PAINTING DEPICTS NARCISSUS RESTING BY A SPRING WHILE ATTRACTED BY HIS OWN REFLECTION. HE FALLS IN LOVE WITH "ALL THE THINGS FOR WHICH HE HIMSELF IS ADMIRERED" AND GRADUALLY WASTES AWAY. (CARAVAGGIO, *NARCISSUS*, 1597–99)

IN *FIVE-WAY PORTRAIT OF MARCEL DUCHAMP*, THE ARTIST APPROPRIATES A MECHANICALLY PRODUCED NOVELTY POSTCARD TO CREATE AN INSTANT ARTWORK SHOWING HIM WITH HIS BACK TO THE CAMERA AND FOUR VERSIONS OF HIMSELF FACING EACH OTHER. (MARCEL DUCHAMP, *PORTRAIT MULTIPLE DE MARCEL DUCHAMP*, 1917)

PARMIGIANINO'S PAINTING *SELF-PORTRAIT IN A CONVEX MIRROR* SHOWS THE ARTIST'S DISTORTED REFLECTION PAINTED ON A FLAT CANVAS WITH THE FRAME CONSTRUCTED TO RESEMBLE THAT OF A MIRROR, THUS CONFLATING VIEWER AND ARTIST. (PARMIGIANINO, *SELF-PORTRAIT IN*

A CONVEX MIRROR, 1524)



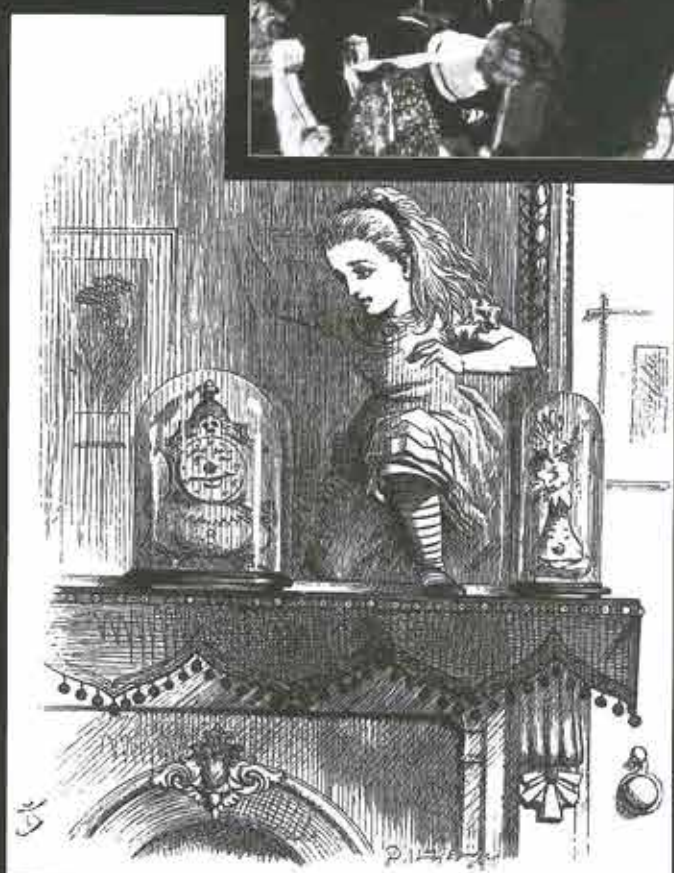
QUO VADIS, ...?

ONE MIGHT CONSIDER RESEARCH AS A REAR-VIEW MIRROR, REVEALING TO THE RESEARCHER PLAYERS AND EVENTS READY TO OVERTAKE IN THE FAST LANE, IN FULL AWARENESS THAT OBJECTS IN THE MIRROR ARE CLOSER THAN THEY APPEAR. FOR THE VIEWER – LOOKING FORWARD WHILE SIMULTANEOUSLY LOOKING BACKWARD – THE MIRROR FORECASTS POTENTIAL COURSES OF ACTION INFORMED BY PERIPHERAL EVENTS, AT TIMES IN A SORT OF BACK-TO-THE-FUTURE SETTING IN WHICH ANTICIPATED PATHS AND PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES MERGE. HERE, THE FORETELLING FUNCTION OF RESEARCH – A KIND OF CRYSTAL BALL PROJECTION – IS MARKED BY THE MUTUAL DEPENDENCY OF CONSTRUCTED PASTS AND THEIR ATTENDANT, IMAGINED FUTURES. WHILE ON THE MOVE, BOTH TARGET AND TRAJECTORY ARE CONSTANTLY SHIFTING.

DENNIS HOPPER'S PHOTOGRAPH "DOUBLE STANDARD" DEPICTS TWO BILLBOARDS OF A STANDARD GAS STATION AS SEEN THROUGH THE CAR'S WINDSHIELD. WHILE LOOKING AHEAD INTO THE REAR-VIEW MIRROR, THE DRIVER SEES A CAR ABOUT TO OVERTAKE HIM. (DENNIS HOPPER, "DOUBLE STANDARD," 1961)

AN IMAGE FROM A LATE-SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY ENCYCLOPEDIA PERSONIFIES PRUDENCE WITH TWO FACES. EQUIPPED WITH A TELESCOPE AND A MIRROR, SHE IS ENDOWED WITH THE CAPACITY TO SIMULTANEOUSLY LOOK FORWARD AND BACKWARD. GUIDED BY THIS ABILITY, "SHE GOETH ON HER WAY WARILY, FOR FEAR SHE SHOULD STUMBLE OR GO AMISS." (JOHANN AMOS COMENIUS, *ORBIS SENSUALIUM PICTUS*, 1659)

IN ALFRED HITCHCOCK'S *FAMILY PLOT*, A CRYSTAL BALL IS INTRODUCED AS A CENTRAL ELEMENT, TO PLAY ON POSSIBLE INTERACTIONS OF FUTURE EVENTS WITH PRESENT CONDITIONS, KNOWING THAT NOT ALL FORECASTS WILL COME TRUE AND THAT SOME MIGHT BE FRAUDULENT FROM THE BEGINNING. (ALFRED HITCHCOCK, *FAMILY PLOT*, FILM POSTER, 1976)



THROUGH THE LOOKING-GLASS

ONE MIGHT CONSIDER RESEARCH AS A TYPE OF MIRROR THAT ENTICES VIEWERS TO PENETRATE ITS SURFACE – TO ENTER INTO ANOTHER WORLD, AND FROM THERE, TO TAKE A GLANCE BACK THROUGH THE MIRROR: A SEEMINGLY KNOWN WORLD IT IS, THOUGH THIS TIME TWISTED, STRETCHED, OR MAGNIFIED. HERE, RESEARCH IS A THRESHOLD BETWEEN, AND PORTAL TO, PARALLEL, SELF-SIMILAR SPACES, EACH ECHOING AND TRANSFORMING THE OTHER. REALITIES WITHIN RESEARCH OFTEN DEEMED TO BE TRUE ARE THUS DESTABILIZED AND ASPECTS OF THEIR FICTIONAL CONSTRUCTIONS UNRAVELED. IN THE PROCESS, NEW CERTAINTIES ARE ESTABLISHED – AT LEAST UNTIL ONE DARES TO RE-ENTER THE MIRROR AGAIN.

TWO ORIGINAL ILLUSTRATIONS FOR LEWIS CARROLL'S *THROUGH THE LOOKING-GLASS* DEPICT ALICE AT THE THRESHOLD BETWEEN SEEMINGLY SIMILAR WORLDS. ADDRESSING HER KITTY, ALICE SAYS: "THERE IS THE ROOM YOU CAN SEE THROUGH THE GLASS – THAT'S JUST THE SAME AS OUR DRAWING-ROOM, ONLY THE THINGS GO THE OTHER WAY." (JOHN TENNIEL, WOOD-CUTS FOR LEWIS CARROLL'S FIRST EDITION OF *THROUGH THE LOOKING-GLASS*, 1871)

THE BEAST OF JEAN COCTEAU'S *LA BELLE ET LA BÊTE* POSSESSES A MAGIC MIRROR THAT HAS THE POWER TO SEE THROUGH TIME AND SPACE AND LAY BARE VIEWERS' SELF-DECEPTIONS. (JEAN COCTEAU, *LA BELLE ET LA BÊTE*, 1946)

IN THE CONCLUSION OF *PARIS, TEXAS*, WIM WENDERS DEPLOYS THE MIRROR AS A DEVICE TO STAGE THE REUNION BETWEEN THE FILM'S PROTAGONIST AND HIS FORMER LOVER. COMMUNICATING THROUGH A ONE-WAY MIRROR IN A BROTHEL, THE BORDER CREATED BY THE GLASS WALL DISSOLVES AND THE CHARACTERS' REFLECTIONS MERGE. (WIM WENDERS, *PARIS, TEXAS*, 1984)



SPATIAL EFFECTS OF INDIVIDUAL HOME-OWNERSHIP ETHIOPIA'S MASS HOUSING PROGRAM BETWEEN UNIVERSAL ASPIRATIONS AND LOCAL REALITIES // SASCHA DELZ



A protagonist of Africa's most recent wave of urbanization, Addis Ababa has experienced far-reaching socio-economic and spatial transformation during the last two decades. On a demographic level, an average annual growth of over 3 percent has almost doubled the capital's population to approximately 3.4 million from 1990 to 2010.¹ Furthermore, the change of power in 1991 has had a substantial impact on economic and urban policies. Shifting from a totally state-controlled economy under the so-called Derg Regime to a moderately market-oriented economy, under the new rule of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) the city's built environment has switched from a static slumber into a mode of hyperactive make-over. Among the many things affected by these demographic and spatial shifts, the city's notorious housing shortage – particularly for the low-income population – has been a major concern and has been substantially intensified.² Confronted with the already existing housing backlog, the low production of new housing units, and the overall poor quality of the city's housing stock, the Ethiopian Government started to reconsider its previous housing strategies during the early 2000s, and eventually introduced the country's largest and most ambitious social housing scheme to date: collaborating with the German Technical Cooperation (GTZ), the administration launched the ownership-based Addis Ababa Grand Housing Program (AAGHP) in 2004, and extended it to the Integrated Housing Development Program (IHDP) in 2006.

EFFECTS ON SPACE

Focusing on the transformation of built space, the main reasons for the visible spatial outcomes could be readily identified along the mere scale of the IHDP and the particular appearance of its housing blocks: between 2006 and 2010, the IHDP managed to build approximately 170,000 units out of the planned 150,000–200,000 housing units.³ At the same time, the program planned to create 60,000 jobs, provide the basis for 2,000 micro and small enterprises (MSEs), broadly introduce low-cost building technologies, raise ETB 5 billion (U.S. \$573 million) for initial housing construction, and develop 1,200 hectares of land.⁴ The clusters of standardized housing typologies emerging from these comprehensive objectives have become a clearly recognizable visual feature of the city ever since. The program's particular physical impact on the city has been strongly influenced by its ideological setup as well. Apart from the aforementioned measures to provide adequate shelter, and create job opportunities, the scheme promised a far greater achievement. Seeking comprehensive poverty reduction, the IHDP would "enable low-income residents to become house owners and thereby ensure fair distribution of income, and create [a] conducive environment for development."⁵ In other words, based on individual home-ownership financed through a newly installed mortgage system, the housing scheme was conceived as a mechanism that creates a more inclusive urban environment, both on a spatial and a socio-economic level. As it turns out however, this system has fostered a variety of new complications: debatable processes of privatization, particularly rigid design practices, and a variety of related socio-economic challenges have had substantial side effects on the program's physical presence and thus Addis Ababa's spatial configuration as a whole.

PRIVATIZATION EFFECTS

The introduction of individual home-ownership at such a large scale signified a radical departure from long-established habits and practices. Depicting a typical ratio for low-income countries, nearly two-thirds of Addis Ababa's citizens were tenants as of 2007.⁶ In spite of this fact – and the manifold reasons that underline such tenancy patterns – the IHDP opted for a system based on individual ownership and housing mortgages. Historically, the promotion of individual home-ownership in low-income countries for poverty alleviation is nothing new. It has been

a + b // Appropriation of immediate outdoor spaces for daily activities, Gerji II Site

c // Stand-alone housing blocks and neglected outdoor spaces, Goterà Site

1 // "Urban Population (percent of Total)," The World Bank, <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.URB.TOTLIN.ZS> (accessed May 23, 2011); UN-Habitat, *State of the World's Cities 2008/2009 – Harmonious Cities* (London: Earthscan, 2008), 169.

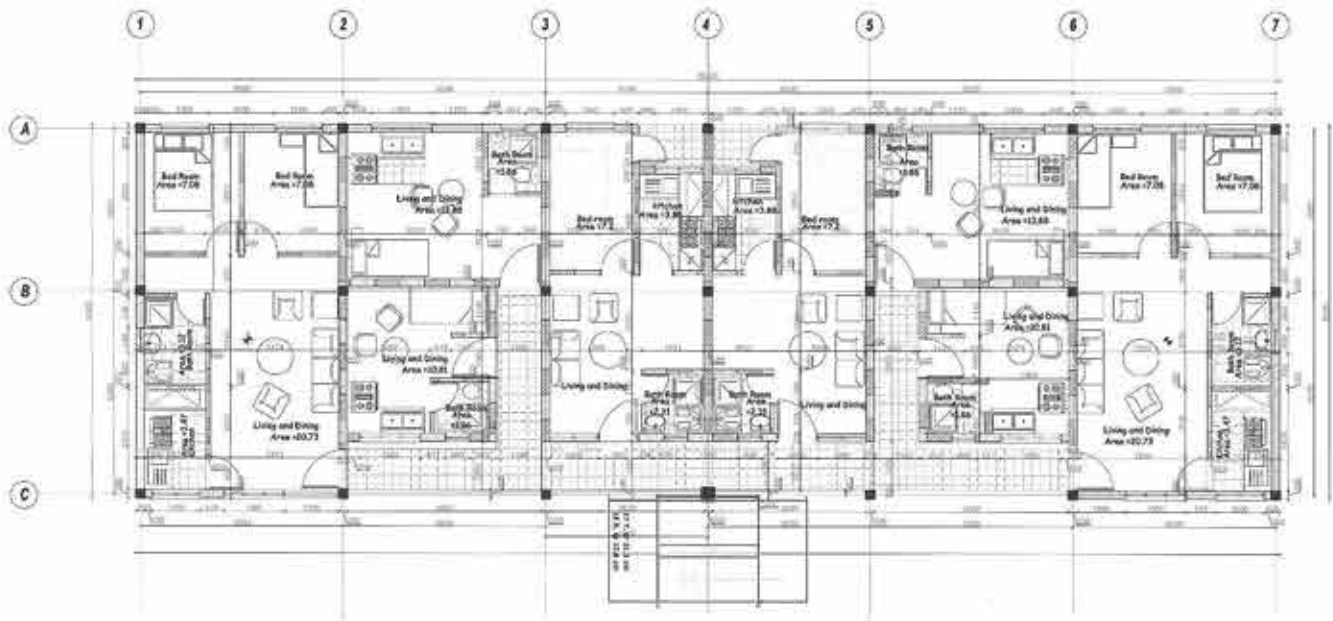
2 // As of 2000, the city lacked of approximately 233,000 housing units, the need of an estimated 223,000 units until 2010 was projected by the city's master plan office. Cf. ORAAMP, *Structure Plan Housing Component – Improvement and Development Strategy: Guidelines, Regulations, Norms and Standards* (Addis Ababa, 2001), 18.

3 // UN-Habitat, *Condominium Housing in Ethiopia – The Integrated Housing Development Programme* (Nairobi: United Nations Human Settlements Programme, 2011), vii; GTZ, MWUD et al., *Integrated Housing Development Program, Volume I – Management Manual* (Addis Ababa: GTZ, 2006), 67–68.

4 // GTZ, MWUD et al., *Integrated Housing Development Program, Volume I – Management Manual*, 67–68.

5 // GTZ, MWUD et al., *Integrated Housing Development Program, Volume I – Management Manual*, 68.

6 // Central Statistical Agency Ethiopia (CSA), *The 2007 Population and Housing Census of Ethiopia – Statistical Report for Addis Ababa City Administration* (Addis Ababa: CSA, 2007) 161.



d // HDP housing block type T-16, typical floor plan

7 // Alan Gilbert, "Slums, Tenants and Home-Ownership: On Blindness to the Obvious," *International Development Planning Review (IDPR)* 30, no. 2 (2008): i.

8 // Elias Yitbarek, "Between Renting and Owning – Saving and Cooperative Based Tenure Transformation in the Inner-City 'Slums' of Addis Ababa," in *Proceedings of the 16th International Conference of Ethiopian Studies*, ed. Svein Ege et al. (Trondheim: 2009), 944.

9 // *Ibid.*

10 // According to the 2007 census by the Central Statistical Agency of Ethiopia, 61.3 percent of citizens were living in some form of rental housing, while 32.6 percent of the units were owner-occupied. By mainly targeting to replace the 23.6 percent

a very powerful concept, perpetually advocated by numerous key institutions, and leading, in many instances, to the "assumption (...) that home-ownership represents the 'natural' tenure."⁷ In combination with the installed mortgage system, this "natural tenure" of privatized home-ownership has fostered rather distinct spatial effects in the Ethiopian context. First, expecting fairly strict specifications in order to qualify a housing unit as collateral, mortgage financing has strongly influenced how the IHDP's housing typologies – and ultimately the neighborhoods – were conceptually designed and physically built. Producing ready-made unit layouts, which very clearly represent the boundaries of the newly acquired private property, the design process has resulted in apartment and stand-alone housing typologies that neither offer any incremental or intermediate stages of construction, nor allow the introduction of alternative material choices. Second, the IHDP also creates an "indirect privatization" of the public housing sector.⁸ Targeting the most precarious publicly owned housing stock, the installed program forces dwellers to either acquire the provided private property, or to leave their former neighborhood. By these terms, the program does not officially evict low-income residents, but indirectly favors people who dispose of a stable income – ultimately fostering a process spatial and social segregation.⁹ Since one of the program's initial targets was to replace the public tenement housing stock with IHDP units, one could also speak of an imposed privatization of the public low-end housing market.¹⁰ Finally, focusing on privatized individual home-ownership, the program has fostered a general disregard of open spaces within the IHDP neighborhoods. The particular model of ownership, namely the mix of totally privatized housing units and shared responsibilities for housing blocks as well as outdoor spaces, has made maintenance of these areas highly complicated and often unaffordable. Apart from so-called unit owners associations that are mainly responsible for maintenance of the units and housing blocks, the IHDP did not install any other community-based structure responsible for the public zones in-between the blocks.¹¹ As a result, these areas are often poorly maintained, appropriated for unforeseen activities, or generally neglected.



DESIGN-RELATED EFFECTS

Inevitably connected to these mechanisms of finance and privatization, the corresponding building and urban designs have produced difficult spatial results. As a social housing program, the units are obviously planned within minimal spatial constraints. However, the conception that all units are built with fixed room divisions is a rather limiting measure. In spite of the potential adaptability that the chosen structural grid could allow, there is no room for beneficiaries to configure the units more flexibly: a strict subjection of room numbers to apartment sizes and income groups deploys axiomatic rules on the units' layouts. Moreover, the layouts with classic "modern" kitchens and room divisions often fall short of providing an adequate environment for the targeted low-income group. At the building level, the direct spatial effects are mainly determined by the chosen stand-alone typology and its different facade designs. While the street facade is fairly sealed on the upper levels and can be opened for commercial uses on the ground floor, the back facade's open staircases and access balconies create a sort of permeability for immediate outdoor activities. As it turns out, these buffer zones are almost completely appropriated by daily activities such as laundry, cooking, drying spices, or are used as improvised storage spaces. The lack of suitable or well-defined additional areas for these activities contribute to cramped and often non-functional immediate outdoor spaces. Regardless of such punctual alteration, it is clear that the buildings' principal design and materiality is not meant to be extended for, or appropriated by such daily needs: the housing blocks resist within their strict typological boundaries. At the neighborhood scale, the given housing blocks stimulate a design strategy that can be called "compound design" where the main focus lies on designing a self-sufficient plot. Due to the resulting lack of spatial integration into the immediate urban environment, this strategy usually creates morphologically and programmatically disconnected urban islands. Equipped with the stand-alone housing block but without any compulsory guidelines regarding urban design, the designer's intentions and abilities decide how a neighborhood is integrated into its surroundings, or how coherently a new part of the city is built. One of the main spatial deficits caused by this circumstance is the large amount of undefined areas both within the neighborhoods, and at the neighborhoods' margins. Combined with the described effects of privatized ownership, this has additionally enforced the negligence of these open spaces. In the context of a city like Addis Ababa, where a substantial amount of social, cultural and economic activities take place on the ground floor and street level, this spatial feature clearly misses a crucial opportunity to provide adequate room for such activities. What the compound design strategy entails for the internal arrangement of neighborhoods can be translated to the urban scale as well – particularly to the new expansion areas. Due to failed strategies to allocate substantial areas within the existing city fabric, a large amount of planned IHDP units has been merged into peripheral large-scale sites. Reminding of satellite towns, compound design creates both a spatial assemblage of disconnected autonomous neighborhoods and a wildly mixed collection of urban configurations. This chain of effects – starting at the level of a rigid apartment and housing design – signifies how the particularly applied model of individual home-ownership has not only strongly defined architectural typologies, but has prolonged its influence widely into the realms urban and territorial spaces.

state-owned housing units, a full implementation of the IHDP would theoretically boost home-ownership to over 50 percent.

11 // FDRE. *Proclamation No. 370-2003 – Condominium Proclamation*. (Addis Ababa: Federal Negarit Gazeta of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, 2003) 2401. UN-Habitat. *Condominium Housing in Ethiopia – The Integrated Housing Development Programme*, 43.

12 // GTZ. MWUD et al., *Integrated Housing Development Program, Volume I – Management Manual*, 84–85.

13 // The listed selling prices not always follow the increased square meter prices because the units for the two lowest income groups have been subsidized with the gains from the larger, non-subsidized apartments (2- and 3-bedrooms), and the commercial units.

e // Peripheral IHDP satellite towns



14 // Melkeam Aschalew, "Controversy over Condominium Delays," *Addis Fortune* 12, no. 669 (February 24, 2013); GTZ, MWUD et al., *Integrated Housing Development Program, Volume I – Management Manual*, 82.

15 // Cf. Teshome Tefera, *Measuring the Affordability of the IHDP – The Integrated Housing Development Program in Addis Ababa* (Saarbrücken: LAP LAMBERT Academic Publishing, 2011), 37–39. GTZ, MWUD et al., *Integrated Housing Development Program, Volume I – Management Manual*, 87.

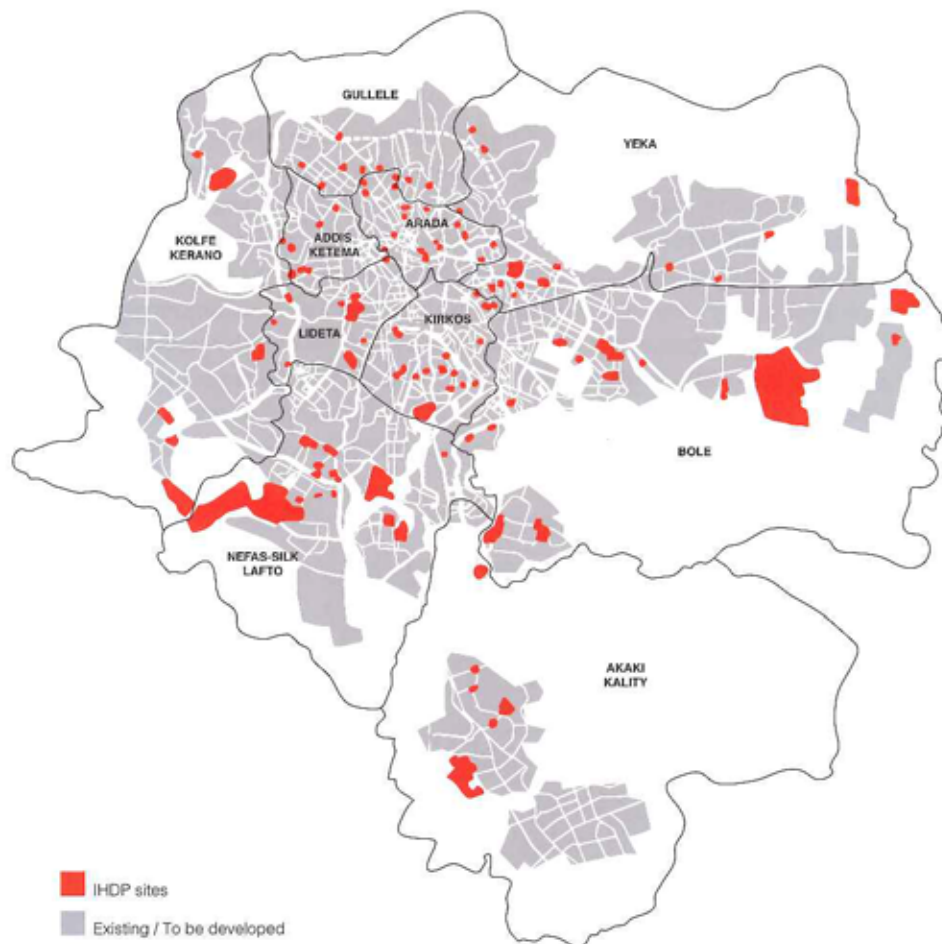
16 // Central Statistical Agency Ethiopia (CSA), *Household Income, Consumption And Expenditure (HICE) Survey 2004/5 – Volume I: Analytical Report* (Addis Ababa: CSA, 2007).

17 // Tefera, *Measuring the Affordability of the IHDP – The Integrated Housing Development Program in Addis Ababa*, 52.

18 // World Bank and United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, *SSATP Working Paper No. 70 – Scoping Study: Urban Mobility in Three Cities. Addis Ababa, Dar Es Salam, Nairobi* (Washington D.C.: The World Bank, 2002), 105.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC EFFECTS

Particular privatization processes and design decisions have triggered an array of socio-economic challenges out of which affordability has been the most apparent and expansive issue. Partially targeted at middle-income, but mainly at low-income groups, the IHDP's intended distribution of housing units was directly related to levels of income: the program planned to deliver 50 percent of its units to the lowest-income group, who disposes of a monthly income up to U.S. \$34, a further 30 percent to residents who earn between U.S. \$34 and U.S. \$68 a month, 10 percent to the monthly income bracket of U.S. \$68 to U.S. \$136, and the remaining 10 percent to households who have more than U.S. \$136 at their disposal.¹² However, the projected construction costs per square meter substantially increased over the years.¹³ Linked to the applied model of standardized construction procedures and chosen materials, the progressive raise of prices has been mainly due to the dependence on imported steel and cement.¹⁴ But even without increased prices, the financial framework has been rather challenging for the targeted low-income group from the outset. Taking the 2004 price for the cheapest available apartment type – studio unit, U.S. \$1,871, with no interest rates on the mortgage, and a maximum of 20 square meters – one can relate the average disposable income to occurring costs: after an initial down-payment of U.S. \$187 (10 percent), the remaining U.S. \$1,684 would have to be paid back over twenty years, resulting in a monthly amount of U.S. \$7.¹⁵ This represents about 20 percent of a monthly income of U.S. \$34, and is clearly above average spending needed for existing dwellings: according to a 2007 household survey, the three lowest income quintiles in Ethiopia had to use an average 13 percent of their monthly expenditures for housing (predominantly in the form of rent).¹⁶ In addition to this, two surveys – conducted for nine different IHDP sites – come to congruent results when investigating the sources of beneficiaries' down-payments: only about 30 percent of recipients were able to provide the full amount from their own savings, while the remaining 70 percent relied on external funding. From these 70 percent, the ratio of debt-financed sources is numbered between 32 percent and 46 percent. This means that within



f // IHDP sites Addis Ababa as of 2010

the scope of these surveys, over 32 percent of beneficiaries have been burdened with an additional credit to get access to the mortgage in the first place.¹⁷ A further issue can be observed with the large-scale peripheral IHDP sites, which provide the majority of available units. Moving to such a site entails increasing transportation costs, or, in many cases, a first-time dependence on public transport (as of 2002, 70 percent of Addis Ababa's citizens were still relying on walking as the main mode of transportation).¹⁸ The cheapest public transportation is offered by the Anbessa City Bus Enterprise, with which – as of 2008 – two daily trips in the range of 9–15 kilometers would result in average ticket costs of U.S. \$0.2.¹⁹ Based on this, a six-day working week would sum up to monthly expenses of U.S. \$4.8. Within the lowest income group's earnings of an average U.S. \$34, transportation costs would account for 14 percent of the monthly budget. The combination of such financial restrictions has had a direct impact on the spatial configuration of the city: confronted with monthly insecurities regarding interest payments, or with the inability to afford the service-related costs such as electricity and water, many beneficiaries from the low-income group have been renting their units to more affluent citizens – mostly from the middle class. In turn, the unit owners either have never moved out of their original housing unit, or have returned to another precarious dwelling.²⁰ While this development has created partial steady incomes for a new class of low-income landlords, it has had the opposite effect on the intended spatial densification, as well as the envisioned improvements of dwelling standards for low-income groups.

A MULTITUDE OF DESIGN AND FUNDING STRATEGIES

These briefly sketched side effects display fundamental shortcomings of the IHDP's interrelated financial and spatial strategies. So far, and in stark contrast to its initial and official intentions, the program has failed to create more inclusive access to the urban realm for the mainly targeted low-income citizens. Moreover, the program has, in many places, even aggravated prevailing issues by fostering social and spatial segregation on its own terms. The applied combination of the ideologically framed concept of individual home-ownership – based on a strict financial corset of mortgage finance – and the related design procedures have not only ignored crucial social and economic realities, but have also somewhat paralyzed architectural and urban design's potential abilities to create, sustain, and induce social as well as spatial qualities beyond mere financial directives and construction standards. Consequentially, when considering alternatives to the current housing scheme, two of the IHDP's main pillars – namely mortgage finance and ready-made housing designs – would have to be thoroughly questioned. In contrast to the program's limited design process and funding structure, such a strategy could, for instance, propose a larger diversity of simultaneously designed, built, tested, and researched approaches of finance and design. This trajectory could combine a variety of physical prototypes with different funding schemes, link sociological and anthropological findings with design proposals, and better incorporate directly collected knowledge of local practices. Ultimately, such an approach could also contribute to an actually desirable side effect that diverse systems usually incorporate: an open collection of versatile, adaptable, and affordable housing schemes would automatically expand the margins for the initially aspired social and spatial inclusion of low-income citizens. //

19 // Tewodros Kebkab, "Addis Ababa City Bus Fares Soar," *Capital (Online)* (February 19, 2008) (accessed February 05, 2014). For instance: the commuting distance to the old city center of Arat Kilo is approximately 14 kilometers away from both the IHDP Summit site in the eastern expansion area, and the IHDP Jemmo I site in the western part.

20 // Tegegne Gebre-Egziabher, *Livelihood and Urban Poverty Reduction in Ethiopia – Perspectives from Small and Big Towns* (Addis Ababa: Organization for Social Science Research in Eastern and Southern Africa (OSSREA), 2010); Tefera, *Measuring the Affordability of the IHDP – The Integrated Housing Development Program in Addis Ababa*, 53. UN-Habitat, *Condominium Housing in Ethiopia – The Integrated Housing Development Programme*, 38–40.

g // Contrast between new IHDP compound and existing neighborhood, Gerji II site

h // IHDP neighborhood, Gofa Site

i // Compound design resulting in urban islands



