



WHAT IF? WHAT NEXT?

SPECULATIONS ON HISTORY'S FUTURES

ROUNDTABLE

REVISITING THE HISTORY OF PARTICIPATION: URBAN DESIGN AS COMMONING AND NEW THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS

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URBAN COMMONS AS A BRIDGE BETWEEN THE SPATIAL AND THE SOCIAL: PRO-POOR HOUSING PROGRAMMES IN ADDIS ABABA AND COMMONING PRACTICES

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The paper presents the reasons for which the issue of providing housing to low-income citizens has been a real challenge in the case of Addis Ababa during recent years and will continue to be, given that its population is growing extremely fast. It examines the tensions between the universal aspirations and the local realities in the case of Ethiopia's most ambitious mass housing schemes, such as the 'Addis Ababa Grand Housing Program' (AAGHP), which was launched in 2004 and was integrated in the 'Integrated Housing Development Program' (IHDP) in 2006. The paper argues that the quotidian practices of communities and their socio-economic and cultural characteristics are interconnected with the spatial attributes of co-housing practices. It draws upon the idea that there is a mutual correspondence between social and spatial structures, placing particular emphasis on the analysis of a pro-poor housing programme, the 'Integrated Housing Development Programme' (IHDP). The paper aims to show how, in order to shape strategies that take into account the social and cultural aspects daily life for poor people in Addis Ababa, it is pivotal to invite them to take part in decision-making processes regarding their resettlement.

Despite the fact that the living conditions in condominiums are of much higher quality than those in kebele houses, in many cases, the role of the commoning practices and the public or shared spaces that facilitate these practices were underestimated or even neglected. In order to shape methods of urban resettlement that respect the social capital of the citizens, it is important to use participatory strategies and to enhance the participation of local communities in the processes of decision-making regarding their resettlement. Participation can and should be understood as an anti-poverty mechanism. The participation-oriented strategies that have to be established should draw upon a threefold understanding of sustainability aiming to take into consideration social, technological and environmental aspects and interactions between them. The paper highlights that, in order to shape strategies that take into account the social and cultural aspects of the daily life of poor people in Addis Ababa, it is pivotal to invite them to take part in the decision-making processes regarding their resettlement.

The theme of precarity in housing is central to this paper given that one of the most pressing problems in Addis Ababa nowadays is the fact that, despite the galloping growth of its population, due mainly to migration from rural to urban areas, there are no sufficient housing units to accommodate low-income people. The existing housing stock of Addis Ababa has been characterized by poor condition. As Delz has remarked, in a paper delivered in the framework of the “No Cost Housing Conference” held at ETH Zürich in 2016, “almost 60% of the units within the city center were identified as dilapidated, and thus in need of substantial upgrading or total replacement”¹. To grasp the intensity of the problem of housing shortage in Addis Ababa, it suffices to note that, as Felix Heisel observes, “Addis Ababa was burdened by a housing shortage of an estimated 700,000 units” in 2017.² During the last few years, the flows of internal migration from rural areas to urban ones, especially to Addis Ababa, have been increasing. Therefore, the question of providing housing is becoming even more pressing. A large percentage of the housing supply in Addis Ababa consists of informal unplanned housing. To show the prevalence of informal housing in Addis Ababa and the urgency caused by the housing deficit, I could refer to the fact that between 1996 and 2003, 34.1 percent of the total housing supply was informal housing.³ The enormous number of slum residents was a core issue during the COVID-19 pandemic, during which many of the slum-dwellers were forced to leave their housing.

Kebele Houses: Informality and the State Ownership of Urban Land

To grasp the specificity of the tenancy patterns of low-income housing in Addis Ababa, one should bear in mind that the land in Addis Ababa is owned by the government, that also owns the majority of low-cost rental housing. In Addis Ababa, there are both legal and illegal types of informal housing. As has been noted by Mintesnot G. Woldeamanuel, many of these slums, despite their precariousness, are legal and owned by the state⁴. This especially applies to the inner-city slums, which are legal, in contrast to the slums located on the outskirts, which are mostly illegal. The *kebele* houses – a term which refers to the legal informal housing units owned by the government and rented to their dwellers – are part of the legal forms of informal housing in Ethiopia. To give some numbers regarding *kebele* houses, I could refer to the fact that as of 2018 “more than 40% of the population of Addis Ababa [lived] [...] in older *kebele* housing on land covering approximately 11% of the total area of the city encompassing 54,0000 hectares”⁵ (Figs 1 and 2). To understand the importance of the issue of precarious housing in Addis Ababa, one should be aware of the fact that approximately 80 percent of the housing units in Addis Ababa are informal housing. Among these informal housing units, 70 percent – the *kebele* houses – are owned by the government. This means that 70 percent of the slums in Addis Ababa are legal.⁶

To render clear how the *kebeles* function, Jonathan Baker underscores that they “have strictly defined rights and duties and, in theory, are self-governing, democratically elected bodies”.⁷ During the ‘Derg’ regime, – which was a Marxist-Leninist junta that lasted from 1974 to 1991 – the land was owned by the nation, and the citizens of Addis Ababa did not have any right to buy land and build on it. Of great importance for understanding the status of precarious housing in Addis Ababa is the way the ‘Urban Dwellers’ Associations’ (UDA) functioned. These associations, which were previously named ‘co-operative societies’, “were organised at three levels: at the local or *kebele*, the higher and central levels”,⁸ as Andargachew Tiruneh remarks, in *The Ethiopian Revolution 1974-1987: A Transformation from an Aristocratic to a Totalitarian Autocracy*.

Despite the fact that the living conditions in condominiums are of much higher quality than those in *kebele* houses, in many cases, the role of the commoning practices and the public or shared spaces that facilitate these practices were underestimated or even neglected. The fact that only former legal *kebele* renters have the right to take part in a lottery process which provides to a group of low-income citizens the possibility to become the owners of condominium units, is important for understanding how the process of migration from *kebele* houses to condominium units work. Many dwellers of the *kebele* houses that were selected through the lottery process are not able to afford the down-payment. Despite the fact that they had the possibility to move to alternative *kebele* houses, in many cases, they chose to borrow money in order to pay the down-payment of the condominium unit they have been offered. This creates many financial difficulties

and forces them to rent their condominium unit to higher income classes and continue living in a kind of informal housing elsewhere.



Figure 1. Informal housing in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. Photograph by Lukas Kueng. Source: <https://www.nsl.ethz.ch/en/projekt/urban-development-and-poverty-addis-ababa/>



Figure 2. Informal housing in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. Source: <https://www.ccrs.uzh.ch/dam/jcr:ca76a759-af0b-453b-80b4-e1a516444a16/Präsentation%20Nigist%20Goytom.pdf>

A question that the paper aims to address is that of the practices of commoning in Addis Ababa. Its main objective is to compare the practices of commoning in the case of *kebele* housing and condominium housing. Particular emphasis is placed on the process of migration of poor people from the so-called *kebele* houses to the so-called condominiums, shedding light on the fact that *kebele* houses were located in the inner city, while condominiums are located in the suburbs. Despite the fact that both *kebele* houses and condominiums in Addis Ababa constitute co-housing practices, they are characterised by certain differences as far as their access to commoning practices is concerned. One of the aims of this paper is to shed light on these differences.

The quotidian life in *kebele* houses was characterised by the pervasive presence of common spaces and facilities. The shift from everyday life and inhabitation in *kebele* houses to condominiums is related to the transition from a mode of life characterised by the intensity of the commons to a lifestyle in which their role becomes less important. An important aspect of daily life in *kebele* houses, which was neglected in the design of condominiums, is the intense presence of coffee ceremonies and their role for the creation of close social bonds among the citizens. Mintesnot G. Woldeamanuel, in *Urban Issues in Rapidly Growing Cities: Planning for Development in Addis Ababa*, sheds light on the importance of coffee ceremonies for the social

life of the Ethiopians, remarking that coffee was discovered in Ethiopia, in a place called “Kaffa”. Woldeamanuel also notes that “[h]istory tells us that slum removal has never been a successful strategy in itself”.⁹

The Integrated Housing Development Programme: From the *Kebele* Houses to Condominiums

In 2005, the City Administration of Addis Ababa initiated a large-scale housing development project in order to address urban poverty, on the one hand, and improve the living conditions of low and middle-income residents, on the other hand. This project was named Integrated Housing Development Programme (IHDP). Its main objective was to promote home-ownership for low-income households. The project was based on the idea that the “[s]uccessful applicants [would] pay only for the construction costs of their unit and the government [would provide] [...] the land”.¹⁰ It intended to “enable low-income residents to become house owners and thereby ensure fair distribution of income, and create [a] conducive environment for development”.¹¹ In order to do so, it offered the possibility to the “successful applicants [who are selected according to a lottery] to pay only for the construction costs of their unit and the government provides the land.”¹² According to an annual report of the Ministry of Urban Development and Construction of Ethiopia published in January 2009, “150,000 housing units have been built in 54 towns under the IHDP [...] of which 60,000 housing units are built in Addis Ababa”.¹³

The AAGHP, as Alazar G. Ejigu remarks, aimed “to reduce the overwhelming housing backlog, estimated at about 300,000 housing units, and to replace 50 percent of the 136,330”¹⁴ *kebele* houses. Finally, the IHDP’s main goal “was to construct 400,000 condominium units, create 200,000 jobs, promote the development of 10,000 micro - and small - enterprises, enhance the capacity of the construction sector, regenerate inner-city slum areas, and promote homeownership for low-income households”.¹⁵

Important for this paper is the collaboration between the Ethiopian government and the German Technical Cooperation (GTZ) in order to establish a mass housing program in Addis Ababa. This collaboration included the ‘Low Cost Housing’ (LCH) programme, which was launched in 1999 with a bilateral agreement between the GTZ and the Ministry of Federal Affairs of Ethiopia.¹⁶ The main objective of the LCH programme was, as Sascha Delz highlights, to suggest and implement solutions based on the use of “simple technology to promote housing construction”.¹⁷ The GTZ’s operation in Ethiopia was nothing new, since it had already existed “for many decades, primarily in providing technical support and building capacity in building construction”.¹⁸ The GTZ was renamed to Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) after the fusion with two other German organisations – DED and Inwent – in January 2011.

As can be read in a UN-HABITAT report concerning the IHDP, published in 2011, “the promotion of individual home-ownership in low-income countries for poverty alleviation is nothing new”.¹⁹ The IHDP was conceived as an urban renewal program that would promote the demolition of the *kebele* houses, on the one hand, and the use of the land in which they were previously located for the construction of new luxurious and high buildings by investors and international companies, on the other hand. It was based on the idea that the first 20 percent initial payment would be paid at the moment of entry to the condominium unit, while the rest is facilitated from the bank for 20 years payment back. The Pilot Project of the IHDP was a group of condominiums built in the site named Bole gerji. One of the largest housing projects within the context of sub-Saharan Africa are the condominium units that were built in the site of Koye Feche, also within in the framework of the IHDP (Fig. 3). Thousands of condominium units were built in this site under the government’s so-called 20/80 scheme (Fig. 4). To grasp the scale of the IHGP, I could mention that condominiums were built in approximately one hundred different sites throughout the city of Addis Ababa, changing once and for all its urban character (Fig. 5, Fig. 6). To understand the transformation of Addis Ababa’s periphery due to the construction of condominium units, it is useful to bear in mind that between 2006 and 2016 the area of condominium housing increased to occupy 11 percent of the area of the city (Fig. 7a, Fig. 7b).²⁰ The condominiums built until April 2019 in the framework of this programme corresponded to “approximately 175,000 units”.²¹



Figure 3. Condominiums built in the framework of the Integrated Housing Development Program' (IHDP), Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. Source: <https://www.ccrs.uzh.ch/dam/jcr:ca76a759-af0b-453b-80b4-e1a516444a16/Präsentation%20Nigist%20Goytom.pdf>



Figure 4. Condominiums built in Koye Feche in the framework of the Integrated Housing Development Program' (IHDP), Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. Source: <https://addisfortune.news/amid-tensions-city-identifies-housing-unit-winners/>

Despite the fact that the living conditions at the condominiums are of much higher quality than those in *kebele* houses, in many cases, the role of commoning practices and the public or shared spaces that facilitate these practices were underestimated or even neglected. The fact that only former legal *kebele* renters have the right to take part in the lottery process is important for understanding how the process of migration from *kebele* houses to condominium units work. Many dwellers of the *kebele* houses selected through the lottery process are not able to afford the down-payment. Despite the fact that they had the possibility to move to alternative *kebele* houses, in many cases, they chose to borrow money in order to be able to pay the down-payment of the condominium unit they have been offered. This creates many financial difficulties and forces them to rent their condominium unit to higher income classes and continue living in informal housing elsewhere.

A question that the paper aims to address is that of the practices of commoning in Addis Ababa. Its main objective is to compare the practices of commoning in the cases of *kebele* housing and condominium housing. Particular emphasis is placed on the process of migration of poor people from the so-called *kebele* houses to the so-called condominiums, shedding light on the fact that *kebele* houses were located in the inner city, while condominiums are located in the suburbs. Despite the fact that both *kebele* houses and condominiums constitute co-housing practices, they are characterised by certain differences as far as their access to commoning practices is concerned. One of the aims of this paper is to shed light on these differences. The approach that has been adopted by the IHDP is top-down and, for this reason, it has been criticized for not taking into account the social capital and habits of former *kebele*-dwellers. An issue that should be highlighted is the fact that the quotidian life in the condominium houses is, to a certain extent,

distant to the lifestyle and the habits of the inhabitants of the *kebele* houses. As a result, moving to the condominiums, the former inhabitants of the *kebele* houses are forced to live in a way that does not take into account or extend their social and cultural habits in the *kebele* houses.

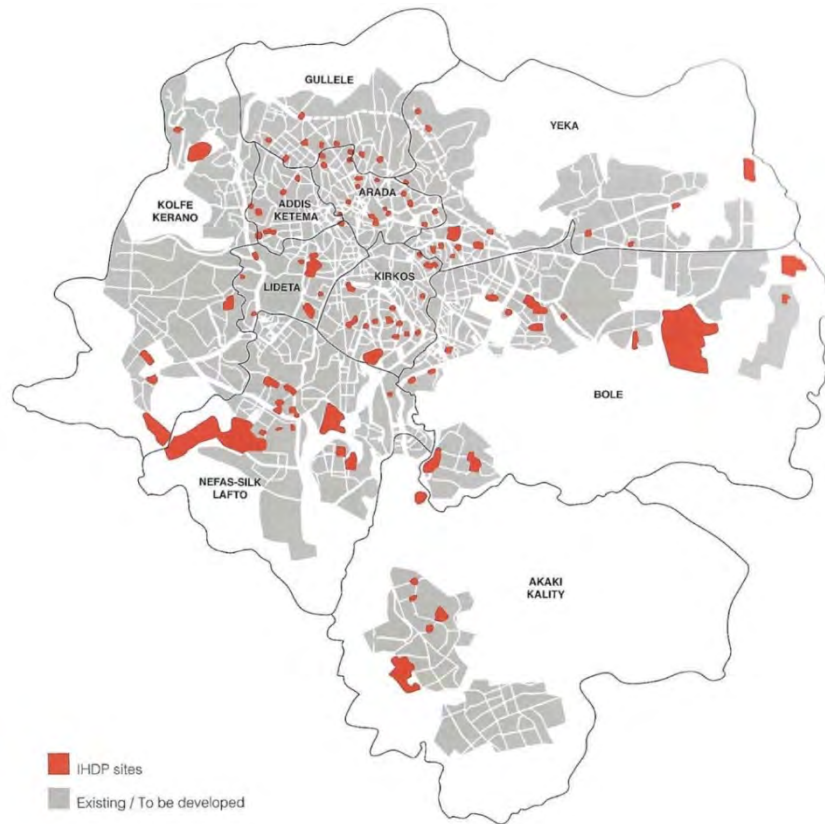


Figure 5. Plan: EiABC Master Plan Evaluation – Housing Component, (2010) (colour adjusted by Sascha Delz). Source: Sascha Delz, “Spatial Effects of Individual Home-Ownership: Ethiopia’s Mass Housing Program Between Universal Aspirations and Local Realities”, in Marc Angélie, Dirk Hebel, eds., *Cities of Change Addis Ababa: Transformation Strategies for Urban Territories in the 21st Century* (Basel: Birkhäuser, 2016), 110.



Figure 6. Urban and landscape transformations, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, 2016. Photograph Sascha Delz. Source: <https://www.nsl.ethz.ch/landscape-urbanstudies/>

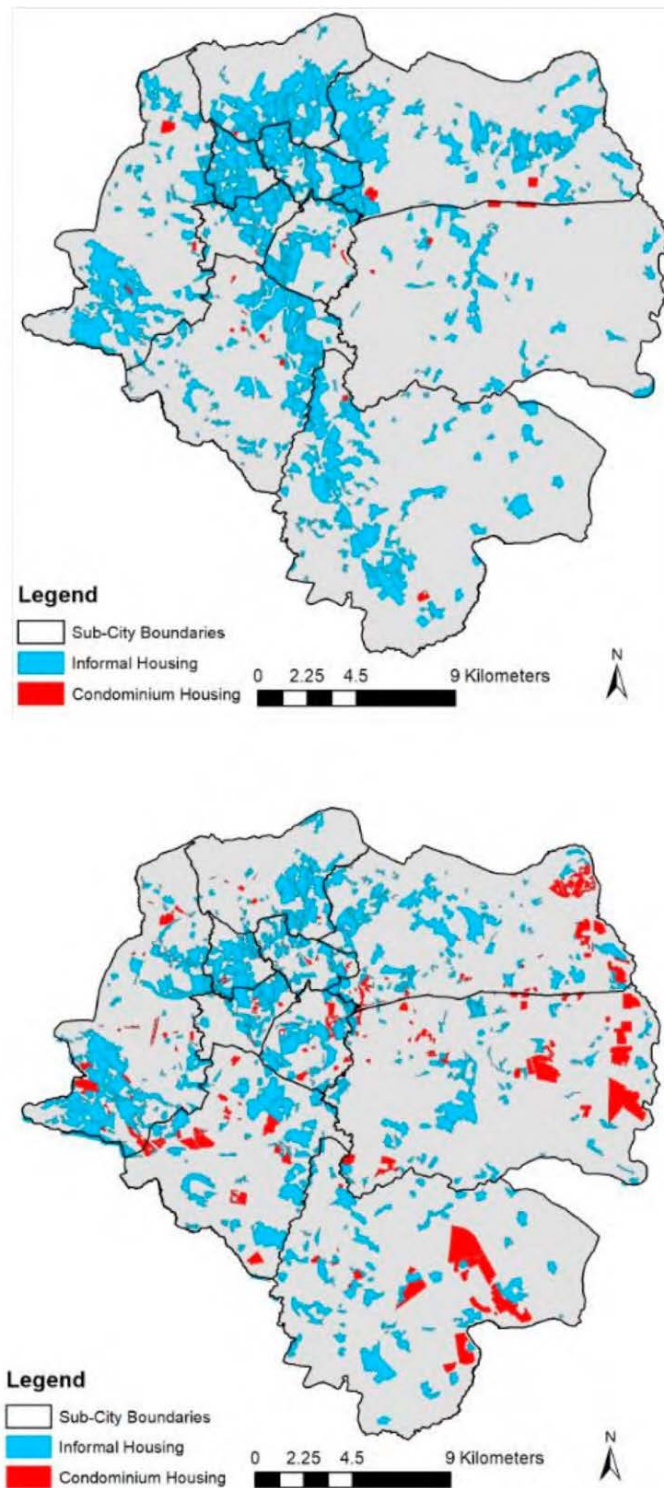


Figure 7a (Above) and Figure 7b (Below). Change in the Residential Housing Types in 2006 (Fig. 7a) and 2016 (Fig. 7b). In these figures we can see the changes in the presence of informal housing and condominium housing city-wide. In 2006, informal housing was clustered in the central city and south along the Little Akaki River. By 2016, the area of informal housing (blue) decreased and it was dispersed throughout the city. In 2006, there was very little condominium housing (red), while by 2016, the area of condominium housing has increased to occupy 11% of the city with the largest concentrations toward the city's south (Akaki Quality) and eastern boundaries (Yeka and Bole). Source: Larissa Larsen et al, "The Impact of Rapid Urbanization and Public Housing Development on Urban Form and Density in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia", *Land* 8 (66) (2019), 9, 10.

Around the Notion of “Urban Commons”: Commons or Commoning?

The notion of commons is useful for shedding light on the common codes and conventions characterising the production of co-housing practices in Addis Ababa. David Harvey introduces his article entitled “The Future of the Commons”²² with a critique against Garrett Hardin’s approval of privatization in “The Tragedy of the Commons”.²³ He also refers to Elinor Ostrom’s *Governing the Commons*, highlighting that the latter focused her reflection mainly on natural resources.²⁴ Harvey remarks that all resources are socially defined in the sense that they are always related to technology, economy and culture. Starting off with Harvey’s aforementioned view of the commons beyond their reduction to natural resources, my aim here is to understand the “urban commons” as a network of technological, economic and cultural parameters. Mintesnot G. Woldeamanuel’s endeavour to shed light on the social benefits of slums is useful for understanding how the commoning practices they enhance are related to the social capital they provide.²⁵ John Bingham-Hall, in “Future of Cities: Commoning and Collective Approaches to Urban Space”, highlights that the notion of the common “suggests a community of commoners that actively utilise and upkeep whatever it is that is being commoned”.²⁶ Stavros Stavrides, in *Common Space: The City as Commons*, notes that “[c]ommoning practices importantly produce new relations between people”.²⁷ David Brain refers to three different approaches related to the notion of the commons: firstly, an approach that focuses on the endeavour to reveal the “sociological implications of public space as an urban commons”; secondly, another aiming to unfold how public space is related to “social capital and collective efficacy”; and, finally, approaches to urban design derived from Bruno Latour’s conception of the “program of action”.²⁸

What is worth mentioning regarding the role of commons within the context of capitalism is the following remark by Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri regarding the expansion of commons: “Contemporary forms of capitalist production and accumulation in fact, despite their continuing drive to privatize resources and wealth, paradoxically make possible and even require expansions of the common”.²⁹ Hardt and Negri, in *Commonwealth*, which is part of the trilogy *Empire/Multitude/Commonwealth*³⁰, employ the notion of the common to refer not only to the natural resources such as “the earth we share but also the languages we create, the social practices we establish, the modes of sociality that define our relationships, and so forth”.³¹ Their intention to think the notion of the common or the commons in conjunction with the concept of urbanity is evidenced by their claim that “the metropolis [...] [is] a factory for the production of the common”.³² Beginning with an understanding of the inner city of Addis Ababa as a factory for the production of the urban commons, and taking into account that more than 40 percent of the population of Addis Ababa lives in *kebele* houses, it is thought-provoking to reflect upon the ways in which the commoning practices characterising daily life in the *kebele* houses contribute to the production of urbanity. Conceiving space as commons goes hand in hand with shaping strategies of urban planning that go beyond the distinction between public and private space.

A tension that is useful for better grasping the notion of commons is the interrogation regarding the understanding of commons as community or as public space. Understanding the commons as community implies that community is conceived as a homogeneous group of people, while comprehending the commons as public space is based on the intention to take into consideration the relation between heterogeneous communities. A question that emerges is whether, in the case of Addis Ababa and the social capital of its poor citizens, it would be more compatible to understand the commons as public space or as community. Useful for responding to this question is Jeremy Németh’s definition of the commons, in “Controlling the Commons: How Public is Public Space?”, as “any collectively owned resource held in joint use or possession to which anyone has access without obtaining permission of anyone else”.³³ Given that the inner city of Addis Ababa is characterised by a great social mixture, it seems that the model of interpretation of the commons that based on an understanding of them as public space is more suitable. Another aspect that is useful for responding to the question whether understanding commons in Addis Ababa as public space or community is more convenient is the replacement of the notion of commons by that of commoning, which has been examined by Patrick Bresnihan, in “The More-than-human Commons: From Commons to Commoning”. In this text, Bresnihan underscores that

“[t]he noun ‘commons’ has been expanded into the continuous verb ‘commoning’, to denote the continuous making and remaking of the commons through shared practice”.³⁴

In order to shape methods of urban resettlement that respect the social capital of the citizens, it is important to use participatory strategies and to enhance the participation of local communities in the processes of decision-making regarding their resettlement³⁵. Participation can and should be understood as an anti-poverty mechanism. The local development agency of Addis Ababa aspired to implement Local Development Plans (LDP) to respond to the citizens’ needs. However, the role of the LDPs has been menaced recently, given that The Addis Ababa City Caretaker Administration has issued a directive that enables land leasing and construction without the completion of LDPs. In the LDP Manual published in September 2006, we can read that among the key principles of the LDPs were participatory planning and sustainability. The aforementioned manual places particular emphasis on the core role of public participation, arguing that the participation of the different stakeholders would enhance the “sense of ownership among key stakeholders and [would provide] [...] opportunities to capture the interest of the community at large”.³⁶ The participation-oriented strategies that have to be established should draw upon a threefold understanding of sustainability aiming to take into consideration social, technological and environmental aspects and interactions between them.³⁷

To conclude, it is important to highlight that, in order to shape strategies that take into account the social and cultural aspects of the daily life of poor people in Addis Ababa, it is pivotal to invite them to take part in the decision-making processes regarding their resettlement. In parallel, it is indispensable to be aware that, in order to provide solutions that are sustainable, it is necessary to take into account the use of local building materials, building techniques and housing typologies, and to aim at the creation of urban spaces, semi-outdoor spaces and in-between spaces between the housing units and/or complexes that are able to accommodate the daily activities of the citizens and to cultivate their tendency to inhabit common urban spaces, contributing to their sense of sharing the urban commons. The situation in Addis Ababa and the fact that its citizens have learnt to live without the obsession of acquiring a property should be seen as a challenge, in the sense that it can be treated as the very basis for establishing methods of thinking architecture and urban design beyond the notion of property and the way it threatens the very experience of the urban commons.

Endnotes

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³ UN-HABITAT, *Condominium Housing in Ethiopia: The Integrated Housing Development Programme*, 5.

⁴ Mintesnot G. Woldeamanuel, *Urban Issues in Rapidly Growing Cities: Planning for Development in Addis Ababa* (London; New York: Routledge, 2020).

⁵ Elias Yitbarek Alemayehu et al, “New Perspectives on Urban Transformation in Addis Ababa”, in Elias Yitbarek Alemayehu, Elias Yitbarek Alemayehu, Laura Stark, eds., *The Transformation of Addis Ababa: A Multiform African City* (Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2018), 8.

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- ¹⁴ Alazar G. Ejigu, "Socio-spatial Tensions and Interactions: An Ethnography of the Condominium Housing of Addis Ababa, Ethiopia", in Elias Yitbarek Alemayehu, Elias Yitbarek Alemayehu, Laura Stark, eds., *The Transformation of Addis Ababa: A Multiform African City* (Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2018), 98.
- ¹⁵ UN-HABITAT, *Condominium Housing in Ethiopia: The Integrated Housing Development Programme* (Nairobi: United Nations Human Settlement Programme, 2011), vii.
- ¹⁶ GTZ, Ministry of Federal Affairs (Ethiopia), *Low Cost Housing - Technical Manual* (Addis Ababa: GTZ, 2003).
- ¹⁷ GTZ, "Low Cost Housing - Major Order for Housing Construction", in *Akzente - Working with GTZ / Special Issue - Urban Management, 2005* (Eschborn: GTZ, 2005), 17. See also Sascha Delz, "Ethiopia's Low-cost Housing Program: How Concepts of Individual Home-Ownership and Housing Blocks Still Walk Abroad", paper presented at the UN-Habitat/ETHZ "No Cost Housing Conference", 30th June - 1st July 2016, ETH Zurich, ONA Oerlikon. This conference culminated in a joint "Oerlikon Declaration" on housing for all that was prepared by participants in advance of the Habitat III conference in Quito in 2016.
- ¹⁸ Matthew French, *Condominium Housing in Ethiopia: The Integrated Housing Development Programme*, 5.
- ¹⁹ Delz, "Spatial Effects of Individual Home-Ownership: Ethiopia's Mass Housing Program Between Universal Aspirations and Local Realities", in Marc Angélie, Dirk Hebel, eds., *Cities of Change Addis Ababa: Transformation Strategies for Urban Territories in the 21st Century* (Basel: Birkhäuser, 2016), 107.
- ²⁰ Larsen et al, *ibid*, 9, 10.
- ²¹ *Ibid*, 4.
- ²² David Harvey, "The Future of the Commons", *Radical History Review* 109 (2011), 101-102.
- ²³ Garrett Hardin, "The Tragedy of the Commons", *Science* 162 (1968), 1243 – 8.
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- ²⁹ Michael Hardt, Antonio Negri, *Commonwealth* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2009), ix.
- ³⁰ Hardt, Negri, *Empire: The New World Order* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001).; Hardt, Negri, *Multitude: War and Democracy in the Age of Empire* (New York: The Penguin Press, 2004).
- ³¹ Hardt, Negri, *Commonwealth*, 350.
- ³² *Ibid*.
- ³³ Jeremy Németh, "Controlling the Commons: How Public Is Public Space?", *Urban Affairs Review* 48(6) (2012): 811-835.
- ³⁴ Patrick Bresnihan, "The More-than-human Commons: From Commons to Commoning", in Samuel Kirwan, Leila Dawney, Julian Brigstocke, eds., *Space, Power and the Commons: The Struggle for Alternative Futures* (London; New York: Routledge, 2016), 96.
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- ³⁷ See UNESCO, *Co-Designing Science in Africa: First Steps in Assessing Sustainability Science approach on the Ground* (UNESCO Publishing, 2019). See also Mélanie Robertson, ed., *Sustainable Cities: Local solutions in the Global South* (Practical Action Publishing Ltd and International Development Research Centre, 2012).