

# **Architecture & Dwelling**

## **BUILDING TRUST:** *preserving an inclusive Addis Ababa*

### **RESEARCH PLAN**

**Master of Architecture, Urbanism & Building Sciences**

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**Global Housing Graduation Studio:  
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## 1. Background

Addis Ababa is the capital of Ethiopia and is both the economic and administrative centre of the nation. With the headquarters of the African Union, UN Economic Commission for Africa and the United Nations Development Program, Addis Ababa has often been referred to as "Africa's diplomatic capital". (Wubneh, 2013) Despite generally increasing prosperity and life expectancy, (Gapminder Foundation, 2019) the city faces several problems. (Wubneh, 2013) With a population growth of 17% between 2007 and 2017 (resulting in 3.8 million inhabitants in 2018) and the expansion of the footprint by 51% between 2007 and 2017 (Addis Ababa City Administration et al., 2020), many of the problems are caused by the rapid growth. (Wubneh, 2013) Due to the fast urbanization that comes with the rapid growth (an annual population growth of 3.8%) (Addis Ababa City Administration et al., 2020) the government unable to provide adequate housing and basic amenities for all its residents. (Wubneh, 2013) As a result, the city densifies itself through informal settlements within the city and through urban sprawl on the city edges. Even causing ethnic tension through expanding beyond its administrative boundaries. (Burke, 2017)

To solve the problem of housing, it is predicted that between 2017 and 2027 1.2 million new homes will be needed, of which 420,000 residences for low-income levels. Meanwhile, about 80% of the inner city consists of homes that can be described as slum dwellings. Concerning amenities, only 7% of the inhabitants of the city is currently connected to the sewerage and the capacity of the water supply must be almost tripled (from 40 to 110 liters per inhabitant per day) to meet the demand. There are also challenges regarding solid waste collection, of the 320 000 metric tons of solid waste produced each year only 65% ends up in landfills. (Addis Ababa City Administration et al., 2020) The growth of the city also affects its transport network. The underdevelopment of primary infrastructure, increasing car traffic and insufficient public transport capacity present major challenges for the city in terms of transport. (Wubneh, 2013) In addition, climate change will significantly change the weather. The consequences of this will not be drastic for Addis Ababa because of the high altitude of the city will create creating a more temperate climate. But for the rural environment, temperature will rise, and droughts, heavy rainfall and floods will occur, which will have major consequences for people, animals, and nature. (USAID, 2016) With the foundation of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia in 1995 a free-market economy was introduced. In this context, attempts were made to ensure that the free market provides sufficient housing, but without the desired effect. (Admassie, 2008) Therefore, the Ethiopian government presented in 2004 the "Integrated Housing Development Program" (IHDP) as a solution for housing shortage. The IHDP consists of two main condominium building types, one which focuses on the lower incomes known as 20/80 and the other for the middle incomes known as the 40/60. (UN-HABITAT, 2010) Despite the good intentions, the model is mainly focused on the efficiency of construction time and costs where there is less attention for diversity and resilience of the new neighbourhoods.

Despite the construction of the 20/80 condominiums, which aim to provide housing for lower incomes, housing for this group is still a major problem. The main reason that the 20/80 condominium is not providing in the housing need of low-income dwellings is the monthly mortgage. Even though a part of the low incomes can save or collect the required down payment in various ways, the monthly costs are too high. Nevertheless, these homes are bought by lower incomes but are rented out (against the rules) to middle income earners and thus become an investment. In addition, the 20/80 condominium does not facilitate possibilities for earning wages, because the mobility of low incomes is limited (due to costs), earning wages near the dwelling is of great importance. The location of 20/80 condominium outside economic centres and the disconnection of social-economic ties through the random redeployment of

inhabitants (by drawing lots) helps to reconsider the condominium housing project. (UN-HABITAT, 2010)

## **2. Problem Statement**

Until the 19th century, Ethiopia had no fixed capital. Due to the moving character, the original principles of a moving camp were used for the structure of the capital. When Menelik II designated Addis Ababa as the definitive capital in 1886, the capital was also now organized according to this principle. High ranked state and region officials all tried to get the best place for their settlement around that of the emperor. The rich and the high placed were surrounded by the poor and the lower placed, including their servants and slaves. This organizing principle was of great importance and prevented the development of segregation of race, ethnicity, and social economic status. (Admassie, 2008)

With the arrival of the new imperialism on the African continent (at the end of the 19th century) (McDougall, 2020) and with-it colonial rule, forms of racial and social economic segregation were once again a threat. In contrast, Ethiopia has not really experienced colonial rule or strong segregation even though attempts were done during Italian occupation (between 1936 and 1941), as witnessed by the various master plans. One of the main reasons was the short occupation (5 years) of the Italians, which meant that there was not enough time to radically change the social (and economic) structures. But also, the long architectural discourse, bureaucracy, and the lack of building materials (still a problem today) have contributed to the fact that segregation was not spatially implemented in Addis Ababa. (Woudstra, 2014) As a result, the urban mix of different races, ethnicities and incomes living side by side has survived on a continent that was (and is) torn apart by segregation.

Even today, different social groups live close together. Despite differences in incomes and ethnicity, there is a great sense of community and there is a great of solidarity towards each other. As a result, Addis Ababa has much lower ethnic tension and crime compared to the rest of the country. Unfortunately, this solidarity and social cohesion are under pressure through globalisation which is driven by the internal drive to become a "world class city" and the global dynamism that comes along as "Africa's diplomatic capital". Due to the increasing differences in income, and the social status that is associated within capitalism, differences are emphasized more which results in differentiation followed by polarization. These social contradictions increasingly translate into the built environment. (Alemayehu & Stark, 2018)

One important trend that illustrates this is the building of gated communities. Where the construction of the first gated community already started during the DERG regime and the adaptation of the existing neighbourhood to gated communities took off during the political instability in the 1990s, gated communities are now again developed. These new gated communities mainly focus on the part of society with a significantly higher standard of living than most of Addis Ababa with which they facilitate and create a clear economic segregation between poor and rich. These purpose-designed gated communities developed by real-estate developers follow more the international characteristics of gated communities, in comparison to the inner city retrofitted gated communities. They arise not so much from a desire for a certain lifestyle or for the creation of prestige, but from a need for security.

(Admassie, 2008) In this case it is about "voluntary segregation" because of the different options that higher incomes have. (Ponds, Ham & Marlet, 2015)

A second way in which economic segregation is manifested is through the government-subsidized condominium housing program. With the construction of the 20/80 and 40/60 condominiums, a strict separation takes place between middle/high incomes and low incomes. Where the 20/80 condominiums are not accessible most of the low-income earners do not have the required capital (required for the 20% deposit) and income to pay the monthly mortgage. (UN-HABITAT, 2010) Due to

income and capital differences, the housing options of low incomes are considerably limited, which results in “involuntary segregation”. (Ponds, Ham & Marlet, 2015) If nothing is done about economic segregation the unique social mix that characterises Addis Ababa from its foundation and which is part of its intangible cultural heritage, will be lost. In addition, due to economic segregation, microeconomic relationships which are a source of income and ensure social security will be lost, causing the living conditions of low incomes to deteriorate. (Gameren & Mota, 2020) Furthermore, economic segregation (just like other forms of segregation) can lead to a concentration of social problems with a downward vicious circle as a result, with social unrest, nuisance, and crime as a result. (Ponds, Ham & Marlet, 2015)

If we look more specifically to the problem of economic segregation, we see that the problem is twofold. The main reason for the emergence of gated communities is security (Admassie, 2008) where the segregation of between 20/80 and 40/60 condominium is mainly due to economic interests. (UN-HABITAT, 2010) The need for security is not linked to income, both high and low incomes are walling and protect their property. (Admassie, 2008) This is not surprising because, as Maslow's pyramid indicates, safety and security are one of the basic needs of all human being. (Maslow, 1943) Meanwhile, Addis Ababa is seen as a relative safe city (OSAC, 2019), which indicates that the problem of safety is more a problem of the experienced safety than the real safety. Sennet (2019) gives an adequate explanation for this. Differences go well as long as they are not emphasised or placed on the foreground. As already pointed out, this is happening more and more because of increasing globalisation and the resultant growing inequality in incomes, bringing differences to the foreground. Sennet (2019) also points to a solution, he says: “In a mixed community, the rituals of getting along sacrifice truth for trust.” (p.143) Also, the study of Marschall and Stolle (2004) points out that through trust, people can overcome and even eliminate (racial) prejudices and other negative associations about another group. Another strength that goes hand in hand with trust shows the study of Bjørnskov (2012). In this study he explains that: “[...] trust affects schooling and the rule of law directly, thereby raising economic growth rates.” (p.1346) Creating trust is therefore a two-pronged solution. The economic motives for separation of the 20/80 and 40/60 condominiums can also be questioned. All that remains is a discrepancy between short-term and long-term profit for the current segregation and the strategy to create trust. To create security without walls, fences, and segregation, it will be necessary to work on mutual trust. This raises the following main question.

### **3. Research Question**

How can interpersonal trust be created in the context of the neighbourhood between high and low incomes by means of a new housing standard in Addis Ababa?

### **4. Theoretical Framework**

This project approaches the housing problem in Addis Ababa from a sociological perspective and focuses on preserving the unique inner-city social mix and its counteracts economic segregation. The main strategy is to create interpersonal trust with the help of the built environment. This research takes a community-centred approach. The first concept on which this research is based is “community”. In this study the community refers to a group of inhabitants of a certain locality, the neighbourhood. But what else does the term community mean? The concept of community can be traced back to the English philosopher Hobbes. (Sennet, 2019) This is surprising because he is especially known for his statement that “[...] the state of nature would become a "state of war", even worse, a war or "all against all".” (Lloyd & Sreedhar, 2018) However, among the children he was teaching, he observed that “[...] that his charges had a strong desire for 'concord', taking pleasure

in one another's company even when scrapping or arguing. To this pleasure he compared the condition of 'union', a more cool, contractual, political bond which restrained violence." (Sennet, 2019, p.65) Hobbes notion of 'concord' and 'union' directly inspired the German sociologist Tönnies in the 19th century for his definition of community. He defined the difference between "Gemeinschaft & Gesellschaft" which are best translated into English as "community & society". As Sennet (2019) describes: "The one [community] embodies face-to-face, personalized encounters, the other [society] impersonal and instrumental arrangements. The term 'neighborhood' conveys how Gemeinschaft feels - friendly or hostile in daily relations with people not part of your immediate family. In society, in Gesellschaft, [...] They are cool, blasé with one another." (p.65) The definition of Tönnies can be summarised as: "an organic, natural kind of social group whose members are bound together by a sense of belonging created out of everyday contacts covering the whole range of human activities". (Wani, 2017, p.150) At the beginning of the 20th century the German sociologist Mannheim also formulated his definition of community, being: "Community is a group or collection of groups that inhabits a locality". And later the American sociologist Parsons defined community as: "a group or collection of groups that inhabit a delimited geographical area and whose members live together in such a way they share basic conditions of common life". (Wani, 2017, p.150) In addition to these sociologists, many other definitions have been set by others. All of them, however, include the following three aspects. First, it concerns a group (people) which interact with each other, such as neighbours and colleagues. Secondly, these interactions often have a certain locality, they take place in a street, a neighbourhood or, on a larger scale, a city. The last aspect that the different definitions of community share is that the members of a community have common values, beliefs, and behaviours. (Neal, 2012) Based on the definition of Mannheim, where a community depends only on a particular locality, living side by side would already be sufficient to form a community. However, this design research envisions the two income groups to interact. Therefore, the definition of Mannheim does not fit. The definition of Parsons does not fit into this framework as well. The sharing of the "basic conditions" will initially not cover the difference which results in the different income levels. The strong emphasis on "everyday contacts" in Tönnies definition of community fits best with the interactions this design research is aiming for.

Bourdieu's notion of capital is of great importance within this research because of the economic perspective this research has on social interactions within a community. In total there are four forms of capital according to Bourdieu, summarised by sociologist Wacquant (2007) as followed. "Capital comes in three principal species: economic (material and financial assets), cultural (scarce symbolic goods, skills, and titles), and social (resources accrued by virtue of membership in a group). A fourth species, symbolic capital, designates the effects of any form of capital when people do not perceive them as such (as when we attribute lofty moral qualities to members of the upper class as a result of their "donating" time and money to charities)." (p.222) Social capital unites the economic and social aspects of socioeconomic relationship. Based on the concepts of the founding theorists Bourdieu and Coleman, social capital can be defined as "resources embedded in relationships among actors". (Häuberer, 2011) An important aspect here is that different forms of capital can be exchanged. An example of this is the investment of economic capital (money) in training resulting in cultural capital (in the form of skills). (Wacquant, 2007) The aim of this research is to maintain and expand the social capital of low-income earners and thus increase their resources by expanding their network of high-income earners. To achieve this, we will look at the concept of trust.

Trust is essential for social relations. According to Sennet (2019) trust is vital in dealing with differences: "In a mixed community, the rituals of getting along sacrifice truth for trust." (p.143) The German sociologist Simmel formulates it slightly

differently and says: "It is the mutual "faithfulness" on which all social relationships ultimately depend." (Lewis & Weigert, 1985, p.968) But trust comes with uncertainties and doubts. Rational forecasting is therefore a strategy to exclude the uncertainty of trust. It is only in an increasingly complex world that all information can never be weighed up. The German sociologist Luhmann, often called the most important social theorist of the 20th century (Bechmann & Stehr, 2002), says that trust is: "the reduction of complexity" and therefore inevitable. (Lewis & Weigert, 1985, p.968) The concept of trust has three facets, a cognitive, emotional, and behavioural dimension which together form one social experience.

The basis of trust is in the cognitive part. This part deals with judging if somebody or something is trustworthy, distrusted, and unknown. The mind makes an assessment and a choice based on the available information. An important aspect that both Luhmann and Simmel refer to here is "familiarity". Familiarity helps us to make a judgment, good or bad. (Lewis & Weigert, 1985) The second aspect of trust is emotion complementary to the cognitive. An emotional bond exists, in whatever way, between participants in a relationship. Trust can create a situation in which intense emotional investments can be made. This aspect is particularly strong in an intimate relationship. The last aspect of trust is behaviour. According to Bernard Barber, the behavioural part of trust is "[...] the undertaking of a risky course of action on the confident expectation that all persons involved in the action will act competently and dutifully." (Lewis & Weigert, 1985, p.971) And as Luhmann points out, acting out of trust has influenced positively the rational assessment of someone's reliability. In other words, acting out of trust creates trust. (Lewis & Weigert, 1985)

The following literature will be used for this research. In the field of urban social relations, the work of Sennet and Jacobs is the starting point. Sennet's important works are: *Building and Dwelling*, in which he investigates and describes the discrepancy between the lived and the build city and for which he offers a possible solution. The second work is *Together*. Here Sennet analyses the meaning of cooperation and solidarity, why we are no longer able to do it and how we can learn it again. *The death and life of the great American cities* by Jacobs discusses the core qualities of a good neighbourhood and public space (pavement). In addition, she gives "four generators of diversity". Although this work was written from an American context, general design gives principles. In addition to Jacobs' work, the research also uses the work of Gehl and Whyte regarding public space. *Life between buildings* by Gehl and *The Social Life of Small Urban Space* by Whyte provides tools for the design of public space. In the area of economic inequality, the two works of Wilkinson & Picket are the starting point. In "The Spirit Level" and "The Inner Level" the consequences of economic inequality and the benefits of economic equality are presented.

## **5. Methodology and Methods**

To explore the ways in which interpersonal trust can be created in Addis Ababa through urban and building design, a qualitative design research will be used based mainly on secondary sources. The result of the research will be a design project. This research mainly uses qualitative research strategy because these methods allow for a broader and holistic approach regarding the complicity of real life compared to a quantitative study. In addition, a qualitative research method gives flexibility within the design process to adjust the process and this is more sensitive to the meaning and processes of human activities and therefore better suited to the research question of what is sociological in nature. (Groat & Wang, 2001) However, qualitative research also has its drawbacks. It is more difficult for the research method to handle large amounts of data, it is less systematic (fewer guidelines and step-by-step plans) and, the rationality is criticised. Where the objections of large amounts of data are less relevant to the chosen research methods, the lack of

systematics and rationality are overcome by support of mentors and peer review sessions. (Groat & Wang, 2001)

The first research method this research will use is literature review. This method is used to research the background of economic segregation, the creation of social capital and of interpersonal trust. To ensure reliability mainly academic papers will be used. With the help of content analyses, the literature study will provide general design strategies and principles. The strength of literature review is the overview it provides to the research conducted. Here repetitions are excluded, the identification of gaps in the research is left to the reader and enumerations are skipped which makes the information condensed and clear. Problems with literature research, however, are the lack of a method to ensure that all literature is included, which increases the risk of bias. (Grant & Booth, 2009) In order to overcome this problem, the study uses previous literature review and also "snowball sampling" to consult a broad scope of literature.

The second research method which will be used is visual ethnography. Secondary sources that have previously carried out similar research will be used for this purpose. This method will focus on public (open) settings, mapping different patterns of habits and customs. This will focus on settings around income generation and social interaction in the public space. The ethnographic research that will be used have mainly taken place covert, in which the researcher did not make himself known as such to the "participants". In addition, the researchers mainly had a passive role in which they had an observing position. In addition to previous ethnographic research, descriptive anthropological research will also be used to supplement the data. Using visual ethnography, the overall design strategies and principles can be further contextualized for the situation of Addis Ababa.

Thirdly, the design research will make use of a combination of experimental and simulation research. Using simulation and modelling, different design variants will be experimented with, which will be weighed based on their performance. In this way design proposals can be assessed and optimised.

Finally, case studies will be used in this design study. By studying reference projects and comparing these with strengths and weaknesses it can be formulated resulting in additional design strategies. In addition, threats and opportunities can be appointed which can serve as input for the design project. The use of case studies in research brings many benefits. According to Groat and Wand (2001), however, each of these advantages is also linked to a disadvantage. For example, case studies have a focus on integration with the context; a linked risk is that the study will be over complicated. In addition, a case study has the potential to demonstrate causal links. A drawback here is that these links are probably "multi-faceted and complex".

## **6. Relevance**

As Alemayehu & Stark (2018) points out, Addis Ababa is increasingly becoming a divided city. According to him, this is mainly caused by "the mushrooming of gated communities and the priority given to traffic infrastructure over the integrity of neighbourhoods." (Alemayehu & Stark, 2018, p.73) The emergence of gated communities was also observed in 2008 by Admassie. At that time, he already noted that gated communities are (almost) not researched and documented, or as he describes it: "[...] there is literally no documentation on gated enclaves of inner-city Addis Ababa, and little on the access-controlled real-estate development projects on its periphery." (Admassie, 2008, p.118) After which he later continued that "the main body of the data informing this paper had to be generated by the study itself." (Admassie, 2008, p.118) If we compare the study of Admassie (2008) with that of Alemayehu & Stark (2018), we can conclude that gated communities (or more fundamentally segregation) is/are still a major problem. And that, after 10 years, Admassie's remark that, "[...] gated communities have not attracted the attention of urban planners and municipal authorities." (Admassie, 2008, p.111), still largely

applies. The emphasis however is on 'largely' because in the work of Gamenen and Mota (2020) and their students, they draw attention to this issue. Apart from the work of Yimam (2014) on mixed neighbourhoods, which touches on the subject of this study, and the other study mentioned, no other studies on gated communities and segregation have been found in the context of Addis Ababa. Outside the African context (apart from South Africa), the subject has been widely researched, with names in Europe and North America. (Atkinson & Blandy, 2006; Tammaru et al., 2016) Therefore thus this research contributes to the further development of knowledge in the gated communities and segregation in the context of Addis Ababa by the investigations of social trust, mainly in relation to build environment. In a broader social context, it hopes to stimulate a political and social dialogue in Ethiopia around economic segregation in Addis Ababa.

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