Addis Ababa city plans compliance and performance evaluation

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Abstract

Addis Ababa had a number of spatial plans prepared with intentions to solve its socioeconomic, physical and environmental problems and to serve as road map for its multifaceted development endeavors. But these plans were not implemented as intended; and rather unplanned interventions with harmful implications became the norm. These practices are seldom checked or evaluated, and the influencing factors are not examined. Existing literature give only general evaluation methods and criteria, or they deviate from the Addis Ababa's or similar cities' contexts. The main objective of this research is to understand the extent to which spatial plans were implemented and how plan quality, land management and institutional setup influenced this practice as a way of improving spatial planning system in Addis Ababa.

Analytical models advocated by literature (highly structured, quantitative planning evaluation techniques) are not opted as they are rarely attainable in practice for reasons of cost, time, deviation form context, and data availability. Therefore, rapid and qualitative assessment was carried out using triangulation technique analyzing data from four different sources: documents review, observation interviews and the researcher's rich experience, a reflective practice, with some degree of quantitative analysis.

Integration of conformance and performance-based evaluation approaches along with reflective practice have been applied to understand the level of plan implementation. The overall city planning practice has been assessed but for more focus and detailed account of the research topic, two cases (ORAAMP's AACDP of 2003 and Mercato LDP) have been assessed in detail as they are believed to demonstrate findings that can help represent and generalize the hypothesis.

Assessment of the city's planning practice revealed that the city's planning approach has been favored and disfavored by the dominant agrarian nature of the country on the one hand, and the dynamic environment – political, socioeconomic, land system (the 1974 nationalization of land and the lease system after 1991) and institutional (regionalization, decentralization and reform programs) on the other hand. The planning approach has been mainly conditioned by imported planning practices with resistant local context and attempts to contextualize the imported ones as can be seen in the formal/informal housing and business conflicts. Continuity of the key tenets of different planning practices and incorporation of past legacies has created superimposition of city structures and morphology as well as mixed planning culture.

The findings of the study also revealed that effectiveness of a plan and its implementation are conditioned not only by the intentions and quality of the plan per se; but also, by other factors mainly land management, governance, institutional setup, political, socioeconomic, and cultural settings. Failure to properly consider land management system in the planning process, the weak

institutional setup and its lack of sustained system, absence of true participatory process, misguided monitoring, evaluation and accountability, the apolitical stances practiced by professionals, the double plan system because of political interference, were the core underlying factors for poor spatial planning system. It has been found that proper and adequate consideration of influential contextual factors (land, institutional and political setting) will contribute to improvement in spatial planning system. It is recommended that an improved new spatial planning system be developed where we have interactive hierarchical plans, integrated collaborative spatial plans across sectoral agencies, and where participatory community planning and implementation is pronounced.

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List of Acronyms

AEA .....Association of Ethiopian Architects
AEUP.....Association of Ethiopian Urban Planners
AECE .....Association of Ethiopian Civil Engineers
AEEP.....Association of Ethiopian Economic Professionals
AACC ……Addis Ababa Chamber of Commerce
AACA ……Addis Ababa City Administration
AACG ……Addis Ababa City Government
AACDP…… Addis Ababa City development plan
AACPPO……Addis Ababa City Planning Project Office
AAIHDA……Addis Ababa Integrated Housing Development Agency
AAIICA ……Addis Ababa Integrated Infrastructure and Construction Authority
AAMPPO……Addis Ababa Master Plan Project Office
AAPCO…… Addis Ababa Planning Commission
AASOID …… Addis Ababa and Surrounding Oromia special zone Integrated Development Plan
AAWSA.....Addis Ababa Water and Sewerage Authority
ADLI.....Agricultural Development Led Industrialization
Afd .....Agency for development cooperation of France
BWUD …… Bureau of Works and Urban Development
CBD……Central Business District
CBOs ……Community based organizations
CDP……City Development Plan
CRPO……Central Region Planning Office
ECSP……...Ethiopian Citizens Social Justice Party
EEPCO…… Ethiopian Electric Power Corporation
EiABC……..Ethiopian Institute of Architecture, Building and City Planning.
EPRDF……Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front.
GTP ……Growth and Transformation Plan
GTZ…… German technical cooperation
ICT ……Information and communications technology
IFUU ……Implementation and Follow-up Unit
IHDP……..Integrated Housing Development Program
LDMB……Land Development and Management Bureau
LDP……. …..Local Development Plan
LRT……..Light Rail Transit
LTPA.....Lyon Town Planning Agency
LU ……Level of Urbanization
MEA ……Monitoring, Evaluation and Accountability

MSE……Micro and Small-scale Enterprise
MFA.....Ministry of Federal Affairs
MUDCH……. Ministry of Urban Development Construction and Housing
MUDH…… …Ministry of Urban Development and Housing
MWUD…… ..Ministry of Works and Urban Development
NGOs ……..Non-Governmental organizations
NUDSP.....National Urban Development Spatial Plan.
NUPI/FUPI.....National Urban Planning Institute (later, Federal Urban Planning Institute)
OECD/DAC……Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development's Development Assistance Committee
ONCCP .....Office of the National Committee for Central Planning
OPDO.....Oromo Peoples Democratic Organization (one of the four groups forming the EPRDF)
PIFU.....Plan Implementation and Follow up Unit.
ORAAMP ……Office for the revision of Addis Ababa Master Plan
PPCP……. Public Private Community Participation
PPR……Plan, Process and Result.
SDAP……Strategic Development Action Plan
SDF……Strategic Development Framework
SEPDM ……..Southern Ethiopian People's Democratic Movement
SIAs ……..Strategic Investment Areas
SNNPRS……Southern Nations Nationalities and Peoples Regional State
SP……. Structure Plan
SZO……..Special Zone of Oromioa
TAC……Technical Advisory Committee
UDECOM.....Urban Development Company
UPII……..Urban Planning and Information Institute
WUDB…….Works and Urban Development Bureau

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Chapter 1. Introduction

Key terms: Spatial planning, urban development, urbanization, plan quality**,** implementation, institutional set up, evaluation, land management, plan conformanc**e** and plan performanc**e**.

1.1 Research topic: Addis Ababa city plans: Compliance and performance evaluation.

The very purpose of planning (whether it is developmental, control, a guiding framework, etc.) is its actualization. This general notion that urban spatial plans are prepared to guide implementation has been challenged during the plan preparation and implementation of Addis Ababa in its 135 years of planning history. It was said that plans were made to conform with the existing reality, not to shape it. Plans followed practice; not practice led by plans. After quite an investment (time, finance, and human resource, etc.) on their production, plans were usually left with little implementation.

During the last three and half decades of my professional practice, I have been engaged in the preparation of plans of Ethiopian cities, particularly of Addis Ababa. I used to be puzzled by the wide range of questions related to Addis Ababa plans and their implementation failures that provoked me into this research. The plans were of little use in bringing about the envisaged changes on the ground. Contrastingly, urban challenges supposed to be addressed by such plans were mounting. To use Friedman's (1987) words, knowledge and action have come apart seemingly forcing us to conclude that mainstream planning is in crisis. Planners are often uncertain about the efficiency, effectiveness, or impact of their interventions (Seasons, 2012).

Why are plans prepared if they are not implemented? If planning proposals do not influence reality to improve the socio-economic and environmental conditions of urban residents, what is the purpose of planning? Why are all those investments going into plan preparation without tangible and convincing results? What planning parameters contribute to a good plan and its implementation? Something that lies in the plan quality? Or is it related to some other factors? These are among the many questions that come to one's mind with an experience on the city's planning.

Developing adequate understanding and clear perspectives on the extent to which implementation results of the city's plans conform with the plan proposals (meeting their intended objectives) or perform as decision making instruments, and on the influencing factors

behind these practices could cast some light on improvement of future planning and implementation.

This calls for evaluation of previous plans of the city guided by theory and practice-based methodologies. Such evaluation needs to be context based to have full understanding of the practice and to develop clear perspectives. As stated by Talen (1996 in Kitur, 2019) planners need to develop their own methods of evaluation that are responsive to relevant physical and spatial spheres and that focus on guiding the future development of cities.

1.2. Context: spatial planning, urbanization, urban development, and evaluation.

Spatial planning: Urban spatial planning, physical planning and urban planning are terms used interchangeably without notable differences. Peter Hall (1992, cited in Cirolia and Berrisford, 2016) describes planning as "the making of an orderly sequence of action that will lead to the achievement of a stated goal or goals". Feinstein, S. (http://www.Britanica.com) also defines urban planning as the design and regulation of the uses of space that focus on the physical form, economic functions, and social impacts of the urban environment and on the location of different activities within it. According to Taylor, urban planning refers to the process of envisioning alternative futures for an urban area, setting goals and objectives, and formulating implementation strategies to reach the alternative future. Acheampong R. (2019) states that the term spatial planning is quite recent, and it describes the activities, processes, practices and the accompanying legal and institutional milieu.

Generally, we can define spatial planning as an integrated and orderly sequence of actions, the envisioning, setting goals and objectives, design, and regulation of the uses of space and physical form and formulating implementation strategies including legal and institutional milieu to reach a desired urban future. The practices of Addis Ababa master plans are discussed in this study with this perspective.

Urbanization: Urban areas are created and further developed by the process of urbanization. Urbanization is the process of growth of urban population in relation to the total population of a country. Urbanization is also associated with the physical growth of urban areas and is closely linked to modernization, industrialization, and the sociological process of rationalization.

The United Nations defines urbanization as movement of people from rural to urban areas. It is also an index of transformation from traditional rural economies to modern industrial one. Davies (1962 cited in Datta, 2006) explains urbanization as a process of switch from spread out pattern of human settlements to one of concentration in urban centers. Ethiopia is at a very low level of

urbanization (20%) and Addis Ababa is a primate city of about five million inhabitants having more than 20% share of the total national urban population. Addis Ababa's spatial plan is seen in this context of urbanization as the urbanization process and urbanization policies affect the spatial planning process.

Urban Development: Todaro and Smith (2015) conceive development as a multidimensional process involving major changes in social structures, popular attitudes, and national institutions as well as the acceleration of economic growth, the reduction of inequality and the eradication of poverty. The objective of spatial planning is to attain these development goals. Nevertheless, sometimes urban development happens deviating from planning intentions with either positive or negative outcomes rendering the need for evaluation.

Plan Evaluation: to understand planning practices of the city, to identify the gaps and shortcomings and recommend some improvements in future planning demands evaluation of the plans in question. Plan evaluation is the judgement of the degree to which plans are implemented or realized to make socioeconomic and environmental societal improvements measured in qualitative and quantitative terms and the factors contributing to this realization. Evaluation is meant to enable the determination of the merit, worth or significance of an intervention, that is the plan quality (OECD/DAC, 1991 cited in OECD/DAC 2018). It is also the judgement of the positive or negative outcomes of such planning interventions whether they are intended or not. Unintended outcomes usually occur due to multiple socioeconomic and environmental processes in the planning context such as land management, and institutional setup.

1.3. Statement of the problem

Addis Ababa has had several spatial plans during its life of 135 years prepared with intentions to solve its socioeconomic, physical and environmental problems and to serve as road map for its multifaceted development goals. But these plans could not meet the intended goals; and rather were left unimplemented while unplanned intervention practices became the norm. Spatial plans are seldom validated. And when they are validated, it happens without proper evaluation process and hence their quality was unchecked. Why these plans fail to meet their intended goals and the underlying influencing factors were not examined. There was little understanding of the influence of land management and institutional setup on plan and its implementation. The limited plan evaluation experiences the city had were focused only on whether the proposed interventions were implemented or not without considering the factors contributing to this situation.

Existing literature gives general spatial planning evaluation and implementation challenges mainly with reference to the planning philosophy, process and quality. There is little literature on the influences of land management and institutional set up on urban spatial plans and their implementation. Literature on plan quality evaluation mainly focuses on the western experience with little knowledge on developing, particularly African cities. Moreover, plan quality and implementation and their influencing factors are context contingent, and hence need to be researched accordingly.

Why spatial plans fail to influence city development as envisaged by the plan proposals and what contributions land management system and institutional set up had on the performance of spatial plans of the city are at the core of the problems to be researched in this study.

1.4. Research objectives and questions

The main objective of the research is to understand the extent to which spatial plans are implemented and to investigate the effect of plan quality, land management and institutional setup on plan implementation as a way of improving planning practice in Addis Ababa.

Specific objectives of the research are:

- to evaluate spatial plans of Addis Ababa with respect to conformance and performance.
- to investigate how plan quality, land management and institutional setup influenced this implementation practice in Addis Ababa.
- to identify potential change areas in planning and implementation as a way of improving performance of plans.

Evaluation of plans will help understand the level of plan implementation using conformance and performance as implementation parameters. The assessment of the level of conformance and performance of Addis Ababa plan focused on the strategic issues identified by the master plan: centrality, housing, transport, industry, and environment.

Findings of effects of plan quality, land management and institutional setup on plan implementation will help us understand how the underlying factors influence plan implementation. This understanding will help to identify gaps to be filled to improve plan quality, its relationship with land management and institutional set up and its implementation practices.

Consistency, comprehensiveness, clarity of documents, participation of stakeholders, adequacy of implementation tools and strategies and flexibility are parameters used to understand the effects of plan quality. The effect of land management is assessed focusing on formal and informal land market, land price, tenure, legal consistency and links to leasing practices. The effect of institutional setup is assessed through institutional capacity, coordination, monitoring, evaluation and accountability, data management system as well as political and cultural factors.

In line with the objectives and the problems stated above, the following were the research questions that guided the research.

- To what extent were spatial plans of Addis Ababa implemented with respect to conformance and performance?

- How did plan quality, land management and institutional setup influence plan implementation practice in Addis Ababa?

- What are the potential change areas in planning and implementation as a way of improving performance of plans?

1.5. Hypothesis

Plan quality is a determining factor for implementation of plans. But it is not the only one; land management and institutional setup are also influencing factors in plan implementation. High spatial plan quality results in more conformance/performance implying successful implementation and vice versa. Coherence and integration between planning, land management and institutional set up improve plan quality and its implementation whereas weak linkage is manifested in weak plan quality and its implementation. Failure to evaluate quality of spatial plans and to understand the influence of land management and institutional setup on plan and its implementation adversely affect plan implementation practice. Spatial plan evaluation thus adds critical value to improve plan and implementation in Addis Ababa.

1.6. Significance and contribution to scientific debate

Evaluating the level to which spatial plans were implemented and investigating how plan quality, land management, and institutional setup impacted implementation will inform a way of improving the future urban policy, research and practice in Addis Ababa. As Patassini, D. (2021)

argues, reading a city like Addis Ababa through planning practices can serve as a prism to understand and interpret dynamics otherwise incomprehensible or hidden in the shadows.

Evaluation results contribute to enhance the quality of plans and the built environment they are expected to shape (Oliveira & Pinho, 2009). Such an evaluation also sheds important empirical light on wider questions of the context and critical factors (land management, and institutional setup) affecting plan and its implementation. When evaluation adds to the accumulation of knowledge, it can contribute to large-scale shifts in thinking - and some-times, ultimately, to shifts in action (Weiss, 1998; Alexander & Faludi, 1988 in Mabaso et al, 2015). As stated by UNDP (2009), information generated from evaluations contributes to organizational learning as well as the global knowledge base. It also adds to improving plan evaluation methods and techniques particularly in cities sharing similar or comparative contexts like Addis Ababa.

1.7. Scope and Limitations

The scope of assessment is the time period of the last three and half decades (1984-2020) and the three master plans when the city's spatial development had shown big leaps. The two master plans (AAMPPO in 1986 and AACPPO in 2017) were assessed generally; and the AACDP of ORAAMP in 2003 along with its Mercato LDP were evaluated in detail as cases due to their high level of implementation, and their nature as transitional plans[1] between the other two. Evaluation of the two cases focused on the quality of the plan outputs and the physical implementation outcomes.

The evaluation was also limited to the plan documents with a reflective practice on the planning process. This scope limitation was necessary due to time limitation and the need to focus on the document and the plan outcomes.

Limitations on data and time and complexity of identifying whether impacts were from the plan or other interventions have limited the evaluation only to plan documents and the physical implementation outcomes. Evaluation was done in Addis Ababa's context where there were scant practices in planning and worse in plan evaluations. Going through the whole planning steps from ex ante to ex post has been found taking vast time and resources that were unattainable within the time and resource limit of the research. The ex-ante and planning

[1] The ORAAMP plan is considered as transitional since it was a revised version of AMPPO plan; and it served as a basis for preparation of AACPPO plan. Moreover, it came within the overall political and socioeconomic transition from centralized to market system.

process steps were considered inherently engraved in the plan quality, and to be compensated through the reflective practices of the researcher.

Another important limitation was related to the potential bias that may have arisen from the earlier role of the researcher during preparation and implementation periods of the plans evaluated. A strong side of it was, the researcher can bring critical and invaluable insights into the internal anatomy and dynamics of the planning processes and outputs otherwise incomprehensible and left in the dark. It is the conviction of the researcher that if this important task was not conducted by myself, it would be more difficult for any other researcher to undertake it. Since the researcher was the head of the last two master plans of the city, the study could be considered as a kind of self-evaluation, a reflective practice which brings in a wide range of original information and data as an important resource and basis for future planning and plan evaluation practice. On the other hand, since the research was more of qualitative and relies on the experience and judgment of the researcher, and some of the type of data collected were subjective and unique to the researcher and the situation the researcher was in, it was hard to fully avoid bias. As declared by Schön (1983), competent practitioner usually knows more than he/she can say; exhibits a kind of knowing in practice, most of which is tacit.

To further offset the impacts of this limitation arising from bias and to arrive at balanced and fair judgement, experts of varied professional background, but having adequate knowledge on the plan and its implementation were engaged through direct interviews and discussions as well as through phone calls, emails, etc. Experts and knowledgeable persons not directly related to the researcher during the plan preparation and implementation were also included. Moreover, open-ended questions were used as they allowed information to flow more freely, by not forcing a limited set of answers.

The fact that the study was undertaken under close supervision of my professor who had adequate knowledge of the city and its planning practices, but was not related to the case plan evaluated, also added to the objectivity in methodology selection, data collection and analysis. Independent persons and experts were also invited to check on the researcher's work during meetings with the EiABC staff, for example.

1.8. Organization of the thesis

This thesis is organized into eight chapters. Chapter one introduces the research topic and related concepts of spatial plan, evaluation and urban development. Problem statement, objectives, research questions, hypothesis, significance of the research, scope and limitations as well as organization of the thesis are also discussed in this chapter.

Chapter two refers to literature review. It discusses current theoretical and conceptual debates and practices on spatial planning and implementation as well as the influence of land management and institutional frameworks on a plan and its implementation. It also reviews plan evaluation theories and practices related to plan quality, land management and institutional setup. This gives theoretical and conceptual background in developing a framework for the research. Chapter three deals with the background of the study discussing national and city level context to the research with emphasis on spatial planning, land management and institutional setup. Chapter four covers the research design and methodology where plan evaluation protocols and instruments of data collection and analysis are developed.

Chapter five and six present the cases, ORAAMP's AACDP and Mercato LDP respectively to get an in-depth understanding, test the hypothesis and look for answers to the research questions. They elaborate plan conformance and performances as well as plan quality, land management and institutional factors affecting planning and implementation. Chapter seven summarizes and discusses the major findings of the research whereas conclusions and recommendations are presented in chapter eight.

Chapter 2. Literature review

This chapter makes a critical review of theories and practices of the role of planning and implementation and how institutional and land management systems affect the relationship between plans and implementation. Local and international empirical studies were reviewed to substantiate the theoretical reviews. Pertinent plan evaluation theories, methodologies and tools were also reviewed to inform possible methodologies to be used in the evaluation of the city's plans for conformance and performance. The gap in the existing literature to inform the planning and implementation of Addis Ababa city planning practice was also identified to lay basis for the need to fill this gap through the research study.

2.1. Urbanization and spatial planning

2.1.1. Western experience

Urbanization

Urbanization is the process by which rural communities grow to form cities, or urban centers, and, by extension, the growth and expansion of those cities. Urbanization began in ancient Mesopotamia in the Uruk Period (4300-3100 BCE). It is speculated that a particularly prosperous and efficient village attracted the attention of other, less prosperous, tribes who then attached themselves to the successful settlement (Joshua J. Mark, 2014). This process, then, gave rise to the densely populated centers which came to be known as 'cities'. The historian Helen Chapin Metz proposes that the growth of cities in Mesopotamia was the result of the inhabitants struggling to cope with the environment. Urbanization spread from Mesopotamia to Egypt and, from there, to Greece (ibid). Religious and symbolic factors did play an important role in setting the first human settlements in this region. The religions of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam each trace their origins back to this part of the world (ushistory.org, 2022).

In western Europe, starting at the zero point, the development of cities not only reached the stage that the ancient world had achieved but kept going after that. It kept going based on improvements in agriculture and transport, the opening of new lands and new trade routes, and, above all, the rise in productive activity, first in highly organized handicraft and eventually in a revolutionary new form of production - the factory run by machinery and fossil fuel (Kingsley Davis, 1955). One of the great factors giving rise to urbanization is industrialization of agriculture.

As farming becomes increasingly mechanized and rationalized, fewer people are needed on the land (ibid).

According to Paul N. Balchin et. al, (2000 in Mathewos 2009), the forces determining the pace of urbanization throughout the world are: economic growth and development, technological changes, rapid growth in the total population and a large-scale movement of people from rural areas to cities. The traditional economic theory of urbanization, which has dominated in both academic and policy circles since the 1950s, revolves around the relationship between structural economic change and the spatial dynamics of the labor market (Fox, Sean, 2014). This economic model suggests that urbanization is fundamentally driven by rural–to–urban emigration stimulated by a wage gap between rural and urban areas that arises in the early stages of industrialization (ibid). Improvement in disease control and food security also leads to the natural increase becoming a significant cause of the growing urban population (Brockerhoff, M., 2000).

It is also true with African cities that improvement in disease control and the rural-urban migration contributed to urbanization; but the relationship between structural economic change and dynamics of labor market has been weak in poor African and other developing countries. Poor nations' urban centers are more of centers of poverty than centers of economic development and opportunities. It can thus be argued that there exists a stark difference between western urbanization and poor developing cities urbanization models.

Spatial planning

Humans were engaged in spatial planning since the beginning of history. There is evidence of urban planning and designed communities dating back to the Mesopotamian, Indus Valley, Minoan and Egyptian civilizations in the third millennium BC. Cities in Europe from the 9th to 14th centuries, often grew organically and sometimes chaotically. But in the following centuries some newly created towns were built according to preconceived plans, and many others were enlarged with newly planned extensions (Boerefijn, Wim 2010). During the Enlightenment period, several European rulers ambitiously attempted to redesign capital cities. During the Second French Republic, Baron Georges-Eugène Haussmann, under the direction of Napoleon III (reigned: 1852-1870) redesigned the city of Paris into a more modern capital, with long, straight, wide boulevards (Jordan, P. D., 1992).

Modern urban spatial planning came following the impacts of industrialization mainly as an instrument to deal with its negative consequences of slumization and migration of surplus labor into cities (Freestone, 2001). In the 1970s, urban planning came under attack on many fronts, fragmenting its traditional land use focus into many specialties. In recent decades, the planning agenda has become more diffused as cities have become more competitive, socially divided, and unmanageable (ibid). In time, it became evident that a spatial plan by itself could not adequately deal with problems in the physical, social, and environmental systems of urban areas. Theorists

concluded that other 'products' of local government (such as rules to regulate traffic, pollution, housing, and employment) were needed to supplement a spatial plan (Tustian, 2001). Recently, planning practices are often ecosystem-based and oriented to mitigation/adaptation to climatic changes. Land, an indispensable element of spatial planning, is gaining attention as a natural resource that is closely related to climate change. Increasing need for land protection raises the need for a renewed role of spatial planning of all types and levels (Thoidou, E., 2021).

In a very synthetic perspective, there are two approaches in planning theory: the substantive and the normative. Substantive planning theory describes purpose of planning, its substantive fields such as land-use planning and development control, environmental planning, economic development planning, community or neighborhood planning, and transportation planning (Alexander, 1992). Normative planning theory is presented with implied ideological and ethical associations. It is related to statutory and legal framework, is linked to state and public administration theory, and implies ideological associations. As the topic of this research is basically on spatial planning conformances and performances the forthcoming assessment focuses more on the normative field of planning theory as related to spatial planning. The findings and outcomes of the normative planning evaluation will serve substantive planning whichever type of plan it is (land use, transport, environment, etc.).

Whittemore, A. (2015) makes eight classifications of procedural theories in planning today: the rational-comprehensive, the incremental, the transactive, the communicative, the advocacy, the equity, the radical, and the humanist or phenomenological approaches. Another theoretician, Hudson (1979) makes a five-part classification of planning traditions abbreviated SITAR: Synoptic, Incremental, Transactive, Advocacy, and Radical schools of planning thought. For the sake of simplicity and considering that three of Whittemore's approaches have some similar characters to the others (the communicative with transactive, equity and humanist with advocacy), and observing closeness between Hudson's radical thinking and advocacy, a four-part classification has been developed: synoptic (rational comprehensive), incremental, transactive/communicative, and advocacy to frame the upcoming discussion. Figure 1 elaborates this reclassification.

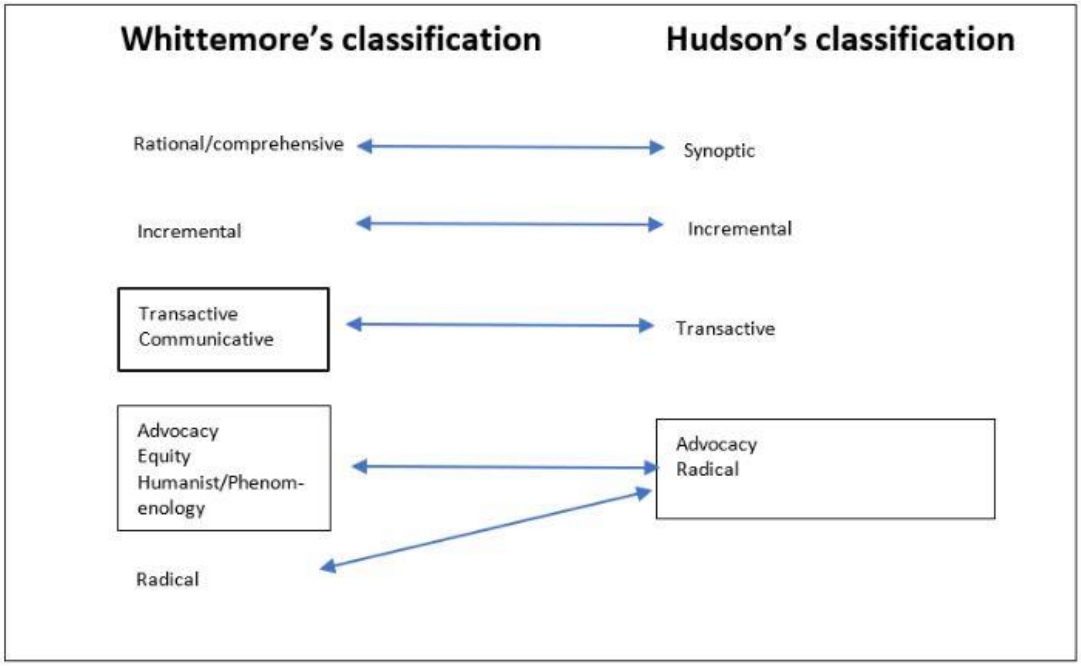

Figure 1. Reclassification of Whittemore's and Hudson's normative plan types

Synoptic/ rational/comprehensive planning: Following the rise of Empiricism during the Industrial Revolution, the rational planning movement (1890–1960) emphasized the improvement of the built environment based on key spatial factors. Examples of these factors include: exposure to direct sunlight, energy and health factors, movement of vehicular traffic, standardized housing units, and proximity to green space and designing with nature (Caves, W.R., 2004; McHarg, L.I.,1967). The objective of rational planning was for the actor to decide to what ends action should be undertaken, and what course of action would be most effective (Alexander E. in Lichfield N. et. al, (eds) 1998). Throughout both the United States and Europe, the rational planning movement declined in the latter half of the 20th century as it lost touch with the public it hoped to serve by focusing so much on a design by technical elites (Davreu, Robert 1978). Synoptic planning typically looks at problems from a systems viewpoint, using conceptual or mathematical models relating ends (objectives) to means (resources and constraints) with heavy reliance on numbers and quantitative analysis (Hudson**,** 1979). The rational comprehensive model for planning owes its origins to Enlightenment epistemology (Sandercock, 1998; Allmendinger, 2002), as it is centered on decisions and principles that are based on reason, logic and scientific facts with little or no emphasis on values and emotions. The early Addis Ababa

master plans up to the 1986 Italo-Ethiopian plan could be said to have been dominated by similar conception of this approach in the context of monocratic and later military governance system.

Incremental planning: Beginning in the late 1950s and early 1960s, critiques of the rational paradigm began to emerge and formed into several different schools of planning thought. The first of these schools is Charles Lindblom's incrementalism. Lindblom (1979 in Wikipedia, 2020) describes planning as "muddling through" and thought that practical planning required decisions to be made incrementally. Lindblom stresses that policy decisions are better understood, and better arrived at, in terms of the push and tug of established institutions that are adept at getting things done through decentralized bargaining processes best suited to a free market and a democratic political economy.

Communicative/Transactive planning: The communicative (or deliberative or sometimes even called collaborative planning) model not only brought to the fore the already existing recognition of the political nature of planning but also alternative objectives concerning the democratic principles for preparing and implementing planned interventions, mediating conflicts and organizational (or community) learning (Healey, 1997). Communicative planning emphasizes both interaction and iteration, which takes place in an extensive institutional context, and aims to obtain commitment and consensus among all the stakeholders (Khakee 2002; Davoudi 2005).

The key proponents of transactive planning, Hudson (1979) and Friedmann (1973), argue that planning is not carried out with respect to an anonymous target community of beneficiaries, but in face-to-face contact with the people affected by decisions. Transactive planning consists less of field surveys and data analyses, and more of interpersonal dialogue marked by a process of mutual learning. Transactive planning also refers to the evolution of decentralized planning institutions that help people take increasing control over the social processes that govern their welfare (Hudson, 1979; Lane 2005). Citizen participation is an underlying concern in both communicative and transactive perspectives of planning (Friedman, 1987 in Borri D. et al, 1997; Friedman, 1973; Hudson, 1979).

Advocacy/Radical planning: In a context of a weak institutional and undemocratic political system, planning tends to perpetuate state ideology and the interests of politically and economically stronger actors (Watson 2003 in Genet, 2020). Advocacy planning attempts to counteract this practice. Formulated in the 1960s by Paul Davidoff, the advocacy planning model takes the perspective that there are large inequalities in the political system and in the bargaining process between groups that result in large numbers of people unorganized and unrepresented in the process. It concerns itself with ensuring that all people are equally represented in the planning process by advocating for the interests of the underprivileged and seeking social change (Davidoff,1965). Public participation is also a central tenet of advocacy planning. A plurality of public interests and values is assumed, and the role of the planner is essentially the one as a

facilitator who either advocates for underrepresented groups directly or encourages them to become part of the process (Lane, 2005).

The different planning approaches discussed above may not be considered as totally self-sufficient and complete, they are rather complementary and context contingent. They are not conflicting; each model involves different kinds of actors or roles, doing different kinds of planning at different stages or levels in the planning process (Alexander, E. in Lichfield N.et al, (eds) 1998).

2.1.2. Eastern experience

Urbanization

Eastern Asia is the region that had experienced the most rapid urbanization, especially over the last 30 years. The share of the urban population in Eastern Asia more than tripled in 65 years, rising from 18 to 60 per cent between 1950 and 2015, while a similar change in the more developed regions required about 80 years, between 1875 and 1955 (UN, 2018). It is projected that in 2030 urban populations in the region will amount to thirty percent of the total global urban population (Atsushi Iimi, 2005).

The findings in East Asia also reinforce the connection between economic growth and urbanization (The World Bank Group, 2015). World Bank report of 2015 establishes a direct link between urbanization and income growth, showing how economic output per capita increased throughout the region as the percentage of people living in urban areas went up.

Spatial planning

Spatial planning can help reduce inequality in access to urban opportunities and amenities. The pattern of urban form is one of many factors that affect the ability of the urban poor to access economic opportunities in their cities. Ensuring a spatial match between jobs, affordable retail, public transportation, health and education services, recreational areas, and affordable housing are some of the means of fostering such access. Land acquisition for urban expansion can be disruptive, but it can also help bring opportunities to peri-urban residents and allow them to benefit from urban growth; and about 350 urban areas in East Asia spill over local administrative boundaries (Atsushi Iimi, 2005).

Internationally, in the 1980s, cities in China and East and South-east Asia, without institutionalized planning system adopted master planning amidst the contemplative scenario for new innovations in urban planning. Remarkably Singapore and Hong Kong within the Asian bloc have long-standing and successful experience with master planning. The new entrant China was formally rehabilitated with the City Planning Act of 1989, which set up a

comprehensive urban planning system based on the production of master plans to guide the growth of China's burgeoning new cities (Friedman, 2005 in Okeke, 2015). In practicing spatial planning, East Asians blended the above-mentioned western theories into their own context without direct replication. As Shi (2001) states, the Eastern modern city planning is a product of the interaction and fusion between Western concepts of city development and Chinese indigenous urban traditions. Chinese urban planning ultimately reflected Chinese cultural visions, political ideologies, and power relations (ibid).

2.1.3. Urbanization and spatial planning in Africa

Urbanization

The share of Africans living in urban areas grew from 36 percent in 2010 to 42 percent in 2021 and is projected to grow to 50 percent by 2030 and 55 percent by 2050 (World Bank, 2015; Patassini, D.,2021; Guneralp B., 2018). This unprecedented urban population growth was nevertheless not triggered by economic growth, nor by demand for labor as it was in the west. The situation is a phenomenon of over urbanization that induced huge social as well as economic costs. The simple association which was previously held between urbanization and economic growth in the West has broken down. The Todaro model postulates that migration proceeds in response to urban-rural differences in expected income rather than actual earnings (Todaro and Smith, 2015).

In line with modernization theory**,** historical and practical evidence substantiate that the process of urbanization follows the same time sequence as the process of economic growth as in developed countries. This could be termed as "healthy" urbanization. Urbanization could also happen in the absence of the corresponding economic growth; as in Asia, Latin America and lately in Africa (termed as the "unhealthy" urbanization). There are also some recent indications of urbanization along with economic growth in Africa. As exposed by Keeton and Provoost (2019), the cause of the recent boom in New Towns in Africa in recent years is the economic growth. Ethiopian secondary cities growth in the last two decades could also be attributed to the relative economic growth. But the contention here is that this is not enough. The level of urbanization far exceeds the economic growth leading to overurbanization and the associated urban problems. This calls for a different treatment in the connection between the two – economic development and urbanization in Africa.

Other models focused on more general urban-rural exchange or on attractive forces/energy of the city and on social chains, beyond the urban-rural differentials. There are many non-economic motives for migration: the desire of youth to escape the control of older generations; of women to scape gender discrimination, join husbands in town, or take advantage of the market for

spouses in urban areas; and of others to acquire the social prestige associated with urban life or to pursue their aspirations in the 'bright lights' of the big city (Byerlee 1974; Mazumdar 1987; Becker and Morrison 1995 in Fox, Sean, 2014). More recent studies have explored the impacts of ethnic conflict, war and climatic changes in spurring migration to urban areas (Fay and Opal 2000; Barrios et al. 2006 in Fox, Sean, 2014) even sometimes leading to creation of refugee camps.

China's urbanization took 22 years to increase to 39.1% from 17.9% (an increase of 0.96% per year). But it took Britain 120 years, the US 80 years, and Japan 30 years to reach this same level of urbanization. For China, to catch up with the developed nations, it has become mandatory to speed up the process of urbanization (Mathewos, 2009). The proof that urbanization led to economic growth in the eastern region could also be an experience to be adopted in Africa provided the development is aligned with commensurate planning type.

Spatial planning

Urban planning in Africa results from indigenous aesthetics and conceptions of form and function as well as the changes brought on by industrialization, modernization, and colonialism. Before the Berlin Conference of 1884 – 1885, which formalized colonialism in many parts of Africa, indigenous African cities and villages had ordered structures that varied along ethnic and religious lines and according to geography. Among many other examples, archaeological evidence from ancient cities like El-Lahun, Egypt (1700 BCE), Timgad, Algeria (100), Kilwa Kisiwani,Tanzania (700), Edo, Nigeria (1100), and Loanga City, Angola(1500) indicate geometric order, clear spatial patterns, and monumentality in the urban plans (Keeton, and Provoost, 2019). Adulis, Axum, Mombasa, Cairo, Zanzibar, Ouagadougou, Gondar and Addis Ababa could also be cited as few examples of precolonial African cities that developed along indigenous traditional lines.

Intra-urban racial segregation was planned into all European colonies in Africa, with the areas for colonists usually the most desirable areas separated from the non-European parts of the city through natural features like riverbeds and hills, or through infrastructural features like rail lines or military installations (Pierre, et al. 2000). Guidi's, Valle's and Corbusier's plans of Addis Ababa that divided the city into indigenous and European neighborhoods during the 5-year Italian occupation could be cited as examples of such racial practices.

During post-colonial era, urban planning related laws in most countries in Africa became a continuation of colonial traditions that had made planning an instrument of financial and political power consolidation on one side, and of creating images based on imported concepts on the other (Watson, 2011 in Genet, 2020).

In a general reassessment of urban planning in African cities (Okpala 1999 cited in Okeke, 2015) master planning prevailed in the 1930's-1960's, followed by disjointed incrementalism in 1970's, structural planning in 1980's and lastly action planning since 1990's. In the Addis Ababa context, traditional planning was practiced from 1886 (foundation of the city) to 1936 (Italian occupation), followed by master planning from the 1936 to mid-1980s, synoptic comprehensive planning from mid-1980s to late 1990s, and lastly a mix of synoptic strategic structure planning and incremental and transactive planning since the early 2000s.

The underlying processes that shape urbanization in Africa are vastly different from those experienced elsewhere. Much of urban expansion in Africa is characterized by unplanned and unregulated growth in the context of weak urban planning institutions. The reasons for poor governance and inadequate service infrastructure in urban areas can be traced back to colonial institutional arrangements and persistent political instability (Anderson P L. et al., 2013 in Guneralp B., 2018).

Spatial planning in Africa was eco-centric. Living with nature was pronounced and maintained through code systems of symbols. Minimal interference with nature led development activities. Most African cities shared similar urban core elements: political, cultural and business (the palace, church or mosque and markets) around which the remaining urban functions are organized (Okeke D.C., 2015). The major gaps in precolonial African cities were the absence of manufacturing industries and urban housing which became important urban elements in the post-industrial era. These urban elements were, nevertheless, either not to the required level or failed to corroborate with the remaining urban system. This was further reinforced by the fact that African cities remained organic as Africa served as source region for global economy and ostensibly for the growth of western civilization (ibid).

Overall, from the mid-19th century, cities in Africa were no longer 'African cities' both in character and in function, because the institutional framework on which they existed altered significantly. 'African cities' became cities in the Diaspora in their homeland as the world system bear on contemporary African development (Okeke D.C., 2015). Imported participatory planning that was meant to be pro-poor also proved unsuccessful because it did not resonate with weak status of local civil society (UNCHS, 1999 in Okeke D.C., 2015). The fundamental misconception of planning could be manifested well in Okeke D.C. (2015) reports where urban planning and project planning tend to be perceived interchangeably and used synonymously.

2.1.4. Some practical experiences of spatial planning in Africa

Here focus is made to spatial planning practices in few East Sub-Saharan Africa that have relatively closer level of overall development and level of urbanization with Ethiopia where it is believed to draw lessons.

Zimbabwe (32 % LU in 2019): In Zimbabwe, planning systems use master and local plans, which are statutory plans prepared in accordance with the provisions of the Regional, Town and Country Planning Act (RTCP Act,1996). The planning process is aligned to the comprehensive rational concept of planning, with a study of the planning area and wide consultation with all relevant stakeholders constituting prerequisites of its approval or adoption. Once approved, the plan becomes a legally binding instrument guiding development in the urban area (Mabaso, A., et. Al, 2015).

However, decisions that are associated with non-conformance tend to be narrow sighted, characterized by a shift from comprehensive to piecemeal planning. This is the case of Chitungwiza and Harare, where wetlands preserved or reserved under the master plans were being reclaimed for urban development (Sithole & Goredema, 2013 in Mabaso et. al, 2015)

Kampala, Uganda (24 % LU in 2019)**:** A notable planning experience in Uganda is the UNPDP (Uganda National Physical Development Plan). A central objective of the UNPDP is to give the physical aspect of planning development a more central role within Government policymaking. It helps to coordinate and align national projects in urbanization, infrastructure, transportation, and wealth creating sectors. The NPDP breaks down the core elements, the pattern of human settlements, the land uses and natural resources, and the infrastructure networks into sub sections which include:

- A hierarchy of settlements from the primate city, secondary cities down to key towns,
- Principal land uses which comprise strategic and secondary agricultural zones, natural resource blocks and protected areas,
- Infrastructure networks as transport systems and nodes, and utility corridors.

The revision of the Town and Country Planning Act 1964 into the new Physical Planning Bill is very laudable and provides a platform for innovation (Lwasa, S. and Njenga, K. C., 2012). One of the many innovations in the new bill is the response to the longstanding planning question of 'planning area boundary', by including rural areas and implicitly the peri-urban, the bill provides mandate to planning authorities to prepare or cause prepare plans for areas with a potential to explode outside the official planning area boundary as local physical development plans (ibid).

Tanzania (35 % LU in 2019): Assessing Tanzanian master plans, Huang and Cantada, (2019) showed that they were implemented only to a limited extent or proved rather ineffective in concretely guiding development, especially in terms of major land uses and supporting

infrastructure and facilities. The levels of land use conformity to master plans are low (less than 50%) and in city centers, these are consistently around 35%-45% (ibid). Huang and Cantada identified six critical reasons for the ineffectiveness of master plans in the studied Tanzanian cities:

- Inherent weaknesses in the master plans themselves.
- Disconnect between spatial planning, sector or infrastructure plans and budgeting and investment planning decisions.
- The lack of coordination among key agencies.
- Lack of or ineffective development controls.
- Unrealistic planning standards and regulations; and
- Limited capacity and resources for enforcement.

Kenya (27.5 LU in 2019): The creation of the Nairobi Metropolitan Ministry in 2008 is a laudable effort in establishing formal structure to address the metropolitan growth of the city (Lwasa, S. and Njenga, K. C., 2012). The city of Nairobi has operated for decades under the guidance and recommendations of the 1973 Nairobi Metropolitan Growth Strategy, followed by the 1984-1988 Nairobi City Commission Development Plan and the 1993 Nairobi City Convention that expired in 2000 (Gemma Soles, 2014 in Lwasa, S. and Njenga, K. C., 2012). But, as Sustainable Cities Collective noted, "many recommendations of the 1973 Master Plan were not realized due to shortages in capacity by the old City Council, as well as lack of commitment and political will" (ibid).

Plan dichotomies

There are wide range of debates on the role of planning, at what level and scale it should be practiced, etc. Along the line of normative planning discussed above, hereunder are some of such seemingly dichotomized debates around literature on urban planning.

Political versus technical role of planning: Two major themes emerge from recent literature on the politics of planning: planning in the wider system of power and control, and planning as a professional activity (Benveniste, 1989; Low, 1991). Planning is no longer regarded as a mere technocratic exercise in rational analysis by an isolated cadre of professional planners. This change in how planners' roles are seen has occurred not only because planning as an activity independent of political process did not work but also because there is little evidence that planning ever was an isolated area of bureaucracy (Vasu, 1979 and Howe and Kaufman, 1981, in Khakee and Dahlgren, 1990). Planners' active involvement in implementation no doubt increased once they realized the only way to ensure the success of their plans was to

work closely with politicians (Khakee A. in Borri, D. et al, (eds) 1997). It's also worth remembering that while planners and architects clearly play pivotal roles, their plans first and foremost reflect the goals and choices made by developers or governments, investors, or other clients. Therefore, the quality of the resulting city is dependent on the quality of the client (Keeton, R., and Provoost, M., 2019).

Public versus private planning debate: Some researchers e.g., Healey (1989 cited in Khakee A. in Borri, D. et al, 1997) argue that public planning (in the form of land-use and environmental planning) is vital in redressing land-market failures and promoting the requirements of nature conservation. In planning, the genesis of public intervention in the market has often been laid at the door of market failure, that is the inability of the market to reflect matters of concern in the public interest, such as externalities, uneven income distribution, etc. (N. Lichfield, 1998 in N. Lichfield et al, 1998). This is in line with the Keynesian theory that considered state-led planning necessary for problem solving (Sanyal, B., 2021). Starting in the 1980s, "Neoliberalism" emerged as an alternative to "Keynesianism", tarnishing governmental planning (ibid). But once again the Keynesian theory is back as the current pandemic has added a new sense of urgency for governmental intervention, not only to control the spread of the virus but also to counteract the deepening global economic depression which resulted from the pandemic. Public sector planners are once again emerging as key actors to chart a path to recovery (ibid).

National versus local planning: The relations and balance between national and local (regional or urban) planning has been an area of concern for long. A national plan is designed to meet some national development goals and gives frame for local actions to ensure achievement of these goals. On the other hand, local plans are designed to implement local objectives that sum up to the national goals. The question is thus how to synchronize and balance these goals and objectives in a sustainable way. Khakee (1997) presents some of the relevant questions popping up: What are the major points of conflict between national and local interests? In what way are the conflicts structured? What legal and institutional frameworks are adopted in order to negotiate on public interests? It is suggested that an open discourse is necessary for developing a 'robust' and all-encompassing comprehensive plan which would otherwise end up as 'decorative' report in the bookshelf. An inclusionary discourse is a 'proxy' for comprehensive attention both at national and local levels.

Scientific versus value-based planning: A plan comprises several items that can be measured using quantitative units. However, one is often faced with the need to assess quality: quite a different ball game, since we often have to resort to nominal value scales and to languages that differ substantially from the formalized mathematical definitions that can be reduced to algorithms of varying complexity. In this case one might say the plan is more beautiful or not as good as another (Roscelli R. in Borri, D. et al, 1997). Friedman, J.

(1987*)* promotes this debate questioning on what grounds scientific and technical knowledge with its presumptive universal validity can claim to be superior to personal knowledge, especially when the application of each kind of knowledge yields a different result. According to him, the construction of knowledge must therefore be regarded as an intensely social process with its own interpersonal and group dynamics.

North versus South divide: It is evident that the contemporary planning context of the global South and Africa unambiguously differs from that within which European planners addressed urbanization (economic growth and industrialization induced urbanization) a century ago (Cornelius, et al, 2017). African urbanization is more induced by migrations as a result of perceived income disparity, conflicts, etc., that do not match with economic growth and labor demand in urban areas. African spatial planning is thus to address the challenges presented by this form of urbanization.

Numerous planning theorists and academics (Watson, V. 2014; Watson, V. 2009**;** Cornelius et al, 2017) advocate for a unique approach to African urban planning based on the argument that planning theory cannot merely be imported and applied from the global North to the global South. There is evidence of positive outcomes of urban planning which has largely been through piecemeal planning (UN-Habitat, 2008, Semambo, 2000 cited in Lwasa, S. and Njenga, K. C., 2012) which has created pockets of isolated well planned, upgraded and developed neighborhoods, industrial parks, and transportation corridors in East Africa.

Such a unique approach cannot deny the need to have a comprehensive plan. Infrastructure development and environmental concerns need long term planning, not only the short-term ones. Africa cannot afford to alienate spatial planning in favor of increased emphasis on public participation and consensus in planning whereby the wishes of individual, small groups and the popularity of politicians shape urban destiny (Okeke, 2015). So far there has been an over-reaction on the part of urban planners leading to excessive participation and the neglect of physical planning.

The duality debate is not an either/or issue. It can be observed that these seemingly dichotomized aspects of planning (short and long term) are all necessary and applied according to context (time, space, institutional, etc.). One of the planning aspects could be more important at a specific time (for example, public or private planning), or some parts of both aspects could be used (for example scientific versus value-based, comprehensive versus participatory strategic planning, etc.).

2.2 Plan evaluation

2.2.1. The rationale behind plan evaluation

Evaluative research is undertaken to assess the worth or success of something: a program, a policy or a project. Oliveira & Pinho (2009, 2010) state the relevance of plan evaluation citing other theoreticians: evaluation of planning practice is a complex but most necessary exercise (Alexander & Faludi, 1989; Baer, 1997; Brody & Highfield, 2005; Laurian et al., 2004 in Slaev and Budic, 2017). They claim that evaluation enhances planning practice, tracks the course of planning proposals, promoting an effective planning dynamic, in which suggestions for changes or reviews in planning products and processes are supported by the results of evaluation exercises. Evaluation also helps to link objective, process and outcome and reflect on planning plausibility in a given context.

Plan evaluation becomes a crucial step to ensure that planning yields expected results. Moreover, evaluation helps increase the accountability of public institutions and strengthens public confidence in planning decisions (Guyadeen and Seasons, 2016 cited in Rudolf and Gradinaru, 2017). Information generated from evaluations contributes to organizational learning as well as the global knowledge base on development effectiveness (UNDP 2009). Learning from experience can only be accumulated and transformed into knowledge through systematic evaluation, generalization and development of new theories and norms for practice (Alexander and Faludi, 1989).

As stated by Baer (2007), the physical plan component of evaluation (land use plan) is based on the criteria whether the physical plan and land use was adequately mapped with proper detail and clarity and whether the different land uses are properly interconnected (consistency and coherence), etc. The plan as remedy to cure existing problems identified in the plan (housing, infrastructure, centrality, slum upgrading and redevelopment, governance, integration and coordination, etc.) is evaluated using criteria whether these problems are adequately addressed and implemented (ibid).

2.2.2. What kind of evaluation approach?

Summative, Formative, Qualitative, Case, Conformance, Performance.

First, the aims of the evaluation itself must be determined. This involves recognizing that evaluations of planning can have very different objectives, which will make a huge difference in how they should be addressed (Alexander, 2009). Evaluators distinguish two quite different purposes for evaluation: (1) Summative evaluations that judge overall effectiveness to inform major decisions about whether a program should continue and (2) formative evaluations that aim to improve programs and related evaluation design (Patton, 2002 p218).

Qualitative methods are often used in evaluations because they tell the program's story, its evolution, by capturing and communicating the participants' stories. Evaluation case studies have all the elements of a good story. They tell what happened, when, to whom, and with what consequences (ibid).

Alexander and Faludi (1989) identified three distinct evaluations: objective, subjective and decision-centered evaluations. Traditional or conventional 'objective' assessment of policy or planning effectiveness, success in implementation and program accomplishment, ignores uncertainty. It demands conformity of operational decisions, implementation processes, and concrete results with the intentions expressed in policies and plans. Conformance-based evaluation means judging the success or failure of planning efforts using one or both of two standards. One is the degree to which outcomes "on the ground" fit the plan or conform to planning policy prescriptions. The other is whether the tools deployed to implement a policy or plan (regulations, programs, detailed plans or projects, budget allocations, etc.) in fact work to promote its espoused objectives (Alexander, E., 2009).

'Subjective' evaluation takes uncertainty into account. Uncertainty is incorporated by evaluating the planning process and assessing the optimality of the resulting strategies. This must be done in the light of the actual planners' or decision makers' ex ante knowledge and information and their perceived and actual constraints (Alexander and Faludi, 1989). Reflection in action also complements this subjective evaluation. Schön (1983) declares that competent practitioner usually knows more than he/she can say; exhibits a kind of knowing in practice, most of which is tacit. And in Visser's (2010) words, reflection-in-action is the reflective form of knowing-in-action, in practice most of which is tacit.

'Decision-centered' evaluation examines the use of the policy or plan as a frame of reference for operational decisions. Acceptance of uncertainty is integral to this evaluation approach: changes in the perceived decision situation (which is the cognitive context in which policies and plans are developed and operational decisions are taken) are a sufficient reason for nonconformity between operational decisions and their frame of reference. Alexander and Faludi admit that each of these approaches has its strengths and weaknesses and that an evaluation framework may sequentially apply criteria from each of the three evaluation approaches discussed above. We may expect some plans to fail one test, but pass the other; the tests are complementary.

Evaluations take many forms (Patton, 1998). For example, evaluations can be ex ante — they can occur before the program is finalized and launched. Ex ante evaluations are used as part of the planning process to refine program details. Formative evaluations occur in mid-program cycle as a way to assess and modify program delivery. Summative evaluations (ex post facto) occur once a program has been completed or it has achieved sufficient maturity to permit an assessment of

final performance. In any case, the program must be evaluable — the contents of plans or policies must be worded in a manner that facilitates evaluation (Mark, 2012). Ex post facto, or retrospective, or summative evaluation identifies and explains the impacts of plans to learn from experience and inform future decisions (Baum, 2001; Snyder and Coglianese, 2005 in Lucie Laurian et al., 2010; Seasons, 2012).

Evaluation in spatial planning, like spatial planning itself, and planning in general, is in transition. Traditionally, evaluation has been an integral part of the rational planning process (Alexander, 1992). Alexander and Lichfield (1998) question the future role of evaluation in spatial planning with the demise of the "classic" rational model as the dominant planning paradigm. For an answer, they advocate communicative practice as the foundation paradigm for plan and project evaluation in the context of collective decision making, in communities, regional planning and development policy, and the appraisal of national and transnational strategic projects.

Plan evaluation cannot merely be aimed at plan intentions and implemented outcomes, but also must be context contingent. Lichfield (in Khakee A. et al, 2008) suggests that evaluations of strategic plans are general, indicative, and involve considerable qualitative judgement. The main difference with the rational approach is that effectiveness is a matter of the extent to which planning proposals match the situated social and political processes of which these proposals are a part, not the extent to which they match given objectives. Evaluation must handle the 'embeddedness' of planning within its wider range of social and economic processes and specific institutional context (ibid).

Unintended results are not always negative; they sometimes result in positive outcomes further justifying the relevance of evaluation. Evaluation has thus to refer to some form of contingent and context-specific norms (Alexander, 2009). Analyzing Swiss local plans, Rudolf and Gradinaru (2017) suggest that the relationship between plan quality and plan implementation varies according to whether implementation is measured in terms of performance (plan consulted during implementation though the outcome is different from the plan proposal) or conformance (implementation corresponding the plan proposal).

The foregoing discussion leads us to conformance and performance of plans. Conformance is the trait of the traditional or conventional 'objective' assessment. Conformance-based evaluation focuses on the conformance between the plan's goals and the actual spatial outputs (Laurian, et al, 2004 in Slaev and Budic, 2017). Conformance-based evaluation means judging the success or failure of planning by measuring the conformance degree between the outcomes of urban development and the previously designed plan proposals (Loh, 2011 cited in Tong and Zhang 2016). It focuses on assessing the causal linkages between plans and actual urban developments. In this case, implementation is considered a success if developments conform to plan proposals (Faludi, 2000; Laurian et al., 2004 in Slaev and Budic, 2017). A high conformance degree indicates

the implementation is well achieved and vice versa. The conformance-based approach is suited to project plans, where implementation assessment must follow the logic of conformance of outcomes to plan intentions.

Performance is a trait of subjective and decision-centered evaluations that take uncertainty into consideration. Performance-based evaluation is concerned with the plan's outcomes as well as other impacts (Barrett, 2004; Faludi 2000; in Slaev and Budic, 2017). Faludi and Altes propose the term 'performance' as opposed to 'conformance' and imply that departures from plans do not necessarily indicate failures (Borri D. et al, 1997).

Performance-based evaluation insists that planning is a process of decision making under conditions of uncertainty; as long as the outcomes are beneficial, departures from plans may be considered acceptable (Tong and Zhang *2016)*. The performance-based approach focuses on planning processes and considers the plan as an aid to future decisions-making processes rather than a blue print. After all, knowing that a decision conforms to a plan says nothing about how soundly justified the decision was. What decision makers and their critics will rather want to know is whether the decision is adequate to the situation (Faludi A. & Altes W. 1997 in BORRI, D. et al, 1997).

When implementation was defined and measured in terms of performance, the communication- and action-oriented dimensions of plan quality were moderately to strongly correlated with performance (Rudolf and Gradinaru, 2017). In contrast, when implementation was defined in terms of conformance, the correlation was much weaker. A possible explanation for these results may be that numerous external factors can affect conformance (ibid).

Some postmodernists would go further, questioning the very presumption of technocratic expertise stating that plans are a means of expressing values and belief systems rather than technical pronouncements of cause and effect (e.g., Fischer and Forester 1987, 1993). In this light, plans increasingly came to be viewed as vehicles for reasoned argument rather than as depositories of scientific and rational findings (Fischer and Forrester 1993).

2.3. Plan evaluation meta criteria

2.3.1 Plan Quality

There are different plan quality measures or standards adopted for different contexts. Each time a plan is prepared, the designers should specify the criteria by which they expect it to be evaluated. The appropriate criteria to evaluate a plan are implicit in the concept that the plan

embodies (Baer, 2007). Some of the major criteria developed by Baer were guidance for implementation, quality of communication, comprehensiveness, adequacy of the scope, public participation, and flexibility. Tilaki, M.J.M. and Marzbali, M.H. (2014) used criteria such as coherence and participation to evaluate Iranian urban development plans.

In the Addis Ababa context, there are no standard plan quality measurements as the experience of plan evaluation is very meagre. Few examples were the ORAAMP plan evaluations conducted by EiABC (2010) and the one produced by a consortium of Lyon Town Planning Agency and MATHEWOS Consult (2010). Both evaluations were basically focused on whether the plan components were implemented according to their proposals (conformance). They were not based on preconceived evaluation parameters; and consideration of the influencing factors was so little. Neither did the AACDP have specific evaluation criteria incorporated within the plan documents. Despite the difficulties and shortcomings of the evaluations, some of the evaluation results had, nevertheless, influenced the revision of the 2017 plan of Addis Ababa. The institutional arrangement - organizing planning agency or a project office within the city administration - recommended by both evaluators and adopted by the administration was such an example.
The Lyon and MATHEWOS Consult review described some good qualities of the plan and its implementation. According to the assessment, the shared communicative visioning of the plan was a good quality that later influenced planning all over the country. The street network and the condominium housing were the plan components better implemented (qualities of conformance). Lack of strategic implementation process and little concern for green spaces and urban landscape were among the weaknesses of the plan implementation observed by EiABC. These were, it was stated, mainly due to institutional factors such as discontinuity of urban management and the subsequent loss of information and skills (EiABC, 2010).

Another plan evaluation experience was the Oporto (the second-largest city in Portugal) plan evaluation conducted by Oliveira and Pinho (2008). Conformance was the measure or assessment of effectiveness of the plan. The level to which the newly prepared plan accepts/respects the earlier developments on the ground was a measure of plan quality they adopted. There were transitory measures stated as Provision Norms (2000) and Preventive Measures (2002) in the national planning legislation, intended to cover the period of preparation of the new plan.

They also used three performance criteria: leadership (direction), plan utilization and participation. Plan performance was the measure or assessment of leadership. The presidency changes of the Local Council in 2001 had interfered in the plan preparation schedule and had led to changes in the plan contents. Their analysis also revealed a lack of identification of the local politicians in power during plan making and, particularly, during plan implementation. Based on the Oporto plan evaluation practice, Oliveira and Pinho (2008) stress that it is possible, and

indeed desirable, to systematically evaluate urban planning despite the difficulties and the complexity.

The Tanzanian master plans effectiveness was measured by its level of conformance and was found to be less than 50%. The factors that affected this conformance were inherent weakness in the plans (lack of consistency and unrealistic standards and regulations) and institutional factors (lack of coordination, ineffective control and limited capacity).

2.3.2. Land management: formal/informal swinging

Having a properly functioning urban planning requires a properly functioning land management system. As stated by Engida (2013), urban land management is closely linked to planning, and its management must precede planning. Ease of access to land eases plan preparation and implementation following the legal channel; but if constrained will result in informality. As Mabogunje (1992) observed from the nature of urban land market situation of Sub-Saharan Africa, "the constraints of making land easily available through the formal governmental mechanism were such as to force people, desperate to provide themselves with shelter, to seek other avenues of gaining access to land". This leads to eviction without any or proper compensation to clear the land for investment as per the plan because these are unrecognized informal settlements.

There are many examples where the incorporation of informal planning into formal planning contributed to urban development. Low-cost housing solutions such as the site-and-service program could be used for the low-income households. Mekanissa, Saris, Megenagna, Gerji, etc. housing projects financed by the World Bank in Addis Ababa by the end of 1980s were examples of such a program. Son and Hussien (2017), noting experiences from Vietnam and Thailand argue that positive roles of slums, which provide large number of high-density, low-cost housing units for poor people, should be recognized. In Seoul, Korea, a 1967 survey found that there were 137,234 units of informal houses, of which 61,562 were allowed on-site improvement. Those to be moved due to mandatory reasons were given around 25m^2 of public land in outer areas of the city.

Negotiated planning is a planning process where one goes in between the formal (legal) and the informal (illegal) in the process of planning and land development especially related to the majority poor households of a city. This is a particular condition in Addis Ababa too. This happened when the city was forced to accept the existing situation of informal developments and activities because of failure of the formal system to address public interest. These cases show

that the allocation of urban land can take place in many ways and reflects negotiated, informal or ad hoc practices of actors such as officials (Nairobi and Addis Ababa), farmers (Addis Ababa), and 'land barons' (Harare) (Habitat International, 2016). The experiences from South Korea, Vietnam and Thailand are good examples of incorporation of informal settlements that smoothens plan and land management relations.

2.3.3. Institutional setup

Spatial planning happens within institutional setting that works through defined systems and legal framework. Spatial planning is a system of organized future orientations and intentions aimed at achieving some set goals and these are possible only through institutions. Hereunder are some of the institutional factors that affect urban spatial planning and its implementation.

Decentralization: The adoption of decentralization is among urban governance aspects affecting land management and spatial planning. Conceptually, decentralization is the process of devolving policy, regulatory and executive powers to the lower echelons of government organs to meet local needs, expectations and demands. This is believed to lessen the burden of central governments and facilitate good governance by bringing services closer to the people. It is also a means of upgrading local communities' and governments' capacities to adequately perform the functions entrusted to them.

Decentralization has been flawed and unsuccessful in many circumstances. Among all, interference of central government in the local affairs, dependency of local governments on the center or on foreign governments and international organizations; inadequacy or overly decentralized duties could be cited in this regard (Wekwete, in Rakodi, 1997). Central governments generally fail to give local governments adequate funds or revenue raising powers; or to ensure them sufficient decision-making powers and trained staff to address the main urban challenges (Rakodi, 1997). Though there are laws and policies for decentralization, they are rarely implemented due to intergovernmental politics, bureaucratic politics, and insufficient capacities in local governments (Andrews and Schroeder, cited in Rakodi, 1997).

The (in)capacity of African states to address the inevitable consequences of increased urbanization boils down to fundamental institutional problems, such as a lack of coherent urbanization policies and ineffective decentralization (Smit and Pieterse, 2014). Habitat International (2016) cites an example in this regard. Zimbabwe's constitution, adopted in 2013, devolves planning decision-making to local governments. However, without supporting legislation, the central government remains heavily involved in local level planning.

It is a usual practice that in most African countries there would be a policy or law (constitution or proclamation) at national level that gives adequate power decentralized to local governments. One of the challenges seems to be related to the capacity or willingness to transform those constitutional or proclamation provisions into detailed regulations, so that the policy intentions could be locally implemented.

Institutional capacity: Institutional capacity, expressed in the form of organizational set up, human, financial and material resources, data acquisition and alike, is a crucial area of urban management: it influences the performance of spatial planning and land management. According to Wills (2011 in Gachunga, M. N., 2020) the abilities and skills expressed and possessed by the team leaders as well as the team members determine achievement of a common goal. Gupta (2009 in Gachunga, M. N., 2020) argues matching the leader's style with the compatible situation has proven to be the most successful.

Low institutional capacity is a major problem in most African cities today. Lack of cadre of managers with competence and a vision to manage cities, absence of able technical professionals, low institutional memory, lack of organized data and organized working procedures, manuals and system are the major manifestations of urban Africa's institutional situation. According to Rakodi (1997) the people who were made mayors and chief executives of urban local authorities had neither the experience nor the competence to articulate and understand urban problems and to deal with demands of the community. Insufficient capacities in local governments leads to failure to implement decentralized planning policies and laws.

A good example of impact of institutional building on urban development is the Korean experience. The astounding success of the five-year project of Seoul, South Korea, to create five new towns in the capital region accommodating 300,000 housing units was made possible by the heavy investment into institution building by the Korean political system (SON and Hussien (2017).

Coordination and integration: Integration and coordination (of services and facilities) are vital governance issues in urban setting. Regulatory framework and institutional practices at play can properly guide urban services and facilities when they function in integration and collaboration. For example, Henderson et al. (2018) argue that any successful transport policy must be closely coordinated with land use planning in order to facilitate intensive, high-density land use needed to make publicly provided transport efficient and cost-effective. This functional coordination demands the coordination of the institutions responsible for urban spatial planning, land management and urban transport services.

Urban issues are expected to function in a complex network of systems that need to act in unison in a more complex urban system. As Weber and Crane (2012) stated, the relationship between citizenship and formal state structures are central to planning; coordination of stakeholders with municipal structures needs to be meticulously designed and implemented.

Monitoring, evaluation, and accountability: UNDP (2009) defines monitoring as the ongoing process by which stakeholders obtain regular feedback on the progress being made towards achieving their goals and objectives; and evaluation as a rigorous and independent assessment of either completed or ongoing activities to determine the extent to which they are achieving stated objectives and contributing to decision making. Good monitoring and evaluation support substantive accountability to governments, beneficiaries, donors, other partners and stakeholders, prompt corrective action and ensure informed decision making (ibid). Monitoring and evaluation would enhance municipal planning activities, but they are often the forgotten stages in the planning process (Seasons, 2008).

Accountability is one of the cornerstones of good governance. Accountability exists when there is a relationship where an individual or body, and the performance of tasks or functions by that individual or body, are subject to another's oversight, direction, or request that they provide information or justification for their actions (World Bank, 2014). Therefore, the concept of accountability involves two distinct stages: answerability and enforcement. Son and Hussien (2017) report on the Korean experience that may be cited as a good example of monitoring, evaluation, and accountability. Seoul first made sure that no new informal houses were built. The city employed twice-yearly aerial photos to spot any new illegal houses. Public officials responsible for monitoring were punished if any new informal houses were built under his or her jurisdiction.

Inclusion, dialogue, and deliberation: A more recent view of management identifies a broader governance view that brings to the fore the role that civil society plays. It expands the range of stakeholders to include private sector agencies, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), community-based organizations (CBOs), and a variety of interest groups (Mabogunje, 1990 cited by Wekwete in Rakodi, 1997). Although the private sector has always been one of the economic engines of city economies, it has never been formally incorporated as part of the management system (Wekwete in Rakodi, 1997).

The local government statutes usually stipulate what municipalities and metropolitan governments should do, but in practice, they fail to articulate the roles of the different actors in urban management. There is thus a need to introduce formal structures of NGOs and CBOs at municipal levels and incorporate them in ongoing decision-making processes (Rakodi, 1997). Urban issues and problems are too complex to be defined and understood by the data and

information collected and analyzed at government offices only. They need engagement and participation of all major stakeholders that influence the proper functioning of the city and its development. Roles, duties, and responsibilities of these stakeholders need to be adequately understood and put into the legal and institutional arrangements of urban governance that affect the spatial planning, its implementation, and the role of land management. Habitat International (2016) identifies two important themes which continue to resonate in current debates: that planning should be based, firstly, on evidence and data and, secondly, on participatory or collaborative decision-making.

Regulatory framework: Many of the legal instruments proposed in poor African cities are not suited to the context in which they have to be implemented. The legal instruments inevitably overestimate the professional and technical capacity of the officials required to put them into practice and they also rely on technological systems that are not available (Berrisford, 2016). These planning laws effectively drew the lines around those parts of the city in which the development and use of land was permitted. They set standards or use and construction as well as plot size and land tenure that were never going to be affordable for the majority excluding the citizenry from participating in the benefits of urban planning (ibid).

The role of politics: Another important factor affecting the proper performance of a city's plan is political interest and unrest. Many cities from countries with recent civil unrest referred to political conflict have seen major disruptions to the governance of their city, for instance, Addis Ababa, Antananarivo, Madagascar; Gaza City, Palestine; Istanbul, Turkey and Rio de Janeiro, Brazil (Brenner, 2014).

World experience has shown that if there is a strong political will and commitment, visions and objectives could be attained. Citing the Seoul experience, Son and Hussien (2017) expound the role of political commitment in urban development: The government built over two million houses over a five-year period, which was equal to one-third of the existing housing stock in 1987, accomplishing its original goal as a result of continued political commitment.

Planning culture: Planning culture deals with the complex relations between spatial planning and its cultural context including the specific socio-economic patterns and related cultural norms, values, traditions, and attitudes (Kneeling & Othengrafen, 2015). Planners make judgements in their daily work – they define a problem, they formulate objectives or implement certain instruments to develop, with and for others, good or desirable places, neighborhoods, cities, or regions; and these judgements are affected by both individual and collectively shared cognitive

frames, representing the 'cultural DNA' through which planners perceive the world (Othengrafen, 2014).

Flexible and proactive approach adopted by Canadian planners proved useful in Canadian planning culture because it helps balance the needs of different groups living in an often very diverse geographic, political, and social region to come to positive solutions (Jill Grant, 2008). In China the planning culture is characterized by centralization of decision-making. Local development and land use decisions are guided by socio-economic plans developed by senior governments, which in turn are aligned with national 5-year plans (Chen, Y., 2018; Tian, C., 2019).

In Sub-Saharan Africa, enforcement of regulations, public participation, and plan execution are notably weak, while corruption and nepotism are strong, resulting in much urban development taking place outside of official planning processes. Indigenous and distinct planning culture, which has evolved over hundreds to thousands of years, is becoming obsolete. Today, the reclamation of indigenous planning cultures in many countries is exploring how non-indigenous and indigenous planners can work collaboratively toward a reconciliatory, culturally-responsive, and respectful process.

2.4. Summary

From the preceding review of literature and discussions, the following summary points can be deducted.

Spatial planning and urbanization: Unlike the developed countries, poor countries' urbanization precedes economic development demanding development models fitting the urbanization process. There is a need for spatial planning that is aligned playing the role of facilitating the gap between urbanization and the economic development.

Understanding the inevitability and indispensability of urbanization (which is currently seen with little attention in African policies) will help to understand the need for appropriate spatial planning not only to guide urban development, but also to manage sustainable urbanization. Countries urbanize as they develop, but the reverse (that they develop as they urbanize) also proved true as we have seen in the Chinese case provided that appropriate planning approach is applied - they adopted the western planning approach with the local culture. Africa has also the opportunity to learn from the negative consequences of the West and capitalize on the 'late comer advantage' identifying items to fill those gaps.

Spatial planning types: No single spatial planning model suits all African cities. The dichotomized debates on the roles of planning - political versus technical, public versus private intervention, national versus local, scientific versus value-based, North versus South, etc., - need not be understood as polarities, in an either/or fashion, but to be balanced and applied context based, and sometimes blended or mixed. In the African context where research on urban planning theory and practice has been low, avoidance of direct replication and identification of the particular planning aspects and balancing the dual characters is of paramount importance. Synoptic planning helps to maintain long-lasting decisions of infrastructure and environmental issues whereas incrementalism may fit in fast changing contexts of our cities (for economic establishments such as MSEs, for example)

An outstanding challenge in African cities is that western methods have been adopted without check and without contextualization to local tradition. As noted by Okeke D.C. (2015), traditional African planning was in association with nature and based on traditional values whereas the western planning culture was driven by economic rather than cultural and traditional value systems.

Spatial planning is temporal and context contingent. It changes and develops in accordance with the development and changes a nation or its cities undergo. The normative type of planning that fits a city at a specific level of development and period differs and changes accordingly. The current practice of negotiated planning that promotes informal and formal balance and negotiations, is a good approach. The weakness of the hitherto practice is that governments revert to it after heavy costs and damages. There is thus a need to devise strategies to minimize the gap.

Africa can learn from the west; the techniques and the experiences can be shared. Lately, the west is trying to consider environment in response to climate change and in reconsideration of the erosion of social values. Africa has the chance to maintain its association with nature, maintain the ecosystem and keeping its social capital by learning from the failures of the west before it is too late.

Spatial plan evaluation: Plan evaluation becomes a crucial step to ensure that planning yields expected results. Evaluation helps increase the accountability of public institutions and strengthens public confidence in planning decisions (Guyadeen and Seasons, 2016 cited in Rudolf and Gradinaru, 2017). Information generated from evaluations contributes to organizational learning as well as the global knowledge base on development effectiveness (UNDP 2009).

Learning from experience can only be accumulated and transformed into knowledge through systematic evaluation, generalization and development of new theories and norms for practice (Alexander and Faludi, 1989). Plan evaluation could be best used when based on predesigned evaluation criteria with due consideration of the context.

Existing literature on conformance or performance of spatial planning refers mainly to the plan quality and implementation with little or no attention to the relations with land management system and institutional frameworks. Moreover, the experiences are more with western or developed countries orientation. Even though plan evaluations have specific objectives and context contingent and cannot be generalized in the full sense, they can be of relevant learning knowledge to other cities sharing similar level of development stage.

Spatial planning and institutional set up: Planning culture evolves out of the cultural setting of a particular community and therefore there is a need to adapt the non-indigenous with the indigenous urban traditions. Institutional aspects of decentralization, participation, coordination, monitoring, capacity, etc. are highly interrelated. They should be understood in unison. For example, decentralization, participation, coordination, monitoring, could be practiced only where there is adequate capacity; and conversely, capacity cannot be achieved without these factors. Most land management challenges associated with plan implementation were also institution based. Though poor land management system is considered as one of the initial provoking instruments for creation of informal settlements, institutional measures, both ex ante and ex post, could improve the conditions of informal settlements and overall urban development.

Due to capacity limitations, poor African cities cannot undertake heavy data collection and analysis works on synoptic planning. Data capturing, sustenance and dissemination is also constrained in these urban institutions. The (in)capacity of African states to address the inevitable consequences of increased urbanization also boils down to fundamental institutional problems, such as a lack of coherent urbanization policies and ineffective decentralization. Nevertheless, capacity alone may not be the panacea for institutional performance. Though Nairobi had better legal and institutional arrangements in planning capacity, lack of political will and commitment were the factors for poor implementation. For successful plan implementation, planners have to work closely with politicians to minimize the negative impacts of political interventions.

3. Background to the study

This chapter presents some background information on the national and the city's spatial planning, institutional and land management issues to provide adequate understanding of the context of the study.

3.1. The national context

3.1.1. Urbanization in Ethiopia

There are a number of theories behind Ethiopia's low level of urbanization (just more than 20 percent). The basis for Ethiopian urbanization could be said to have arisen from defense and administrative objectives without due consideration to the peculiar economic base (usually rural dependent administration and service) of the urban centers (Mathewos, 2009). The country's history of agricultural self-sufficiency, which has reinforced rural peasant life is also another factor. This is a peculiar feature of Ethiopia before the 1970s when the country used to call itself the "breadbasket of Africa" (Bahru, 2005). Some historians attribute the low level of Ethiopian urbanization to factors like wars between rival chiefs, absence of sustained government system, religious wars, the 16th Century Oromo expansion, and aggression of foreign powers (Bahru, 2005; Habtamu, 2020, etc.). The distinguishing features of political, administrative and military basis of Ethiopian towns exhibit two major characteristics: that they are dependent consumers living on a net marketable agricultural surplus; and that they maintain numerous features of rural society in terms of the physical condition and mental outlook of their inhabitants (Mathewos, 1998).

Urban growth was fairly rapid during and after the Italian occupation of 1936-41. Urbanization accelerated during the 1960s, when the average annual urban growth rate was about 6.3 percent. In the late 1980s, only about 11 percent of the population lived in urban areas (Heyaw, 2005) whereas the current figure is more than 20 percent.

Rural-to-urban migration had been largely responsible for rapid urban expansion during the 1967-75 periods. Later, as a result of the Revolution and the land Reform of the 1975, the rural-urban migration was slowed down and natural population growth may have been mostly responsible for urban expansion during the 1975-84 period. The 1975 land reform program provided incentives and opportunities for peasants to stay in rural areas. Restrictions on travel, lack of employment, housing shortages, and social and political unrest in Addis Ababa and other large towns during the 1975-80 period also contributed to a decline in rural-to-urban migration. Drought, famine as well as the civil wars of the 1980s, particularly on the north, have also contributed to rural-urban population migration. After 1991, internal conflicts and warfare have been managed and the country has been relatively at peace. The post 2016 period when the

nation has experienced extensive political unrest, war and conflicts, is an exception. This period, with large size of internally displaced persons[2], is expected to have created more migration to urban centers particularly to the capital.

Studies show that there will be high level of urban population growth in the future. By 2035 the urban population will be between 49 and 55 million (some 37% to 40% of the total population). This means that the urban population of Ethiopia will increase between 2015 and 2035 by as much as 37 million, and that the urban population expansion accounts for over 75% of the total population increase of over 50 million during this period (Egis, and MUDH, 2016). To tackle the challenges urbanization and urban growth pose, it is imperative to have an effective system of urban planning and governance (OECD, 2020a; UN DESA, 2019 cited in Nesru H. Koroso, et.al.,2021).

Addis Ababa's primacy is continuously decreasing during the last few decades giving way to other urban centers to close the gap. Addis Ababa's share of the urban population was 26.3% in 2000, 22.8 % in 2007 and 19% in 2015 (Mathewos, 2009; AACPPO, 2018). This will have immense implications in terms of bridging the urban and regional imbalances and bringing balanced urbanization and urban development at national and regional levels.

Ethiopian urban centers are plagued with poverty, unemployment, slums and social ills such as beggary, prostitution and crime. Population growth, migration, and urbanization are all straining both government and ecosystems' capacity to provide people with basic services. The situation is critically worse in Addis Ababa and other larger cities. Ethiopian urban centers exhibit unhealthy concentration of urban population beyond which urban centers are unable to carry socially or economically leading to what Reza and Kundu (1978 cited in Mathewos, 2009) call dysfunctional urbanization. It is thus logical to state this 'unhealthy' urbanization as a potential danger to the development of Ethiopia. Ethiopian urban centers could not cope with the current low influx of rural migrants leave alone the expected future high influx (Mathewos 2009).

The GTP (Growth and Transformation Plan) II (2016-2020) and the ten-years perspective plan (2021-2030) of the federal government recognize urban areas as centers and engines of economic development. It planned to ensure urban centers self-administration and full public participation in speeding up local development and to build urban developmental good

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2 According to OCHA's Relief web, 2021, an estimated size of over 4.2 million people were internally displaced across the country, while 1.5 million IDPs were returning to find a durable solution (https://reliefweb.int/report)

governance system through a strategic framework. The plan also aims to properly manage and administer the on-going rapid urbanization to unlock its potential for sustaining growth and structural transformation of the economy. It is hoped that the plan makes improvement in the situation of Ethiopian urbanization by promoting economic growth provided that it is implemented in adherence to the objectives set in the plan.

Overall, the main determining factor for Ethiopia's low level of urbanization is its low economic development. In relation to the economic growth, the level of urbanization could have been still lower had conflicts and drought not caused much rural-urban migration.

3.1.2. Land management

Before nationalization of 1975, land was considered an exchangeable commodity, monopolized by the ruling classes. As an agrarian and feudal society, people's outlook on land was very conservative. Having a plot of land meant getting better guarantee of life to one's family in purely agricultural terms. Rist, gult and the riste-gult[3] were the three modes of land management system in Ethiopia prior to the reform. Taking advantage of Proclamation of the 1975, where urban land and extra houses were made public property, land management practices of the last three decades have mainly been based on the Constitution (Proclamation No.1/ 1995) and the Lease Proclamations (No. 80/1993 and No. 721/2011). The previous land management culture and citizens' behavior also has had its share of influence at the background in shaping the land conception and management culture.

Since the nationalization in 1975, as Kebede (in Jogan & Patassini 1996) argued, land, as one of the crucial inputs to almost all economic and social activities, has remained outside the market exchange relations. For this reason, private building and construction activity was almost paralyzed during the whole period of Derg regime (1974-1991) and housing problems worsened.

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[3] Rist was a land holding system where the land is not sold or exchanged but only transferred through hereditary lines in the form of inheritance. Gult is a land holding system where land holding may be granted to an official or public servant in exchange for his/her service. Such holding is valid only for the duration of the service, and the grant will be annulled upon termination of such service. The holder does not pay land tax on this land, and, in principle, they cannot alienate the land or pass it by inheritance to their families. Riste-gult is a land holding system where the gult land may be transferable through inheritance along with the post held by the ancestor, usually traditional administrative posts. Here, one can collect and retain land tax for one's own personal benefit and can use the personal labor of tenants.

The 1995 constitution that followed the change of government inherently maintained the land holding policy of the previous regime. According to article 40 sub-article 3 of the Constitution, land is a common property of the Nations, Nationalities and Peoples of Ethiopia and shall not be subject to sale or to other means of exchange. Sub-article 7 also stipulates that government shall ensure the right of private investors to the use of land on the basis of payment arrangements established by law. In line with the constitution, the Lease Proclamations No. 80/1993 and No. 721/2011[4] have made attempts to facilitate the provision of land for private investment. Nevertheless, effective, and efficient provision was hampered due to various institutional, regulatory and political factors forcing developers to look for alternative sources. As noted by Habte Kiros (in Jogan & Patassini, 1996) even though it was prohibited to deal in land, an illegal market was developed leading to inefficient management system.

The World Bank (2014) analyses the complications and challenges associated with multiple property rights system in Ethiopia. Considering the national and regional leasing systems which imply that property rights in Ethiopia are separate and different for land and development (buildings, etc. can be privately owned while land cannot), land holders and government have to maintain two parallel systems of documenting property rights: one for improvement, development or transformation, the other for land. This multiple property rights system increases the cost of land management for both the public and private sectors compared to a typical international case where the rights to land and improvements are unified (e.g., ownership of both land and building) and both transferred and registered together.

Land holding is also of two systems: rental and lease. The unification process of the two land holding systems (initially rental before exchange and later lease after exchange) is the strategy the policy foresees to establish a single land tenure system and thereby unifying land holding rights.

Despite the transitory provision given in article 37 sub-article 1 of Proclamation No. 721/2011 to regions and city administrations to render decisions, within three months after the coming into force of the Proclamation, on pending land holding requests in accordance with the former laws, this couldn't be realized. Proclamation No. 721/2011 tries to bridge the gap of the previous Proclamation No. 80/1993 by providing a modest approach of converting the old possessions to lease holding as a whole. But no city administration or region has reported the finalization of decisions on such matters yet.

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4 Though the Constitution forbids total sale of land, Lease allows sale by government. This may need further investigation from legal point of view.

There has been skepticism towards the lease system arising from a lack of proper understanding of the matter among concerned entities. The permit hold established by proclamation No. 64/1975 is practically assumed as a freehold (perpetual ownership) though the law doesn't support this. Permit hold allows only use right while freehold, in addition to utilization, also allows ownership, sale and transfer of land as a commodity. The lease and freehold allow the same rights differing only in the time limitation lease system imposes.

3.1.3. Institutional set up

During the Imperial era (before 1974), urban planning was the sole task of the central government under the Ministry of Interior and Municipalities. The plans prepared during this period were all under the auspices of the ministry. During the first decade of Dergue, urban planning and urban land administration were the responsibilities of the Ministry of Public Works and Housing as per the Urban Land and Extra Houses Nationalization Proclamation No 47/1974; and later the responsibilities of the Ministry of Urban Development and Housing. The AAMPPO plan of 1986 was prepared under this ministry. NUPI was established under the ministry by Proclamation No. 317/1987 to prepare spatial plans of not only Addis Ababa, but also of all urban centers.

The Constitution (Proclamation No.1/ 1995) gave regional states the power to manage their own cities within their jurisdiction. The four regions of Amhara, Oromia, Tigray and SNNPR - considered better advanced than the remaining regions - each had its own planning institute limiting the role of NUPI (later FUPI) only to advisory and information supply. NUPI's roles and mandates were transferred to FUPI through Reestablishment Proclamation No. 450/2005 under MFA. The major objective of the proclamation was to make the urban planning mandates consistent with the decentralization system and the constitution. Among the major duties and responsibilities of the institute were providing capacity building support to regions, undertaking consultancy services, provision of base maps and urban plan preparation upon request from regions. The institute was later reduced to a Bureau status under the Ministry of Works and Urban Development.

The powers and duties of the Ministry of Works and Urban Development was given to the Ministry of Urban Development and Construction by Proclamation No. 691/2010. The duties and responsibilities of Urban Development and Housing and the Ministry of Construction were given to the Ministry of Urban Development and Construction by Proclamation No.1097/2018. Among

the duties of the Ministry were: undertaking studies relating to urbanization, establishing system for integrated urban development and preparation of national spatial plan; undertaking studies for the integration of urban and rural development activities in collaboration with regional states; follow up implementation of same; following up the activities of Addis Ababa and Dire Dawa city administrations in relation to urban development and construction.

The MUDH/MUDCH/MUDC/MUI was the sole national institution responsible for urban matters though regions have full autonomy. Addis Ababa (as region 14) was also enjoying this autonomy during the transitional government period between 1991 and 1995, before it was made an organ of the federal government.

NUPI, FUPI and later the Urban Development Bureau were under seemingly the same ministry but having different names: Ministry of Public Works and Housing; Ministry of Urban Development and Housing; Ministry of Urban Development, Construction and Housing; Ministry of Federal Affairs; Ministry of Works and Urban Development; Ministry of Urban Development and Construction; and currently Ministry of Urban Development and Infrastructure. Though the names of the ministry were changing, it retained the urban sector roles throughout, and this helped the ministry to retain contact and link with urban planning and development. The oscillation has nevertheless prevented the ministry from fully playing its roles effectively. As a result of this deterrence and lack of focus, the ministry could not undertake its facilitation and organizing roles for regional developments and integration of urban-urban, urban-rural settings and interregional cooperation highly needed for urban planning and development.

3.1.4. Spatial planning regulatory framework

Since 1990, legal and institutional conditions of planning practices have radically changed in Ethiopia, so much so that we can speak of a new era (Patassini, 2021). Spatial planning policies and regulations came into Ethiopian urban landscape at the end of 1980s with the preparation of the Ethio-Italian Master plan of AAMPPO. Following the finalization of the master plan three important proclamations were issued to lay the regulatory framework basis for Ethiopian urban centers. Preparation and Implementation of Urban Plans Proclamation No. 315/1987; Urban Zoning and Building Permit Proclamation No. 316/1987; and National Urban Planning Institute Establishment Proclamation No. 317/1987 were issued by the Provisional Military Administrative Council.

According to Proclamation No. 315/1987, NUPI was to prepare regional, metropolitan and urban center plans, whereas the preparation of detail urban plans was entrusted to the respective city councils as per Article 3. The Institute was to submit the prepared regional, metropolitan and urban master plan to the MUDH, and to the regional, metropolitan or city council respectively for approval.

Detail plans prepared by city councils were to be presented to the metropolitan council if the urban center is within the metropolitan area or to the regional planning council if the urban center doesn't fall within the metropolitan area. The Ministry's role was to review whether the plan was prepared in accordance with the law. The city council was responsible for the implementation of the urban master and detail plans.

The main objectives of Proclamation No. 316/1987 were to define provisions for the preparation of urban land use schemes; to regulate the conformity of urban development to the land use scheme and to supervise the construction of urban houses and buildings with a view of protecting public safety and property. According to part two of the Proclamation, Articles 3 and 4, the city council, in cooperation with NUPI, prepares a zoning plan based on an approved master plan of the city. In accordance with Article 14 of the Proclamation, newly constructed or modified buildings will be put to use only upon obtaining a certificate of occupancy[5] from the city council.

Proclamation No. 317/1987 aimed to establish an autonomous government office (NUPI) that would conduct research on urban planning process, prepare and submit regional, metropolitan and urban plans to relevant authorities for approval. It was also entrusted with training manpower for the preparation followed by implementation of the urban plans.

Since 2005, the focus of development planning in Ethiopia has made a modest shift from rural to urban. With the five years' development plan titled PASDEP (Plan for Accelerated and Sustained Development to End Poverty, 2005/06-2009/10), the Federal Government has made cities the focus of development programs (Genet 2020). Urban development policy of 2005 and urban plan preparation proclamation No. 574/2008 were issued later in conformance with the constitution. Important provisions of the Urban Development Policy of 2005 are that urban land use should

[5] This is a certificate to be issued to allow the use of a building for the stated purpose as per the earlier construction permit. But there is no evidence of a single building that has obtained a certificate of occupancy to this date. Failure of this raises serious concerns when we deal with buildings rendering public services (health, education, leisure, government offices, the upcoming skyscrapers, etc.). Institutions responsible for issuance of trade and business licenses are not concerned (and usually have no awareness) about the occupancy certificate and thus issue licenses without reference whether the building has occupancy certificate or not. There are no active legal provisions that force the responsible institution to enforce such regulations.

be according to approved land use and economic plan; land supply should support economic and social development and the land price should be stable, based on sustainable supply system. The policy further states that low-income residents should get access to affordable land for housing, and there should be provision of integrated infrastructure prior to land supply.

Urban Plans Proclamation No. 574/2008 describes regional plan among the plans' hierarchy. Major concerns arise here. The spatial extent of planning region and administrative region may not be the same. The administrative development plan is usually limited to the administrative boundary, but a regional plan that gives framework for urban development schemes usually crosses over administrative boundaries. The other concern arises from the urban-rural linkages that need to be considered in urban plans preparation stated in article 5 of the proclamation. Regional urban development schemes consider the urban rural linkage within the overall framework of a comprehensive regional plan that also includes rural areas that are beyond the Ministry's scope of duty.

As per Article 43 of Urban Plans Proclamation No. 574/2008, the MUDCH shall prepare national urban development schemes; oversee and follow up as to whether urban plans are in conformity with this proclamation and to provide technical and capacity building support to urban centers and regions. Until 2016, the ministry has not attempted to prepare national urban development schemes except for the reference material, NUDSP, prepared by the Ministry and an international consultant, Egis. Currently there is an ongoing regional spatial planning project that engages 10 regional states by the MUI (previously MUDCH or MUDC) in cooperation with the UN-Habitat.

To further the preparation and implementation of urban plans, seven urban planning manuals[6] (Figure 2) were prepared by the MUDCH in 2006. The manuals give general guidelines on the national planning hierarchy and on urban plan preparation processes of Ethiopian urban centers.

[6] The Ministry has produced 7 urban planning manuals contracting out the task to a private consulting firm, Mathewos consult in 2006. These were: manuals for Structure plan, Local Development Plan, Urban Upgrading and Renewal Plan, Integrated Infrastructure Plan, Urban Transport Plan, Local Economic Development Plan and Social Development Strategy. The manuals were meant to serve as guidelines, trying to frame the preparation process and setting minimum procedures and standards to be followed in the preparation of urban plans in Ethiopia. Accordingly, the manuals were published by the Ministry and distributed to universities, regional administrations and municipalities for implementation.

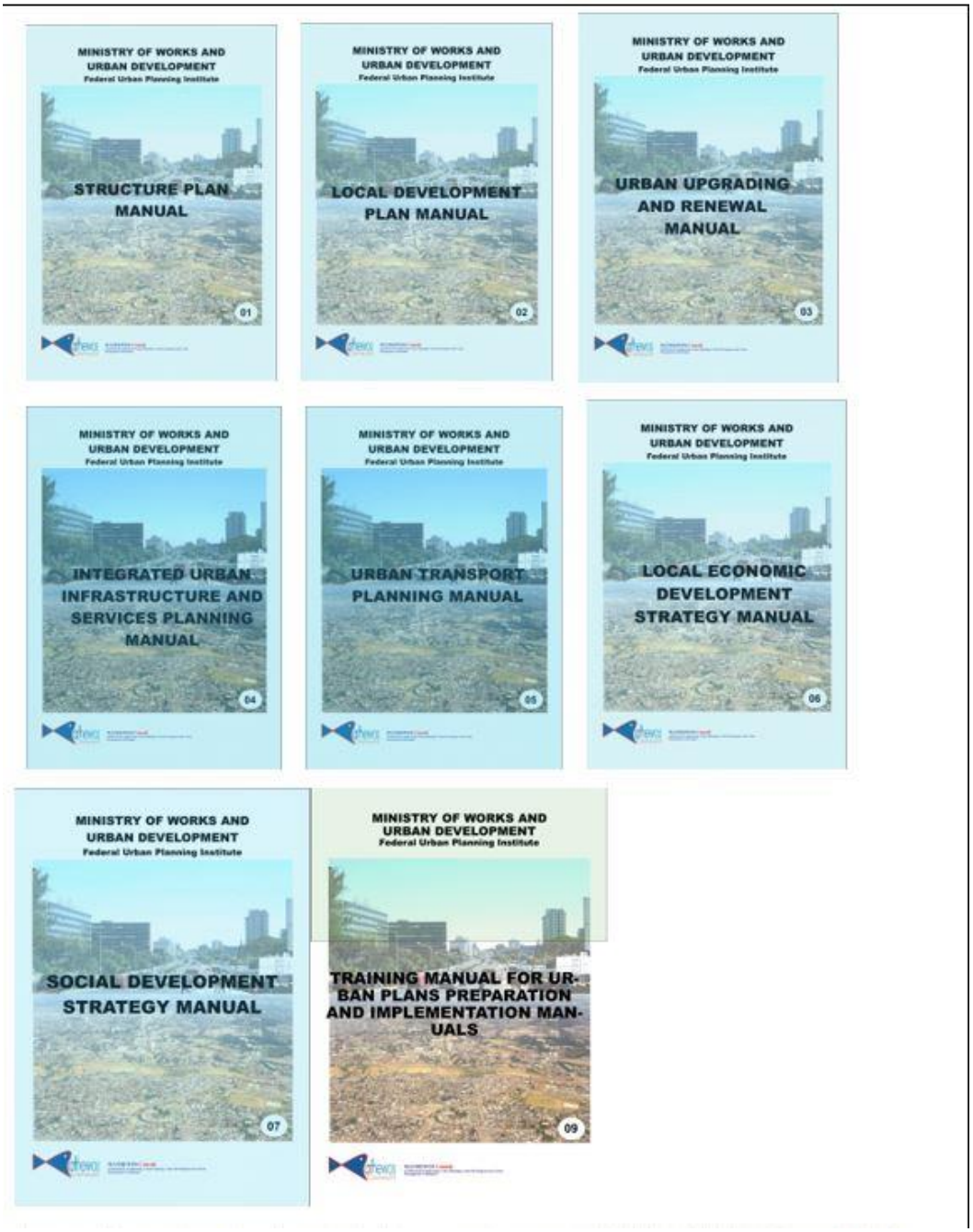

Figure 2. Urban planning and training manuals.
Source: MWUD/MATHEWOS Consult, 2006

3.2 Addis Ababa's context

3.2.1. Historical basis

Addis Ababa, with the current population of about 5 million, is the capital city of Ethiopia which is home to a 110 million population and whose urban population constitutes more than 20% (Patassini et al, 2019). The city's population is expected to reach more than 7 million by 2035 (Egis and MUDCH, 2016).

Addis Ababa was founded in 1886[7] as a capital city of Ethiopia by Emperor Menelik II and his wife Queen Taitu (Figures 3). From the date of its founding, the city grew around three main nodes (Figure 4): political (Grand Palace), economic (Piazza and market area), religious and cultural (St. George Church). The socio-spatial organization of the city initially reflected the traditional layout of a military camp surrounded by rural villages clustered in close proximity to each other (Mahiteme, 2007; Tufa, 2008, cited in UN-Habitat, 2017). Akalou (1967) and Garretson (1974 in Heyaw, 2005) also noted that settlement of the army originally in a "military formation" has played a significant part in structuring the city. The origin of Addis Ababa was therefore distinct from that of many cities in Africa. Addis Ababa has not developed from a nucleus established through colonial planning. Neither has it grown gradually from a small traditional settlement. It is rather one founded *en masse*, at a speed necessary to establish a military camp (ibid).

Settlement clusters, known as *safars,* were formed around the palace duplicating the pattern as various members of the nobility erected their dwellings; and these, in turn, came to be surrounded by much more modest houses of their dependents and buildings used for handicrafts, storage and primary services (Bahru Z., 2005). The *safars* dominantly became slums through time as the servants of the nobility and the poor immigrants could not afford to erect structures with more durable construction materials and to provide services and facilities (access, sanitation, drainage, etc.). The city structure was dominated by traditional land holding patterns which to a large extent consisted of irregular types and unlimited sizes of plots characterizing the isolated settlements with clusters of housing units, having significant impacts to the urban form and structure to this date (Birke, 1998).

Since its establishment, the city has undergone many changes in terms of size, demographic, finance and economic structure, physical and spatial organization (AACPPO, 2018). During the last 135 years of its existence, the city has grown to one of the largest cities in Africa (Figure 3)

[7] The initial intention was to establish the capital on Entoto Hill; but it was gradually moved to the lower plain area of Filwoha (hot spring water).

with a population of more than five million becoming the diplomatic capital of the continent, housing the Africa Union, ECA, and more than one hundred embassies and other international organizations, creating a theatre of modern architecture (Figure 4).

The foundation of Addis Ababa in 1886 sanctioned the end of the "mobile capital" era and created the conditions for a new experiment: spatial planning, primate city, new infrastructures, urban system; and the experience of urban planning and design played an important role (Patassini, 2019). Spatial planning has been at play to regulate and structure the growth of the city. The first spatial plan of the city (Taitus's Development Vision of 1886) resulted in a multi-centered cluster city settlement that sprawled around three main nodes noted above**.**

During Haile Selassie's regime, land was considered an exchangeable commodity, but was primarily monopolized and controlled by the ruling classes - feudal landlords and political elites until the nationalization of 1974 (Mesfin, 1966 cited in Heyaw, 2005). *Rist, gult and the riste-gult* were the three modes of land management system in Ethiopia prior to the 1974 land reform (Teklu, 2006; Yigremew, 2002; in Heyaw, 2005).

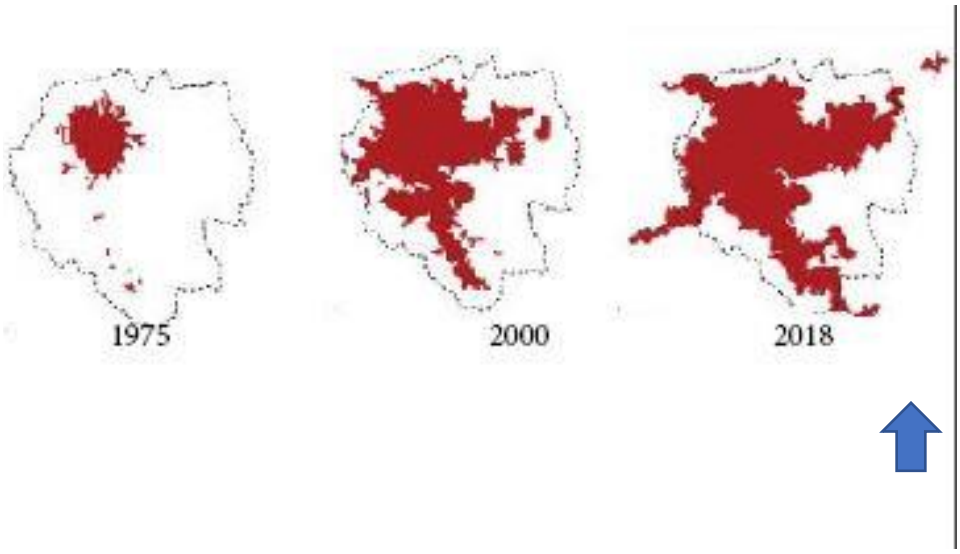

Figure 3. Physical growth of Addis Ababa and surrounding towns.

Source: Patassini, et al., 2019

ba at

different times.

1950s

1970s

Early 2020s

Figure 4. Partial view of Addis Ababa at different times

3.2.2. Institutional

Organizational Structure: Following the AAMPPO plan, land allocation in areas within Kotebe and Akaki were conducted under the authority of the then Shewa Province Branch Office of the MUDH during the eight years' period between plan preparation and its legal approval. Akaki municipality was responsible for issuing land titles and building permits within Akaki. Addis Ababa Municipality was responsible for land allocation within its earlier boundary of 22 thousand hectares of land until the plan approval in 1994. There were no coordination nor clear common guidelines for the land provision among these different authorities. All these situations created complications and distortions in land management with impacts on the spatial development patterns.

The city's detailed status, roles, responsibilities, and powers were enacted by the consecutive City Charters No. 87/ 1997, 311/2002, 361/2003 and 1094/2018. Among the main objectives of the revised Charter No. 361/2003 was to enable the residents of Addis Ababa to enjoy the full power of self-government as per the constitution. As per the Charter, the city management system was divided into two: the state and the municipal function. The more political functions (planning, finance, police, justice, education, health, small and micro enterprises, culture and tourism, information) were put under the state function wing whereas those of more technical city functions (land management, streets and transport, urban greenery, water and sewerage, construction permits, etc.) were put under the municipal wing. This institutional arrangement did not last long though. The agencies under the city manager (land administration, streets and transport, etc.) were taken to the state function wing under the pretext of better managing the city resources. But most officials in the state function were politicians lacking the required technical and professional competence. Gradually, the professional dimension of city management was neglected, and the earlier system of political assignment was retained at nearly all managerial and professional levels. Similar fashion was adopted at sub city and woreda levels too.

The main objective of the revised charter, Proclamation No.1094/2018 was to extend the term of Office of the Council and the existing Addis Ababa City Government organs established by law to discharge their duties and responsibilities until election shall be held. It also stipulates that a deputy mayor shall be appointed either from the members of the Council or nonmembers of the Council.

Decentralization: Notable decentralization process in Addis Ababa started during the four years transitional government period (1991-95) with the establishment of Addis Ababa as Region 14[8] (Proclamation No.7/1992). From a legal point of view, the city had more autonomy to manage its affairs. This autonomy was nevertheless short-lived as the regional status was forfeited and Addis Ababa came fully under the federal government's jurisdiction as per Article 49 sub article 3 of the Constitution, Proclamation No. 1/ 1995. Though the city was given a chartered status (proclamation No 311/2002 and 361/2003), the local self-governance power is partial. Article 17 and 21 (Proclamation No. 361/2003) prescribe that the city council shall be accountable to the Federal Government and to the residents of the city (the mayor being accountable to the city council and the Federal Government) and that the dissolution of the City Council may be done by the House of Peoples' Representatives or by its own decision.

Lack of true and proper decentralization of power towards the city, manifested by the city administration being accountable to the federal government and the mayor being elected from the same ruling party of Oromia (as the practice goes though not in law), could be said to have affected the land management and spatial planning relations. On several occasions, city decisions were either ruled out or held back by the federal authorities. The dissolution of the city council (at least without consultation of the electoral constituency) is also an indication of lack of true decentralized power.

Referring to *La Gare* Eagle Hills real estate development, Terrefe (2020) reveals that city administration officials working at the Addis Ababa Planning Commission, Construction Bureau and Transport Programs Management Office were unaware of the project until they were officially announced. He notes a remark by one senior city administration official:

> 'We were not consulted on this project. I found out about this project like everyone else when they announced it on the media. The city administration did not know anything about this project until it was already too late. This came from the very top.'

Beautifying Sheger (Figure 5) and LaGare Eagle Hills (Figure 6) projects were singlehandedly decided by the federal government thereby nullifying the long-term multi-stakeholder consultation that resulted in the existing plans for Addis Ababa's Main City Centre (MCC) as outlined in the structure plan of the city, 2017–2027. Terrefe furthers goes: this is reminiscent of

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8 Prior to 1991, Addis Ababa was a city of 54,000 ha (as per AAMPO master plan) and an administrative region covering a much wider spatial coverage including rural woredas. Proclamations No.7/1994 and No.1/1995 curtailed this spatial scope limiting it to the city proper only.

former Prime Minister Meles Zenawi imposing the Light-Rail Transit (LRT) system on the city, despite disagreements and concerns voiced by transport planners who had developed concrete plans for the Bus-Rapid Transit (BRT) system.

AACDP's transport section proposal was to develop BRT on the main city transport lines including east-west and north-south main axes. Accordingly, AACRA, in cooperation with Delhi Integrated Multi-Modal Transit System Limited prepared a feasibility and operational planning study for one of the BRT corridors, B2 in 2014. Construction of the corridor is ongoing integrated with the LRT as per the study.

It also seems that too much decentralization has affected the urban development. Decentralization of services to sub-cities and Woredas (Proclamation No. 18/2004) was meant in good intentions of bringing services as close to the people as possible. But decentralization of land management, and urban spatial planning and construction permits to sub-cities and Woredas without prior commensurate capacity building program and adequate follow-up has given free hand to disrupt the management system and at occasions even going to the level of producing '*illegal'* title deeds.

Figure 5. Partial view of beautifying Sheger projects

Figure 6. Eagle Hills project

Inclusion, dialogue and deliberation: Adequate participation of stakeholders and transparency of key government functions are believed to have immense impact on planning and implementation. Accordingly, stakeholder participation and the need for transparency were adequately prescribed in the laws and regulations issued. Article 43 sub-article 2 and 4 of the Constitution (Proclamation No. 1/1995) state that nationals have the right to participate in the national development and, to be consulted with respect to policies and projects affecting their community.

As per Article 15 and 16 (Proclamation No. 574/2008), urban plans are approved by the respective city councils after a transparent public hearing and after relevant suggestions and objections are taken up as inputs to rectify the plan. The approved plans are to be publicized and made available to interested parties. Moreover, Articles 24 and 25 prescribe that any interested party shall be entitled to have information as to the development of a plot of land in the jurisdiction of any urban center and that certificate of land information will be issued.

Contrary to these legal provisions, lack of adequate participation and transparency has been one major gap not only during planning and implementation but also in drafting planning and land laws themselves. The private sector although considered as the economic engine of city economies, has quite often been considered as an adversary to urban development and kept aloof in most laws' drafting and planning processes. As a result, the lease proclamation has encountered resistance right from the beginning. According to Abebe Kebede (in Jogan &

Patassini, 1996) the lease policy (Proclamation No. 80/1993) incited considerable amount of commotion among the town residents.

Renewal projects in the city have also been sources of public resentment arising from lack of participation. Plans were usually presented to the public on an ad-hoc basis mainly serving to inform government programs and intentions to the public. Input was seldom incorporated based on the willingness of the technicians engaged in the plan preparation process.

Coordination and integration: Institutional and regulatory integration and coordination, particularly between land management and spatial planning are necessary factors for proper plan implementation. But quite often there have been inconsistencies between the two. For example, land administration regulations: Article 18/5.2.1. of Freehold Land Administration (Manual No. 12/2012), Article 6.2, Article 8.1 and Article 6.1 of Land Holding Verification and Registration (Manual No. 45/2014), they all consider that LDPs are prepared for the whole city. Urban Plan Proclamation 574/2008, on the other hand, state that LDPs are prepared to facilitate implementation of strategic projects such as renewal and upgrading with focus on strategic investment areas. Preparing LDPs for the whole city was unnecessary and considered impractical by the proclamation. Though there were attempts to prepare as many LDPs as possible over the 15 years during the ORAAMP master plan implementation period (2003-2014), the fact that prepared LDPs covered only less than 10 per cent of the city's built-up area supports the intentions of the proclamation.

Article 11.2.3. of Untitled Land Holdings Service Provision Manual No. 17/2014 states size of land permitted for manufacturing industries in the mixed-use areas to be 3000m^2 whereas the maximum master plan provision was 500m^2 as per the 2003 plan, and 2000m^2 as per the 2017 plan if the plot is outside the ring road.

In Lease Proclamation No.721/2011, in Regulation No. 49/2012 and in the Urban Land Lease Implementation Manual No.11/2012 urban plan is defined as a legally approved city structure plan, local development plan or basic plan. There is, however, no such 'basic plan' acknowledged by the National Urban Plans Proclamation of 574/2008 nor practically known by the city government. The structure plan and the Local development plans are the only legally binding plans acknowledged by the urban plans' proclamation. The Lease proclamation of 721/2011 doesn't give explanation on what this basic plan is or how it is prepared, its contents, or how it is related to the other two legal plans, etc. This is an indication of the brazen lack of conformity between urban planning and land management regulations.

A recent leap towards the integration and coordination of the city functions is the issuance of the Addis Ababa City Government Infrastructure Development Coordination and Construction Permit and Control Authority Establishment Proclamation, No. 53/2017. Among the major objectives of

the Proclamation are ensuring the integrated development and compliance of infrastructure and other constructions with the approved structure plan; putting in place organization structure that enables to solve the ill coordination in the city with development actors thereby reversing their impacts on the overall socioeconomic development of the city; issuing construction permits and regulating compliance accordingly.

Institutional Capacity: Proliferation of informal housing is an indication of the institutional capacity failure. As Metcalfe (2019) noted, there is informal market by which land supply may be in the form of developers occupying urban areas informally at the city periphery (Figure 7).

The greatest hurdle to the city's institutional capacity gaps emanates from its failure to sustain what has already been gained. In the name of reform, the city has been continually eroding the institutional capacity (institutional memory, human and material resource, etc.) it had built earlier. There has been rapid turnover of managers and leaders contributing to this lack of sustenance. The short-lived mayors' history (average of 4.2 years during the city's entire history) could be considered as a showcase for this rapid turnover rate of officials contributing to poor sustenance.

Another critical institutional capacity gap arises from assignment of city officials who were oblivious to the city condition and the citizens wishes. Most officials were assigned from regions outside Addis Ababa without having any official or otherwise experiences in Addis Ababa, and sometimes with no urban knowledge or experience at all. Among the nine mayors[9] the city has had since 1991, none of them had direct working experience in Addis Ababa city management or any other large city (except Adanech who had earlier experience as Adama's mayor). As a result, the newcomers failed to understand and properly execute plan implementation as they were not aware of existing spatial plans and the land management procedures and relations at play.

[9] List of mayors since 1991: Mulualem Abebe (1991-1992); Tefera Walwa (1992-1995); Ali Abdo (1995-2003); Arkebe Ouqbay (2003- 2005); Berhane Deresa (2005-2006); Kuma Demeksa (2007-2012); Diriba Kuma (2012-2017); Takele Ouma (2017-2020); Adanech Abebe (2020-?). The average mayoral office term during the last 3 decades was about 3 years.

Figure 7. Informal settlements in Legetafo area

Monitoring, evaluation and accountability (MEA): One major contributor to failure of planning and its implementation is attributed to lack of proper monitoring, evaluation and the accompanying accountability. As argued by Slaev and Budic (2017), once the plan is used for guiding urban development, its implementation should be monitored and evaluated so that planning can be improved in the interim and in the next cycle. Good monitoring and evaluation support substantive accountability to governments, beneficiaries, donors, other partners and stakeholders, prompt corrective action and ensure informed decision making (UNDP, 2009).

The Addis Ababa city government organizational structure lacks a clear system of accountability as its leadership and management was staffed with politicians of the same ruling party who covered the flaws of each other focusing on individual or party interests. If there was any at all, it was due to deviation from party lines, not deviation from the law. Failure to hold authorities responsible for failure and wrongdoing has created pervasive lack of accountability across the city organs. The source of the famous dictum by the Ethiopian government: '*we have excellent policies, laws and regulations in place, but fail in implementation*' could be attributed to a great extent on the failure to establish appropriate MEA in the urban management system. This is of course linked to the low institutional capacity discussed above. To design an effective MEA, adequate institution should be set up.

The attempt of Addis Ababa Plan Commission Establishment law (Proclamation 48/2016) is promising in ensuring MEA system in the city. According to the law, plan implementing and regulatory organs are required to submit performance reports while the commission is to conduct periodic monitoring and evaluation to make sure that sectoral departments are

performing according to plans and that the plans have brought the desired results. But the promise looks frustrated by the current practice of new mega projects (for example, the Legehare Eagle Hills real estate; construction projects on land reserved for Adwa Park in Bole area) that are being implemented disregarding the master plan proposals (Figures 13-17) and no one is there to monitor or evaluate the decisions. Though theory states money as the most determinant factor for organizational performances (Preffer and Salancil, 1978; Samuelson & Nordhaus, 2004 in Gachunga, M.N., 2020), it has not been the case in Addis Ababa where there was no serious financial shortage to implement the plan.

3.2.3. Land Management: Formal/informal swinging

The city's land management system fully follows the federal laws and regulations. The city enacts regulations and manuals to enable applications of the federal laws in the city. The practice has nevertheless been complicated creating conducive environment for proliferation of informal land acquisition.

An area of focus where government capacity was weakened was in land management where multiple property right systems were introduced. Comparing three African cities (Nairobi, Harare, Addis), Goodfellow, T., 2015) concludes that Addis Ababa has the most complex and comprehensive land allocation system, based entirely on a leasehold system. As noted by Gebre (2008) the City leases land in two ways. First there is direct allocation wherein a 'base price' for the land servicing is paid. Second there is land auction, where land is sold to bidders.

The lease and the rental land holding are also the two land management systems going parallel having several implications on the city development. According to the city's Regulation No. 2/1994, where a request to extend the urban land held under the system in force before promulgation of the lease proclamation is permitted, that additional part of the land shall be held under the lease system. And part of the land or a building specifically used for business activities shall be leased upon being proportionally differentiated by experts.

In Addis Ababa, 94% of land is allocated directly for activities and development seen to be of strategic importance (Kaganova and Zenebe, 2014). Only housing is one strategic area where the state allocates land for condominium style development or to housing cooperatives for private construction (Gebre, 2008). And since there is little land released to open market, this has constrained supply dramatically.

The free land allotment policy has been affecting the city capacity. As per Article 12 (Proclamation No. 721/2011) land allotment may be permitted for office premises of budgetary government entities and social service institutions run by government or charitable organizations, places of worship or religious organizations. All government institutions including

non-budgetary ones (for example, Banks, Telecommunications, EEPCO, Ethiopian Airlines, etc.), party offices and their affiliates are allotted lands against the provisions of the proclamation. Habte Kiros, (in Jogan & Patassini, 1996) argues that the existence of large tracts of tax-exempt church or government land further limited the capacity of municipalities to raise revenue through property taxation.

Large real estate development companies were also allotted land without auction (for example, Ayat, as early as the 1996 and later, Sunshine, Varnero, etc.) to meet middle and high-income residential demands. The World Bank (2014) reveals that beyond lack of institutional capacity, large-scale inefficiencies are often policy-induced. Local governments allocate the lion's share of land through non-competitive "allotments" free of charge or at administratively established "benchmark" prices, thus providing indirect, uncontrolled subsidies to land recipients and forgoing sizable potential revenues for city budgets.

The rural tradition of land tenure and construction has also been partially maintained. This is manifested by the fact that most religious and government institutions occupy large tracts of land without acquiring title deeds and construct public buildings without permits. Though Regulation No. 49/2012 states that lease land shall be allotted to religious worships as per the manual to be issued by the administration and though such draft manuals were prepared by both ORAAMP (2002) and AACPPO (2016) as part of the plan implementation tools, none of them could be issued by the administration to date. The administration has been hesitant in fear of the political implications and kept on dragging the issue for so long.

The formal market is mostly based on the lease proclamation and the ensuing regulations, while the informal market operates in response to the stringent bureaucracy, unaffordable standards, house, and land prices. Land prepared for private development (for business and residential housing) was brought to auction where the bidder with highest offer wins.

- Provisions for only formal housing were only political wishes and intentions that do not correspond to the situation on the ground. What we see on the ground and indirectly meeting the policy objectives of meeting housing demand is the informal rental provision. The regulations nevertheless fail to recognize this contribution leading to failure in practice to make improvements to the informal settlements. For the informal settlements are not guided and supported, they continue affecting the environmentally sensitive areas (riverbanks and hills). This lack of balance between the formal and informal housing provision impacts not only the design and development patterns of the neighborhoods but also the scenic and climatic condition of the urban environment. Study by Meskerem, et al, (2017) is a showcase to signify the impact of this practice. The study has shown that agriculture land and forest land in the city decreased by 54% and 75%, respectively from 1984 to 2014.

The majority of the low-income urban dwellers, particularly those newcomers to the city, have shelter provisions (owned or rented) from the informal market. There were about 60,000 dwellings in different squatter settlements on the city's outskirts of the city providing shelter for more than 300,000 people in 1999 (ORAAMP, 1999). This figure has been on the rise since then as formal land supply has not been able to accommodate the low-income residents. This has shown that at the end of last century people living in squatter settlements accounted for more than 10% of the total Addis Ababa population (less than 2.5 million in 2000). If we assume the same percentage today the squatters almost double. In the city central areas there have been informal room extensions by Kebele house renters and private owners for subletting. The public condominium has housed low-income residents to a certain extent, but also was used to house those relocated because of renewal programs.

Though there is a clear boundary delimitation for the city of Addis Ababa on maps (Figure 8) of the previously approved city master plans (Proclamations No 7/1996 and No.17/2004), failure to clarify the special interest areas (regarding provision of social services, utilization of natural resources, joint administrative matters, etc. specified in Article 49/5 of the Constitution, Proclamation No.1/1995) concretely and to enact the law that details the provisions has resulted in affecting the integrated spatial plan of the region and the land administration issues on areas close to the boundaries of the city and Oromia State.

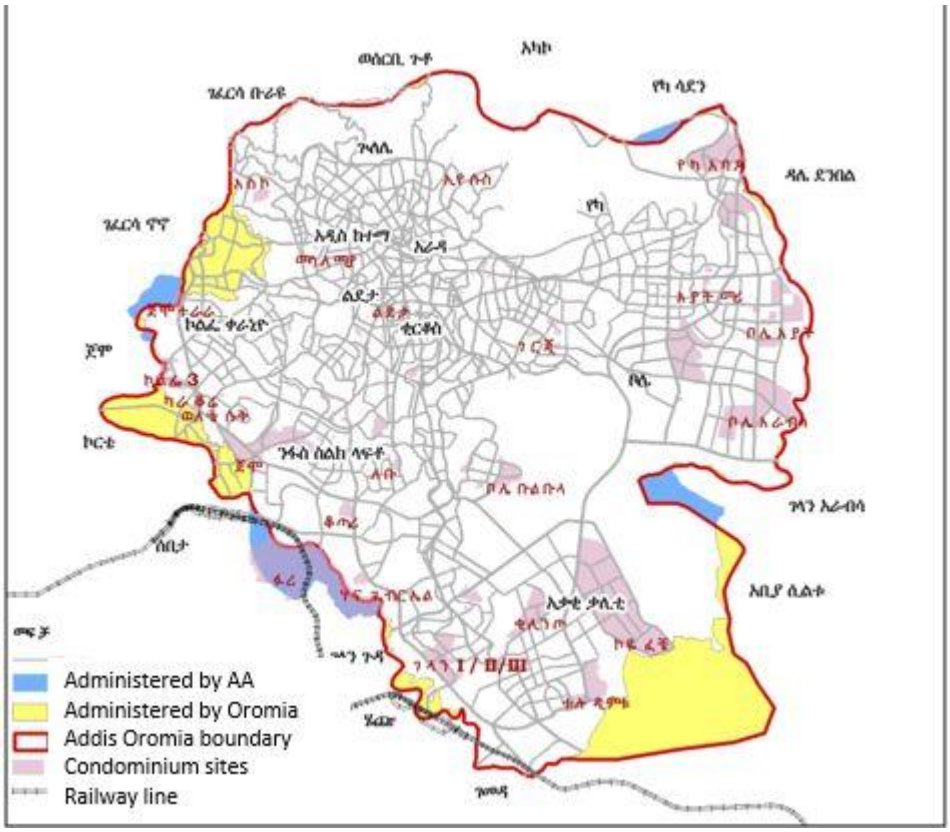


Figure 8. Addis Ababa-Oromia boundary situation

3.2.4. Spatial planning in Addis Ababa

AA planning experiences did share theories, approaches and practices with eastern, western and African schools of architecture and planning. The following section presents this experience of Addis Ababa plans.

Planning practice before AAMPPO

Ethiopian planning theory and practice may be said to have been a blend of the traditional (explained under 3.2.1. above) and European (East and west) theories and practices. Queen

Taitu's settlement vision (Figure 9) served as the first footprint for the latter spatial organization of a city having three important landmarks (the Ghibbi surrounded by cluster of settlements of the king's subjects with repeated settlement pattern throughout the city; St. George Church serving social function and the Arada Market serving economic function). During the Italian occupation, Le Corbusier was the first European to have developed a sketch plan in 1936 though not implemented at all. At the core of the plan was colonial symbolism of grandeur of streets and monuments, and the dual settlement pattern separating the colonizers from the indigenous population. Between 1938 and 1940, Ignazio Guidi and Cesare Valle designed a plan for the city that would build large arterial roads and create an axis that would relocate the urban center from one near the palace towards the south. This plan maintained the colonial dual city concept having strong buffer between foreigners and indigenous population with further ethnic zoning between the indigenous population. Guidi's and Valle's plan served to create colonial footprints of social and public housing, street and sewer infrastructure, etc.

According to Amos (1957 in Heyaw, 2005), Abercrombie's first sketch plan of 1956, was prepared virtually based only on discussions with government officials most of whom were expatriates. Amos wrote: "the plan was produced by studying the problems of the city with the then Kantiba (mayor) Dedjazmach Kebede Tessema, the then Director-General of the municipality, Brigadier Sandford, and the city engineer, M. Chimansky. Akin to the London plan, Abercrombie's plan had the CBD, the mother city (Greater Addis Ababa), the satellite towns, the green belt and the open country in between (ibid p).

The Brits, Bolton Hennessey & Partners Plan (1956), and the French Luis Hoym DE. Marien Plan (1965) were revisions of the general schemes developed by Abercrombie. The Hungarian Prof. C.K. Polony's Plan (1978-79) approach was also based on the regional concept of self-sufficiency going as far as Nazreth. These planning practices had contributed their share of footprints in the settlement patten and infrastructure system of the city. The city's planning culture has thus been influenced by the western and eastern planning practices.

Figure 9. Taitu plan of 1886

Figure 10. AAMPPO's regional plan

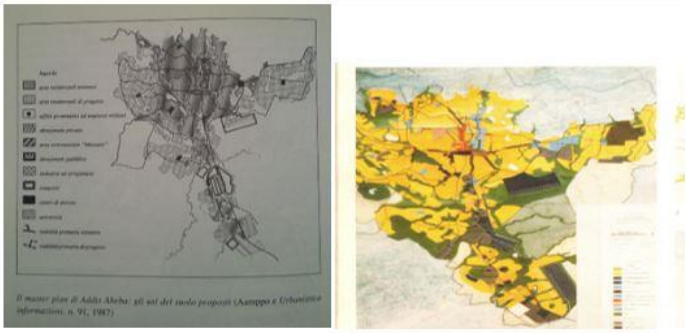
Figure 11. AAMPPO's metropolitan plan

AAMPPO Master Plan of 1986

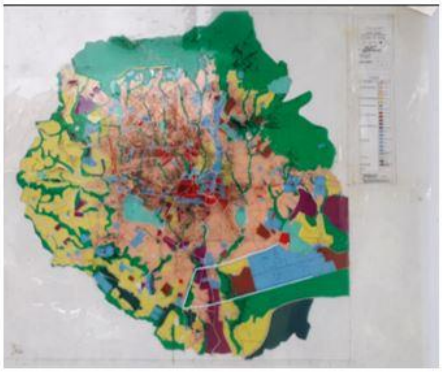
The AAMPPO master plan[10] was prepared during 1984-86 period in a context of command economy, the communist *Dergue* regime. The decision by the then military regime to have a new master plan for the capital city stemmed from the need of directing and controlling its growth in

[10] The master plan preparation was mainly financed by the Italian Government, DGCS Ministry of Foreign Affairs with a matching finance from the Ethiopian government. For a detail on Addis Ababa planning history see C Diamantini, D Patassini (1993), Addis Abeba, Villaggio e capitale di un continente, FrancoAngeli, Milano

accordance with the guidelines of the national economy and new strategies of regional development (Tekeste and Ceccarelli, 1986). According to the plan objectives, the city was to symbolize and become an image of a modern socialist country which also had deep roots in the traditional past (Tekeste, 1987). Caution was taken not to envisage projects beyond the then economic means of the country. It attempted to correct the common defects of the previous master plans, mostly their failures to adequately recognize the urban-rural interaction and stressed the necessity to enact the plan into law (ibid). For the plan preparation, a project office (AAMPPO) was established under the Ministry of Urban Development and Housing (MUDH) by mobilizing a joint team of Italian and Ethiopian experts. Understanding the low experience of local urban planning practice both professionally and institutionally, this seemed a plausible strategic decision.



The Structure Plan



Partial land use map, AAMPO, 1986

Figure 12. The urban development scheme, AAMPPO, 1986

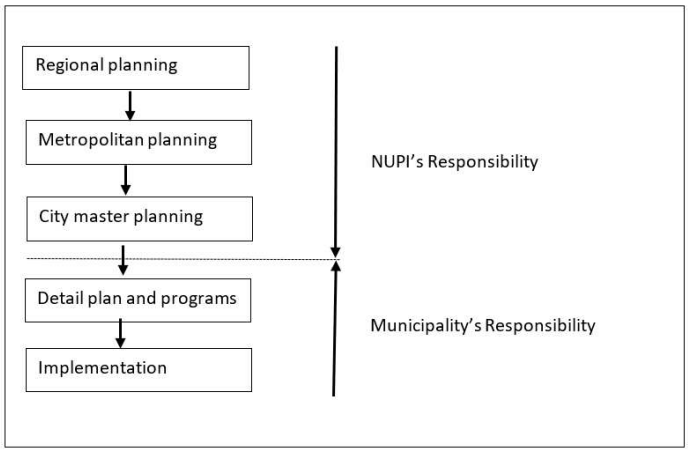


Figure 13. AAMPPO's planning process

Preparation period: 75 Italian and 45 Ethiopian experts (long and short term) participated on the project (ibid). The lopsided staff participation of the Italians can be, to some extent, considered as a manifestation of the then low technical capacity in planning practices in the country. Most local staff were recruited from Addis Ababa University and other government offices having no previous experiences in urban planning. Only few long-term Ethiopian experts had enough experience in urban demography, urban and rural economics, urban transport, urban engineering, urban sanitation, building and construction, architecture, and spatial planning. Most of them were educated in Europe, the US or Asia. A positive and extraordinary exception was related to geographical issues at that time considered by the School of Mesfin Wolde Mariam[11].

The project office was organized into departments with good internal integration. A supervisory board composed of senior central government officials and the city mayor was established chaired by the Minister of MUDH to oversee the plan preparation process.

The plan exhibited comprehensiveness in two dimensions unlike its predecessors. It considered the regional planning and the metropolitan planning as context to the urban plan. Analysis was made to establish the interactions of the city with its immediate surrounding (the metropolitan region) and with its larger region influencing its growth and development (Shewa and Arsi). It also integrated the economic and social components with the physical and spatial ones. Comprehensiveness of the planning approach and internal integration of teams and planning issues were commendable. The planning process (Figure 13) was nevertheless, top-down and there was no participation of the city residents, officials and experts (except the mayor). This failure to engage the key institution (the municipality) responsible for management and development of the city could be considered as one major defect of the plan.

The output: The type of plan adopted by AAMPPO could be considered as a mix of *blueprint plan* (stressing on the physical orientation and zoning ordinance) and *remedy plan* (aimed at solving the existing problems) as well as a synoptic rational planning (comprehensive analysis of thematic issues).

The project was engaged in three levels of planning: regional, metropolitan, and urban. The regional (Figure 10), metropolitan (Figure 11) and urban plans (Figure 12) were well integrated showing consistency in approach and thematic issues. The regional plan was linked with the

[11] 10. The late Mesfin W/Mariam, academic and human right activist, completed his education in London in 1951; received his BA from Punjab University, Chandigarh in 1955 and his MA and Ph.D. from Clark University in 2007 with a dissertation on rural vulnerability to famine in Ethiopia. Mesfin was professor of geography at Haile Selassie I University (now Addis Ababa University - AAU. His studies and researches can be considered a valuable tool to analyze and assess rural conditions in Ethiopia, causes and effects of drought cycles by environmental zones (dega, weina dega and kolla) and, in general, the urban-rural exchanges.

national socioeconomic plan, and the metropolitan with the regional plan, the urban plans with the metropolitan plan, maintaining the hierarchical organization of services, infrastructure, etc.

The metropolitan region development scheme foresaw self-sufficiency of Addis Ababa in terms of food and other basic goods. It also foresaw reinforcing and upgrading of the existing system of urban settlements to reduce the migratory flows to Addis Ababa as well as to create further opportunities for economic development in the region (Tekeste, 1986). The planning strategies were to deal with a contained economic growth and physical expansion. The objectives were oriented more to improve, balance, and stabilize existing conditions than to catch up with an accelerated and bursting growth. It was also a blueprint for a major international role the city was to play in Africa and in the world (ibid).

Addis Ababa was to develop as a continuous urban system organized around six major sub-centers (*ketena* centers) and with limited and gradual expansion in the peripheral fringes, along the three main communication axes in the east, west and south. The *ketena* centers were to play a decentralized role for the supply of services and activities and to better structure the urban system in physical terms (Tekeste, 1986).

The master plan recognized the implementation process as the most crucial moment of the whole planning process (Tekeste and Ceccarelli, 1987). The twenty-year planning period was broken down to ten-year phases and arranged into 3-year implementation programs focusing on completion of specific projects. The priority activities and actions to be taken in each phase were indicated.

The plan also developed detail plans and procedures for the implementation process. Standards and technical regulations were set for buildings. Detailed standards were given for service centers at *sefer, kebele, keftegna* and *ketena* levels[12].

To lay the institutional ground for implementation, the IFUU (Implementation and Follow-up Unit) was established to take care of on-going city development along with the implementation issues in parallel with the work of studying and drawing the master plan. The unit performed safeguard functions with the responsibility of helping MUDH, Municipality of Addis Ababa and other governmental agencies in solving implementation hindrances while also helping maintain the proposals of the master plan. Plans hierarchy adopted and documentation produced were:

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[12] These were, at the time, administrative and traditional hierarchical subdivisions of the city into neighborhoods and communities. The institutional framework presented itself as a welfare mediation between supply and demand of services and facilities.

- Regional Map (Figure 10)
- Metropolitan Map (Figure 11)
- City plan
- Structure Plan 1:20,000 (Figure 12)
- Land use map 1:10,000 (Figure 12)
- Detail plans
- Executive Summary Report

The plan documents were organized into 237 sectoral reports, executive summary report and graphic productions[13]. The sectoral reports were more or less working documents, and the summary executive report was well organized and presented encompassing the major initiations, the planning process, the plan documents and the implementation tools.

Implementation: The major implementation success of the master plan could be said to have been during the first four years when AAMPPO (and later NUPI, founded in 1986) in collaboration with the City Municipality and MUDH was engaged in implementation and land allocation before the change of government in 1991. NUPI and the Municipality tried, with limited success, to set up a plan implementation time-schedule, with a joint team of experts[14] working on the technical implementation of the plan. This contributed to the betterment of neighborhoods organization leading to better conformance and performance of implementation with the master plan proposals. The 'mixed economy policy' enacted by government after the fall of the Berlin Wall (1989) had also helped implementation of the plan favoring private investments and public-private partnerships. It had created some encouragement by normalizing the economy particularly in the hotel and manufacturing sector. Accordingly, and few years before the enactment of land lease proclamation, land was allocated to private hotels and industries developers in rental mode.

The institutional arrangement of implementation (Figure 14) assumed the approval of the regional and the metropolitan plan along with the city plan. The Central Planning Authority was already there, and a planning authority was suggested for the Metropolitan zone with a commissioner at the lead. But the plans were not approved on time and these arrangements could not take roots. Yet, transition from the voluntary collaboration between the Municipality and NUPI was not properly organized and managed to create a core implementing agency at the municipality. The city plan area coverage (partly within the municipality and partly outside the

[13] It is unfortunate that most of these documents are not traceable. Only very few of them are found at the MUI documentation.
[14] Architect Tesfaye Beza was the team pivot, but left prematurely, widening the distance between plan design and implementation. The Implementation and Follow-up Unit of the Planning Office was established to follow the city development during the plan preparation and to help the Municipality during the plan implementation (a capacity building action).

city administration at the time) and its implementation fell prey to multiple bodies. Land allocation and construction permit processes were in disarray as there were multiple agencies involved. In Akaki, Kality, Keranyo and Kotebe land allocations were conducted by MUDH, whereas Akaki Municipality used to issue title deeds and construction permits on lands allocated within its jurisdiction. Addis Ababa city municipality was responsible only for the areas within the city boundary before the master plan.

Institutional conflicts arose between the Municipality and the MUDH and NUPI. Failure of the full acceptance of the plans by the city administration became one of the core reasons for the poor implementation. The central government's loss of attention and focus for the plan because of rising political conflicts throughout the nation had an adverse impact. The regional and metropolitan plans had far worse fates of implementation. The agenda of the regional and metropolitan plans was abandoned with the creation of Regional States according to the new federal system (Constitution Proclamation No. 1/95).

The approval process also saw serious challenges. Due to institutional and personal conflicting interests between AAMPPO, MUDH, AACG and ONCCP, the plan could not be approved with statutory power until 8 years after completion of the preparation process. The approving authorities of EPRDF were also reluctant to accept the full package of the master plan for the regional and metropolitan planning were in contrast with the new ethnic based regional system. When the plan was eventually endorsed legally, the earlier regional planning offices (CRPO and ONCCP) were closed, and the establishment of the Metropolitan Authority was rejected leaving the master plan only with its urban core component (Proclamation No. 7/1994).

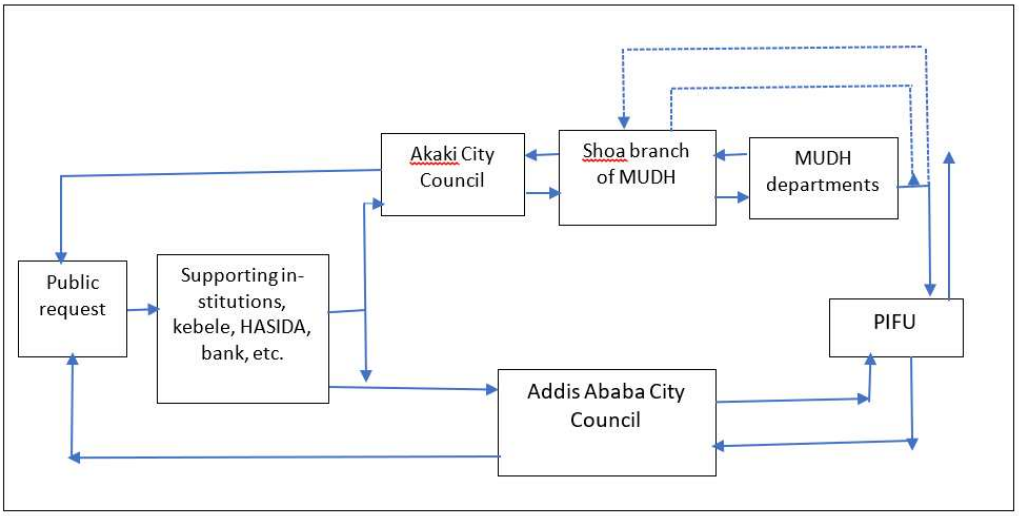

Figure 14. AAMPPO plan implementation institutional relationships

Outcome: Hereunder are some of the notable legacies (Figure 15) of the master plan:

- Expansion of the city size to 54,000 ha and definition of its boundaries.
- To meet the objective of the master plan in making the city an international center, African Union was allotted a new site, renewal in Kasanchis was conducted for the ECA Head Quarter construction, CMC housing was developed to house diplomatic missions in the east while Bole international airport was redeveloped and expanded with improved facilities. New hotels and accommodation facilities were also established (Figure 12).
- Low-cost housing and cooperatives in Gerji, Mekanissa, Keraniyo, Bole and Saris, upgrading in Teklehaimanot and Mercato, infills in scattered and low-density areas.
- Apartments along Bole/Africa Road.
- The Ring Road construction.
- The erection of Tiglachin, Lenin and Marx statues (the last two were removed later)
- Sewerage treatment plant in Bole Arabsa area.
- Erection of Dire Dam and upgrading of Legedadi Dam to improve water supply.
- Legal approval of the master plan for the first time in the city's history (Proclamation 7/1994)
- Establishment of NUPI.

This plan was followed by the ORAAMP master plan of 2003[15] as its revised version.

Bole International airport

Apartment housing on Africa avenue

Axum hotel on Haile G/Selassie street

Figure 15. Some of the structures built during the 1980s and 1990s following AAMPPO plan

15 The ORAAMP master plan of 2003 (AACDP) has been presented as case study, chapter 5.

AACPPO Plan of 2017

Planning Practice: Due to the short period of time since plan ratification (2017), the assessment mainly focused on *ex-ante*, i.e., on the plan preparation and its quality. The implementation and outcome stages were touched upon only slightly with respect to the trends in the municipality so far.

The AACPPO city plan (Figure 16) was prepared during 2012-2017 period in a context of free market economy, of a reviving economy at national and local levels. The overarching development policy framework was the Growth and Transformation Plan (GTP) where the first five-year phase GTP I (2011-2015) had been implemented and the GTP II (2016-2020) was overtaking. The GTPs foresaw to improve the country's economic well-being and worked towards eradicating poverty. Moreover, GTP II aimed to spur economic structural transformation and sustain accelerated growth towards the realization of the national vision to become a low middle-income country by 2025. The land management, institutional as well as regulatory contexts were as already discussed under chapter 3.1 and 3.2 above.

The planning period was under a context of political unrest, particularly emphasized by protests against the 'relocation' of farmers from the city edges that the integrated plan would allegedly bring (becoming the pretext for organizing protests against the plan); relocation of residents from the city centers as a result of renewals and redevelopments as well as other socioeconomic and political agenda[16].

The plan preparation was initiated basically by three major factors:

- the approaching phasing out of the existing master plan of ORAAMP and thus the need to replace it.
- the recommendations from the two evaluations conducted by the EiABC and Mathewos Consult and LTPA.
- the building and construction sector boom in the city and consumption of the city's vacant lands coupled with the GTP ambitions to create opportunities for new development strategies.

AACPPO was established under the LDMB (Land Development and Management Bureau). The project office was staffed with experts mainly from the market and the plan institute under the same bureau. A supervisory board was instituted chaired by the mayor with members from the city administration officials, the MUDHC, Oromia Regional State, the city Chamber of Commerce

16 The sum of these and other countrywide protests have led to a major reform of 2018 in the ruling party and in its government as a whole.

and a senior ex-mayor[17]. The board oversaw the performance of the project office, gave political and strategic directions, and conducted interim approvals as the work progressed.

To capitalize on the existing knowledge and practice, a Technical Advisory Committee (TAC) was established consisting of members from sectoral offices of the city government, universities, and private consultants. The committee supported the project office in developing concepts for each thematic issue, reviewed the technical reports produced from the project office and gave feedbacks for improvement. It was more of a monitoring and evaluation activity.

The major objectives of the plan preparation project were to revise the existing city development plan within the general framework of the national urban development strategies with focus on:

- the growing citizens demand for housing, services and facilities commensurate with the growing population.
- contributing to the national agenda of becoming a middle-income country.
- promoting the city's diplomatic capital role and its international competitiveness; and
- making the city safe and livable along with its Oromia neighboring towns and rural areas.

Preparation period: One peculiar characteristic of this plan refers to the changes that occurred in its scope of mission and objectives during the preparation process. In the overall planning process, the project mission was swinging between two concepts and approaches: a self-sufficient city plan *vis-à-vis* an integrated urban and regional plan.

The first approach mainly focused on the internal urban structure, its efficiency and quality: that is on land management, accessibility and congestion, issues related to the multicenter framework, administrative capacity enhancement and decentralization, and provision of services. These themes were accompanied by those of the environment, the recognition of informality as an opportunity, the demand for regeneration, upgrading and densification. This approach was considered as a rationale of the comprehensive plan, although a 'project-based' practice was not ruled out.

The second approach considered the city in its metropolitan regional context, a context in strong transformation. This approach was in resonance with the GTP approach and was believed to give thrust to its success. The planning agenda considered relations with the overall urban system, the formation of the Addis-Adama corridor (the infrastructural and industrial backbone), the

[17] The late Zewde Teklu was an architect/town planner and mayor of Addis Ababa during the Dergue period.

formation of Addis-Sabata corridor (including the proposal for new airport at Teji, 40 km from Addis)[18], Addis-Menagesha on the west, Addis-Sululta on the north and Tafo/Legedadi on the east, all including the adjacent urban-rural areas with strategies of urban-urban and urban-rural exchange in a productive and eco-systemic perspective.

The project task focused mainly on the city during a one-year (2012) period; on the integrated regional and urban planning during a two-year (2013-14) period and then back to the city plan during the last two-year (2015-16) period. This oscillation (Figure 18) was due to the political and administrative volatility of the period.

In addition to the national, regional, and urban core issues, the comprehensive approach encompassed socioeconomic, environmental, sectoral and cross-cutting issues in the physical and spatial planning processes. Social development, governance, fiscal and legal dimensions were part of the development plan as they were believed to play crucial roles during implementation.

Integration and coordination with the city government departments were eased by the board and TAC as they were heads of sector offices. Strong coordination was established with the Transport Bureau, AACRA and the LDMB though the relations had been occasionally tense particularly with the LDMB owing to institutional and individual vested interests. Coordination with the federal MUDCH and Oromia institutions proved difficult, and the proper linkages could not be established adequately due to the heightened political tension throughout the project life.

The project office managerial and technical staff capacity stemmed from local practices of previous times. Those who participated in ORAAMP plan preparation were recruited to make the core managerial and technical staff. Other senior and junior experts were drawn from plan training institutions and from the city's Plan and Information Institute. Engagement of the city government and Oromia State staff had the benefit of strengthening the internal staff capacity and data sources. The major capacity was developed through the process of learning by doing, encouraging team spirit, creation of conducive working environment and smooth communications between staff and management. More than 30 staff members from the project and the city benefited from short, medium- and long-term trainings in different European and Asian cities and universities.

The required basic data (maps, previous plan documents, policies and regulations) were acquired from the city government departments, mainly the Plan and Information Institute. Engagement of key stakeholders was designed and met from the very beginning. More than 100 public and stakeholder discussion forums, workshops and conferences were conducted. Adequate public

[18] AAMPPO considered a location near Melka Kunture (50 kilometers south of Addis Ababa by road) as an option to relocate the Addis Ababa International Airport.

participation except for those conducted with Oromia staff, public officials and OPDO executives) could not be conducted during the ASSOID period due to fear by the political body lest there be riots in Oromia towns against the master plan as false accusations of Addis Ababa expanding into Oromia territory was widespread.

The project office conducted monitoring and evaluation as per the timeline and expected milestones and deliverables from each study teams. Monitoring was also conducted by the project leadership by wondering around and checking work on progress. This method of monitoring proved worthy for it helped the leadership to engage in the technical planning process and have a full information on the status of each thematic issue, to give feedback and make timely corrections when need arose. The team or individual expert being given feedback had the opportunity of a one-to-one engagement with the leadership to clarify the status of his/her task and engage in detailed discussions. Once the study results were produced at the draft level, they were then presented by the study teams to internal group of experts from other thematic issues and the leadership, and then to the TAC and the Supervisory Board.

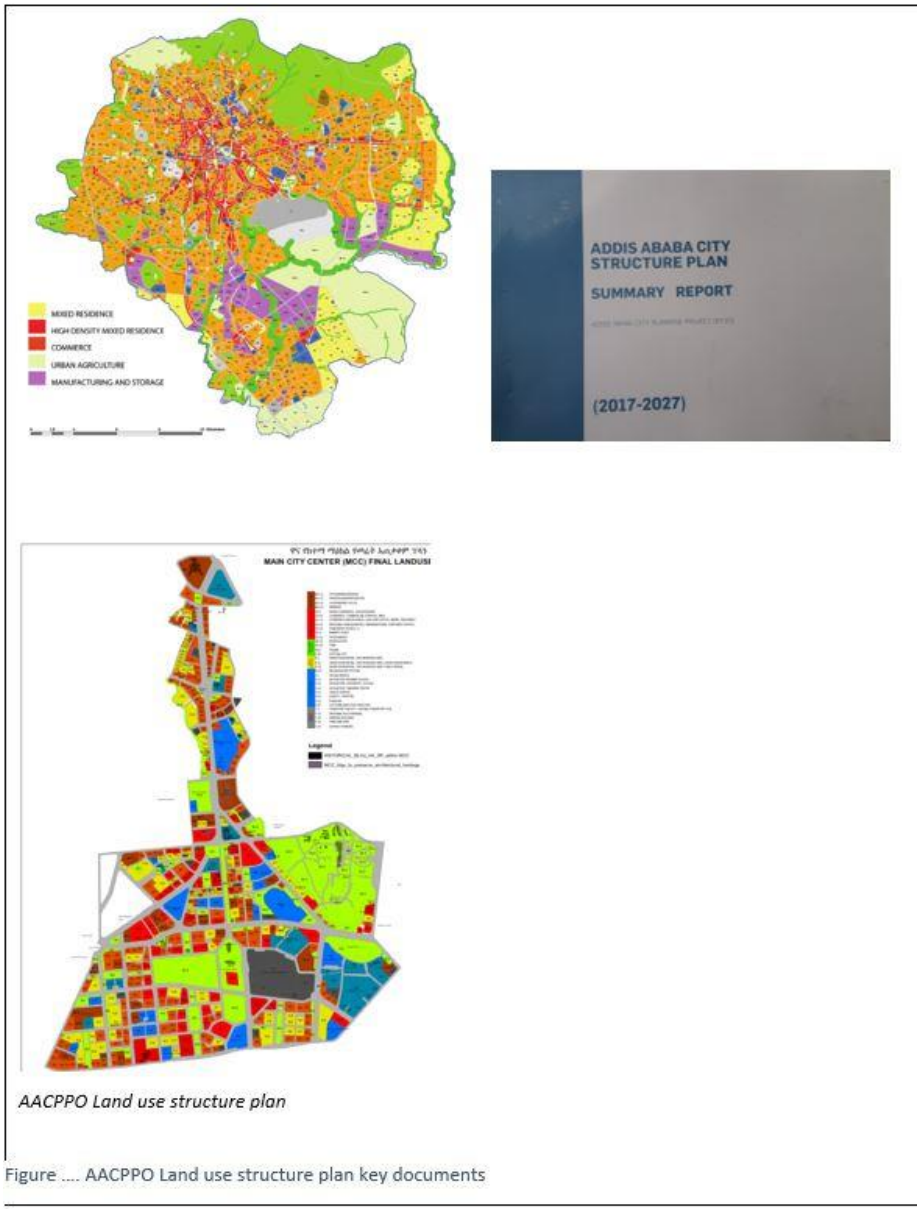

Figure 16. AACPPO land use structure plan, Main city center LDP and Executive summary report.

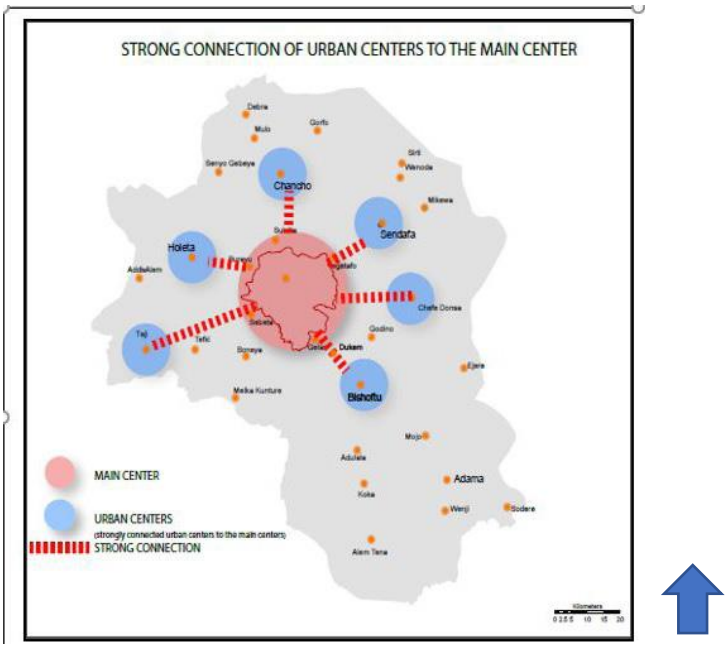

Figure 17. The AASOID regional plan concept

Plan Product: There were five major planning outputs produced during plan preparation process:

- the regional plan (including the Oromia Special Zone and Addis Ababa within an area of 1.1 million hectares of land) (Figure 17).
- six structure plans (Addis Ababa, Sululta, Burayu-Menagesha, Sebeta, Gelan-Dukem, Legedadi-Legetafo).
- integrated plan of the six towns indicating spatial and physical relationships (with focus on infrastructure and environment) of each town with the other.
- LDPs to assist implementation of the physical plans.
- governance, fiscal and regulatory outputs.

The regional plan, structure plans of the five Oromia towns and their LDPs were left at their draft level as the job was discontinued for reasons stated above. The assessment of the plan documents hereunder is thus limited to the plan of Addis Ababa as it is the one finalized, legally ratified, and currently under implementation.

The major documents produced were the sectoral reports (summaries and working documents), the executive summary report, the land use structure plans, local development plans (maps and reports), 10/5 -year strategic plans, governance, and finance study reports. Sectoral working

documents were based on the respective thematic policy, strategy, legal framework, primary and secondary data collected and analyzed using established analytical tools.

The housing, services and facilities needs of the city were mainly to be met through redevelopment and densification. High-end residential and services were provided space to meet international standards and promote the city's competitiveness. Making the city safer was to be met by the institutional capacity building, and the large public parks proposed were to contribute to the city's livability. The regional integrated plan and the recommended economic development interventions, the integrated infrastructure and services development between the surrounding Oromia town and Addis Ababa, were to contribute to the middle-income status of GTP-II. This was, nevertheless, disrupted due to discontinuity of the regional plan.

The final documents produced and published after ratification of the plan (land use structure plans and executive summary report) show high level of quality in terms of organization, flow of ideas, consistency, language, and format. For the first time in the city's planning history, the major statutory documentation materials have been published and made part of the Proclamation (No.52/2017 Articles 7 and 8).

There is a reasonable degree of flexibility in the plans. The map legend of land use structure plan prescribes few uses that are forbidden in particular zones. This gives room for all other possible uses to be allowed during implementation. The mixed-use zone allows most urban development functions except for very few due to environmental, transport, traffic and energy limitations. The major city structuring elements, centrality, transport and streets and environmental issues are those to be strictly respected as they form the backbone of the city development. Proclamation (No. 52/2017) allows the Structure Plan to be updated every three years. It also gives the city government options to amend some of the proposals of the structure plan provided that legal provisions and procedures stated in the proclamation are respected.

The plan produced comprehensive implementation strategies and tools that are included in the ratified Executive Summary Report (Figure 16) and in the proclamation. The building height regulation provides six zones where certain heights are permitted and, where not. Norms and standards are developed for each thematic issue to assist in the implementation of the plan (in land management and construction permit processes).

The strategic plan splits the 10-year plan implementation period into two five-year phases. The first 5-year phase details actions to be taken in the strategic focus areas of the city (Transport and streets, Housing, Centers, Environment, Manufacturing Industries, Capacity building and the required Financial Resources), whereas the second first 5-years phase provides a framework. The specific proposals of the two major LDPs (the main City Center, and Kality-Akaki Sub-center) have also been incorporated in the Executive Summary report; and hence de facto approved.

As part of the governance study, four key implementing institutions were established. Planning Commission, Infrastructure Integration and Construction Authority, Drainage and Greenery Development Agency, and Centers and Corridors Development Corporation. One important breakthrough achieved by this plan has been its success in bringing the economic and population studies and planning activities that used to be conducted by a different Bureau (the then Finance and Economic Development Bureau) into the Plan Commission task. The previous break of urban planning into two: economic planning and spatial planning, has been given an end thus. Their integration in one institution is expected to increase a more realistic, coordinated and integrated planning and hence more chance for implementation of plan proposals.

In addition to the deliberations and discussions conducted with stakeholders throughout the planning process, the final documents were presented to the public at large (one hundred people represented from each *woreda* of sub cities), and to key stakeholders, the city Government Organs, the Cabinet, Federal Council of Ministers. The produced materials, the Proclamation, the plans and maps, the Executive Summary Report make good communication with those engaged in the plan implementation, monitoring and evaluation. The documents are also useful for academic purposes for those engaged in architecture, urban planning and related urban and regional development research. The published materials are available in hard and soft copies making widespread communication and discourse more convenient. One core gap here is that the documents fail to address the public at large, those who don't or cannot adequately read and understand English.

The MEA system developed in the project office were also put in the ratification laws. Procedures and provisions in the planning laws and regulations are expected to serve the MEA purpose provided that the city government is committed to undertake the full range of responsibilities to ensure the plan implementation. However, quite often such commitments remain on paper and depend on individual concerns, not on the system.

Implementation: Implementation could be said to have started in May 2014 when the ORAAMP plan became outdated and the draft spatial plan proposals were ready. The LDMB consented to acknowledge the draft and ordered the organs of the city government under the bureau both at center and in Sub-cities and Woredas, to respect the draft land use plan in undertaking any spatial development activity in the city. This interim provision served as a transition plan until the final version of the plan was made ready for endorsement and ratification. Though there were some resistances from respective city organs, it has been worth the effort. Most of the resistance was brought to the attention of the project office and dialogue was conducted on various occasions with regards to how to approve a particular request for land development or construction permit. Still better results were registered in influencing the land development and allotment as per the

plan when the Plan Commission was established, and the Commissioner became a member of the City Cabinet in December 2016. This new authority enshrined for the plan has had immense impacts in giving the plan the needed power to be implemented.

Of the four institutions (Planning Commission, Infrastructure Integration and Construction Authority, Drainage and Greenery Development Agency, and Centers and Corridors Development Corporation) established for implementing the plan, the Plan Commission was the most successful in terms of organizational set up, legal power and human resource capacity. The other two institutions (the Agency and the Authority) have been established with more capacity to come to fully carry out the responsibilities they are entrusted with. The corporation was nevertheless, purged before it got fully organized and its roles were returned back to the LDMB.

Among the major challenges observed during implementation was the nonconformance of plan proposals with what is already there on the ground. There had been land use changes on the ground after the then existing spatial and physical data were collected as basis for the structure plan preparation. The land could have been sold by then either formally or informally.

Another important nonconformance worth noting here is the land use change being made by the city government without proper procedures stipulated in the plans and in the regulations. For example, the Legehar area proposed for city central park has been allocated for the Dubai Eagle Hills real estate development (Figures 6). Land reserved for Adwa Park has now been partly allotted for public condominium housing and other developments. These two sites, in particular, were consistently reserved for the stated functions by the last three master plans since AAMPPO and enshrined in the new proclamation. Such violations of the master plan are expected to be pretexts for more violations not only by government organs but also by the private developer and ordinary citizens as well.

3.3. Summary

The rapid Ethiopian urban growth implies the necessity of proper planning to mitigate the ever-increasing challenges the urban centers face. Hitherto planning practices have been amalgams of international (colonial or otherwise) as well as local practices, mainly the traditional, influencing the planning culture. Unlike other African cities, Addis Ababa's practice partially differs because of the difference in its foundation, the relatively short colonial occupation and the resulting less influence. This might have also enabled the confidence to manage Addis Ababa's spatial planning projects mainly on the shoulders of the local staff.

The local spatial planning capacity at national and Addis Ababa level has been growing particularly during the last three and half decades lending improvement in planning practice and overall understanding of urban issues. Comprehensiveness, consistency, participation of stakeholders, clarity of produced documents, engagement of key stakeholders, flexibility of planning proposals, etc., have been on the improvement trajectory. The establishment of the NUPI was a major transformation in Ethiopian spatial planning practice. NUPI introduced modern urban planning practice to Ethiopian urban centers, created urban professional human resource in multiple sectors through training - both practical and theoretical. The seven urban planning manuals have contributed to improvement in theory and practice of Ethiopian urban planning landscape. Continuity of planning approaches and using the preceding plan as basis for developing new plan has been a planning culture that has been growing during the last three and half decades of planning experience in the city.

Though there were continued attempts to improve spatial planning methods and practices they were, nevertheless, not commensurate with the demands of Addis Ababa as they did not correspond the city's growth and status. These improvement attempts were challenged by the capacity limitations on the part of urban professionals, institutional and land management encounters. Limited institutional capacity, poor coordination, unregulated political interventions and the overall planning culture have been limiting factors for developing and practicing appropriate planning and implementation. Even when there was a modest cooperation between land administration and the planning units, land allocation was deviating from the plan as seen in the AACPPO experience.

Laws and regulations enacted with good intentions were usually in neglect of the context and as a result fail to meet the intended objectives. The institutions expected to support the implementation of the policies and laws were either absent or too weak to shoulder the execution of those mandates. Proclamations 315, 316 were such examples. Though Proclamation 317/1987 resulted in the creation of NUPI, it was impossible for such too young institution to shoulder and sustain the responsibilities vested up on it in the changing political context. The change in policy in 1991 changed the whole institutional and legal setting to ethnic based regional administrations forfeiting much of the proclamations' contents even from conceptual point of view. Lack of institutional coordination as seen during the 8 years disarrayed implementation following the AAMPPO plan accompanied by structural and policy change after 1991 was a blow to the masterplan and its implementation. Informality accompanied by encroachment into environmentally sensitive areas during this and later periods were the results of institutional and land management failures.

Reforms meant to enhance institutional capacity turned to be capacity diminishing programs because of rapid turnover of political leadership and staff at all levels. Following reform

programs, mayors and leadership at higher levels were recruited from political cadres having little or no experience of urban management.

Lack of continuity of planning and implementing institutions was also a major hurdle in the sector. NUPI/FUPI was dissolved, and the regional institutes formed corresponding NUPI/FUPI also followed suit losing their autonomy. Spatial planning both at national and regional levels thus came under the implementing urban development or land management bureaus.

Land management regulations usually fail to respect plan regulations. The conflicting provision in Manual No. 17/2014 that allows 3000 m^2 land for manufacturing industries in mixed use zones whereas the plan allows only 500 m^2 shows the level of mismatch between land and planning provisions. The ambiguous city boundary delimitation is also related to the land management, institutional and regulatory factors lacking coordination and influenced by political agenda.

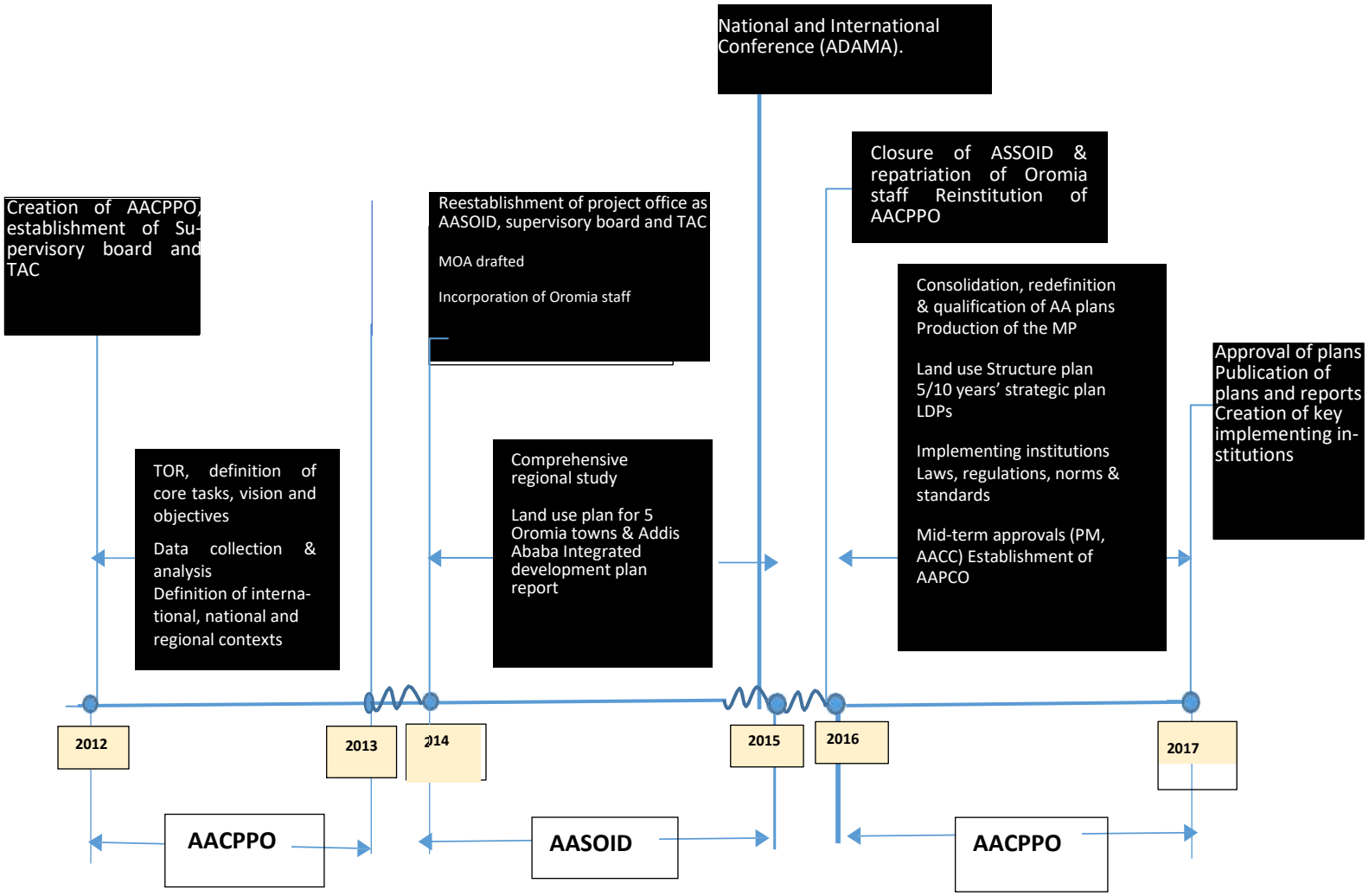

Figure 18. AACPPO - AASOID - AACPPO internal planning cycle

Chapter 4. Towards case studies: the contribution of research and evaluation design

This chapter is dedicated to research design and methodology to guide plan evaluation: evaluating case study plans using plan evaluation protocols and instruments of data collection and analysis. The design helped arrive at logical and rational outcomes and conclusions that test the hypothesis and answer the research questions.

4.1. Introduction

The reviews in chapter 2 and 3 have shown that plan evaluation has been found as an important tool to meet the major research objective of understanding the level of plan implementation and the influencing factors as a way of improving planning practice in Addis Ababa. It has been seen that the program (Addis Ababa city plan) is evaluable because as Seasons (2012) noted, the contents of the plans could be worded in a manner that facilitated evaluation. Among the various stages for plan evaluation, the post hoc was found more suitable for evaluation of AACDP as the major concern is the level of plan implementation (conformance and performance), and the contribution of plan quality and the underlying contextual contributing factors to implementation.

Theories and practices of spatial planning and evaluation do not adequately address the spatial planning problems of Addis Ababa and similar cities. Recent and current planning and evaluation experiences of the advanced nations cities context (urbanization, socioeconomic and technological advancements) are different from Addis Ababa's context. There is limited knowledge in plan quality impact on conformance and performance of plans and how land and institutional framework influence planning and implementation in cities like Addis Ababa. Institutional and land management factors that affect plan implementation in Addis Ababa are unique as land is public and the institutional set up is very weak or nonexistent (for example advocacy agencies). African major cities planning, and evaluation practice has also been influenced by expatriates showing inadequacy for the African perspectives. As a result, contribution of existing knowledge on evaluation, though it provides theoretical and conceptual basis, for improvement of the city's planning practice has been found to be of little significance.

Planning practices, why plans fail to meet their intended goals and their contexts in Addis Ababa could not be adequately explained solely by existing literature and practice. There is thus a need to research into this gap in knowledge by investigating Addis Ababa's spatial planning and implementation situation using investigation methods.

Nevertheless, though limited, the methodological framework and the evaluation procedure developed for this research benefited from contemporary evaluation literature theory and practices (Alexander, 2009; Baer 2007; Connell and Filiatrault, 2017; Seasons, 2012; Oliveira & Pinho 2009; Weiss, 1998), from case study methodology theories (Campbell, S. 2003; Dawson, C. 2002; Yin, R. 2003). The research design also benefited from earlier international evaluation experiences (Oporto city by Oliveira and Pinho, 2008; Iranian cities by Tilaki, and Marzbali, 2014; Tanzanian cities by Huang and Cantada, 2019) and those local evaluation practices conducted on ORAAMP Master plan. These were adapted to the focus of this thesis.

This linkage to theory and practice has been found important as the outcome of this research would help contribute to existing gap in evaluation knowledge and improvement in planning particularly in poor developing cities. The design of an evaluation process must be clearly linked with planning evaluation theory, in a way that the methodology can be improved by theory's inputs, and that it can contribute to bridging the existing gap between planning evaluation theory and practice; a general model of evaluation can be changed and adapted based on the specificities of a particular planning practice (Oliveira and Pinho, 2010).

The research design consisted of both methodology and methods. The research methodology was the philosophy or general principle which guides the research whereas research methods are the tools used to gather data (Dawson, C. 2002). Design of method involves identifying major steps and creating a logical sequence by which the research question, the empirical data and ultimately the conclusion are linked (Yin, 1994 cited in Heyaw, 2005). Thus, research methods also refer to test hypotheses and support evaluation design.

4.2. The methodology

Case study approach

This research aimed to understand the extent to which spatial plans are implemented and how plan quality, land management and institutional setup influenced this phenomenon. The outcome of the investigation is expected to inform improvements in future interventions of spatial planning. To develop this understanding in depth and recommend improvements in spatial planning, a case study was a preferred approach. Case study can play important role in planning and carrying out a developmental project, particularly in designing interventions that are tailored to suit the local context (Ridenour and Newman, 2008).

In order to understand if plans conform with reality, evaluation of a case is important. Anderson (1993 cited in Noor K. 2008) sees case studies as being concerned with how and why things happen, allowing the investigation of contextual realities and the differences between what was planned and what occurred. The research questions were properly addressed when spatial and temporal contexts were focused. The scope of the research was limited to implementation of three master plans in a period of three and half decades within institutional and land management contexts. This causal relationship, the little control the researcher had on the set of events, difficulty in separating the phenomenon from its larger context (overall spatial planning, land management and institutional set up), the multiple sources of evidence to be used (documents, observation, interviews, and the researcher's personal experience), all suggested the use of case study for my research.

According to (Yin R. 2003), case studies are the preferred strategy when ‘how’ or ‘why’ questions are being posed, when the investigator has little control over events, and when the focus is a contemporary phenomenon within some real-life context. Johansson (2003) substantiates this by stating that a case should be investigated in its natural context with a multitude of methods, and so encompass many variables and qualities, and that it is a phenomenon specific to time and space. The problem the researcher wanted to understand (why spatial plans failed) is specific to Addis Ababa and is believed to have rich information (considering implemented plans and the researcher's background). The use of case study to probe an area of interest in depth is particularly appropriate as described by Patton (1987 cited in Noor K. 2008): “case studies become particularly useful where one needs to understand some particular problem or situation in great depth, and where one can identify cases rich in information”.

Conformance and performance-based evaluation

Evaluation is purpose specific. The purpose of this evaluation is to understand the level of plan implementation, and how land management and institutional setup influence plan implementation. Since the subject of evaluation, the AACDP, has undergone its planning and implementation phase, the evaluation is post hoc, after the program has shown some outcome, and hence summative. Generally categorized, there are two methods of summative plan evaluation: conformance-based and performance-based approaches (Alexander, 2009; Faludi, 2000; Loh, 2011 cited in Tong and Zhang 2016; Laurian, et al, 2004 cited in Slaev and Budic, 2017). For evaluation of plans the plan proposals are checked against the reality on the ground providing conformance or nonconformance. But reality on the ground may not be the result of the plan only, but also the result of influences from a number of contextual factors. In conformance case, implementation is considered a success if developments conform to plan proposals (Faludi, 2000; Laurian et al., 2004 in Slaev and Budic, 2017). When the outcome of implementation does not conform with the plan, and if the plan is referred to during implementation, this is a measure of plan performance. Compliance (conformance) is assessed against objectives, processes, and rules (standards included), while performance is assessed against processes, outcomes, and impacts. The two methods are useful both if one intends to evaluate what should happen according to the plan (cause-effect relationships) and if one evaluates what happens despite the plan proposals but using it only as operational plan.

The traditional or conventional 'objective' assessment of policy or planning effectiveness that demands conformity of operational decisions, implementation processes, and concrete results with the intentions expressed in policies and plans does not suffice for full and comprehensive evaluation. 'Subjective' evaluation took uncertainty into account that must be done in the light of the actual planner's ex ante knowledge and information; some plans fail one test, but pass the other; the tests are complementary (Alexander and Faludi, 1989).

With reference to performance-based evaluation, Faludi (2000) and Mastop and Faludi (1997 cited in Oliveira and Pinho, 2010) sustain that strategic plan (SDF and SADP in our case) – as opposed to project plans – should provide a frame of reference for operational decisions, and do not necessarily have to produce direct impacts on the physical development process. Performance-based evaluation insists that planning is a process of decision making under conditions of uncertainty. As long as the outcomes are beneficial (in light of the general objectives and intentions of the plan), departures from previous plans may be considered acceptable (Tong and Zhang *2016*).

The case study plans of Addis Ababa that exhibit the nature of strategic plan, and the uncertainty and volatility of the institutional and legal conditions of the city demand performance evaluation from the very inherent traits of the plans and the context. The strategic structure plan of Addis

Ababa recommended the use of plan not simply as a blueprint but also as a guiding instrument for decision making process by incorporating SDF and SDAP and flexibility in mixed land use.

Both conformance (objective) and performance (subjective) evaluations were strengthened by the experience of the researcher in the preparations and implementations of both plans. Reflection-in-action (Schön, 1983; Visser, W., 2010) complemented this subjective evaluation.

Qualitative and quantitative approach

Generally, a qualitative method (opinions and judgements) with some degree of quantitative (measurable facts) method is used. Qualitative method is holistic and provided an opportunity to understand a comprehensive view of the context of the study (Janesick, 2011 cited in Kitur, 2019). The extent to which plans were implemented may be quantified, but plan quality and the influence of institutional and land management factors on implementation could only be obtained and understood qualitatively. Qualitative researchers examine relationships in a system and provide an understanding of the social setting rather than predicting and controlling. Findings from qualitative studies, when well-analyzed, are far more convincing to policymakers, researchers, and practitioners than large volumes of quantitative data (Miles et al., 2014 in Kitur, 2019).

Qualitative methods are often used in evaluations because they tell the program's story by capturing and communicating the participants' stories. Evaluation case studies have all the elements of a good story. They tell what happened, when, to whom, and with what consequences (Patton, 2002). Triangulation method has been applied where qualitative data is used in combination with quantitative data, to counteract the weaknesses in both qualitative and quantitative research (Dawson, C. 2002). Triangulation, the combination of different levels of techniques (documents review, observation and interviews), methods, strategies, or theories, provides an important way of ensuring the validity of case study research (Johansson 2003).

Protocols for plan evaluation design

Before going into assessment of the city's planning practice, an assessment of existing literature has been made looking for contemporary theory and practice that could help develop criteria for plan evaluations. Elements of plan quality, and influencing context are the criteria components for evaluation of the plans. To confirm the validity of the first question, representative data previously collected from experience and documents were assessed as part of literature review and background to the study (chapters 2 and 3). The findings showed that there were many examples of plan and outcome mismatches mainly manifested spatially and also institutionally.

The first question investigates how spatial plan conformed or performed with implementation outcomes. The sub-subjects in the first question were Addis Ababa's spatial plan five strategic components as independent/fixed variables and implementation outcomes as dependent variables. The five strategic components of the AACDP plan were centrality, housing, transport and road, manufacturing industries, and environment. These were the major spatial plan components and key evidence to show the plan's implementation. City centers consisting of major urban services, business and administrative functions are connected to each other and to residential areas by radial and ring transport system. Residential functions, in addition to their major land use coverage, are connected to manufacturing industries by transport system. Manufacturing industries were considered as economic growth and employment generation backbone of the city. Environmental issues were given consideration in meeting clean and livable city goal of the plan and as an overarching issue in all other sectors, particularly in transport system and manufacturing.

The second question dealt with the impact of plan quality, land management and institutional set up on plan implementation. Spatial plan quality is the measure of the plan document and factors inherent in the plan itself that influence implementation of the plan. It could be generally defined as the degree of excellence of the plan measured in terms of the level of the plan's impact on the ground in meeting its desired goals and objectives. Urban planning qualities are also concerned with the qualities of the planning process. But here, quality is mainly concerned with the plan document rather than the process, except for participation, as stated in the scope part of the introduction chapter.

One key methodological issue in dealing with the second question is to identify plan quality measures. Critical components, indicators or core characteristics are of paramount importance to measure and evaluate plan quality (Brody, 2003; and Gordon, 2002 in Oliveira and Pinho, 2010). As noted by Baer (2007) plan quality is difficult to define posing more challenge for plan evaluation. The planning literature is surprisingly narrow, it comes to what constitutes a good plan. The planning profession has generally avoided this normative question and focused instead on the methods and processes of plan making (Berke and French 1994, 237-8 in Baer, 2007).

Each time a plan is prepared, the planners should specify the criteria by which they expect it to be evaluated (Baer, 2007). Prepared plans usually lack this important component that could have provided the major yardsticks for plan evaluation. Though not explicit in the AACDP and Marcato LDP, there were some implicit criteria stated as guidelines/principles: participation, flexibility, mixed use and implementation strategies for example. The appropriate criteria to evaluate a plan are implicit in the concept that the plan embodies (Baer, 2007). Some of the major criteria developed by Baer (2007) were coherence**,** guidance for implementation, quality of communication, public participation and flexibility. In defining plan quality for the purpose of this

research, these measures were considered as criteria of evaluation. Comprehensiveness/completeness is also taken as an additional plan quality measure considering the synoptic nature of the city's plans. Accordingly, six plan quality measures were identified and used in evaluating the city plan quality.

Comprehensiveness or Completeness is the quality of plan to consider the major urban development issues (socioeconomic, spatial, environmental) and consideration of wider city context (regional and hinterland).

Consistency or coherence is the presence of conformity and harmony between proposals of different thematic issues expressed in maps and reports, for example. Internal coherence corresponds to a robustness analysis of the linkages between the main parts of the urban plan and between different documents of a thematic issue.

Clarity is the measure of understandability and ease of communicability of the plan documents in terms of the language and simplicity of expression and explanation of issues in the reports and maps.

Participation is the engagement of key stakeholders believed to influence (influenced by) the plan outcome during planning and implementation. Participation was considered as an important trait to improve plan quality for it ensures inclusion of critically important plan components that facilitates ease of implementation.

Flexibility is the quality of the provisions in the plan documents allowing rooms for adaptation and maneuvering decisions as far as the general objectives and orientation of the plan goals are respected. Special focus is also on safeguarding environmental and infrastructure components of the plan. Flexibility is a trait of a plan to be broad enough to adjust to changing environments to meet the future challenges and uncertainties.

Adequacy of implementation tools and strategies is related to the SDF and SDAP as well as other tools such as institutional and legal recommendations and the level to which they provide grounds for implementing the proposals of the structure plan.

Another key methodological issue with the second question was identification of the measure of land management and institutional set up. In the second question, the independent variables were the same plan sub-subjects whereas the outcomes were independent variables. The second question required understanding of not only the interaction between plan and its implementation but also how land and institutional set up affected this interaction under political and cultural contexts. Land management was investigated in terms of formal and informal land

allocation within a leasing system whereas institutional set up was investigated in terms of capacity, coordination, decentralization, participation and monitoring and evaluation, all assessed and discussed in the preceding chapters (2 and 3). Understanding the contribution of plan quality, land and institutional setup to the conformance and performance of plans is believed to contribute to existing knowledge to improve the overall planning system in cities like Addis Ababa.

Selection of Cases

Once the case study approach is selected as a major approach, the next task is the design of selection of cases, data identification (Figures 19, 20 and 21), data types, data collection instruments and data collection and analysis.

Seen in light of the criteria discussed above, the three most recent city master plans are the only plans (among the ten plans the city had in its 135 years life) that were legally endorsed with proclamations. Moreover, they had been in force during the last three decades when the city has shown extensive physical growth horizontally (within 54,000 hectares)[19] and vertically (from a dominantly single floor and few multistorey of maximum twelve floors to skyscrapers of more than 50 storeys). There are clear traces and evidence of these plans on the ground, designed and implemented in different political, policy and socioeconomic contexts. Moreover, the changing land policies, rapidly changing institutional arrangements, practical and theoretical knowledge of the researcher on the three plans and the relative availability of data made these three plans qualify for cases.

AACDP of 2003 was the most implemented master plan (consuming the full ten years implementation period) with clear evidence of physical changes on the ground. It also influenced the city's (and regional cities') overall planning practice and reform programs. As noted in chapter 3, it came in the transition between the command and free market economic policies following change of government in 1991. Moreover, considering the time constraint, and the need to focus and go in depth, the AACDP of 2003 was selected as the most plausible case. The other two have already been reviewed adequately as backgrounds to give the city's planning practice plausible context (chapter 3).

Mercato LDP, was prepared based on the AACDP framework and as an implementation tool of the master plan centrality component. As the city's historical market and business center,

[19] This may not be confused with the city's administrative size. The city's administrative size was much more than this with its rural woredas before 1991. The city's administrative boundary was limited to the city size of 54,000 ha leaving out the rural woredas and towns following the establishment of regional states.

Mercato represents the city's centralities and has seen the full implementation period of its ten years legal validity. Mercato LDP served as a unit of analysis manifesting implementation of the master plan using detailed and localized tools.

Implementation level, attention and budget assigned, heavy engagement of the merchants in the planning and implementation process, the in-situ redevelopment process, were also additional criteria for Mercato's selection as unit of analysis. It links with contexts, policies, events, rules and regulations over a period of time since the preparation of the LDP by ORAAMP. Now observing that the result of participation of merchants has shown some fruit, it was found timely to check and see outcomes of those participatory processes and replicate the learnings from the case study. Mercato's seemingly losing its role of urban centrality due to growth of decentralized centers also calls for assessing this aspect and its influence on the city structure.

The research questions of plan implementation and their relations with plan quality, land management and institutional set up are best investigated with recent practices having fresh and live memories on the ground and having adequate data. The case studies suited to comfortably answer the research questions demonstrating how spatial plans conform with reality after implementation and how plan quality, land management and institutional set up affected this relationship and the plan outcome.

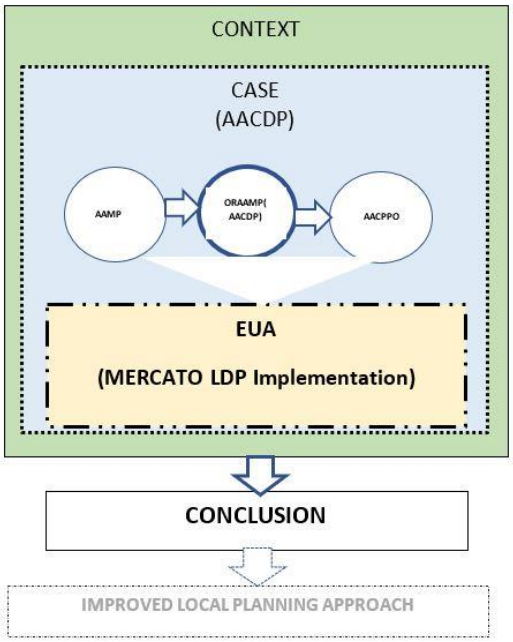

Figure 19. Context, case and embedded unit of analysis relations, modified and adopted from Cosmos Corporation in Yin. R., 2003

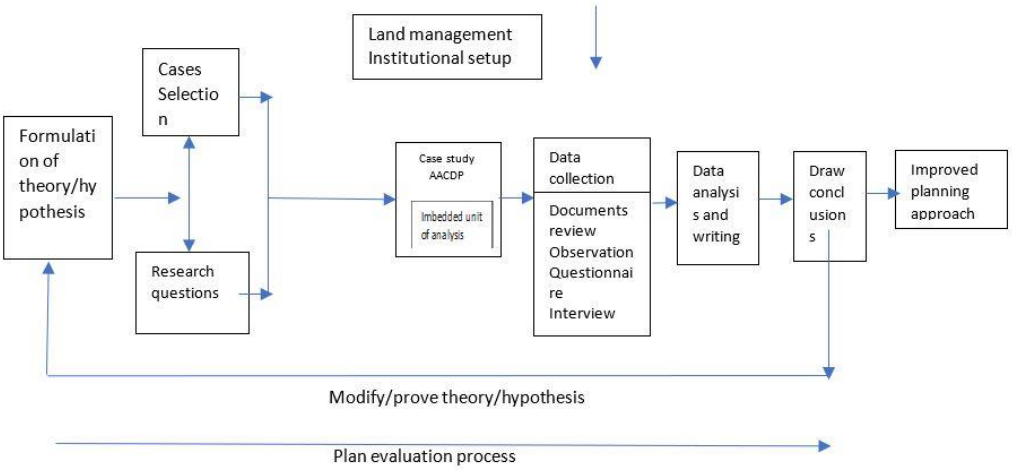

Figure 20. Stages involved in conducting case studies, adopted from Noor, 2008

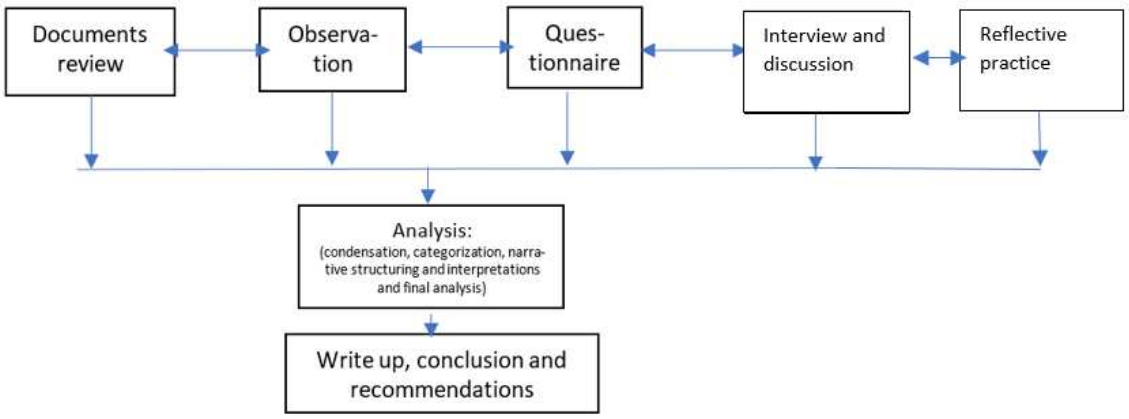

Figure 21. Data collection process

4.3. The method: data collection and organization

The overall data collection process was framed by the two major research questions and the hypothesis to keep on track as data collection proceeded (Figure 21). Though review of literature and pertinent planning and implementation documents started earlier, there has been continued iteration between interviews, case observations and documents and literature reviews throughout the study. As an independent PhD researcher without institutional affiliation, arrangements were made with EiABC who provided forum for peer review of the study with PhD candidates at different European and African universities. The EiABC also cooperated to provide supporting letters that enabled conducting interviews and physical data collection by observation and to access official documents.

The following five research instruments were used to collect the relevant data.

- documents' review
- observation

- questionnaires
- interview
- reflective practice of the researcher (personal experience with the subject).

The necessary data needed to answer these questions were identified along with their sources.

Documents' review

The major objective of the investigation was to understand the extent to which spatial plans were implemented and investigate how plan quality, land management and institutional setup affected this implementation as a way of improving planning practice. For this it has been found vital to review the plan documents as primary source to understand its contents and its qualities. The institutional and land management context under which the plans were prepared and implemented could also be gained from policy and legal documents as well as reports of the then practices.

The purpose of documents review was to gain understanding of the prepared case studies plans, to evaluate the quality of the plans by reading through the plan documents and understand the implementation strategies and tools practiced. Official documents of the then project office (ORAAMP) and Bureau of Works and Urban Development provided data mainly on the prepared plans whereas land administration and planning institute and other sectoral offices provided insightful information on implementation process: whether the implementation procedures adhered to the plans' suggestions; whether the plans were used for decision making process; and whether there were overt or covert interferences out of vested interests during implementation, etc.

Comparison of the land use structure plan map of 2003 (Figure 23) with the existing land use map of 2013 to see the changes that happened in land use helped identify major areas of conformances and mismatches.

Additional data were captured from documents review from different sources, government institutions, the media and different websites on the internet. Downloading google earth satellite imagery also gave additional support for cross checking data. As the researcher was head of the AACDP and Mercato LDP projects from inception to finalization and adoption; head of Infrastructure and Construction Authority (one of the key implementing agencies in the immediate aftermath of the plan adoption), and head of AACPPO, personal archives also supplemented to fill the documents data gaps.

Observation

One of the primary data collection techniques was observation as the main focus of the study was on the physical changes that occurred in conformance or otherwise with the plans. Documents review has been followed by field survey to observe the level of implementation of the strategic components of the plans. The identified major conformances and mismatches were checked on site and notes taken. Observation generated insight and better understanding on the phenomenon under study (Noor K. 2008). Here the researcher observed phenomena of interest (socioeconomic, mobility, interactions, etc.) in the environment to draw information which was not obtainable from the other two methods - documents review and interviews.

For the embedded unit of analysis, Mercato LDP, after having the overall impression of the LDP proposals, a general reconnaissance survey to the area was made to feel the overall development and level of implementation. This was followed by a closer observation to draw detail account of the phenomena in selected areas correlating the plan land use functions, street network, building heights, the overall spatial design and development pattern with condition on the ground to check conformity or otherwise.

Spatial, socioeconomic and central role transformation of Mercato was also observed. The techniques used in the field observation were, taking notes and sketches on paper, taking pictures and understanding the overall situation. To collect the necessary primary data through observation, a number of field works were conducted as the study went on. The presence of the researcher in the city for most of the research period has also facilitated additional opportunity to go into the field as deemed necessary which benefited the research.

Questionnaires

The purpose of questionnaires was to gain more insight into the research strengthening the learnings from documents reviewed and from field observation using triangulation method. It served to balance potential bias and subjectivism arising from the researcher (due to his engagement in drafting and implementation of the plans) during interpretation of data findings obtained from other techniques.

12 planning criteria (Appendix 6) were thus developed in the two key stages of planning (plan quality and implementation) making critical questions at each planning stage. These were sent to 28 (the size was made intentionally large as some failed to respond, as expected, due to various reasons) potential respondents of whom 18 responded (Table 1). Respondents were selected based on their professional areas of expertise (multiple professional background) and

experience (during planning and implementation). Respondents' engagement and or closeness to the plans and implementation was necessary not only to get adequate information and opinions, but also to balance the potential bias arising from the researcher.

Semi-structured questionnaires were chosen because they gave sufficient flexibility to approach different respondents differently while still covering the same areas of data collection. As Neuman (2000 cited in Seasons, 2008) noted, open questions proved to be effective means of generating a variety of responses representing differing perspectives to a standard list of questions. Questionnaires were developed to answer the research questions in relation to the specific planning stage. The questions developed at each planning stage were specific and closed and/or open as the case may be, expecting the respondent to give his/her judgment of the situation. The closed questions helped respondents to give specific and concrete response whereas the open-ended questions at the end of each planning phase allowed the respondent to provide wide and unlimited suggestions and opinions on the topic. Responses to the questionnaires were then organized and recorded (Appendix 7).

Table 1. Respondents to questionnaires and interviews

Group of respondents to questioners and interviews.	**Number of respondents to questionnaires**	**Number of interviewees**
Participants on plan preparation	9	3
Plan implementers	8	3
Policy makers	1	2
Academicians	1	4
Media		1
Merchants		2
Total	18*	12*

N.B: * individual figures do not sum up to the total as there were some who belonged to more than one group.

Interviews

The primary research method comprises structured, open-ended interviews that permitted comparison and contrast of perspectives from different participants (Weiss, 1998 cited in Seasons, 2012). Based on the learnings from documents review, observation and questionnaires, design of interview questions, identification of potential interviewees and areas of in-depth discussion were made based on the major research questions.

The purpose of interviews was to gain more insight into the research strengthening the learnings from the other research instruments - documents reviewed, field observation and questionnaires - using triangulation method. The interview technique was designed to get more in-depth information mainly where the questionnaires answers were not satisfactory due to the nature of the questionnaires format (structured or semi structured and happening without physical communication between the researcher and the respondents). The interview technique filled this gap by allowing the researcher to talk to the respondent face to face and to go into more detailed questions based on preceding responses by the respondent.

Face to face interview was made with 13 participants (having repeated meetings with some of them) to gain more understanding on the same but extended and detailed questions. Major questions were developed in the form of a general statement which were then followed by a sequence of sub-questions for further probing (Noor, 2008). The leading interview questions were similar to the ones developed for questionnaires. Respondents background is presented in Table 1 and Appendix 5.

As most interviewees were related to the cases as participant planners, or as implementers or key stakeholders in the process of planning and implementation, the technique also served to balance the researcher's potential bias in the interpretation of data findings from the other methods. In the selection of interview respondents (just as in the case of questionnaire), attempt has been made to have multiple professional mix and roles, both from the public and the private (architects and physical planners, socio-economists, lawyers, city managers, policy makers, developers and investors) to have wide range of reflections and opinions to answer the research questions adequately.

Reflective practice - researcher's personal experience

Finally, the researcher was also an important and indispensable instrument particularly in qualitative study. The researcher was central and the main instrument in case study and qualitative research (Darlington, Y., and Scott, D., 2002; Kvale 1996 in Terefe, 2005). The

personal experiences and encounters of the researcher during plan preparation and implementation, as head of such agencies could not have been gained by the other research instruments stated above. Some of the qualitative data are either not documented or even difficult to document (expressions, psychological and emotional feelings of participant at the time of plan preparation and implementation) and can only be gained from reflections, descriptions and discussions of the researcher himself. Reflection-in-action is the reflective form of knowing-in-action, in practice most of which is tacit (Visser, W., 2010).

Attempt has been made to minimize the potential bias, but not all limitations are avoidable. The limitation of accuracy of instrument is not unique to the researcher though. Any other research instrument has limitations of one kind or another.

4.4. Final data analysis and writing of case study report

The data collection used mixed techniques. It is thus logical to use mixed techniques for the analysis. Investigation of plan quality parameters relied on mapping analysis. Condensation, categorization, narrative structuring suggested by Kvale (1996 in Heyaw, 2005) were used for data collected through interviews, questionnaires as well as from relevant reports and observation. To understand the level of implementation of plans and the impacts of the influencing factors, correlation analysis and causal analysis suggested by Kothari (2004) have been used. Triangulation technique was also used to cross check between data collected using different techniques. Plans for communicating findings of the research to audiences in order to fulfill the research purposes were also made finally (Ridenour and Newman, 2008).

Chapter 5. Case Study 1: AACDP

The following two chapters present two case studies to give empirical evidences to answer the research questions: to what extent did plans conform with reality on the ground and how plan quality, land management and institutional setup influenced plan implementation outcomes. This chapter is dedicated to AACDP to show the citywide impact of spatial planning. To answer the research questions, conformance/performance of the plan documents of the five strategic themes were checked against implementation outcomes to test conformance. Also, how the plan quality, land management and institutional setup influenced this conformance/nonconformance/performance was investigated.

5.1. Introduction: Project profile

Context: The Addis Ababa City Development Plan (AACDP) was prepared during the 2000-2003 period in a context of quasi-free market economy, of growing urban poverty, high level of unemployment, a weakened economy and low institutional capacity at both national and local levels under a new political system of ethnic federalism[20]. There was an overall change from the AAMPPO period: political (from socialist unitary to federal system) and development ideology (from centralized command to free market); institutional setting (from centralized to decentralized system); urban and rural policy and spatial strategies (from wider national and regional to city level specific agenda). The basic land policy nevertheless, remained the same - public property. Addis Ababa shrunk in physical size losing its rural areas to Oromia National Regional State and as a result, the city had to be limited to its core urban boundary. The city's regional state status was short-lived (1991 to 1995) and it later became an organ of the federal government (Constitutional Proclamation 1/1995).

The plan initiation and objectives: The AACDP was the revised version of its predecessor (AAMPPO's plan of 1986). Addis Ababa City Administration initiated the revision task under the general guideline of the new policy and government structure by establishing a project office (ORAAMP)[21] in 1999 and organizing local professional teams and managers. Support of

[20] According to Article 46, regional states are established by nations, nationalities and peoples on the basis of settlement patterns, language, identity and consent of the peoples concerned.

[21] The Addis Ababa City Government assigned project manager in December 1999 affirming the establishment of the project office, ORAAMP.

expatiates from GTZ (later GIZ) and LTPA (Lyon Town Planning Agency)[22] was attained to advice and contribute to the methodological and technical aspects affirming approach of planning. AACDP was the first plan to be fully managed and led by the city administration using local staff and available institutional devices. The spatial and physical scope was limited to the city domain as defined by AAMPPO plan and endorsed by the Constitution (Proclamation No.1/1995).

Concepts, principles and guidelines: The plan retained the major land uses and city structure of AAMPPO plan leaving out the regional and metropolitan plans[23], but attempted to retain the urban-rural interaction and exchange within the metropolitan area merely at the conceptual level.

The plan aimed at creating a safe and livable city, center for national economic growth and Africa's diplomatic capital. The main planning concepts and principles were: a shift from blue print master planning to strategic structure planning (participation in planning to take center stage); a shift towards a polycentric compact city development; a mixed land use development; understanding planning and implementation as continuous and dynamic process; maintaining the dual features of the city (modern and traditional) in economic, physical and social terms and ensuring urban-rural and urban-urban harmony within the metropolitan area. In search of increased effectiveness, a hybrid approach termed as *structural and action oriented strategic planning* was adopted (Mathewos A., et al, 2010).

The plan was meant to be a visionary plan and a plan as a land use guide. Its vision was to ensure a safe and livable city for residents (expected to reach 3.75 million from the then 2.5 million in 10 years' time), an effective center for national economic growth, and fulfilling conditions to effectively work as Africa's diplomatic capital. The plan was also considered as a remedy plan to solve some of the city flaring problems such as housing, employment, sanitation, transport, governance, heritage and environment.

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[22] The GTZ role was mainly focused on the governance and institutional components (advising the project on management issues, devising different governance models, and providing capacity building assistance in the form of training and supply of related technical assistance) and low coast housing. LTPA's role was more on the physical planning introducing flexible and permissive land use structure planning approaches. Both German and French sides sustained technical and financial assistance to implementing institutions in the implementation of the master plan. GTZ support to the IHDP and Cobble Stone Project and the French to BRT and regional planning conceptualization were notable cases.

[23]This is merely to conform with the legal administrative framework. The plan attempted to consider the urban-regional interaction with urban-rural and urban-urban exchanges within the regional urban system and beyond.

Plan preparation process (Figure 22): After organizing itself with the critical mass of multidisciplinary professionals (architects, town planners, engineers, economists, sociologists, geographers, environmentalists, and the supporting staff) the project office developed a TOR for the preparation of the master plan in consultation with key stakeholders at the municipality (mainly the Works and Urban Development Bureau) and the National Urban Planning Institute (NUPI). After extensively reviewing the AAMPPO plan's concepts and approaches and outputs, it had attempted to build on the strengths and fill the flaws of its predecessor.

Visioning workshops were conducted where key stakeholders were identified from the universities, chamber of commerce, NGOs and key personalities. The identification of stakeholders was made through discussions of the project office professionals in consultation with the BWUD. The supervisory board, the Technical Advisory Committee (TAC) and the public discussion *fora* were tools through which participatory process was facilitated. Public participation was also practiced through workshops and public conferences (more than 150 workshops and conferences were conducted) for visioning, identification of key city problems and proposals developments during the full plan preparation process. During LDP preparations local residents and those directly affected by the project were made to participate. The Addis Ababa Public Forum and Exhibition of May 2000, the Addis 21 Conference held in December 2000 at ECA, Exhibition and conference of 2002 constituted the main landmarks of broad public participation in the planning process (Mathewos B., et al, 2010).

The supervisory board and the TAC were also serving as monitoring and evaluation teams during the plan preparation process. Their contribution was to give feedbacks to the planning team to improve focus and quality of tasks. Internal integration and coordination were ensured by creating study teams and conducting weekly deliberations and discussions on each draft material of the thematic issue produced by each team.

Though attempts were made to include the region/hinterland study (similar to the metropolitan region of AAMPPO master plan) in integration with Addis Ababa, this could not go far due to the federal regional structure and the political frictions that arose in the pretext of safeguarding the farmers' rights. The integration idea was contested by the Oromia Regional State in fear of the city's potential expansion beyond its borders in the name of an integrated plan.

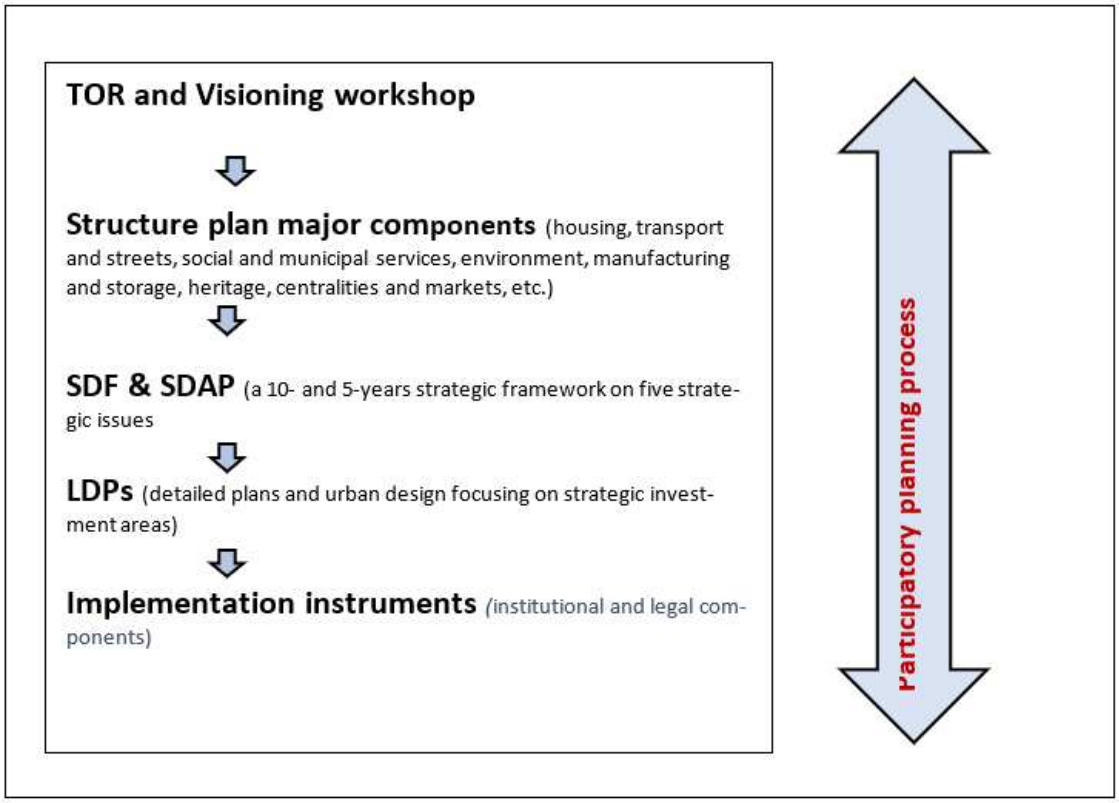

Figure 22. AACDP preparation process

5.2. The plan outputs

The Structure plan: The statutory structure plan (Figure 23) provided a regulatory framework (Proclamation No 86/2004) for the development of the city. Clear objectives were set for thematic issues (centrality, housing, transport and streets, manufacturing and warehouses, environment social and municipal services, administrative, sport and recreational facilities). The structure plan comprised a general framework for infrastructure development and for investment, based on the spatial organization of the main elements as well as legal and

regulatory provisions for planning and building. By avoiding land use details, the Master Plan was made less expensive, less complex, and more flexible. The land use plan showed how different components of the structure plan support and depend on each other in order to bring the envisaged urban development (ORAAMP, 2002).

The Strategic plan: The strategic plan included a ten years strategic development framework (SDF) and a five-year strategic development action plan (SDAP). The strategic plan was an implementation tool of the long-term structure plan describing key strategic development issues identified based on the city's development priority policy and investment capacity. The identified key strategic thematic issues were: centrality, housing, road and transport, environment and manufacturing industry; and targets to be met on these issues within five and ten years were set. Implementation instruments such as the resource needed (financial and human), the institutional arrangements and coordination, the legal requirements, etc., were also included in the strategic plans.

Local Development Plan (LDP): Local development plans were detailed plans on strategic investment areas where investment – particularly public investment - should be targeted. Preparation of LDPs was to follow the 5-and 10-year strategic plan development sequence and priorities. The local development plans were also expected to be accompanied by legal notice.

The structure plan being approved in May 2004, the evaluation is mainly based on the implementation of the plan during the ten years period as of May 2004.

5.3. Plan conformance and nonconformance and influencing factors

This subchapter deals with evaluation of the plan quality and its implementation on the conformances/nonconformances, and performances discussed above. The quality of plan as a document is measured by its consistency and coherence, comprehensiveness, clarity of the documents, participation level in the production of the plan, adequacy of implementation tools and level of flexibility. These were plan quality measures that influenced the level of implementability of plans. Plan implementation was also measured by the level of influence institutional frameworks and land management had in impacting conformance and performance of plan. Surveys conducted on plan quality and implementation were based on these plan quality and implementation measurements.

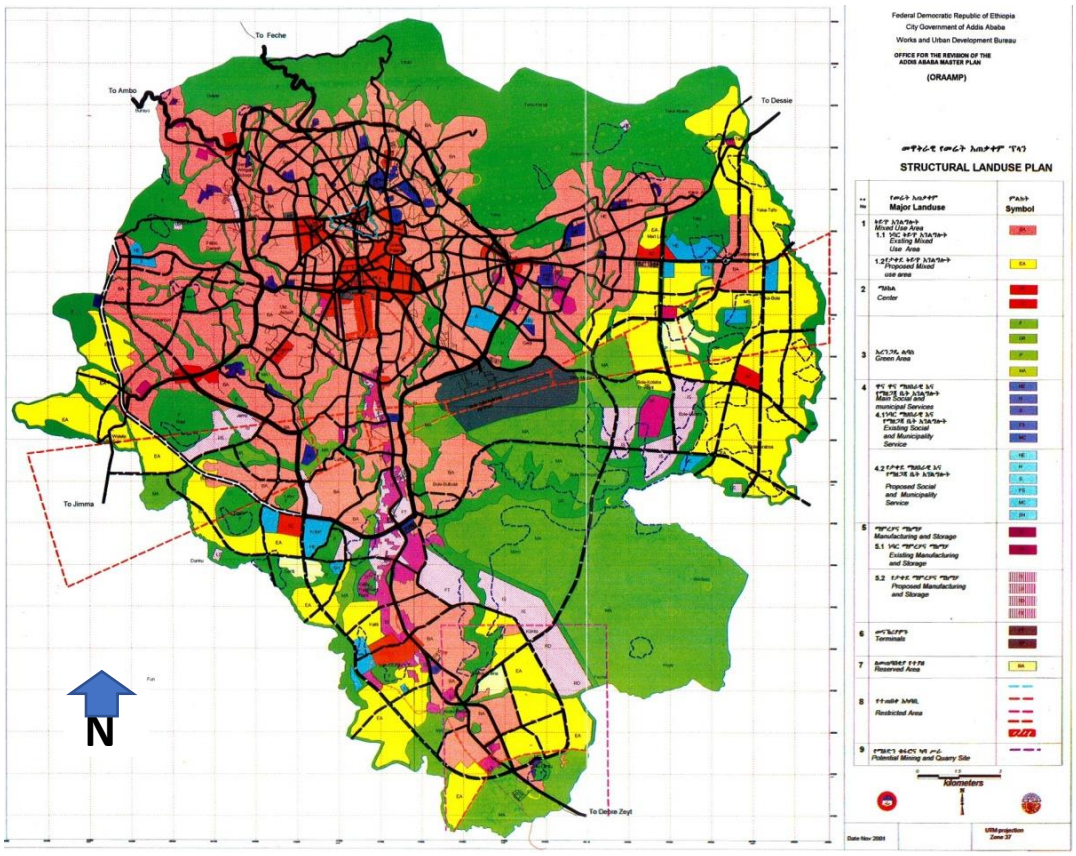

Figure 23. AACDP Structure plan
Source: ORAAMP, 2002

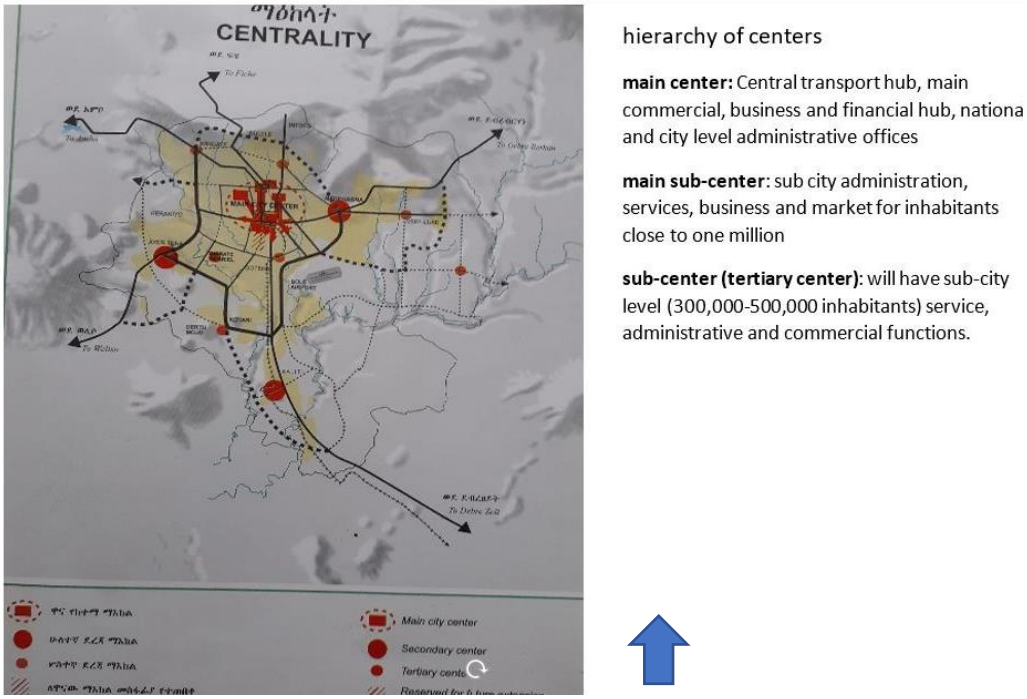

Figure 24. Hierarchy of centers

5.3.1. Centrality

The objective of the centrality component of the plan (Figure 24) was to create a three-tier polycentric development: strong main center (to cater services of high standard at city, national and international level), three main sub-centers (intermediates between the main center and sub-centers, usually serving a population of about one million) and six sub centers (serving primarily the sub city population of 300,000 to 500,000). Hierarchically organized, polycentric development was expected to increase accessibility of activities and services, bring balanced city growth, relieve pressure from main center. The plan's compact city development concept was to be practiced in these centers as per their hierarchy. For a lively urban environment, residential functions were to have a significant share in the centers with the concept of compact mixed land use.

Key conformance areas

The main intervention areas proposed by the plan and for which LDPs were prepared were Mercato, Kazanchis, Sengatera, Churchil Avenue, Piazza and Megenagna centers. Though the structure plan defined maximum building heights for most of the city areas, there was no limit for city centers and strategic investment areas. For city center areas the height of buildings was defined by the LDPs. Accordingly, a number of high-rise buildings have come up in Kazanchis, Legehare, Churchil Avenue, National Theatre, Sengatera and Mexico (Figures 25) areas, all located within the CBD. In these areas, except Mercato, the building heights conform with the plans.

In Kazanchis, almost all of the proposals have been implemented west of the Intercontinental-Yordanos Hotels axis. Hotels, mixed commercial buildings, residential apartments were built in conformance with the LDP in terms of functions and building height. The green park long Kurtume River, between ECA and St. Estiphanos Church has also been implemented according to the plan.

A number of mixed commercial buildings, taxi and bus terminals have been built in Megenagna in accordance with the proposals. More than 80% of the tertiary center in Bisrate Gebriel area was implemented. The structures are mainly for hotels, mixed businesses, residential apartments and leisure.

Key nonconformance areas:

In Kazanchis the eastern part of the Intercontinental-Yordanos Hotels axis was proposed for commercial development similar to the western wing. No development happened on this part except the extension for Yordanos Hotel and site clearance of some parts. Megenagna's overall implementation was very low, only about 40%. Yeka sub city office was built on mixed residential plot while Bole sub city office was built on plots reserved for green park and commercial functions in Megenagna city center.

Upgrading strategies were sought alongside renewal in Sengatera, Mercato, etc. But none of these occurred in either site. Open and green public spaces recommended in the centers are missing from developed city centers (for example, Mercato, Kazanchis, Megenagna and Bisrate Gebriel).

Though many LDPs were prepared to ease implementation of the structure plan, implementation was conducted without adequate reference to the LDPs prepared. As per a rapid assessment conducted by AAPCO (2018), out of 227 “LDPs”, only 4 (<2%) were fully implemented and 29 (13%) were partially implemented. 78 (34%) were never implemented whereas the rest 116 (51%) saw very little implementation.

Key performance areas: One key fully implemented renewal project in the city central areas is Lideta that was launched as a renewal project. The land use proposal on the structure plan was for mixed residential use. An LDP was prepared and implemented though it was not in the SIAs list. Its implementation was an exception in terms of implementation efficiency (completed in 5 years' time), mixed use (commercial, condominiums and private residential estates were permitted) and provision of green open spaces. There was relocation of most residents and small businesses, but those who could afford to construct 2-3 story residential villas managed to stay. Though this was not fully in line with the proposals of the structure plan in terms of phasing (it was not in the SDF), it was in line with the overall intention of the structure plan proposal of mixed-use development. Reference was made to the structure plan respecting the overall mixed land use, and the street network, provision of green spaces, etc. We could therefore say the plan performed.

There are areas where there was ample vacant land (tertiary center of Bisrate Gabriel, Gurd Shola and Bole Medhanealem areas having) and development flourished creating new centers not foreseen by the master plan. Land was parceled and allotted without prior preparation of an LDP except in Bisrate Gabriel. Gurd Shola and Bole Medhanealem areas were meant for mixed residence as per the Structure Plan land use, but they turned commerce dominated.

Figure 25. Zemen, Hebret, Nib and Commercial Banks of Ethiopia in that order.

Influencing factors

Plan Quality: The LDMB used to recommend sites for redevelopment and LDPS are prepared accordingly with mild participation of residents and merchants on the site. Participation usually took a form of informing the public during data collection and discussion forums on the draft LDP. The LDPs were approved by the LDMB after internal discussions and implementation was launched by informing the residents and merchants as to the time period, they should leave the site. Compensations (in the form of plot of land in peripheral area and finance as a replacement for the lost structure) were granted to private property owners. Kebele residents were usually granted rental condominium flats; and merchants in public or private rentals were left without any compensation. Mercato redevelopment process was much better in terms of inclusion of merchants in the development of the area (refer to chapter 6).
The building heights regulations respected in city centers and the green parks near Stephanos could be attributed to clarity of the proposals. Yeka and Bole sub city offices building on mixed use and green spaces was because of failure of the plan to indicate the particular sites for this function.

Land management and institutional set up: Availability of vacant land was the major contributor to development of centers whether the development is in conformance or performance of the plans. When there was ample vacant land as in Bisrate Gebriel area Bole Medhanialem church area, implementation was fast. But when vacant land was scarce, as in Megenagna, implementation was heavily constrained. Absence of green spaces in Mercato, Kazanchis, etc., were also due to the land price in that particular area and the cultural thinking of values associated to green open spaces.

Failure to establish an urban development company as per the proposal was one of the core reasons for nonconformance of city center plans. It was the notion of the master plan that implementation of strategic issues in the strategic areas demanded the focus of a dedicated institution with adequate professional and leadership quality, attention and autonomy. The approach foreseen was that a public development company negotiates land acquisition from the city government, identifies and approaches potential local and international investors, conducts promotional activities for the earmarked developments and wins over private capital to develop infrastructure and superstructure based on multiple modalities (shared ownership of an establishment, delegation of managing the construction, etc.). But no legal ground was laid and the company was not established. This failure could be attributed to the lack of partnership culture between public and private bodies, weak institutional and urban management capacity on the part of the public sector, and the long developing socialist notion that the private 'acts

contrary to public interest and is not trustworthy'. The local private sector is also immature and weak in terms of capital and institutional capacity. PPP will be one of the more dynamic factors affecting future urban development. The Mercato Committee and the Chamber of Commerce negotiations with the city government on LDP preparation and implementation was a good impetus into deepening and expanding the practice had the urban development company concept been put into legal framework.

Focus on production of LDPs (227 LDPs in less than ten years discounting those for condominium housing) has diverted attention from implementation of the LDPs prepared for SIAs or city centers. Preparation of so many LDPs while their implementation level was too low was an indication of poor understanding of the relevance of such plans, implying low conceptual and technical skills of the respective institutions. Plans were made to be implemented, not otherwise. The meagre institutional capacity and resource could have been wisely used for the strategic investment areas defined where LDPs were prepared. Fair distribution of LDPs to sub cities and woredas[24] was the pretext as justification for this production; and was considered as an evaluation criterion for the performance of the Plan Institute at the end of each fiscal year.

Influence of political commitment was also seen in the implementation of some central areas developments. Lideta (though not as per the plan) and Kazanchis LDPs implementation were mainly due to the concern and commitment of the political body.

5.3.2. Housing and social integration through mixed land use

The objectives set out for housing in the master plan (Figure 26) was to provide adequate affordable and habitable residential options for all income levels and meet the housing demand of 174,000 (out of the total 350,000 housing needs) by 2010 (ORAAMP, 2003). It required efficient production and distribution of land; the promotion of affordable, incremental housing typologies; and the development of mixed land use for social integration. The strategy was to economize land, infrastructure, and services and to break away from the traditional individual plot-compound land provision that proved too expensive for the city government and majority of its residents.

As per the affordability analysis of the master plan (ORAAMP, 2002) some 80 % of the city residents belonged to the low-income class, too poor to afford the traditional formal housing. It

[24] Each sub city and woreda was expected to produce a certain number of LDPs each year. This became one of the criteria for annual performance evaluation.

was seen necessary that the typologies conform the income of the target group and their way of life through gradual and incremental development. The approach for low-income housing provision was to have blocks of parceled plots provided with the basic infrastructure (access, water, power and sewer) and allowing households to build housing units of their choice within the limits of the assigned plots using available construction materials. The occupants would be entitled to temporary land certification and would get the formal permanent certificate after a five/or ten-year time (to be negotiated with the city government) when they were expected to have raised the resource needed to build formal housing. The process thus would start partially informal (~~informal~~ construction) and partially formal (promissory note/temporary title deed for future formal title deed, plots and blocks layout as well as infrastructure provision), but gradually to reach a full formal stage after 5/10 years. This was termed formal-informal, to mean gradual formalization of the informal arrangements.

The mixed housing development concept had two features: functional mix (for example, residence with commerce, basic social services and facilities including public open spaces) and income category mix (high, medium and low-income groups) in a particular residential neighborhood to avoid segregation and ensuing social problems. The income mix was to facilitate cross-subsidy of infrastructure services and facilities. Small businesses, small scale manufacturing industries, urban agriculture, etc. were also to be mixed with residential neighborhoods to fulfill daily service and facilities demand and create job opportunities for the residents.

Condominium housing was one of the housing strategies developed by the master plan. It simply meant communal housing where structures, spaces, services and infrastructure facilities were shared. For the low income, a core house of $20m^2$ was recommended with possible extension to $30m^2$ and plot area of $75m^2$. Provision of communal spaces and services was also foreseen. As per the concept, housing blocks could be developed vertically, as well as horizontally (detached or row houses for example). It was suggested that vertical development may not be an affordable option for the low-income majority (due to higher construction and maintenance costs for the households, and for the public administration regarding infrastructure) and horizontal compact development should be presented as an alternative.

25,7, 45,20 and 3 % of the proposed land for housing was allocated for rental, real estate, individual builders through cooperatives, planned informal developments (seemingly an oxymoron), and the public housing respectively based on demand and supply capacity, affordability analysis and residents' preference (ORAAMP, 2003). In terms of housing units, it was suggested that individual builders build 64% (210,560 hu), formal-informal[25] 18% (59,220 hu.)

[25] This was a term used to symbolize formal land allocation, service and infrastructure provision while leaving house construction to settlers to their intents without any imposition of formal standards.

and government 2.6% (8,554 hu.). This was believed to give the government a leeway to focus on regulation and facilitation of infrastructure and services rather than being bogged into routine day-to-day activities. This low figure share of the government was also justified against its role to be limited to provision of shelter to the disabled poor community, orphans and the elderly.

The so called 'slum kebele houses' was considered as a unique opportunity for a specific public and innovative project. One of the plausible domains for the PPCP was in redevelopment where in-situ relocation and a win-win-cross-subsidy strategy[26] could be applied. It was assumed that the strategy would improve the urban morphology by scaling down the urban landscape division between high- and low-class residents. It was also expected to improve the sharp income range by creating enabling environment for the low income to form capital as they would have shelter over their heads, access to jobs, services and facilities. Gradual privatization of these public houses was also to help in transforming the urban image by improving the housing condition and creating spaces for public services and facilities.

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[26] Private investor gets developed central business area land, slum dwellers get improved living quarters on the apartments keeping their neighborhood and sustenance, and government collects taxes without major new administrative and infrastructure financial outlays and the burden of providing new land, and avoids public resentment.

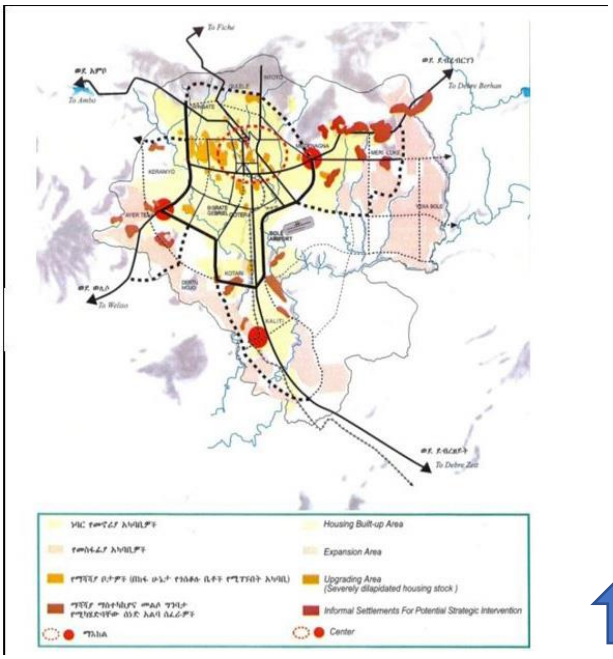


Figure 26. Housing and mixed-use areas

Table 2. Condominium residential housing mixed with shops in some neighborhoods

S.No	IHDP Sites	Number of blocks	Residential Units	Residential Units/building	Shops	Residential Units/shop
01	Iribekentu, Piasa, Arada	6	165	27.5	36	4.6
02	Balderas/Signal, Yeka (Figure 28)	57	1664	29	66	25
`03	Near Magic Carpet, Sholla Market, Yeka	7	168	24	12	14
04	Gerji Taxi terminal, Bole (Figure 28)	30	834	27.8	52	16
05	Gerji, Imperial Hotel, Bole	10	270	27	30	9
06	Gotera Site, Kirkos	73	1 962	27	228	8.6

Total		183	5063	27.7	424	12

Source: Survey data, 2010, Asfaw, et al, 2011.

Key conformance areas: The most important housing outcomes are related to IHDP, the private real estate development, individual plots (Figure 27) and informal housing developments. The condominium-housing program was endorsed by Federal and City Governments with Proclamation No. 370/2003 and Regulation No. 12/ 2004, respectively. Since the first condominium inauguration in 1996, more than 178,600 condominium housing units have been transferred to buyers through lottery system[27] by the end of 2019 (ECSP, 2020).

The program created not only housing units but also jobs and mushrooming of small construction companies and businesses (Table 2). The mixed-use strategy was applied in the city core and transitional areas where businesses and small-scale production were in high demand.

The mixed land use provision of the plan has allowed land allocation for different land uses such as residential housing, social services, small scale industries, etc. This mode of development throughout the city has been in line with the plan proposals.

Key nonconformance areas: Though remarkable achievement, the IHDP also saw some sins. The Jemo condominium housing was developed on land reserved for industries and for agriculture by the master plan (Figure 29). Condominium housing units were not accessible to most low-income groups as they were not affordable. The condominium efforts have been less effective than anticipated as the housing offered was not affordable to the 20% of the city's residents with incomes below the poverty line. As per the UN-Habitat survey results (2017), out of 1,315 study participants living in condominium housing, 41% were spending more than 30% of their household income on repayment of loans for the housing unit, illustrating the lack of affordability of this (re)housing strategy to the poor. The government's inability to deliver formal land and housing in a timely manner and in sufficient quantities has significantly contributed to the proliferation of informal housing in Addis Ababa (World Bank, 2015; UN-Habitat, 2017). According to a report by UN-Habitat (2011), between 1996 and 2003, about 34.1% of the housing supply in Addis Ababa was informal.

[27] To be eligible for the condominium lottery draw, people should have been registered in 2005 and saved at least 40% of the condominium cost that was stated during the registration period.

Vertical condominium was the only option considered whereas the plan recommended horizontal ones particularly to meet the demands of the poor community that fail to meet the requirements of the vertical condominium flats. Absence of the required services and facilities (sewerage in the earlier developments, schools, health and transport facilities), distance from the city center, etc. could be noted as nonconformance. The LDPS did have these services in their land use proposals, but they couldn't be seen on the ground.

Most large-scale condominiums were not integrated with transport and other infrastructure facilities. As per the plan, housing, particularly low-cost housing was to be in the city developed areas as infills or as redevelopment in central areas or connected to mass transport and other infrastructure facilities. Jemo and Bole Ayat sites are such examples having no sufficient integration with the existing or the proposed mass transit routes. Since most of the existing jobs are in the central built-up areas of the city, despite the decentralization efforts, most IHDP housing residents have to commute long distances of up to 30 kms round trip.

In contrast to the mixed housing concept, most real estate developments have the effects of creating gated and segregated communities in many areas of the city, following the model of the international circuit. Gerji Jackros housing is a good example in this regard. And even the condominium housing also followed this model trying to create similar gated communities. The mixed land use was misinterpreted and resulted in creation of land use zones different from mixed use. Figure 30 demonstrates the problem.

The formal-informal housing proposed by the plan to solve housing problems for most low-income residents could not be applied. The renewal programs wouldn't incorporate upgrading and residential units for those relocated from the site. The private rental provision as a major area of intervention was not considered for implementation.

Key performance areas: Though there were some mismatches between the plan and the condominiums built, it has been the most notable housing delivery program during the master plan implementation. It encompassed job creation opportunities, facilitating the growth of construction industry, changing the slum image of the city and reducing the gap in income disparities between residents. IHDP produced a remarkable result with more than 100, 000 housing units by 2010. The figure has reached 178,000 by 2020 (ECSP, 2020) and these were transferred to owners on lottery basis for those who met financial requirements and other eligibility criteria. It has also created a rental housing sub-market as the owners rent out their flats having a different option for their own (living in already rented government houses at a much lower prices) or could not afford serving the bank loan and thus went for cheaper rentals in the informal slums or getting subletting options in *kebele* houses.

As noted above, though many housing provisions do not meet the conformance criteria, production of the housing units by itself has contributed to increase in the housing stock which could be considered as a positive result. Totally, 314,000 housing units were constructed in Addis Ababa since 2004 (SON and Hussien, 2017).

Public responsibility of provision for the disabled poor community and the elderly could not be provided by the government as proposed by the plan. But NGOs like Mekedonia[28] partially filled the gap where government provided land. The formal/informal housing expected to be government initiated and operated by low-income residents was reversed. It was initiated by residents and government followed later in the form of acknowledging them partly.

Figure 27. Housing and mixed-use areas

[28] Mekedonia Home for the Elderly and Mentally Disabled is an organization focused on helping the lives of the elderly and those with mental disabilities, by providing all basic services (food, clothes, shelter, hygiene facilities, medical, educational and others) to the residents in the center.

Figure 28. Condominiums at Balderas and at Gerji Taxi terminal

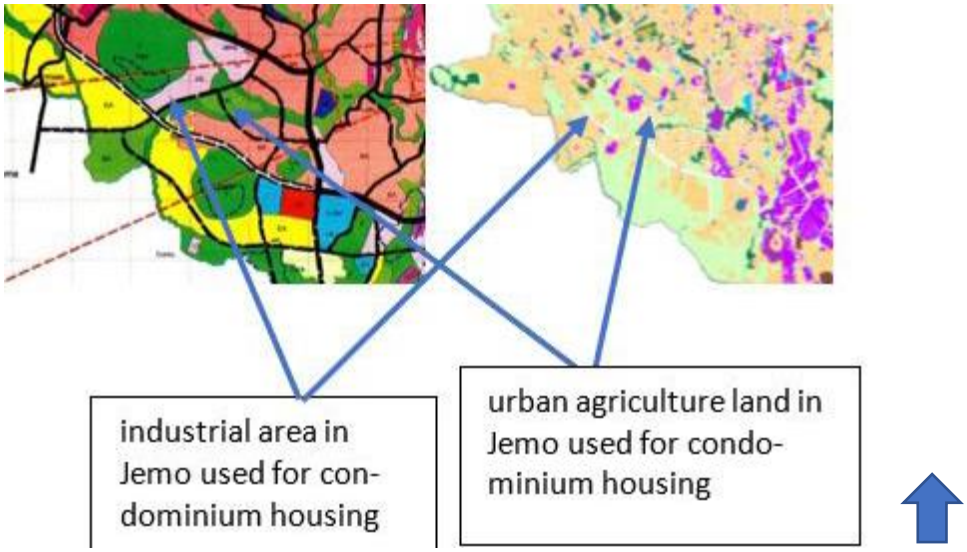
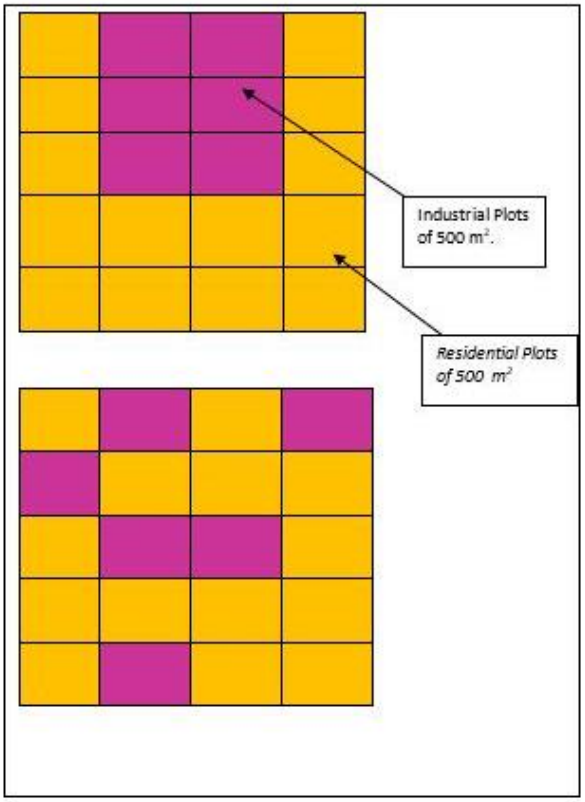


Figure 29. Jemo Condominium Housing built on land reserved for industries and agriculture



To demonstrate the mixed-use concept of the plan provision in terms of implementation we may take one provision of the plan that allows industries and warehouses not exceeding 500 m² plot of land. If a manufacturing industry of 500 m² is allowed to be mixed in a residential area (as provided by the plan) and if we take a residential area of 10,000 m², then the mixity could take the following forms:

On ten thousand sq.m. (100mx100m) plot of land there could be six or more plots of 500 m² of industrial plots making the total plot of 3,000 m² of industrial land mixed in a residential neighborhood. The 500 m² limit that was expected to control the traffic flow and use of energy and other resources was thus broken. These industries usually overconsume the power and water supplies to residential houses and there are complaints from residents of such areas. The impact is also disturbing even if they were dispersed in the neighborhood.

Figure 30. Conceptual demonstration of industrial development in mixed use areas

Influencing factors

Plan Quality: The plan budgeted about nine thousand hectares of land for housing. But this land has been consumed within five years before the planning period. This was because the plan didn't capture the full scale of the demand and hence exhibiting incompleteness in quality.

The condominium, as a new housing typology was adequately studied, justified and communicated on workshops and on the media. Adequate implementation strategy of draft law and recommended institutional arrangements were the plan quality factors that contributed to implementation of the IHDP.

Failure of the formal-informal housing could be attributed to failure to adequately clarify the subject and communicate to the public. The topic was not comprehensive enough. A paragraph in the Summary Report briefly discusses the need to reserve land for this typology, but the areas

and strategy for such development were not adequately discussed. The English language medium of the report was also additional quality affecting factor.

The mixed-use development has been enabled by the flexibility provision of the plan and the provisions of the implementation tools and strategies. But still the weakness in the plan quality had also negative results. The standards for mixed use, the ratio of mix of uses, whether the measurement was in terms of plot area or floor area or in terms of the number of a specific function to be mixed, etc., were not clearly stated. This lack of clarity and implementation strategy was the factor for poor implementation of ad hoc mixed use resulting in creation of unintended zones.

Land management and institutional setup: The success of condominium housing could be mainly attributed to the political commitment of the ruling party and the availability of ample vacant land. The government was not hesitant to proclaim regulations to allocate sufficient land and budget for IHDP and create implementing project offices in all the ten sub cities. Tax free import of construction materials such as cement, iron and sanitary fixtures as well as electrical appliances were also proof of the government's commitment. More than producing housing for the low- and middle-income residents, creation of jobs as a way of managing the then increasing unemployment in the city was also the government's goal.

It was mainly this interest that resulted in violation of land uses stated above. Absence of adequate vacant land has also led to this violation. For economy of scale and ease of management, it was found necessary to build as many housing units as possible on one site. When such space was not available in conformance with the structure plan, the decision was to go for any vacant land found as in Jemo case. The large size of condominiums that had resulted in poor social and economic mix were also the result of land scarcity and low institutional capacity to make fair distribution.

5.3.3. Road & Transport

The street network set goals for provision of efficient streets for efficient city (Figure 31). Improving the capacity of the existing road network, making walking more convenient and providing new roads were the proposed actions. To meet the stated goals, actions were proposed and evidences given on maps and reports. Streets were organized hierarchically:

arterial, sub-arterials, collectors and local streets. Arterial streets were further classified into high-speed through-traffic streets and boulevards. Collectors and locals were stated in the report bearing standards, but not presented on the land use structure plan because of the scale. It was expected that detail LDPs (as in Mercato, Kazanchis, etc.) will take care of these lower-level streets. These were streets mainly serving residential neighborhoods both for travel and access.

Improvement of the existing roads, development of short cuts (missing links), alternative routes and new expansion area networks, improvement of junctions, provision of sidewalks and pedestrian ways were also recommended. Care was taken to integrate the through-traffic streets with the national network. The overall road density was to reach 15.2 per cent from the then 9 percent of the total urbanized area.

Transport plan aimed to provide affordable transport, enhanced access and mobility by improving the performance of public transport, improving traffic management, relocating and organizing major mass transport facilities into centers and enhancing the capacity of urban transport institutions (Transport Bureau, Roads Authority, Addis Ababa traffic police, and Anbessa Bus Enterprise). Developing dedicated bus lanes and other mass transport service providers on the north-south and east west axes were also among the recommendations.

Regional bus terminals were meant to be organized hierarchically at two levels: central hub at Legehar and secondary hubs at major outlets. The secondary bus terminals were designed to supplement the central station, the historical site of the Ethio-Djibouti railway station. The central station was to serve the long-range buses taking a days or several days' travelling routes whereas the secondary stations were to serve smaller buses that commute between Addis and nearby small towns, making a minimum of a round trip travel in a day. These secondary stations were also to serve as a stopping point for the long-range buses departing from and arriving at the central station (Figure 32). The transport section of the plan also prohibits cattle movement on major streets of the city.

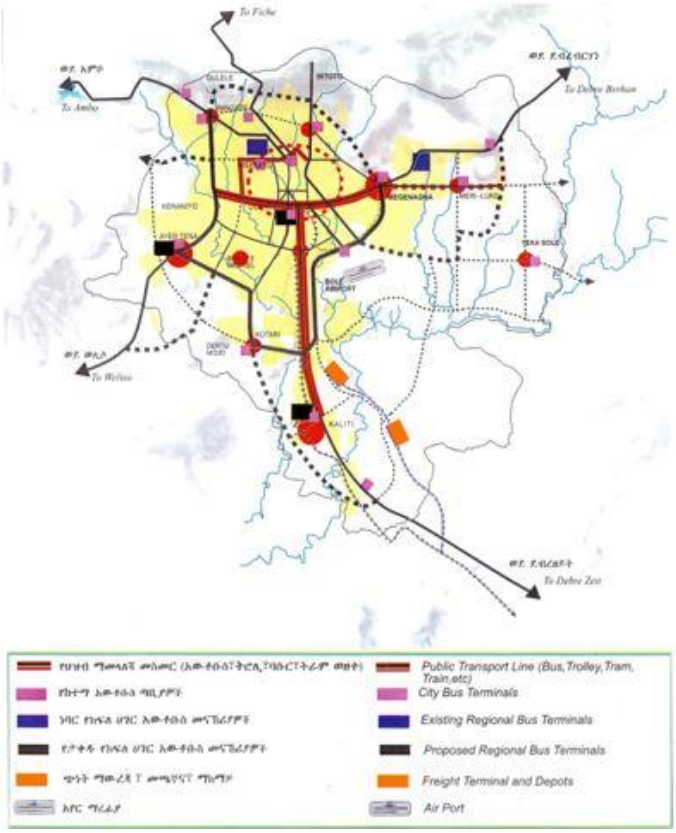


Figure 31. Streets and Transport network plan

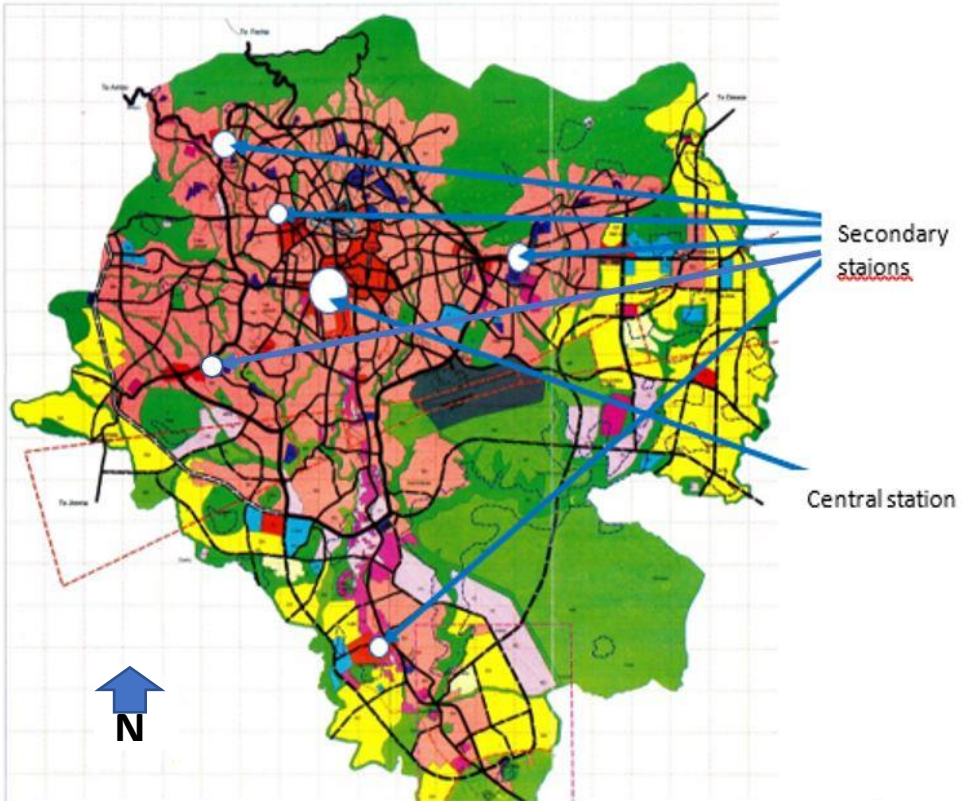


Figure 32. Distribution of regional bus terminals

Key conformance areas: Road construction was one of the major pieces of evidence exemplifying the master plan implementation. The plan objective of reaching road density (total road covered area over the total developed city surface area) of 15.2 per cent from the then 9 percent was surpassed and reached 18 per cent in 2013. Between the 1998 and 2010 period, the city's road length grew from 1360km to 3192 km (1555 asphalt and 1637 gravel) showing a 135% growth (Lyon and MATHEWOS Consult, 2010). The major road system was respected especially regarding the major trunk lines - arterials and collectors (Figure 33).

Local community also built local streets (usually with right of ways of less than 15 meters). The city government's Neighborhood Development Office (with its branch offices in sub cities and in woredas) supported poor neighborhoods in the construction of local streets and drainage lines. Some 55 kilometers of asphalt roads have been constructed through this scheme in such localities as Rwanda, around Lem-Hotel, Bisrate Gebriel, Kolfe, Gulele and around Sheger park

(EiABC, 2010). As per the report from Cobble Stone Project Coordination Office (2018)[29], close to 2,000 km of cobble stone local streets (Figure 34) had been built from 2010 to 2017.

Hereunder are shown the major achievements registered during the implementation of the transport section of the master plan.

- The administration established a new transport company named Sheger bus company (besides Anbessa) to provide similar services. This seems to have encouraged performance efficiency through competition between the two companies.
- A transport planning and traffic management unit was created within the City's Transport Bureau to study and design optimal transport solutions for the city.

- The proposed alternative outlet to the west through Kolfe and Fili Doro localities was constructed including a bridge on the Little Akaki River. But this had increased the accessibility of these localities and hence construction development mushroomed as the localities were only a short drive away from Mercato. Similar encroachment happened along the through traffic arterial road south of the airport through green areas.

Key nonconformance areas

Open spaces meant for public transport (Jemo bus and taxi terminal) were taken over for other constructions.

Contrary to the provision of the plan, all the bus stations, the long line and short line, are providing similar fleet services without consideration for hierarchy. Part of the central station site at Legehar is recently being used for hotels, and high-end residential real estate developments.

Another nonconformance area was the failure to align land use and road construction. Some major streets were built with regional highway profiles without due attention to the peculiarity of the urban setting. Some of the newly constructed roads have split levels and interchanges, dead retaining walls and highway profiles posing inconvenience to pedestrians, neglecting the landscape and street side development potentials. Biher Biheresebotch Square/Gotera (Figure 35), Megenagna-Kara road, and road junction at Summit Soft Drink Factory are such examples.

[29] The Cobble Stone Project was initiated in 2009 with the main objective of creating jobs for the unemployed youth and women enabling them create capital to get transformed to the formal sector. Increasing the city's street coverage and quality through cobble stone technology using locally available natural stone was also its goal.

There are a number of examples where streets are built against the master plan proposal. Street in Ankorcha in area of green forest land use is a good example of such violations (Figure 36).

Key performance areas: The 34 km LRT was developed along the E-W and N-S axes (Figures 37) supporting the mass transport system with a total capacity of 60-80 thousand passengers per hour. The LRT is a federal government project and is still run by a federal company. When the federal government started the project, the city was undertaking an implementation project for BRT (bus rapid transit) along the same routes. This was in line with the recommendations of the plan and the LRT choice was highly debatable. AACDP's transport section proposal was to develop BRT on the main city transport axes including east-west and north-south main axes. Based on AACDP's transport section, AACRA, in cooperation with Delhi Integrated Multi-Modal Transit System Limited prepared a feasibility and operational planning study for one of BRT corridors, B2 corridor in 2014. Construction of the corridor is ongoing integrated with the LRT as per the study. Though these were some of the indications of lack of coordination between institutions, the fact that reference was made to the master plan for operational decision making to use the corridor for LRT was proof of performance of the plan.

Decentralized regional bus terminals were established serving both long- and short-range fleets. Though not in conformance with the plan proposal, they served the purpose. Moreover, new area developments have emerged around these terminals encouraged by the market demand generated.

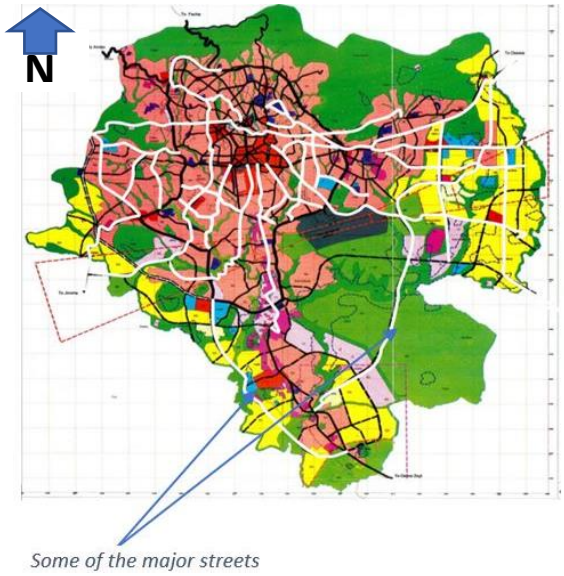


Figure 33. Some arterial streets-built

Figure 34. Cobble stone paved collectors and local streets

Figure 35. Gotera interchange

Figure 36. Street in Ankortcha in the green field

Figure 37. East-west LRT around Mexico Square

Influencing Factors

Plan Quality: The mass transport corridor on north-south and east-west axes and the arterial streets were respected on all the structure plan, the strategic plan and the LDPs showing consistency and clarity. This has contributed to ease of implementation of the proposals. Cobble stone and asphalt local streets were planned and built with participation and ownership of the local community.
Failure of the plan to adequately clarify the process of implementation of the transport and streets proposals (the streets in green areas and the centralized bus stations) and to provide adequate implementation strategies (the necessary precautions and considerations that need to be undertaken) were the major factors for the nonconformances.

Though walking constituted the largest modal share (more than 65per cent) non-motorized transport (bicycles, tricycles for the disabled, etc.) was not given adequate attention. Pedestrian walkways and associated streets problems were not adequately treated except sidewalks reservation along arterial and sub arterial streets. The streets hierarchy mainly focused on vehicular traffic showing limitations in the comprehensiveness of the considerations. Detail plans of major street and transport projects in the city used to be launched without participation of

major stakeholders. The Africa Avenue (Bole Street) project is an example. Residents, merchants and investors on the corridor were not at least consulted. The project implementation has resulted in killing businesses along the corridor, shortage of parking lots and creating difficulty for pedestrian crossing as a result of wide lanes and high vehicular speed.

Land management and institutional set up: Institutional factors of capacity coordination and decentralization were major contributors to the success of streets and transport projects. AACRA was well organized and capacitated following the city reform program and became key implementer of the city's arterial, sub arterial and collector streets networks. AAICA's role in coordinating infrastructure and land management agencies was also instrumental in integrating actions. Decentralization and coordination of duties at sub cities and woredas ensured cooperation in relocation and right of way clearances that helped smooth and fast track progress. Decentralization also enabled the local community get organized to take part in the provision and upkeep of local streets. Achievement of the 18 percent street density could only be realized with the capacity and coordination attained then. The political attention and the ideological attachment of the ruling party to infrastructure development were also at the root of the enabling environment.
Land being public property has also contributed to rapid projects implementation as far as there was political will. High land demand and supply gap was also the driving force behind land use violations as in Jemo bus and taxi terminal.

Construction of streets in green areas, problems of highway street profiles and failure to provide and upkeep the use of pedestrian walk ways, etc. was also an indication of some institutional capacity and coordination gaps. Failure to enforce the regulations in animal movement, and to manage pedestrian lanes was related to poor monitoring and evaluation.

5.3.4. Industries and Warehouses

Based on land use policies, the plan set to support economic growth and employment generation by promoting manufacturing industrial development in specific zones, minimizing industrial pollution, devising and implementing supporting policies and incentives to the sector, relocating polluting industries, warehouses and garages, particularly those on the river banks and distributed in different parts of the city, to industrial zones (Figure 38). Inner city pollutant industries were to be relocated to the industrial zones and only small-scale industries not

demanding more than 500 m^2 of land[30] were to stay mixed with other functions. The relocation to industrial zones was to enable proper mitigation and management of pollution at industrial zones (capitalizing on economy of scale and ease of management).

Enactment of industrial development policy and strategy, promotion and support to handicrafts and small-scale industries, strengthening links between large- and small-scale industries, creation of an urban development company on PPP principle, conducting environmental impact assessment (EIA) for large industries producing toxic substances, creation of policy and financial incentives (including land leasing) to the sector were additional recommendations of the plan.

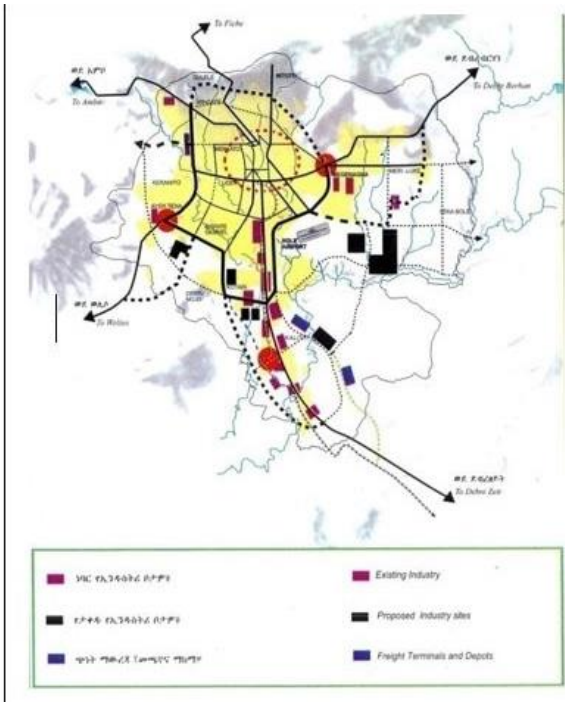


Figure 38. Industries and warehouses proposals

Figure 39. Lemi and Kilinto industrial parks

Key conformance areas: In conformance with the master plan, the following were the major outcomes. Two industrial parks have been developed at Bole Lemi (Bole Sub City) and Kilinto

30 This standard size was developed from the maximum size set for a private residential plot as per proclamation No. 64/1974.

(Akaki Kality Sub City) (Figure 39). Investors (mainly foreigners) have started producing goods, mainly shoes, in Lemi Industrial Park. The Kilinto park is undergoing completion and taking off. Kality area industrial zone, Lebu industrial zone, etc. land had been parceled and allocated to industrial developers. These are clear industrial zones and parks in adherence to the master plan proposals. The need for EIA has been put into regulations; and large-scale industrial projects submitted to the city government for land allocation had to get clearance from the Environmental Authority a priori.

There have been conducive policy and regulations providing incentives to the sector. Land for manufacturing industries was provided through allocation without going into auction. There were tax exemptions on machineries and equipment imported for manufacturing industries.

Key nonconformance areas: There were a number of mismatches between the plan proposals and results on the ground. Pollutant industries, particularly the abattoir and those on the riverbanks, have not been relocated as per the plan proposal. Thus, the expected pollution minimization was not achieved. Spontaneous developments in the mixed-use areas, repeated and continuous land allotments of 500 m^2 on adjacent lands has violated the master plan mixed land use concept and aggravated environmental pollution and traffic congestion to the neighborhoods. Vast areas of land have been converted to industrial zones in the name of mixed-use development[31] as a result. The proposed urban development company expected to promote and facilitate for more industrial developments was not established.

Influencing factors

Plan quality: Failure to properly manage industrial development in mixed use areas was the outcome of lack of clarity and implementation strategies of the plan. The proposal states that a maximum of 500 m^2 of land could be allocated for manufacturing in mixed use areas without stating the standards and conditions of allocation such as the required street sizes, the size of other functions and other neighborhood conditions.

[31] A mixed used development is a land use category off the master plan where residential, small-scale industries and small businesses and services could develop together in a neighborhood. The assumption is that these industries, businesses and services are of small scale and thus do not produce pollution, high traffic, and do not consume heavy water and power; and thus, do not affect the residential neighborhoods.

Land management and Institutional setup: Political commitment and availability of vacant land were the major enabling factors for the development of manufacturing industries in Kilinto, Lebu, Akaki, etc. Land allotment without auction and tax holidays were proof of the policy support given to manufacturing industries. Though there were policy and regulatory incentives as well as political commitment to promote industrial development, weak institutional capacity and bureaucratic red tape has been impeding the land allocation speed. There were hundreds of such projects awaiting land allocation for more than ten years at the LMDB of the city administration. On the other hand, only 30 % of the land reserved for industries has been allotted. Failure to relocate pollutant industries can also be attributed to this low institutional capacity.

5.3.5. Environment

The city's environmental problems were the results of the unplanned nature of the city, uncontrolled location of industries, poor practices of waste collection and disposal (only 65 percent of generated waste was collected).

To meet the environmental objectives (Figure 40) of ensuring a cleaner and greener city, provision of better sanitation services, relocation of fuel wood production from Entoto to the plains south of the airport and replacing the Eucalyptus trees by indigenous ones, protecting the city from pollution, green development along river banks, maintaining deep association with nature and encouraging urban agriculture were the core environmental recommendations. Construction of new toilets in the city; opening of new landfill sites at Bole-Arabsa, Yeka Abado, Fili Doro and Dertu-Mojo (Figure 41); and increasing the connection of houses to sewerage line were also among the proposals. To reduce the level of pollution, it was proposed to control industrial waste, to limit vehicular pollution, to minimize land degradation as a result of quarrying, to protect Akaki ground water supply; and raise public awareness on energy conservation.

Key conformance areas: Following the adoption of the master plan, the following were the major implementation achievements. Decentralized collection of solid waste has shown some improvement as MSEs have been organized to do the collection home to home. In 2010, it was found out that out of the total solid waste collected in the city, 95% was collected through the door-to-door collection system by MSEs and private companies (521 MSEs and 6 companies) (EiABC, 2010). Sewer lines were put in a number of localities (for example, Bole Woredas 3, 4

and 5) improving coverage of sewerage system connections. To cover Entoto with indigenous trees, Gulelle Botanical Garden was established on 710 ha of land (Figure 42). This is expected to serve as a tourist center and keep the biodiversity for a balanced eco system in addition to maintaining association with nature. Areas devoid of green (mainly Entoto hill) have been developed by planting indigenous trees. There has been an annual campaign program from June to August where public servants and citizens are organized to plant seedlings on Entoto and other areas demarcated for green development.

Key nonconformance areas: Gaps created in implementation of environmental proposals were in the areas of solid waste, green parks and green open spaces and pollution controls. Land at Jemo used for condominium housing was reserved for urban agriculture and high ground water potential as specified by the master plan. There is a quarry site and oil factory on top of Entoto in the midst of space reserved for forestry. The oil byproduct is dumped in the quarry pit affecting the underground water source for the city in addition to affecting the forest.

The Koshe land fill site was allocated for green development. The proposed sanitary land fill and recycling sites at four locations (Figure 41) could not be developed[32]. The city reverted to dumping waste onto the Qoshe hill once again where the piles of waste had created a more than 100 meters' high hill in more than 50 years of use in the area (Figure 43). Koshe is still being used for the old function using the same old damping method even after the 2016 disaster[33]. Waste-to-energy conversion construction project was launched in 2014 at Qoshe to process over 1,400tn of waste a day and produce over 185 million kWh of electricity to the Ethiopian national grid (Addis Fortune, March 11,2018). The plan to turn Qoshe into a green public park has stalled, at least for the time.

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32 Instead, the city administration in collaboration with the federal government and Oromia Regional State and with technical and financial support of the French development agency (Afd), have developed landfill site in Sendafa area outside the boundaries of the city Administration. Nevertheless, soon after launching implementation, the project was halted due to protests from neighboring farmers owing to pollution as they were exposed to toxic odor and fluid.

33 According to Addis Fortune (March 11,2018) the 2017 massive landslide ripped through the area killing over 125 residents and destroying dozens of homes.

Though there has been a long-time developed tradition of solid waste recycling (koreyalew)[34] that could have been developed into a more sustainable mode of reuse and reduction of solid waste, recycling was not considered in the plan documents indicating lack of comprehensiveness in this area. Though there were attempts to put in sewer lines and connections to households, the coverage could not exceed 10% (AACPPO, 2017). Most of the city residents still use dry pit latrines or septic tanks that overflow during rainy seasons and cover the streets. It is also common to illegally connect sewer to stormwater drainage lines adding to the pollution problem. Rivers meant to be areas of recreation stayed polluted with waste from neighborhoods, industries and garages**.**

Water supply field protection in the south along Debre Zeit Road has been partially protected and partially intruded by industrial developments**.** More seriously, the industrial development and settlements in Oromia region just on the boundary are frustrating for the future of the water supply field.

Developing Eucalyptus trees in the areas south of Bole Airport for commercial purposes has not been implemented, rather the area has been invaded by formal and informal housing. Most of the urban agriculture land use areas were converted to housing (for example Jemo condominium site, Tirunesh Beijing Hospital in Akaki , green area of Meriluke near CMC housing, etc.). Reserved areas for management discretion for development promotion were also converted to housing without proper study and process of approval (for example condominium site next to Summit, Jemo I and II, Lebu etc.).

[34] Koreyalew is the name after the sound recyclable solid waste collectors produce to call upon residents to bring out recyclable waste (mainly metals and plastics) for sale. Collectors sell the waste mainly to Mercato Chid Tera recyclers who recycle the materials into new traditionally manufactured household goods.

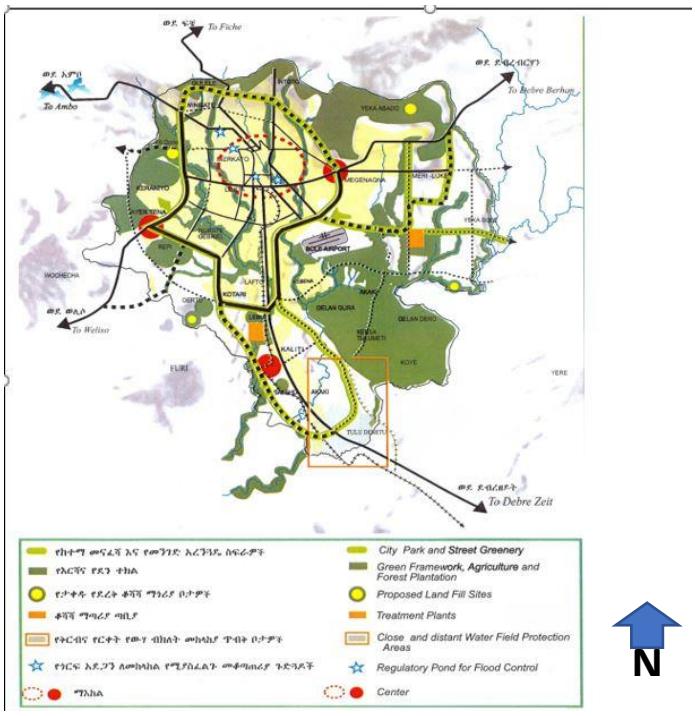

Figure 40. Environment map

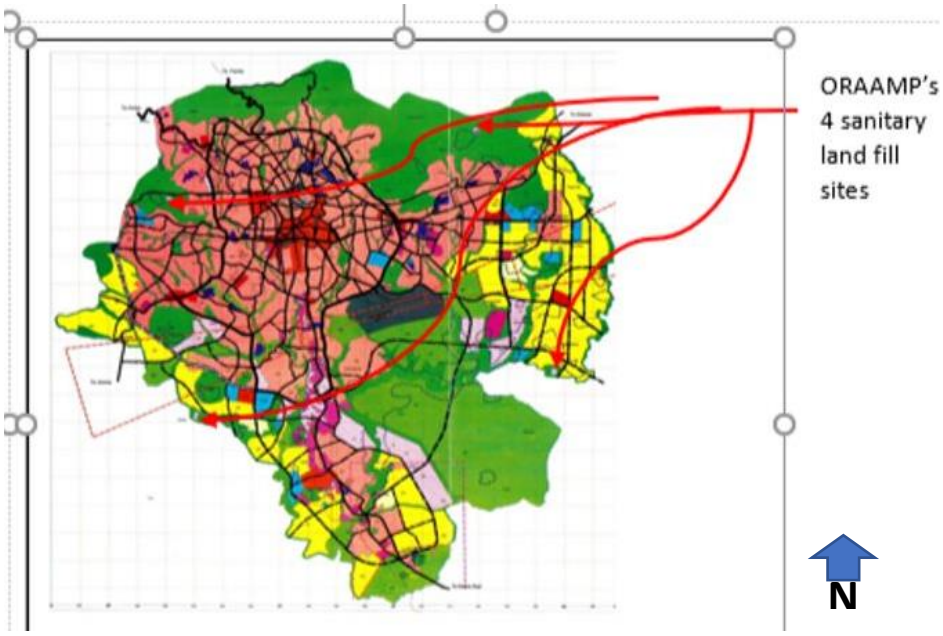

Figure 41. The proposed four land fill sites

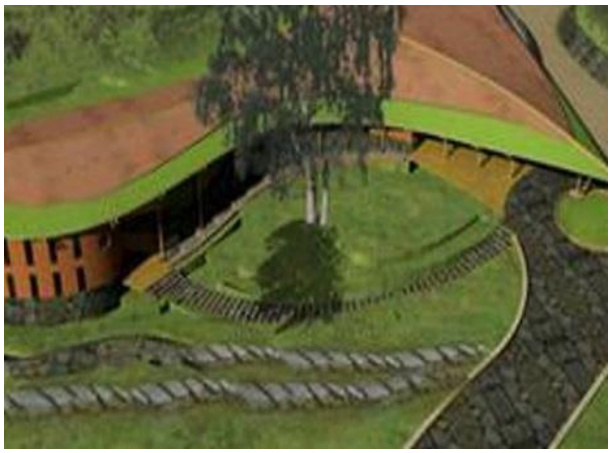

Figure 42. Gullele Botanical Garden

Figure 43. Qoshe (Repi) waste damping site after the 2016 disaster.

Influencing factors

Plan Quality: The plan documents did not show adequate communication and clarity for implementation. There were no clear standards and criteria for delineating green spaces and considerations during implementation of other adjoining land uses. The environmental proposals didn't have adequate consideration for accessibility, availability and quality standards and criteria for delineating green spaces. Green river buffer areas, urban forestry, street trees were proposed simply on available spaces without any standard and criteria for implementation. For example, Entoto hill is simply delineated for forestry. The type of forest, functions to be included to make it publicly accessible, etc., were not included.

Land management and institutional setup: The loss of urban agriculture land at Jemo to condominium housing and to small scale industries, the quarry sites in Ankorcha and failure to protect the waste sites in Arabsa were attributable to institutional weaknesses and lack of political commitment. Failure to protect the ground water reserve in Akaki was also the result of the failure to establish coordination between the city government and the Special Zone of Oromia.

The door-to-door collection system by MSEs and private companies and the relative success of solid waste sanitation of the city was the result of institutional attention and political commitment.

The following example shows the power of political influence in plan implementation. An ex-official of Environment Bureau recollects his experience during plan implementation:

> "Together with Oromia regional state represented by the president, and the core OPDO party cadres and the council, the city administration reached an agreement to have a common waste treatment plant south west of Addis in Oromia, space between Sebeta and Dukem. Addis Ababa and Oromia towns around Addis Ababa including Adama and Bishoftu were supposed to use the same facility. Reduction, reuse and recycling were strategies used at transfer stations to be built at different locations, hence having little waste that reached final destination.
>
> But later, the program was disrupted as the new city manager from a different party faction than OPDO (SEPDM, but from the same ruling front) refused to accept the proposal on the pretext of the cost and problems of negotiations with many stakeholders of Oromia towns. On a later discussion, the project was transferred to Sendafa, seemingly without due attention to ground water potential on the site. It was said that the city manager was more powerful than the mayor due to his close linkage with

the prime minster. The project was implemented but failed to be functional after few attempts of waste dumping as a result of odor pollution and the ensuing protest by the neighboring farmers."

5.4. Summary

While a plan is a tool to guide and manage the growth of an urban center, plan preparation by itself is nothing for urban development if there is improper implementation (Benti, 2012). Spatial planning practices of the city in particular during its three recent master plans could be summarized by Figure 44 and the AACDP of 2003 could be considered as a case manifesting this combination.

It was difficult to establish a clear and distinct correlation between the plan proposals and the outcomes on the ground in every detail. Nevertheless, the empirical evidence from this conformance/nonconformance as well as the level of usage of the plan in decision making process (performance) will cast some light on the experience helping improvement in future practices.

Factors enabling conformance

57% of questionnaire respondents said the plan was highly comprehensive while the remaining 43% said it was moderately comprehensive. The plan was comprehensive for it encompassed the physical, spatial, socioeconomic, and environmental components. It also went further incorporating governance, institutional and legal recommendations to enable implementation. Reading through the plan documents and having knowledge of the plan contents and outcomes also affirm this. Inclusion of institutional (suggesting new agencies to support planning and implementation), governance (proposals for urban management improvements), and regulatory frameworks drafted (building height regulation, regulation for managing worship places, condominium law, regulation, building permit regulation, plan approval and implementation law) were further evidence for the level of completeness of the pan. These have been used as basis for the subsequent city reform program and laws at city and federal level. Federal condominium law, planning law, revised lease law, and revised new city charter are some of such examples.

As per the survey conducted on plan quality, 23% of respondents declared that the plan showed extreme level of consistency and coherence while 73% declared it was highly or moderately consistent and coherent. Consistency and coherence were managed during plan preparation as teams working on different thematic issues met to discuss problems and findings. This strong consistency between sectoral issues and plan outputs of structure plan, SDF/SDAP and LDPs has facilitated better implementation particularly for street network and major land uses. Conformances of land use and mainly the road infrastructure could be attributed to this consistency. The LDPs contain all the land use categories of the structure plan prescribed for those specific localities. They were detailed by the LDPs to consider the local specific context mainly in terms of land use and streets.

Asked if the plan had adequate participation of stakeholders, 87 % of respondents think there was high/moderate level of participation. As discussed earlier, compared to its predecessors, the AACDP was highly participatory that enabled ease of implementation that surpassed earlier plans. The more than 150 workshops and conferences conducted during AACDP preparation strengthens this statement. The respondents' opinion varies when we come to implementation phase. We observe varied responses of participants from highly participatory (20%) to no participation at all (7%) of stakeholders on the implementation of plan. The remaining 20% stated as moderately participatory while 53% stated as little participation. As stated earlier, this variation seems to have occurred due to the variation of the respondents' engagement in different events at different times. Participation was strong during LDP implementations such as Mercato and Lideta, while it was weak in Kazanchis and Megenagna for example. Participation was supported and practiced where you have a strong community member with big voices. Mercato's relatively better performance of the LDP was the result of participation of Mercato merchants during plan preparation and implementation. Therefore, the variations are due to the varied encounters of the respondents. This variation was an expected phenomenon as participation was not institutionalized or system based.

On the adequacy of implementation tools and strategies, 70% of the respondents believe there were high or moderate level of adequate implementation tools and strategies. The most notable tools and strategies were of course the SDF/SDAP, LDPs, the institutional and regulatory proposals and those enacted and established accordingly. There were good proposals for institutional arrangements/reorganization and legal frameworks that enabled condominium regulations, Housing Development Agency and projects, AAICA, etc. These institutions and regulations were instrumental in facilitating implementation of housing programs, land supply and infrastructure development mainly streets and transport facilities. The success of the major

streets construction and local streets were made possible due to institutional strengths of AACRA and the CBOs.

Validation was also plan a quality factor to enhance performance. AACDP of 2003 was unparalleled by its predecessors to have been endorsed by Proclamation (No 17/2004) in the immediate aftermath of the plan preparation.

The lease land law had influence on the performance of the plan as it is considered as a transition instrument form command to mixed market economy. The plan also encouraged revision of the lease law. The plan also encouraged drafting of urban land grading used for lease price setting.

Contribution of political support initiated by the need to uphold the urban agenda and enabled by the project office to engage politicians and create conducive engagement environment had immense impact on the conformance of the plan.

Addis Ababa's planning culture has permeated to planning schools and regions through the federal/regional planning institutions and private consultants practicing urban planning. Influence of the practice to federal government policies and regulations (condominium law, urban development policy, urban planning law, building law, etc.) have been serving the flavor of the time. Nevertheless, as spatial planning is more limited to the activities of a group of professional planners, the culture hasn't adequately developed into the societal planning culture yet.

Factors enabling nonconformance

The AACDP was less comprehensive in terms of the plan hierarchy and spatial scope compared to AAMPPO plan that incorporated the regional and metropolitan areas. Some respondents argued that failure to identify the locations and size of reserved spaces for social services (schools and health services, community social centers, job creating small scale industries etc.) and local streets that were highly needed for implementation was among the major limitations showing incompleteness.

One reason for nonconformance of plan and reality was the failure of the plan to adequately forecast future development needs. The city development demand (in terms of spatial scope for example) went beyond the forecasts and anticipation of the plan. Land forecasted for 10 years and beyond was consumed earlier. The plan could not anticipate the level of development demand it could create. According to one respondent who was among the plan preparation

teams, the plan failed to understand and anticipate the context in which it was to be implemented.

On clarity of communication, 19% of respondents said the plan was extremely clear and communicable; 25% said it was highly communicable, and 56% said it was moderately communicable. Here we can see that majority of respondents believe the communication and clarity of documents was not good enough. This is in line with the findings from the reviewed plan documents. The plans were not properly finalized, not published and documented leading to miscommunication. The technical plan documents were written in English, a language most stakeholders do not understand adequately.

Participation and its result depended on the power the community has to exert pressure on government. But in practice, weak communities participated only to fulfil formalities, not for an effect. Relocatees from redevelopment project sites were only informed of the project and told to accept the government proposals and compensation offers. Such interventions were not negotiable as the projects were in the interest of the 'public' as provided by laws, it was said.

One thing missing from the implementation strategy was absence of clear phasing for implementation to match annual sectoral plans of implementing agencies. Among the implementation tools drafted in the master plan documents were the 10 years and 5 years strategic development framework and action plans, LDPs and pilot projects, norms and standards, the governance system and regulations. The plan lacked strategies for integration with the city's sectoral plans and budgetary system. The plan did not produce indicators for successive follow-ups and neither did it put in place mechanisms for monitoring and evaluation

Respondents have varied opinions on flexibility. Out of the very few who responded to this question, 40% think the plan was highly flexible while 60% think there was little flexibility in the plan. Here we see balanced polarized opinions. The latter believe that flexibility concept didn't bring a positive impact, rather it created implementation blockage leading to adverse effect on implementation. Social services were suggested to be served in the mixed-use areas providing flexibility. But there were no adequate standards and guidelines to lead this process.

Though flexibility of the plan enabled investments in mixed land use areas, it also became an instrument to create unintended land use zoning as discussed above in the 500 square meter land provision for manufacturing industries in mixed land use areas. The standards for mixed use, the ratio of mix of uses, whether the measurement was in terms of plot area or floor area or in terms of the number of a specific function to be mixed, etc., were not clearly stated. Though the plan failed to adequately detail the mixed concept, the institutional capacity and decentralization that did not correspond with capacity to interpret the plan also played their roles.

Opinion of respondents vary on the institutional capacity during implementation of the plan. 14 % of respondents think there was high level institutional capacity to implement the plan, 43% think there was medium level capacity and another 43% think there was little capacity. As discussed above, we can see the level of plan failures that could be attributed to institutional failures of one kind or another. The institutional implementation tools and strategies recommended by the plan failed during transition from plan preparation project office to implementing agencies as the transition was disrupted. There was no formal handing-over of the plan documents from the project office to implementing agencies. The institutions created in view of the plan were later omitted or reformed to suit the mayor's intents. Planned land use violation by political intervention in the name of public interest has also become the culture of government performance.

The repeated drafting and redrafting of lease laws, regulations and manuals repealing the predecessors and thus lack of continuity and consistency has led to unstable institutions. Institutional impediments (weak technical capacity, crippled bureaucracy, low finance, etc.) and municipality having no full statutory power were determining factors affecting implementation of plans. Institutional, legal and political failures were the mainsprings behind regional planning failures, as evidenced by attempts of AAMPPO, ORAAMP and AACPPO.

On the level of institutional coordination and integration, there was a wide range of difference between respondents from extremely coordinated (7%) to not coordinated at all (7%). The remaining 86 % think there was coordination and integration level ranging between highly integrated to little integrated. This wide variation seems to have occurred due to their varied experience in the volatile situation of the city organizations and the practice. Some experienced the immediate plan implementation period prior to the 2005 election where there was commendable coordination between agencies. Others experienced the post-election institutional and land management disarray and the resulting plan violations. This added to the previous findings of poor coordination between sectoral agencies, brings us to the conclusion that coordination and integration between agencies was a crucial element in the success or failure of plans to meet their intended objectives.

Respondents have shown serious concern on the issue of monitoring and evaluation. 46% stated there was little monitoring and evaluation activity while 27% stated that there was moderate level and 27% think there was none. As a result of poor monitoring and evaluation practice, there was no accountability. This was one driving force impeding timely corrections and adjustments to plan violations, intended or otherwise.

Asked if land management system including the public ownership of land has affected plan implementation, a very wide range of responses were obtained. 80% of respondents believe

land management influenced plan and implementation at varied scales while 20% think there was no impact.

To properly manage the informal settlements and bring them into the legal market, the government issued different regulations and manuals. Yet, the success of the program, like its predecessors, is likely to create similar informalities sometime in the future for it is taken as an encouragement to go for informal land acquisition expecting a similar regulation some years later. Informal land holding also happens when farmers on the periphery transfer their land to builders without due legal process.

Most of land assignments were contrary to the intentions of the lease law that promote free market principles. According to an ex-head of Land Development and Management Bureau 85% of land allocation during the last 20 years were based on administrative allocation and only 15 % were allocated on bid modality. The allocations went to social and municipal services, public administrative offices and business companies such as banks, MSEs etc.

Very few (only 6) responded and agreed that there was political interference in the plan implementation affecting the outcome. During discussions, however, most respondents believed that many plan violations happened due to political interventions[35]. Violations of the plan, particularly development on green fields, was done not only by informal settlers, but also by the government bodies expected to control and monitor the proper implementation of the plans.

Central government projects during Hailesillassie (the monumental structures by Mezzedemi, Shommete, etc.), EPRDF (Sheraton, Condos, Real estates), Post EPRDF (Eagle Hills project), were fragmented interventions deviating from the legal or accepted official city plans leading to the 'double plan' approach. The *double plan* here is used to explain the two types of plans. One prepared by professionals in a formal office, legally adopted, open and used for public consumption, at least theoretically. The other prepared (usually conceptually and pragmatically, not in formal documents) by the ruling class/political party and kept under the table and used for implementation when the formal plan failed to meet the political agenda at hand. The political dimension of interference is thus manifested through the conflict between the two plans that affecting implementation. Usually, the informal hidden plan under the table gets the upper hand. An ex- city manager reports that the decision that came from above was nonnegotiable.

Factors enabling performance

[35] This is probably due to fear of being implicated if written evidence of political critics were found.

Though not fully implemented and operational due to the latter political crisis of 2016-2018 and some environmental factors, the land fill site in Oromia Regional State in Sendafa area locally named as Chobe Woregenu, 35 km from the city center is the result of conformance of the plan. The city plan proposal to have four landfill sites at different locations within Addis Ababa has been reconsidered and agreed by the two administrations (Addis Ababa and Oromia) to have one common integrated one in Sendafa. This is a very good example of conformance and negotiated planning between two parties.

The city roads authority was an exception that followed the plan far better than the rest implementing agencies. If the plan proposal did not coincide with the intentions of the authority, it negotiates and tries to get planning unit approval before going for implementation.
There was also a practice called '*matatam',* to mean compromise the land use difference between the plan and the intention of the developer. When a request to develop a particular site or plot of land failed to conform with the land use proposal of the plan, the plan department was told to '*matatam'.* This was done changing the land use of the plan usually without adequate study. It was a strategy used by officials to favor some interest groups. The planning department was too weak to resist officials' request. So, though the process was commendable in principle (provided that adequate considerations of the legal and practical implications of such changes are analyzed and dealt with) the actual practice was a new land use plan in the making, lending to the *double plan.*

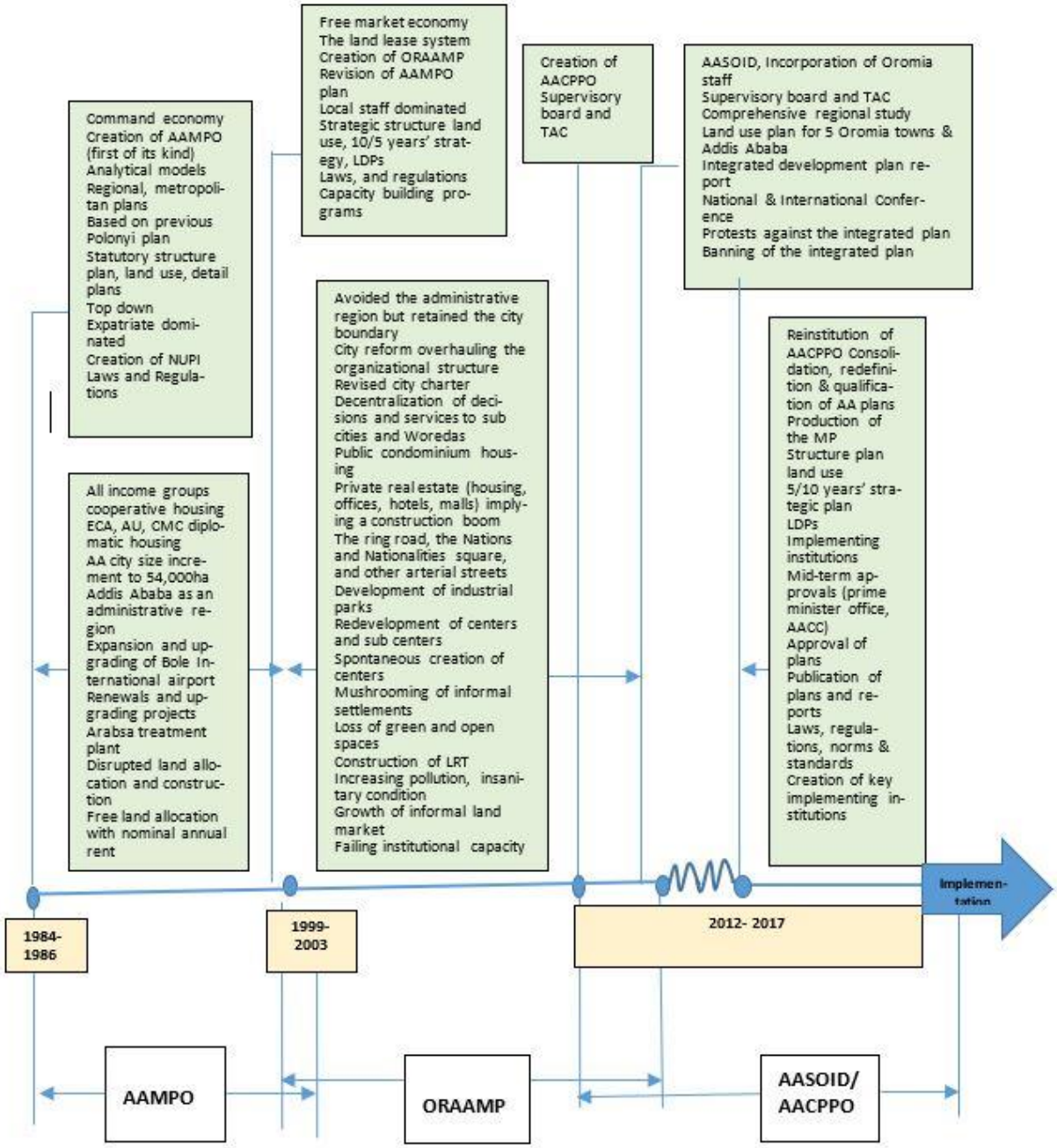

Figure 44. AAMPPO-ORAAMP-AACPPO planning cycle: major events and achievements

Chapter 6. Case Study 2: Mercato LDP

To further investigate the extent to which plan conform with reality on the ground and how plan quality, land management and institutional setup influence plan implementation outcomes, Mercato has been identified as the second case study to give further empirical evidence at a local plan level. To substantiate the findings of the previous city-wide case study, Mercato local case study is believed to meet the purpose as an imbedded unit of analysis. Similar to the first case, here too, conformance of the LDP documents was checked against implementation outcomes. Also, how the plan quality, land management and institutional setup influenced this conformance/nonconformance/performance was investigated. The evaluation of Mercato LDP focused on its centrality role as market and business center, land use, streets and transport.

6.1. Introduction

Like Addis Ababa's role of mono-centrality in the national urban system, Mercato also plays mono-centricity not only at intra-urban but also at inter-urban scale. Mercato's origin dates back to the 5 years (1936-41) Italian occupation during Second World War when the old Arada market was relocated to the western side of the city (Figures 45)**.**

Mercato's growth and transformation was gradual. The marketplace was in platforms (medebs) and later organized into sub-clusters divided by streets. Elongated wooden structures within the blocks of masonry buildings made rows of shops facing a street or alley (Johnson (1974 p.334 in Heyaw, 2005). Modern market buildings (for example the Adarashs and Amede Gebeya) and related hotels came during the 1960s. After some relapse during the socialist regime, multi-story mixed-use developments became the norm capitalizing on the free market policies of post Dergue era. The growth and flourishing of Addis Ababa, in addition to its administrative function, could be partly attributed to the growth, expansion and flourishing of Mercato as a major commercial center. Mercato has also a well-established international trade link with neighboring African countries, Middle east, India, and China (ORAAMP, 2003). It is a commercial core of the country and the city, a tourist attraction, and an important landmark where traditional and modern activities coexist. Informal activities including small-scale manufacturing plants and stores are also widespread.

Mercato also serves as an inland port for both import and export. Raw materials for export such as hide, skin, and coffee used to be brought to Mercato to be later stored and transferred for

export. Mercato is a major transport hub of the city having the city bus station right in its heart. The regional bus terminal is also at north-west edge (Figure 45).

6.2. Overview of the local development plan

Prior to the 2003 Mercato LDP there were two local detail redevelopment plans (in 1997 and 1998) prepared following the change of government in 1991 and the approval of the AAMP in 1994 (Heyaw, 2005). No real implementation was conducted based on these two redevelopments plans beyond land certificate issuance. Even, implementation of projects on pipeline were also halted lest they contravene the upcoming Mercato LDP preparation process of 2003.

Mercato LDP was prepared along with the city's master plan by ORAAMP in 2002. It was among the ten LDPs prepared as part of the city's new plan (AACDP) implementation tools (ORAAMP,2002). It is considered as one major implementation tool of the structure plan in taking the burden of one of the major city's commercial and market centers. Mercato LDP preparation was based on the following major development frames.

- Maintaining the role of Mercato without compromising the city's future development agenda.
- Mercato to emerge as the city's major market and commercial center for general mercantile.
- making Mercato pedestrian friendly and limiting vehicular traffic to streets on the outskirts and limited time of the day (late evening to early morning).
- promoting block development by mixing plots as small sizes had impeded the possibility of building multistory and complex buildings.

Mercato proper (designated as action area) covers an area of 113.6 ha whereas the planning area (including the surrounding adjacent influence area) covers 207.7 ha. During the plan preparation launching period, Mercato had a population of about 54,000 people (CSO, 1994) and had a density of about 475 p/ha - one of the highest densities in the city. The big portion of Merkato area (37%) falls under commercial use whereas transport and roads account for 30%, residential use 10 % and mixed use 23% of the total area.

The whole Mercato was divided into 11 subunits (or action areas) based on morphological pattern, plot parcellation, street pattern and land use (Figure 46). The adjoining area surrounding Mercato was also considered as the twelfth unit as there was heavy interaction with Mercato

proper. Such subdivision helped to maintain the existing local value and character avoiding unnecessary intermingling and confusion.

As per the LDP, Merkato as a primary market was expected to serve mainly as a wholesale, high quality services and stock exchange center for the whole city and retailing services for local and neighboring residents. In line with the land use principle and the revised master plan, the pattern of land use was to be maintained and additional new ones, such as formal green parks were to be introduced.

The LDP was finally completed in 2002 bearing the following major proposals:

- limit building height for the market area at G+2
- maintain the existing pattern of land use
- promote mixed land use area wise, introduce greenery and create an open public space, a plaza
- regard the block associations, individual businessmen and residents as the main actors

Evaluation of Mercato LDP was undertaken in line with the guidelines described in the AACDP and in accordance with the evaluation theories and methodologies developed in chapters 2 and 4 to answer the research questions.

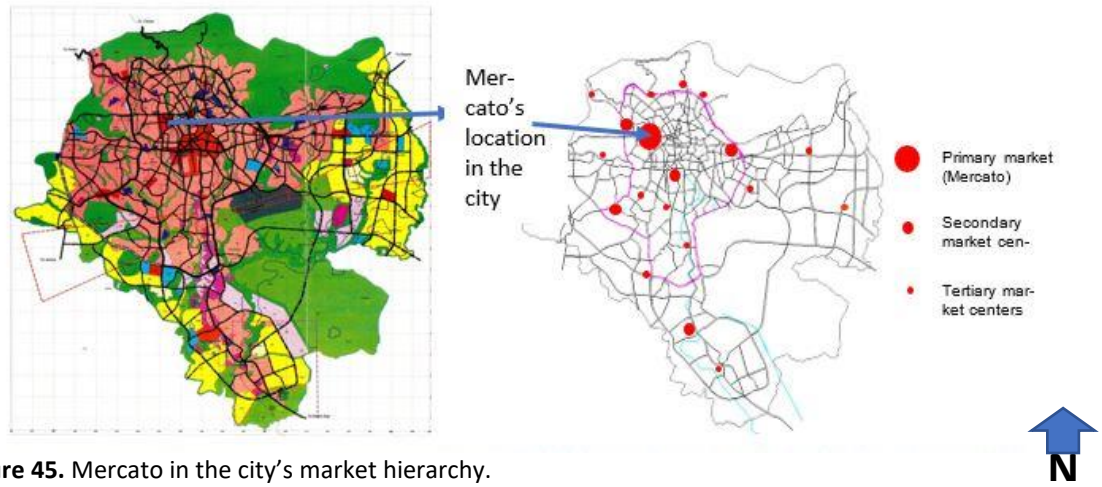

Figure 45. Mercato in the city's market hierarchy.

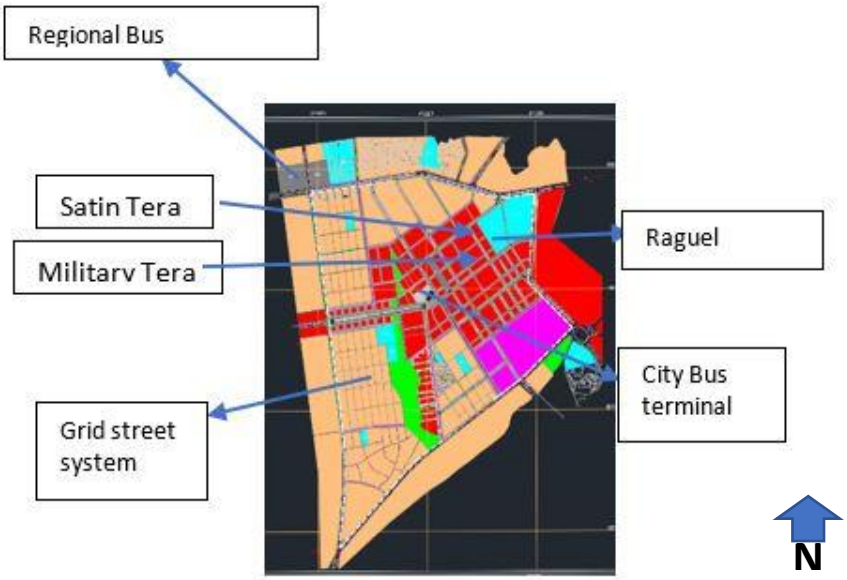

Figure 46. Marcato LDP and major landmarks

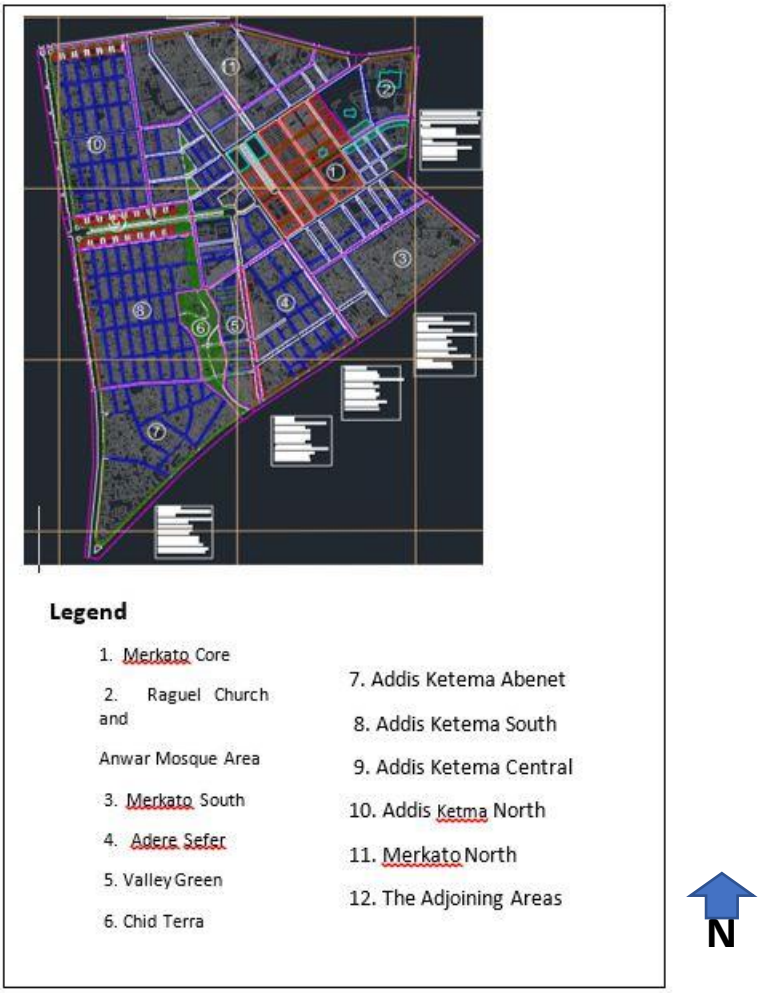

Figure 47. Mercato teras and the adjoining areas

6.3. The LDP conformance and performance

Conformance: The high-rise buildings along the outer perimeter of proper Mercato are in conformance with the LDP proposal. Among the ten major structures recommended to be reserved as heritage (for example, the arcaded shopping structures opposite the Anwar Mosque, the two Adarash structures, the Anwar Mosque and the Raguel church, etc.), nine of them (90%) have been reserved to this day. The open market is partially still existent. Some small informal

businesses (sub-rented shops and tailors) have managed to take part in the organized associations to develop multistory buildings.

As to maintaining the mix of functions, new activities have appeared (for example, smart phones sales and maintenance). Some of the previously existing small-scale traditional workshops are still functioning on sites reserved for manufacturing in southeastern part (block 3). With regard to the main decisions made by the structural plan like major collector and higher roads and land use, there is proper alignment when streets are rebuilt. Most buildings along the perimeter respected the LDP proposals of G+7.

Nonconformance:

Market and business central role and historical value of Mercato has been challenged. In relation to historical structures the LDP (ORAAMP 2003) describes important few buildings from the periods of Mercato foundation to be conserved. The Mars Hotel heritage structure recommended to be reserved was demolished and replaced by a new multistorey Mars Commercial Center (Figure 47). Raguel Church and Anwar Mosque (Figure 48) are among Mercato's centrality and identity functions. Both religious institutions structures have been reserved as per the LDP recommendation. The plan further suggested that the existing commercial buildings along the perimeters of these religious structures be converted to activities and services relevant to the relative religious functions and respecting harmony with the religious structures. But these commercial activities on the perimeter of the Mosque are still in their service while the peripheries of Raguel Church have been developed for multistory commercial and partly school services almost covering the church.

Green development was not respected. 10% of the area should have been green development as per the LDP, but there is none. The formal public green park supposed to cover the riverside area behind the 'Chid Tera' and extend northward in a narrow patch into the Addis Ketema Road green system (Figure 49) could not be realized. The areas still serve the old and traditional recycling and sale of goods. The Cinema Addis Ketema proposed by the plan to be a public plaza for leisure and to serve as trading platform for informal traders during holidays is still in a very bad and deteriorated form.

Blocks development was not fully practiced. Buildings were supposed to be in blocks exhibiting similar heights, façade treatment and architectural features. But what we observe now is different heights and development on individual small plots within a block. Though partial upgrading and renewal were the recommended mode of implementation in most parts of Mercato there was no visible upgrading. Emergence of tall building blocks signifies the changing

character of Mercato as opposed to its long-established trademarks of the “largest open market in Africa” and the recommended maximum G+2 in the central market areas.

The historical structures should have been renovated and restored to avoid deterioration and collapse, but none was done. The architectural character of the new buildings is not in harmony with historical building. The arcades provided in the new buildings of central Mercato (about 1 meter in figure 47) are less than what was recommended by the plan (2-3 meters). The arcades supposed to be used by pedestrians are still used for storage, display and sales of goods. Similar situation is seen in other areas where redevelopment occurred. In the Northern Mercato (Block 11, Figure 46), the recommended arcade is not provided.

Small informal retailers were being pushed away in the redevelopment process (EiABC, 2010). In the process of redevelopment many of the small shop vendors were relocated and vanished from Mercato, some went to Kolfe. Newly built multistory buildings in areas designated for mixed residence (for example blocks 10,11 in figure 46) have been solely used for commercial and business activities. The buildings should have incorporated both commercial functions (on the lower floors) and residential functions on the upper floors meeting the mixed-use principle. But there are no buildings in the area having these mixed functions showing another area of mismatch with the LDP and the general principle of the master plan. Moreover, sites reserved for manufacturing in south eastern part (block 3) has also been used for commercial buildings though some of the previously existing small-scale traditional workshops are still functioning.

The building height proposed by the LDP had two groups: 2-3 storeys for the central market areas and 7 storeys for the areas adjoining arterial streets. But most buildings constructed in the central areas are of more than 6 storeys. 19 buildings with G+3 to G+7 heights were constructed until 2010 (EiABC, 2010). 30% of Mercato area is reconstructed mainly with multi-storey buildings against the master plan proposal of low-rise shopping malls (modern and traditional). The structures are too high and rather unfit for a market area peculiar and unique for its origin, modern and traditional mix, location and public value. Only pedestrianization of the central area and limiting vehicular movement to the outskirts and limited time of the day could not be implemented. Trucks for loading and unloading as well as informal traders on the available space also create obstruction to pedestrians distracting the image of the space. Every open space looks to be committed to vehicular traffic, formal and informal trade interaction.

The urban development company that could have facilitated the implementation of the plan was not realized. The proposals to build bridge and road connection to the ring road, and to relocate large storage facilities and manufacturing industries have not been implemented (EiABC, 2010). Chid tera recycling site meant to develop into a two-three story of mixed use of improved manufacturing and residence remained as it was decades ago.

Performance: Mercato has been expanding by annexing the surrounding residential areas and converting the land use to business in all directions further accentuating its historical role. Multi story car parking building in American Ghibi could be considered as the result of performance of the plan as it was meant to meet the parking demand of Mercato.
Though there are multiple interventions (high-rise buildings, etc.) challenging the central business and market center role of Mercato, a number of other interventions (expansion of business in the center and on the outskirts) have partially maintained its role as major and central market commercial center.

There are also some added functions such as shops and buildings providing services such as hotels, cafes, etc. The parking space of Tana Department store has been reserved and being used for the same purpose though the multistorey has not been built as per the plan recommendation. Provision of the LRT (Figure 87) and the newly being developed BRT line were not in the LDP proposals, but they provided immense opportunities to Mercato in easing accessibility and connectivity with other parts of the city. The LRT has been constructed and operational since 2016 whereas the BRT line is still under construction.
Commercial buildings were built by cooperatives manifesting partial block-based development.

Mars commercial center

Mercato center viewed from the south.

Figure 48. Mercato central area

Figure 49. Raguel Church and Anwar Mosque

6.4. Influencing factors

The success or failure of the plan to conform with the reality on the ground or to perform depended on multiple influencing factors. Here are some plan quality, institutional and land management factors that influenced this process.

Plan quality influence

Comprehensiveness of the plan (having the spatial, socioeconomic, environment components and maintenance of the existing *teras* morphology) enabled the primary market and business center role (in the three-tiered system) to be maintained. The comprehensiveness of the plan was also manifested by its incorporation of different thematic issues such as environment, leisure, housing, transport, and streets, and also covering wider adjoining areas (its influence areas) as a way of integrating the development and growth process. As a result, it was possible to make alignments of the street network of Mercato with the adjoining areas and take consideration of the parking (as in the parking building in American Ghibbi).

Consistency between the structure plan and the LDP was ensured during the plan preparation process. This has helped conformance during implementation as reference was made to both plans by implementing agencies. There was strong consistency between the different components of the LDP as well. More than 70% of the questionnaire respondents concluded that the LDP had a high and moderate level of consistency. The scale and objectives of the plan were

clearly expressed on the thematic plans and the land use principles were consistent with the objectives set for Mercato.

Mercato LDP could be considered as a showcase for participatory nature of the ORAAMP legacy. There was high level of participation during the LDP plan preparation process. The Mercato Committee was a strong partner at all stages bringing the merchants' concerns and the necessary data to the plan preparation team. This participation has contributed maintenance of the existing teras structure and use, pattern and the existing street network, etc. that minimized disruption of these existing structures. A fruitful participation also led to negotiations between the merchants and the administration during implementation. Negotiations proved fruitful when agreement was reached that a trader was entitled to 25 m^2 share of land when incorporated in the association to build a multistory building. Participation was also strong in certain aspects during implementation. Transitional provision for continuity of the businesses during renewal process was one major demand from the merchants. This was negotiated and agreed upon. Merchants were to be temporarily relocated to a nearby shelter (usually on walkways along the fenced perimeter of the ongoing development) to be rehoused after completion of the project. This temporary relocation proved a viable and working strategy in the process of renewal. It helped the merchants to sustain their businesses during construction phase. The merchants could raise the needed capital over a certain period of time (say for example, 5 years) and finance their share of contribution to the multistorey project.

As a result of the pressure from the private to increase the building height, the City Administration had decided to revise the building height (in 2007 and again in 2010), so as to satisfy the demand of the unprecedented construction boom and seemingly, with the main objective of increasing the number of floors.

Heyaw (2005, p223 referring to Capital, April 7, 2002) reports an encounter from one of the association leaders expressing his satisfaction during the plan preparation process:

> "We, inhabitants of Mercato, for the first time were invited to say something about the future of the place. We were invited and have been participating starting from the initial stage for almost two years, and our effort can be described as successful. We discussed with them about our capacity and the unique features of Mercato. The Master Plan Revision Project is a good model for all other government institutions ".

35 % of questionnaire respondents stated communication clarity as average; another 35 % stated as highly and extremely communicative. The remaining 30 % stated it as not adequate or not clear at all. It is true that as there was high level of participation, repeated meetings and discussions between the planners and the merchant community, communication clarity was also

expected. Moreover, there was continuous drafting and redrafting of the LDP components based on the feedbacks that enabled more clarity of the documents. Conformance of high-rise buildings along the outer perimeter of proper Mercato with the LDP proposal is attributable to the plan quality of clarity and consistency of the proposals on both the structure plan and the LDP.

Though participation was acclaimed for attainment of some objectives of the LDP, the level of participation in Mercato varied from plan preparation to implementation period, and also from community to community. 66 % of the respondents believe that there was a moderate level or little participation while 33 % believe there was no participation during plan implementation process. This is attributable to the fact that only those strong and organized communities managed to bring their interests to the forefront and the weaker communities could not influence the process. Failure to bring the mixed land use development is associated with this lack of an all-encompassing participation.

A major gap (weakness) in the LDP was manifested in the implementation tools and strategies. Only 35 % of the respondents rated the implementing strategies as moderately adequate while the remaining portion is divided between extremely adequate to not adequate at all. Instruments needed to implement the proposals such as the required finance, source of financing, the core implementing stakeholders, role of regulations for enforcement were all absent or treated only tangentially. Moreover, the plans were not properly legally ratified, and not published. The plan was not detailed enough (doesn't separately show green areas or parking lots, or areas of upgrading and renewal in a block, for example) thus lacking completeness and clarity from the expectations of implementing technicians' point of view.
The plan's completeness has been questioned for absence of sewerage system in the study. Multistory buildings and shopping complexes are already facing serious service and environmental problems due to absence of sewer system. Blocks development and upgrading needed detailed plans and clear implementation strategies which were missing in the LDP.

An expert who was among the implementing staff refutes the plan quality:

> ''The existing streets are narrow; they were used for traditional trading. The low-rise consideration of the LDP was poorly conceived. Due to the scarcity of land and high demand for more space in the area, it would have been designed in high-rise buildings and streets should have been widened accordingly. Actually, I have never seen the written document of the Mercato LDP''.

Institutional and land management influence

Most successes and/or failures of the LDP implementation were related to institutional factors of mainly capacity, coordination and monitoring and evaluation. (40%) of respondents valued the institutional capacity to implement the plan as moderate while another 40% valued it as very weak. The majority of respondents (70%) believed that there was no or little institutional coordination or integration with relevant institutions. The remaining 30% believed that there was moderate or high level of integration. Asked to what extent monitoring and evaluation was undertaken, 70% stated as nil while 30% stated as little. Ethical issues were also noted as implementation challenges. One association leader reported:

> 'We were demanded to welcome additional members who were not merchants and not in Mercato as shareholders to our company. Without further option we agreed; because we were told that we won't get the permit to build on the land we purchased already unless we succumb to the condition'.

Processing the activities at the municipalities thus requires networking and facilitation (usually using 'lubricants' in the form of cash or other benefits) sometimes using middle men brokers. As an association leader named it, 'particularly the sub city bureaucracy was maddening'.

Most high-rise buildings were the results of strong associations of the Mercato community that managed to exert pressure on the government to ensure and defend their interests. Some small informal businesses (sub-rented shops and tailors) have managed to take part in the organized associations to develop multistory buildings. Respect of the major streets right of ways was also the result of the strength of AACRA.

Blocks development also demands high institutional capacity to organize and manage the land where multiple ownership was to be engaged. This was challenging from institutional capacity as well as land management perspectives. The historical structures could not be renovated and restored due to institutional failure to give appropriate attention to these values. The arcades could not be provided as per the recommendation due to poor monitoring and evaluation during construction of buildings. Only-pedestrianization of the central area implementation was impeded by the weak Bureau of transport of the city government. The urban development company that could have facilitated the implementation of the plan was not realized due to the political ideology of fear engaging the private into development partnership.

Added to the poor reading habits, failure to transfer a well-organized plan document to implementers had ensued communication barrier. This is believed to have created gap in communication between the planners and implementers as the tradition for reference was made only to the spatial plan map. The assumption by the plan that the report will be read along with the spatial plan map did not work. The plan should have been detailed enough.

Failure to realize the green development was due to the land value of the area and reluctance to forgo such prime land for "lesser productive" green. The challenge on business central role and historical value of Mercato such as the open markets, was related to the land value in that area that attracts different investments. Demolishing of Mars Hotel heritage structure and replacement by a new multi-story Mars Commercial Center is a proof for this. Failure to upgrade and include residence mixed with business buildings was also related to the land high value as a deterring factor.

Flexibility in land use was provided in the mixed-use areas and within blocks where residence could be provided along with commercial functions. Nevertheless, this flexibility has not been respected as these areas were fully redeveloped into businesses and Highrise buildings were built. It could thus be argued that the mixed land use, though meant to maintain its historical character and give Mercato liveliness 24/7, could not be respected as a result of soaring land price.

60% of respondents said public ownership of land has not affected plan implementation, while 40 % said so little and only moderately. This shows, to the opinion of respondents, that land tenure did not affect plan implementation; rather it was the institutional and other legal factors related to land management that affected plan implementation. The respondents nevertheless, concede the fact that public land ownership has been a hindrance to plan implementation in view of political interferences and the role of corrupt officials to hold back private initiatives.

Asked the extent to which political interference affected plan implementation, 50% responded as highly affected while the remaining 50 % said moderately or little. These responses show the high impact of political influence on implementation. Political interference could be seen from both the ruling party and the community affected by opposition parties. Since government seeks political support from the people and land is an important instrument in fulfilling this need, government's political commitment was not only related to implementation of the plan, but also rather using the land and planning policies as an instrument to win political obedience. Provision of LRT was also more of political decision than technical. Participation was neither sought. The community complain of problems of connectivity and interaction and thereby limiting the trade in those segments along the LRT line.

One merchant complained:

> '… due to the LRT blockage the proper Mercato and the adjoining areas of the north and the west have encountered ease of flow of information and exchange of goods between merchants that they used to enjoy prior to the construction of the LRT. Now it became difficult to penetrate Mercato from the two directions. The retail sales are highly affected due to this lack of accessibility. Businesses in the adjoining areas along the LRT have also been affected.'

Asked if public ownership of land has affected plan implementation, 60% responded as not affected while 30 % said so little and only 10% said it affected moderately. This shows, to the opinion of respondents, that land tenure does not affect plan implementation; rather it is the institutional and other legal factors that affect it. The respondents nevertheless, concede the fact that public land ownership has been a hindrance to plan implementation for it allowed political interferences and corrupt officials to hold back private initiatives.

The LDP plan has shown full consistency when measured against the structure plan. All proposals of the LDP have been found to be in line with the structure plan proposals and guidelines. This could be taken as one major quality measure of the LDP. The building height outcome of the plan whether in conformance/nonconformance/performance, has created congestion of the streets that were not meant for the high vehicular traffic created as a result.

The failure of the plan to conform with the reality on the ground or to perform depended on multiple influencing factors. Where sufficient details were not provided, the LDP recommendations were expected to be implemented in accordance with the guidelines given in the report assuming implementing technicians will complement this task. But the capacity of the technicians wouldn't allow this.

Participation during the initial period of plan preparation was low and it gradually grew as the merchants gathered confidence through the chamber and the Mercato committee. This participation has been continued during the LDP implementation, but seemingly at a lower scale and intensity. Participation was the major instrument determining the level of implementation of plans. The merchants' strong participation led to negotiations that resulted in acquisition of 25 sqm of land and also in maintaining businesses along the perimeter of the construction site while their multistorey building was built. Within this low institutional capacity to implement the plan and with the lack of institutional coordination and lack of monitoring and evaluation practices, it is logical and rational to expect failure in implementation.

The unfinished plan documents may be attributable to poor plan quality and the poorly handled transition that left the plan in the hands of implementing agencies without a strong watchdog

lending the system to 'no monitoring no evaluation' could be attributed to poor institutional (political interference) setting.

Unfortunately, there was no formal approval of the LDP conducted as per the provisions of the structure plan and Proclamation No 86/2004 that demanded approval before entering implementation. Moreover, there was no formal handing over of the plan documents from the project office to the implementing agencies. Though there were strong consistencies between different thematic plans and between the plan intentions and its products in maps and texts during the initial plan preparation period, amendments were made to one thematic plan (for example, environment) without the corresponding changes to the other plans (street network for example) during the latter period. As a result, the different thematic spatial plan maps were found to bear different and contradictory proposals creating ambiguity amongst implementation bodies. This has thus resulted in nonconformance of the original plan with implementation on the ground.

7. Key findings and related discussions

In this chapter, summary findings of the research, and related discussions will be presented.

7.1. Key findings

The main objective of the research is to understand the extent to which spatial plans of Addis Ababa are implemented and to investigate the effect of plan quality, land management and institutional setup on plan implementation as a way of improving planning practice in Addis Ababa. The city's spatial plan was studied with an overall background of the city's planning practice, using spatial plan documents, and checking them against level and type of implementation on the ground using conformance and performance methods. The influence of plan quality was assessed using quality measures of completeness, coherence, flexibility, communicability, participation and adequacy of implementation tools and strategies. The influence of land management factors (formal and informal) and institutional factors (capacity, decentralization, etc.) on the implementation of plans were also studied.

7.1.1. Overall planning system

Addis Ababa's planning culture could be said to have evolved from the indigenous traditional planning (Taitu's masterplan and practices prior to 1936) to the European colonial and non-colonial style (from 1936 to the 1960s), to the mix of local and international practices (both western and eastern, from 1970s to the present). The city's overall planning culture we see today (planning principles, philosophy, processes and practices, institutional and legal framework) exhibit a combination of one or more of these three periods.

Planning has been directly and indirectly affected by western schools (de Marien's and Abercrombie's, for example, as representative of French and British schools). The city's architectural heritages mainly of the 1960s (the municipality, the AAU-ECA complex, Hilton Hotel, etc.) are also the legacies of this period. Notable examples of influence of eastern schools were Polonyi's master plan, the land policies and apartments on Africa Avenue, Meskel Square, the Prime Minister's Office complex, etc. AACDP of 2003 could be considered as a case manifesting this combination. It maintained the traditional planning (retaining the old neighborhoods through upgrading), a balanced approach (traditional and modern), the European, colonial, and non-colonial legacies (through retention of buildings and structures) and redevelopment and new expansions (introducing modern buildings and infrastructure developments). AACDP was also committed to attain continuity of proposals of previous plans as far as they did not contradict

the city's succeeding development goals. Maintenance of LRTs and dedicated bus routes, relocation of the airport outside the city, retention of major land uses, etc. were such examples.

AACDP also showed, if not full-fledged, a combination of some qualities of four planning approaches: synoptic/comprehensive (structure plan), communicative (strategic), incremental (phasing, piloting flexible planning and implementation integration) and advocacy (participation and formal/informal) planning. Adoption of these planning approaches was, nevertheless, not system based, they were not institutionalized, rather it was ad hoc and based mainly on engaged professionals' views. As a result, the plans' connections with their contexts of land management and institutional set up were not clearly acknowledged.

The AACDP could also be considered as a major transformative agent in the transition of Ethiopian urban planning culture: from a top down to bottom up (though mainly from the professional stream); from blue print to strategic; and from limited scope to more comprehensive and integrated one (including institutional, legal and financial components); and from expatriate led to locally managed one.

7.1.2 Plan conformance and performance

The core underlying reason for considering conformance and performance as evaluation methods for the study emanated from the nature of evaluated plans themselves. The AACDP has made concrete proposals that should be observed on the ground through its structure plans and LDPs. It also had a strategic component that allowed flexibility and provisions of implementation tools and strategies so that there would be decision-centered performance. Conformance is a measure of plan compliance with the reality on the ground, while performance is execution of an action (measured in terms of output, outcome, or impact). Performance refers to something accomplished and, in our case, the fulfillment of a guideline or planning rule. Performance demands the strategic nature of planning that states more roles for implementers to make decisions, hence decision centered. The institutional ability to conform can be defined as effectiveness, while the ability to perform as efficiency.

Implementation compliances with AACDP proposals were far better than its predecessors. Centrality development has shown major conformance in Mercato in terms of respecting land use and street network and maintaining its role as a major commercial center. Redevelopment has shown better success in Mercato and in Lideta where merchants and residents had better participation, consulted on the program, and had influenced the outcome (incorporating merchants present on site and minimizing relocation, for example). Building height proposals

were respected on Mercato outlying areas. Mercato continued to be the major open market of the city and wholesale market center for the city and the nation (Case Study 2).

With some exceptions, most formal housing developments conform with the planned land use. Set aside the typological choice, condominiums and high-end residential housing could be cited as examples of conformance of plan land use and reality. Though not fully implemented, the mixed use concept has been maintained in condominium housing where small shops, cafes, pharmacies, etc. have been provided on ground floors of the blocks and spaces are provided for greenery and other services such as educational, health facilities and MSEs. What is not achieved in the new housing areas is the income mix. Formal private and real estate housing developments are in high-middle or high-income categories. Density in the intermediate and infill areas has increased through small plots provision and high-rise apartments.

Street and transport sectors were also among the strategic components of the plan that have shown major conformances. The street area coverage grew from less than 9% to 15.2 % in less than ten years (Case Study 1). Most major streets built were in conformance with the plans. Relocation of the Legehar freight depot and custom center to Kality was also a good example of conformance. Transport Bureau has been reorganized with more roles; AACRA and Traffic Management Agency have been instituted under the bureau with more capacity as per the plan. Capacitating Anbessa Bus Company and increasing the number of fleets and buses have been achieved.

The previous industrial zones of Akaki and Kality areas have been maintained and additional industries developed as infills and expansions. Many new industrial developments (Lebu industrial zone, Lemi and Kilinto industrial parks, etc.) also conform with the plan land use patterns.

Environmental proposals have shown some conformances by maintaining the existing parks (Bihere Tsige, Hame 19, Peacock, etc.) and developing some new ones (for example, Gullele Botanical Garden, the green park behind Estifanos Church, reafforestation on Entoto, etc.) even though the city is growing within an ecosystem under stress. Decentralized solid waste collection and engagement of private operators could also be considered a success in this regard.

The plan recommendation to have an Agency to integrate infrastructure development and regulate the construction sector was fulfilled by establishment of AAICA. Establishment of

Housing Agency, Urban Plan Institute and 10 sub cities and 116 woredas[36] was also in conformance of the plan proposals.

AACDP also exhibited nonconformance where and when plan guidelines were violated, and implementation deviated from proposals. The planned three-tiered polycentric structure could not be fully developed as there were emerging ad hoc centers in many parts of the city. Another centrality plan deviation was the absence of public open spaces and greenery as in Mercato and Kazanchis. *Chid Tera*[37] and Addis Ketema Cinema, supposed to be converted to green and public open spaces, remained as they were. Counter to the plan proposals, block development was mostly discouraged in favor of individual plot in Mercato. Upgrading was ignored and only renewal was promoted as the only development strategy in development of centers. Highrise buildings in central Mercato were in breach of proposals that favored low-rise. Mercato central area high-rise buildings and neglect to historical structures (as in the case of Mars Hotel, Case 2) were also major nonconformances of the LDP.

LDPs were prepared against plan proposal that encouraged LDP preparations only in identified strategic investment areas. This was done simply to meet procedural purpose and in the name of fair distribution of tasks to sub cities. No attention was given to their implementation and, as a result, the plans were left on the shelves.

Pedestrian dedicated streets promoted by Mercato LDP were not considered leaving them for mixed traffic. The public-private development company recommended for an efficient implementation of city center-targeted projects was not established. Land development was simply carried out by land management authority of the city government the usual way. Large scale storage facilities supposed to be relocated to Kolfe area were not moved; and rather, such facilities expanded getting more rooms in the new multistorey buildings and in the adjoining areas.

Mixed commercial and residential development promoted for Mercato was not realized. The mixed income land use in condominiums and private real estates could neither be met. No mix of high-income groups in large condominium sites, and no low-income groups in large private real estate neighborhoods are observed.

Road and transport implementation has shown not only conformance, but also some deviances from the plan, so exhibiting nonconformance. Street built in Ankorcha (Case 1) is an example of

[36] The initial proposal was to relinquish the previous 275 kebeles, Kotebe Special Kefitegna, Akaki Kality municipality as well as 23 farmers associations within the city into 184 kebeles. Later, the number was reduced to 116 by combining kebeles and upgrading them to woreda status.
[37] One of the *teras* on Mercato South.

nonconformance where the plan was not consulted (referred to) during implementation. LRTs recommended for Addis-Debrezeit and Legehar-Bole-Gerji-Megenagna were not implemented. The passenger terminal at Legehar rail station has not been retained as per the plan when the freight depot and custom center were relocated.

Environmental proposals were the most unimplemented functions showing nonconformances. Environmentally sensitive areas (ground water potentials and reserved areas for forests) were misallocated for building constructions. Agricultural and green lands including flood prone areas were converted to construction sites for housing and industry in Jemo, Weregenu, Hana Mariam, Koye, Filidoro, etc. Green fields on the outskirts, hilly areas and riverbank buffers were invaded by informal settlers. These invasions were attributable to institutional failures mainly to demarcate and safeguard the green areas. Lack of adequate implementation regulations and guidelines, or manuals is also another factor. Public land ownership has also contributed to creation of no man's land situation and hence poor management. Skyrocketing land prices are also important contributing factors. According to ULG Consultants Ltd. (1987 in Fetene and Worku, 2013) after the nationalization of land in 1975, the forest became subject to excessive, often illicit exploitation, causing severe degradation. Worku's statement (2017) is also worth noting here: "Spatial planning plays an important role in flood prevention by restricting building in flood plains, conserving flood retention areas, and minimizing impermeable surfaces."

Sanitary land fill sites, eucalyptus tree production in Woregenu and Koye Fetche were not realized. Sewer lines could not cover more than 10% of demand in a city with a tremendous population and physical growth. Polluting industries were not relocated to industrial zones where they could have established common treatment facilities, nor had those in industrial zones developed such facilities.

In this evaluation domain, performance occurred when plans were used as decision making tools and nonconformance when deviations emanated from sheer disregard of the plan.[38] Mercato's business expansion to the nearby areas throughout the outer perimeter and beyond could be considered as performance of the plan. This has contributed to Mercato maintaining its business and centrality role meeting one of the LDP's objectives. Though partial, creation of associations and construction of multistorey commercial buildings were attempts to meet block developments.

[38] Performance might be positive or negative, and measurable on output, outcome and impact. A plan cannot be performative if not properly and timely approved and if an institutional design is not adequately set up. Lack of implementation becomes non-conformance only when the two conditions are met.

Highrise buildings throughout the city (though hierarchical organization and zoning were not respected) are in line with the plan objectives of creating compact development and improving the image of the city.

Condominiums became the government's favorite option for provision of housing though nonstoreyed options were pushed aside. Upgrading was neglected and only renewal was promoted in the city central areas with some questionable impacts. The formal-informal option as well as the private rental for low-income (expected to relieve most low-income residents' shelter problems) have not been opted lending to illegal and unplanned informal settlements mushrooming throughout the city's outskirts.

The establishment of secondary regional bus terminals at four locations (though they practiced decentralized system unlike the proposal that favored a centralized one) is also in line with performance. The recommended north-south and east-west dedicated bus lanes and tram ways were replaced by LRT showing plan performance as the plan was referred to respecting the major alignments. Multi-story car parking built in American Ghibi (the adjoining area) is serving vehicles destined to Mercato also showing performance of the plan.

Consideration of the adjoining area in the planning of Mercato is a good case showing the need to consider the surrounding areas of a particular planning project site. This concept could be extended to city wide plans, regional and national plans enriching the developing planning culture.

7.1.3. Influencing factors

Plan quality factors

Consistency of the plan documents was better evident in transport and street network of the plan (in both structure plan and LDP) and this has also contributed to the conformance of the street and transport network. The plans exhibited good qualities in terms of their comprehensiveness including socio-economic, institutional, and regulatory issues, development of implementation tools and strategies. The structure plan approval law, the condominium law and the reform programs were drafted as implementation tools that ensured the plan implementation conformance and performance.

Attempts made to consider regional contexts contributed to the city’s plan qualities of comprehensiveness and in lessening the potential land use conflicts between the city and its neighboring areas. But in the overall effect, the city was detached from its surrounding region

(urban and rural) resulting in conflicting land uses and interests between the city and its neighbors. These conflicts are likely to weaken any metropolitan strategy for years to come.

The executive summary booklet published in Amharic and English (including sketch maps) was clear in conveying the message in simple language even to nonprofessionals. The technical plan documents were also prepared in relatively clearer maps and text forms than their predecessors. This has helped the overall implementability of the plan leading to better conformance when plans were referred to. The technical plan documents were, nevertheless, not published and hence only accessible to the land management and planning departments of the city government staff. Some land use patterns lacked prescriptive guidelines of implementation particularly for mixed land uses. That led to misunderstanding of the mixed-use concept among the implementing technicians and hence nonconformance of the plans.

Implementation strategies, particularly the SDF/SDAP, mixed use and flexibility were not adequately communicated to the community, to the implementing agencies and other stakeholders leading to further nonconformance. The formal/informal mode of housing provision was not adequately clarified in the strategies and treated at a conceptual level only. Failure to clarify the essence, the value to be added and contribution of formal/informal modality to ameliorate the housing problem of the city has led to failure of implementation of the plan in a formal way. This has nevertheless encouraged the spread of illegal and informal settlements mostly in green areas.

Stakeholder engagements in exhibitions and conferences had helped the community and investors to develop awareness of the existence of the master plan and its roles helping to garner investment. When a project was launched to implement the plan (for example, street construction), there was a public support. The encouragement of Mercato merchant community to redevelop their areas was initiated by the participatory nature of the planning process.

During the plan preparation period, proposals were negotiated with the implementing bodies (for example, with WUDB for land use amendments, and with AACRA for street width or alignment) and with the community on LDPs (e.g., the Mercato Committee). This had contributed to a more realistic plan product and thus influenced conformance of plan proposals. But these participatory processes were limited to the merchants who were organized into associations and the Mercato Committee. Small and informal traders and residents did not take part in the case of Mercato, for example. As a result, they could not influence the relocation process whereas the members of Mercato Committee had influenced the plan proposal as well as the implementation process.

SDF/SDAP, LDPs, the institutional and regulatory recommendations were important implementation strategies and instruments introduced into the planning process. Introduction of these tools coupled with the mixed land use and the periodic updating provisions in the approval law have helped engrave flexibility in the plan, hence easing more conformance in implementation.

Flexibility was expressed in the land use classification. This was manifested by describing only the nonpermitted functions in land use zones. That means all other functions not in the nonpermitted list were permitted. The mixed land use provision and updating structure plan, following procedures as per the law, were also important features of the plan flexibility. Unlike its predecessors, ORAAMP plan included the required institutional/legal frameworks as implementation instruments. Intrusion of residential settlements in Weregenu, Koye and Filidoro were partially encouraged by failure of the plan to include comprehensive implementation strategies.

Institutional and land management factors

The findings show that the degree of conformance, nonconformance and performance of spatial plans were influenced not only by the quality of the plan, but also by land management and related institutional factors. Institutional set up and land management system played a big role in influencing levels of plan conformance and performance. Escalating land price has been one of the factors for nonconformance of Mercato LDP.

Even though the governance system was not efficient, coordinated, and collaborative actions[39] between AAICA (the regulating authority) and implementing institutions had shown proven successful implementation (both conformance and performance) during the first two years after the reform and plan approval. Coordination between land allocation, construction permit, and infrastructure provision agencies during the initial phase of the master plan implementation enabled more references to the plans informing decision-making processes. The master plan was used as reference material; and when it was found difficult to conform to the plan prescriptions, amendments to the plan were made through discussions though political influence usually dominates. But following the 2005 election, absence of able and independent body to challenge

[39] Institutional coordination organized by AAICA following the validation of AACDP in 2003 could be taken as a good example. The effect of this coordination was more visible in the actions of AACRA in the implementation of the street system. Recent good examples of this coordination between institutions are the Mercato bus station project, the multistory parking facilities implemented (Megenagna and American Ghibbi) and under implementation (Shola market in Yeka) as well as most streets projects that were results of cooperative spirit between the Transport Bureau, AACRA and Plan Commission (earlier the AACPPO).

the unlawful political interferences, the poor quality of professionals, and unethical acts were the driving factors for most plan nonconformances.

Success of decentralized solid waste collection and engagement of private operators could be attributed to political commitment following government's policy to reduce unemployment and encourage income generation through promotion of MSEs. Failure to develop public open spaces and greenery was attributed to land value and reluctance of government to invest. Mushrooming of informal/illegal developments on green fields and hilly forest areas, violations of land uses, are attributed to poor institutional capacity to enforce plan and land management regulations. Invasion of green and hilly areas by formal and informal settlements is manifestation of lack of adequate land provision for housing coupled with poor monitoring/controlling capacity of the city administration.

Failure to engrave institutionalized and formalized transparency and participatory process denied small businesses and resident community any chance to influence the implementation process of LDPs, as seen in Mercato.

The practice of a *double master plan,* where the ruling political elite developed a parallel, 'pragmatic' and 'hidden' plan disregarding the legally endorsed master plan, was a major influencing factor for plan violations. This duplicity has been evolving in favor of new forms of economic power and urban regimes that, in effect, substitute real estate design for the plan and careful management of the city. This, usually project-led strategy tends to separate infrastructure policies from settlement policies causing urban standards to deteriorate.

In summary, the major institutional/governance factors that impacted Addis Ababa's planning and its implementation ensuing nonconformance were: level and availability of information and data; exit strategy in 2003 (dismantling of ORAAMP and its staff without succeeding agency); high turnover of political and technical staff; capacity and level of human resources; failure to monitor, evaluate and practice accountability; poor management of Addis Ababa's relation with the Federal Government and Oromia Regional State; the emergence of new forms of real estate power with the spread of an international style of architecture completely out of context and environmentally unsustainable.

7.2. Discussion of main findings

In this sub-chapter the major findings of the research will be presented in relation to the objectives of the research, the research questions, and the discussed planning/evaluation theories.

7.2.1. Plan evaluation

Spatial plans need to be evaluated to test if, how and why they accomplished their intentions or not. Evaluation is also necessary to make improvements to the way plans are designed and implemented. Generally, urban spatial plan evaluation practice and knowledge for factors influencing implementation have been rare in African cities. This study aims to contribute to filling this gap. The forthcoming section thus discusses the major findings of the research: extent of plan implementation and effects of plan quality, land management and institutional setup on this plan implementation.

Evaluation enhances planning practice, tracks the course of planning proposals, promoting an effective planning dynamic, in which suggestions for changes or reviews in planning products and processes are supported by the results of evaluation exercises (Oliveira & Pinho, 2009, 2010). Learning from experience can only be accumulated and transformed into knowledge through a systematic evaluation, generalization and development of new theories and norms for practice (Alexander and Faludi, 1989).

The plan evaluation conducted during this research benefited from different evaluation methods: goal-based objective evaluation, subjective evaluation and decision centered approaches. It was a goal-based objective evaluation that demanded concrete results with the intentions of the plans. But this method of evaluation was not adequate to have a full picture of the plan and its implementation as it ignores uncertainty that very much explains Addis Ababa's context. Subjective (reflective) evaluation that takes uncertainty into consideration and is based on the knowledge and information of the planner (the researcher in this case) and decision-centered evaluation that examined the use of the plan documents as reference for operational decisions (Alexander, E., 2009; Faludi, A., 1989; Schön, A. D., 1983; Visser, W., 2010) were also applied in combination.

7.2.2. Conformance and performance

Conformance is a measure of plan compliance with the reality on the ground. Implementation compliances with the AACDP proposals were far better than its predecessors meeting a certain degree of success. Centrality development has shown major conformance in Mercato in terms

of respecting land use and street network and maintaining its role as a major commercial center. Redevelopment has been successful in Mercato and partially in Lideta where merchants and residents were relatively adequately consulted on the program and had influenced the outcome (incorporating merchants present on site and minimizing relocation, for example). Building height proposals were respected on Mercato outlying areas.

There are multiple challenges that city centers and market centers face. As there were flights of urban population away from the city centers following the expansion of cities in UK and Europe in 2000s (Guy, 2007 in Ozuduru, 2019), similar phenomena have occurred in Mercato during the last two decades. The rich merchants of Mercato, previously having their residence in central Mercato or in Addis Ketema, secured their abode in Kolfe, Old Airport, and later in Bole, Ayat and Legetafo high income residential areas. Following this transformation of residential areas, malls, recreational and other services started to move alongside. Dembel city center, Ghetu commercial in Bole, Zefmesh mall in Megenagna, Century mall in Gurdshola, Country Club Developers commercial center in Legetafo, etc, are examples.

Mercato has maintained its market center role against all odds. Many countries experience decay in urban core due to sprawl and shopping center development (Ozuduru, 2019). It continued to be the major open market of the city and wholesale market center for the city and the nation as a whole (Case 2). This continuity of marketplace is not unique to Mercato. Smith (2010) notes (citing examples of Antwerp, Brussels, and many other cities now grown in many European cities) that this primeval plot of ground where the trading took place continues to this day as a market square. Literature reveals that city centers are identified by the intensity of this exchange (Leslie and Breandán, 2006; Gruen, 1964 in Ozuduru, 2019). Mercato has been playing this role as a major focus of convergence and divergence of people, services, and goods.

Plan preparation is not a one-time project; it continues throughout the implementation period. In plan evaluation, conformance does not suffice to meet the required measure of plan success. Performance based evaluation insists that planning is a process of decision making under conditions of uncertainty; as long as the outcomes are beneficial, departures from plans may be considered acceptable (Tong and Zhang 2016*)*. Plan performance - plan serving as reference material in decision making during the implementation – was also used as important evaluation tool.

Highrise buildings throughout the city are not in full conformance of the plan though they contributed to meeting densification and compact development. Implementation of the building height regulation contributed to compact city development (as foreseen by the plan) increasing density and hence efficiency. Increased density has been attained by increased floor area per

unit area of land, contributing to more employment and economic production. It also impacted the increasing value of land. A tall building is in effect a vertical transformation of horizontal expansion. It is generally acknowledged] that there has been evident neglect of the human factors in urban design at the expense of livability and quality of life. The outward expansion of cities into the suburbs has resulted in increased travel time and traffic gridlock. The prospect of traveling for a long time, to and from work, is detrimental to social well-being of the commuter and results in losses of fuel and productivity. Clustering of buildings in the form of tall buildings in densely built-up areas is an opportunity (though not the only one) for creating open spaces like playgrounds, plazas, parks, and other community spaces by freeing up space at the ground level.

The presumed three-tiered polycentric structure could not be fully developed. The review of the high-rise buildings in Addis Ababa has shown that they are distributed here and there without any zoning rationale; what's more, without any evaluation of systemic physical, functional and social impacts. The proposed concentration of high-rise buildings in centers and along arterial streets and the gradual dropping of heights as one goes away from centers and arterial streets was to supply infrastructure consistently. Tall buildings can be grouped in clusters or located alone (Ibrahim, 2007). The haphazard high-rise developments are nevertheless creating huge shortages of infrastructure (transport, water, electric power, etc.). For example, the huge people load of a high building, particularly at peak times, may overload the infrastructure, public transport, roads, and utilities (Ibrahim, 2007).

Despite leasing system, the price of land was one major contributing factor for the pressure to build higher. The cost of land creates effect that raises the per-floor costs of a building of a given height and creates the incentive to build taller to spread the land cost over a larger number of floors: thus, higher land cost leads to taller buildings. Influenced by the high land price, high rise buildings in central Mercato have been changing the long-lived open market and *teras*[40] character of Mercato. But, as discussed above, still Mercato resisted this challenge and continued to be the major open market for the city and a wholesale market center for the city and the nation as a whole (Case 2).

Preparation of so many LDPs disagreed with the plan proposal to focus on strategic investment areas. Detail plans focus on specific localities of an urban center and are used to implement the city's strategic and catalytic projects and/or neighborhood scale plans (UN Habitat, 2021) not for the whole city. The plan identified only 30 strategic investment areas whereas more than 200

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[40] A *tera* is a large plot of open market specializing in fixed items/ merchandise usually raised from street level and partially covered as a protection from rain and sun rays.

LDPs were prepared during plan implementation period. This was simply to meet procedural purpose and in the name of fair distribution of tasks to sub cities with the notion that there should be detailed plans all over the city to implement the structure plan. No attention was given to their implementation and as a result the LDPs were left without implementation. The structure plan had nevertheless, implementation tools for those areas outside the strategic investment areas. Moreover, it was not practical to prepare detail plans for the whole city as it would take more than the implementation period of ten years. A different implementation procedure (for example, incremental and communicative that are community based) using the structure plan provisions could have been more effective. The structure plan Proclamation (No. 17/2004) provides accommodation and adaptation to mixed land use when new projects are developed. Secondly, LDPs are more rigid and once LDP is prepared for a particular area or neighborhood, it avoids flexibility which was one of the main traits of the structure plan.

The public condominium housing and private real-estate development were the major areas of housing conformances and performances. They showed conformance where the land use was respected and performance where land use change occurred through preparation of LDP and adaptation of the land use for housing. Provision of condominiums to middle income group (who could not afford the private land market on lease) is also manifestation of the plan performance for it met partial demand of the middle-income group and an overall increase in housing stock.

Failure to have mixed housing (in terms of income) has limited the provision of services and infrastructure through cross subsidy implying pressure on public finance. Though claimed to be low-income provision, the condominium housing proved little in meeting the demands of this group as it was not affordable to these group for two reasons. Financially these group could not save the affront payment needed to qualify to be considered for the lottery. Secondly, if they somehow afforded to save (through borrowing and support from relatives, etc.) they could not live in these flats as they are far away from the central areas where most of these groups make their living. The mixed-use violation was also manifested where redevelopment/renewal was practiced. The relocatees were moved to condominiums on the outskirts, and the renewal sites were developed for businesses.

The formal/informal provision and private rental housing which was supposed to cover more than 40 per cent of the demand, would have been a viable solution for most low-income groups. This has been seen as a major drawback of the plan implementation resulting in unplanned informal housing in the city's outskirts, both within and outside the administration boundaries. According to the UN-Habitat (2017) more than 30 per cent of housing provision during the plan implementation was informal, mostly on areas reserved for green and public open spaces. Though the government failed to recognize the demands of this group and to take initiatives in

organizing the supply as per the plan, the settlers were gradually provided with security of tenure. Though this process had posed some challenges in infrastructure provision and demands major upgrading with heavy financial and administrative costs, it was in performance of the plan intentions as it provided shelter in one form or another.

In most cases streets and transport facilities were in conformance with the plan. Plan performance was thoroughly practiced in streets and transport provision as there was continuous references to the plan. When amendments and changes were needed during implementation, AACRA sought agreement and approval of AAICA and later of the Plan Institute. Limited nonconformances also occurred.

Failure to establish UDECOM and the Planning Agency immediately in the aftermath of plan preparation, failure to sustain some of the institutions such as AAICA, and to strengthen capacities, as well as failure to enforce laws and regulations were additional institutional factors to be considered.

7.2.3. Influencing factors

Plan quality

Plan quality measures such as coherence, completeness, participation, flexibility, adequacy of implementation tools and strategies, level of communication were seldom addressed in designing plans particularly in African cities like Addis Ababa. Moreover, the influences of land management and institutional system on plan implementation of growing cities are not well researched while their impact has been immense.

Since urbanization in poor countries' cities differs from the western model, the planning model also differs greatly. In the west, modern urban spatial planning came following the impacts of industrialization mainly as an instrument to deal with its negative consequences of 'slumization' and migration of surplus labor into cities (Freestone, 2001), which is nonexistent in poor developing countries like Ethiopia. It is evident that the contemporary planning context of the global South and Africa unambiguously differs from that within which European planners addressed urbanization (economic growth and industrialization induced urbanization) a century ago (Cornelius, et al, 2017). The surplus labor from rural areas has only been adding to the already unemployed labor in African cities. These cities are not yet ready to absorb the unemployed labor increasing with population natural growth, and any additional labor force to cities only exacerbates an overall socioeconomic challenge. Primacy of cities like Addis Ababa has been and will continue to be one major challenge in having balanced national urbanization. Though there

has been some indication of decreasing primacy of Addis Ababa (from 26.3% in 2000 to 19% in 2015), this may not be guarantee for balanced urbanization. Most of this increase may have occurred only in secondary urban centers, potential *pivot* of local and balanced urban-rural exchanges.

Absorptive capacity[41] of urban centers may only be enhanced when an overall economic development is attained. This attainment may demand an all-encompassing development plan and strategy at national and regional level. The NUDSP proposals (Egis, 2016) and ASSOID's proposal of developing rural service centers in line with the national strategy may be options for balanced Ethiopian urbanization. This is believed to hold and manage the rural-urban migration through a sustainable development of agriculture in these rural service centers. This is to mean bringing urbanization to the rural areas, not the classical urbanization with rural population leaving for urban centers. This model, nevertheless, needs to be tested as suggested in mid 80s by the Addis Ababa Master Plan (1983-85). The challenge this model may face arises from the existing land policy all around the country, because the history of successful mechanization and industrialization of agriculture has been strongly coined with private ownership of land. And this also needs to be studied.

Moreover, the planning approaches followed by western cities may not be directly imported. Earlier practices have shown their failures. This is not to mean they should be fully avoided. There are certain traits of these approaches that could be adapted to local conditions. African cities like Addis Ababa must learn from the west in practicing statutory and comprehensive planning framework and quality urban design. This may be complemented by participatory and flexible planning that corresponds to institutional culture of the context and within given statutory frameworks. In some examples, the Chinese experience (Shi, 2001; Friedman, 2005 in Okeke, 2015) has shown how western planning methods and approaches could be adapted and integrated with the local urban tradition and institutional factors to enhance urban development. The rational/synoptic/comprehensive planning had its share of contribution to manage urbanization and urban development in the west. And it is also making comparative (if not similar) contribution in the east by making adaptations to the local context. However, it must be said that its success depends on the changing relationship between state, market, and communities. The dependence of the state on economic rationale, and on financialization of the economy, removes legitimacy from the comprehensive approach and from statutory planning itself. New forms of urban contract, new public-private partnership arrangements are spreading rapidly, reducing statutory planning itself to the fiscal dimensions of urban management. This is

[41] Absorptive capacity is certainly related to development in general, but also to balanced environmental, food, and energy budgets at the local level, along with a capacity for community self-governance. Capacity and self-governance condition and reinforce one another, both positively or negatively.

to be closely watched and the advantage of statutory plan still holds if contextualized with the African perspective.

Validation of spatial plans could also be considered as plan quality to enhance performance. AACDP of 2003 was unparalleled by its predecessors to have been endorsed by legal notice (Proclamation No.86/2004) in the immediate aftermath of the plan preparation. Of course, had it been accompanied by the regional plan, there could have been more conformance or at least performance and less nonconformance. Most of the nonconformances of the plan that occurred on the outskirts of the city could have been managed for better conformance and performance. Validated plans provide comprehensiveness and give viable framework to facilitate for more urban plan implementation. The Ugandan experience of having a validated regional plan bearing a legal framework provided a viable development instrument. The regional plan is a statutory plan document that dictates all urban and nonurban development plans within the region to conform with the regional plan provisions and promotes integration along thematic/sectoral and institutional lines (Lwasa, S. and Njenga, K. C., 2012).

Failure of many LDPs preparation and their non-implementability could partly be attributed to inadequacy of the implementation tools and strategies as well as failure to communicate the plans to implementing agencies. The high turnover of staff and institutional changes were also additional contributing factors for the miscommunication.

The numerous master plans introduced from the 1930's to guide the development of Addis Ababa were not strictly implemented due to lack of adequate details (Teferra, Z., 2016) until the ORAAMP master plan that has seen tremendous implementation compared to its predecessors. ORAAMP plan has shown major improvements in spatial planning quality: comprehensiveness, participation and, flexibility and adequacy of implementation tools and strategies.

Lack of consistency and clarity of plan documents (mainly the later LDPs) were major weakness areas of the plan leading to nonconformance. Detailed local plans produced and implemented without due consistency and coherence with the structure plan have resulted in nonconformance of the structure plan and implementation. Piecemeal urban planning or development, which were not guided by developmental plans, resulted in uncoordinated and incompatible spatial developments. Non-conformance to comprehensive urban plans has negative implications for ecosystem functions and services (Chigara et al., 2013 in Mabaso, A., et al., 2015). Prepared LDPs without connection to financial sources and situation of implementing institutions were additional reasons for failed plans to be implemented.

Nonconformance was also the result of inadequate participation, to be considered in terms of social interaction, dialogue and deliberative capacity of not only a local community, but also of a

plan or project community. Participation is a difficult task and is said than practiced. Participation of stakeholders during LDPs preparation in the ten-year plan implementation period were not on plan vision, content, and output, but rather on "relocation and compensation schemes," after the plans and major decisions were made (EiABC, 2010). Even during ORAAMP period, strategic investment areas were selected by the project office staff without participation of key stakeholders. Participation should therefore be understood in all the phases of a plan's life cycle. It is very different in the design phase than in scenario or strategy writing phase, as well as in the phase where rules and implementation procedures are defined. The difference is even greater when assessing technical feasibility, social acceptability, and sustainability of the plan from the financial, environmental, and energy standpoints.

Participation was successful where there were strong community members with big voices as has been evidenced by Mercato and Sidist Kilo communities who were able to get their way through strong lobbying. Had there been participation of small merchants and resident groups of Mercato community during plan preparation, relocation of the informal and small traders and residents could have been resisted. They could have influenced the plan output producing precious information during implementation. The outcome could have been inclusion in the redevelopment program.

Khakee A. (cited in Borri, D. et al, 1997) reveals how challenging participation is in practice noting Sweden as an example:

> 'The lack of public involvement in planning, and thus democratic support for planning, is an important challenge to planners in Sweden, where a tendency to replace politics by administration and expertise has been strong.'

Though the contexts cannot be compared, we can see how difficult 'the walk' is compared to 'the talk'. One way of making sustainable participation is to make it institutionalized and supported by clear regulations.

Mixed land use principle was to reduce inefficient traffic mobility by managing transport demand. It also allowed and induced flexibility in development, while maintaining distinction regarding major industrial and environmental areas. Maintaining the social mix in residential settlements generally helped improve the livelihood of the urban poor. The mixed use also went hand in hand with the mentioned duality concept of the plan that promoted the parallel coexistence of the traditional and modern city neighborhoods. Plan quality factors of flexibility, incrementalism, and implementation tools and strategies enabled plan performance leaving rooms for decision making processes (Alexander, E. and Faludi, A., 1989)

Institutional and land management factors

Plan success (manifested through conformance and performance or meeting some development objectives) may be conditioned not only by the intentions of the plan or its quality; but also, by other factors including land management system, governance and institutional setup, political, socioeconomic and other environmental settings. As discussed by Elnaga & Imran (2013 in Gachunga, M. N, 2020 p. 40), implementing plans has been found to be the main step in the entire process where most of the institutions get stuck. Successful plan execution is possible when the organization's administrative elements have a strategy supportive structure, a supportive budget, competent employees in right jobs, well laid down performance targets, internal supportive administrative systems, and visionary leadership that motivates and manages the change process in a conducive, innovative and responsive work environment (ibid).

Among the contexts having higher influence on successful plan implementation are political, the lead organization having experienced, skilled, and numerically adequate planning staff; participation of the affected groups and high level of communication (Bryson, J.M., and Bromiley, P., 1993). Qualified and committed professionals contributed to AACDP production and the latter implementation process when they were admitted to the city's newly established organs such as the AAICA, the Plan Institute and Land Development Agency. The smooth and better implementation of the plan proposals (including its validation in 2004) could be partly attributed to the existence of such core staff in key agencies. The ORAAMP practice later became the springboard for the creation of unprecedented local staff capacity building to manage urban development plans in the country as a whole. Experts from ORAAMP had the opportunity to prepare master plans and LDPs for Ethiopian towns. The plans more or less followed similar methodologies and principles adopted in ORAAMP. AACPPO's key staff were also deployed from those with ORAAMP's experience.

Encouraged by Addis Ababa's success, federal and regional governments developed some confidence on local expertise and allowed their engagement in similar planning and governance reform activities in secondary and tertiary towns. Architects and urban planners previously limited to design of buildings and plot development have come to engage in full-fledged comprehensive urban projects ranging from regional to urban planning, LDPS and urban design, governance, and legal frameworks[42]. Regional offices came to ORAAMP and shared the experiences and were requesting for workshops. Experts from the project office were invited to regional towns to share their experiences.

[42] Some urban panning projects undertaken by local planning professionals: Adama, Jimma, Gondar, Nekemte, Bishoftu, Bahir Dar, Maichew, Debark master plans; Dire Dawa and Mekele LDPs and regularization of informal settlements; LDPs for condominiums in Addis Ababa.

Spatial planning is good enough depending on the institutional framework in which it is anchored. The quality and efficiency of planning depend on the policy framework in which planning goals are developed and how planners are trained (Genet, 2020). The city's continued change of political system (from the administrative traditional monarchy to a more liberal monarchy with foreign influence, then to the socialist military dictatorship, to mixed economy, finally to the revolutionary democratic free market economy and the corresponding change in the city's political and economic role) has had peculiar impact on the city's oscillating institutional/legal framework and the subsequent lack of sustainability.

Conformance of most housing developments particularly the condominium housing, the success in streets and transport sectors could be attributed to the institutional strengths of the IHDP, AACRA and the Transport Bureau respectively. They were accompanied by the political support manifested through budget allocation and strict follow-up by higher political organs of the ruling party both at city and federal levels.

Implementation of AACDP faced nonconformance mainly due to the contextual settings. As the saying goes, though planning is not a simple task implementation is more challenging. To ameliorate this challenge, plan design should be undertaken in clear understanding of implementation process and its context. Failure to design adequate implementation strategies, that correspond contextual situation of institutional set up and land management, led to plan nonconformance. Mushrooming of informal settlements, failure to develop green and public open spaces in centers and redevelopment projects were the outcomes of institutional and land management factors.

The recommended block development of Mercato was difficult to implement as the land management and institutional context wouldn't allow such organization. Though this looked interesting, it faced implementation challenge as land was occupied at plot level and the administration could only handle leasing at individual plot level. The individual merchants could not afford single plot-based developments individually. The plan failed to show how these multiple plots could be joined/merged to bring about block level development and the accompanying implementation strategies such as financing and leasing. It seems that the plan neglected the institutional, legal and investment culture as well as capacity of the local investors. What is called for, under these conditions, was not only the analytic techniques which have been traditional in operations research, but the active, synthetic skill of designing a desirable future and inventing ways of bringing it about (Schön, A. D., 1983).

Decentralization and other urban management factors failed due, among other things, to lack of accountability of the mayor and most officials to the city residents. They are usually accountable

to their party and to the central government. Lack of accountability, beyond affecting the urban design and development patterns, is believed to lead to an overall urban management crisis. Though accountability cannot be a *panacea* for righting all urban managements problems, it plays a critical role in contributing to the improvement process.

Non conformances on the city's outskirts, mainly informality, were expressions of poor linkages and the subsequent lack of coordination between Addis Ababa and Oromia Administrative Region. The gaps between spatial planning and land management practice had major impacts in affecting the lives of farmers within the city's administrative borders and those in the neighboring areas. Lack of clear strategy for land development and management has led to haphazard agricultural land expropriation without due process of compensation and clear strategy on how to incorporate those to be relocated into the urban socio-economic and environmental context. Both city and regional administration authorities need cooperation in managing cross-boundary issues, protection of natural resources, and flow of goods and people. In addition, several urban and rural settlements in Oromia Region depend on services located in Addis Ababa. In fact, the districts of ORG around the peri-urban areas of Addis Ababa were already suffering from rising land speculation which has led to destruction of natural forests and informal land transactions (Genet 2020). Administrative and spatial planning boundary issues and the urban-rural mandatory linkages and how to deal with them have not been spelt out in the proclamations, causing ambiguity, sometimes leading to conflicts between the regions. Disputes in this regard between Addis Ababa and Oromia, Sidama and Oromia (on Hawassa Lake, Tikur Wuha and Shashemene), Somali and Oromia (on Dire Dawa) could be such examples.

Rapid turnover of municipal officials and technical staff, the rapid change of organizational structures, and failure to introduce sustainable data management system were also contributors to weak institutional capacity in Addis Ababa. Fast turnover of political and technical staff along with the rapid reorganization of the city organs created discontinuity of management system perpetuating poor institutional capacity and instability. These situations usually arise from frustration due to failure to meet public demands and some political agenda. When an agency failed to meet certain objectives entrusted to it, then the panacea was to recreate the agency and/or restaff it with 'new blood'. This had a negative impact of losing the experiences developed earlier.

Major reorganization of the city administration has been conducted 15 times over the last 15 years, not mentioning the reforms conducted by individual agencies. As a result, the earlier data were lost or misplaced adding to the existing poor data management system. This lack of information on the part of the politicians making decisions, has been an additional factor, for example when the LRT provision was decided in the absence of any alternative proposal on the

table. There were available options studied by the AACDP such as the BRT, but they were not brought to the attention of the decision-making politicians for consideration.

Particularly following the 2005 election when the ruling party lost, the situation was so tense and the demands were so huge that the government was on an emergency situation to meet public demand in fast-track line. There was no time to think and reflect on the situation and to engage in detailed planned intervention. It was a situation similar to what Schön A. D. (1983) noted as 'There is no time to reflect when we are on the firing line; if we stop to think, we may be dead'.

One missing element in the Addis Ababa's planning culture was the absence of advocacy for the plan. According to Proclamation No. 47/2006, the Civil Society Organizations Agency of the Ministry of Justice is empowered to register and license faith based and non-for- profit non-governmental organizations. But none of the hitherto established institutions in this regard has shown advocacy for the plan one way or the other. Had such culture been developed, and had there been advocacy groups to become voices for the weaker society members, the relocation of low-income residents from the city centers to the periphery (as in Kazanchis and American Ghibbi where complete bulldozing was conducted) could have been lessened or at least better managed. And planning would have been a project of diverse social groups and civil societies advocating for sustainable socio-spatial development as noted by Genet (2020).

The underprivileged and seeking social change (poor *lasticbets* and *cherekabets*,[43] and informal settlers, poor residents in kebele housing in city centers in Addis Ababa case) have no power to defend their interests and are usually losers in such interactions. This situation thus calls for engagement of advocacy groups that can support and advocate the interests of these disadvantaged groups.

It is true that planners can be self-driven and creative in the use of the resources and legitimacy afforded by this context, but at the same time, their actions are shaped by the constraints of institutions and the political economy wherein these institutions function (Filion, P., 2021).

The apolitical stance in the field of urban planning has been a major stumbling block in developing a working and good spatial plan. The shying away of planners from working with the political bodies had immense impacts on plan implementation. Had the BRT project been properly presented to the political body, there could have been option for choosing BRT over LRT given the cost, the carrying capacity and the impacts on the city image and traffic flows. The

[43] *lasticbets* are informal housing made from temporary materials of plastics, cardboards, etc. and are usually in city centers or intermediate zones along street sides attached to public building fences. *Cherekabets* are informal housing built on informally acquired land from farmers on the periphery or grabbed from public land. They are usually built during the night, and hence the local name c*herekabet*, to literally mean 'moon-house'

experiences of ORAAMP and AACPPO[44] in breaking away with the longstanding apolitical stances of urban professionals and politicians viewing spatial planning as merely technocratic tasks, may be used as basis in this regard. After all, as Khakee (1997) stresses, the only way for planners to ensure the success of their plans is to work closely with politicians.

The political and professional vertical organizational divide, that discouraged horizontal coordination, also affected the plan implementation process by weakening the professional in favor of the political wing. Failure to monitor, evaluate and practice accountability continuously threatened good urban governance by undermining public confidence in the integrity and responsiveness of public institutions.

While planners can figure out ways of navigating around these constraints, they do not control them. Planners are thus pictured as capable of strategizing in the pursuit of self-defined agendas, but within an institutional and political economy environment that is not of their making (Filion, P., 2021). But in periods of institutional and political economy transition, which disrupt prevailing planning trajectories, planners must validate their professional existence by finding new intervention niches and, in a sense, reinventing themselves (Gersick, 1991, Muller, 1998, and Talen and Ellis, 2002, cited in Filion, P., 2021). Such adjustments also entail a redefinition of their professional contribution to the public interest, moving away from interventions that are poorly suited to emerging contexts and devising new forms of planning involvement, better tailored to contemporary circumstances (Filion, P., 2021).

Political interventions have had their huge role in either conformance or nonconformance of plans. As seen earlier, the double-plan approach was at play with significant impact on the city's physical structure. The overall situation could also be termed as what Desai and Potter (2006) call in their own way 'structuralism' - the idea that there are unseen (or at least unclear and confusing) structures and forces of political-strategic nature that guide the path of global and local events.

The major neglect of decentralization was manifested by often confusing overlapping roles between the federal and the city government. The city lost its autonomy with the reversal of the city's regional status (Region 14 prior to the constitution) making it accountable to the federal government. This became increasingly evident, particularly with the condominium social housing scheme and the Light-Rail Transit (LRT) system, in which the centralized federal government

[44] The ORAAMP and AACPPO experience of working with politicians has been superb though difficult and with limited success. The implementation success of ORAAMP plan could partly be attributed to this planning and implementation process and thus could be used as starting basis from which coherent professional arrangements could be developed.

often overruled the city administration (Gebresenbet, 2016 in Biruk, 2020). The Ministry of Urban Development, Housing and Construction was often engaged in the condominium housing projects taking the upper hand.

One aspect of Mercato development success that could be cited as the little amount of relocation as compared to Kazanchis, American Ghibbi and Fitber (where almost 100% relocation occurred) was because the merchants were organized into associations implying the influence of institutions.

It was the scarcity and high price of land as well as the weak institutional capacity that encouraged haphazard high-rise buildings throughout the city. Where land is scarce and expensive particularly in big cities, the best solution for solving the problem is construction of tall buildings as tools to achieve high density development (Ibrahim, 2007). Availability of vacant land was among the determining factors for plan implementation as has been seen in Bisrate Gabriel, Edna Mall and Gurd Sholla areas in all conformance, nonconformance and performance of the plans.

Failure to accept informality and failure to manage to formalize these settlements gradually has exacerbated informality, illegality, and unregulated development. As Mabogunje (1992) observed from the nature of urban land market situation of Sub-Saharan Africa, "the constraints of making land easily available through the formal governmental mechanism were such as to force people, desperate to provide themselves with shelter, to seek other avenues of gaining access to land".

Lack of sustainable land information system was also an important contributing factor for plan and land integration. Ethiopia cannot expect to develop a thriving real estate (including housing market) that contributes fully to economic growth and asset (wealth) creation until the current informal, unregulated, and opaque property market is professionalized, made transparent and accurate up-to-date information is available (Metcalfe 2019).

Addis Ababa Development and Improvement Project Office (AADIPO) study (cited in Daniel Lirebo, 2006) presented the major factors for informal settlements in Addis Ababa: socio-economic factors (housing shortage, absence of housing finance, poverty and speculation); institutional factors (limited land supply, absence of accountability, lack of coordination, absence of transparency, corruption, poor human and technical capacity); legal factors (absence of clear policy regarding informal settlement and informal land transfer or land transaction (from farmer to developer; or land change from farm lands to housing).

The land tenure issue is also an important defining matter in the implementation of plans in Ethiopian context. In the age of divided land governance along ethnic lines, this hard feeling has become a source of manipulation for populist politics. Indeed, in a context where poverty is widespread and conflicts over resources are intermingled with ethnicity, planning can induce and reinforce irreconcilable rationalities (De Satgé and Watson 2018; Yiftachel 1995, 1998 cited in Genet 2020).

One important unsolved legacy of the assessed plans period remains the relationship between ownership and public management of the land (Patassini, 2021). Patassini explains that land policies have fueled exercises of power in different ways according to the political-institutional cycles: in the imperial era, with aristocratic and ecclesiastical ownership and with *rist* and *gult* systems; during the Derg with the nationalization of the land and, subsequently, with the leasing policies: first rigorous and binding, and then increasingly weakened if compared to the original inspiring principles. This is partly attributable to land policies increasingly used as an exercise of power, but also to planning approaches unable or unwilling to include local urban-rural exchanges in spatial development strategies.

In Addis Ababa and in the context of the central market there are two unique factors that have the potential to raise land price. The first is government ownership or centralized control of land. Centralized control implies there is only one seller and competition is only among buyers. Land price is, therefore, only in principle a public monopoly price. It is a market price highly correlated to the type of real estate investment (private willingness to invest), often decoupled from the value of social fixed assets that should influence the leasing value ranking. The planning rationale introduced in 1992 (aimed at the creation and management of land values and public financing of infrastructure and facilities) has been definitively betrayed.

Although selling price is determined in open auctions, that implies that floor price, which is determined administratively, could be high and could as a result raise price of specially highly desirable sites. On the other hand, unlike private sellers, the government (in effect a monopole[45]) is in a position to control supply and increase price of land as well.

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[45] In 2001 average land price in Legehar area, the core of the modern CBD, was Birr 2274 per m2. In an informal trade area in Merkato, it was Birr 4300 per m2 (Berhanu et al 2001a p. 6 in Heyaw, 2005 p. 265). The recent Birr 200 thousand per m2 in front of Raguel Church and the Birr 350 thousand per m2 in *Berebere Tera* could be compared here.

The high land price was mentioned as reason for negotiating the building height. According to Mercato merchants, the lease price of land was very expensive and therefore one had to benefit from building higher and creating more floors to compensate for the land and construction cost. Upper floors could be rented for offices; even banks go on second or third floors. Those with original plan of G+2/3 were thus negotiated and changed to G+5. Two good manifestations of the high price of land in Mercato were a plot of land in front of Raguel that was sold at more than Birr 200 thousand per sq. meter, and the one sold at more than 350 thousand in *Berebere Tera.*

The arguments for and against public versus private ownership have been on the table among academics and practitioners gaining momentum recently[46]. Some argue taking middle ground: 'public ownership and the lease system are not totally renounced; they give a good land management system if properly implemented and practiced.'

Public land ownership has both proponents and antagonists among the respondents of questionnaires too. Some of the respondents to questionnaires argue that the plan has benefited from public ownership and from the lease policy as well for it allowed public investment in infrastructure, housing, schools, health and other social facilities and services. The argument goes, had it been private, providing infrastructure, social and municipal services and public condominium housing could have been more challenging to the city government and totally unaffordable to the low- and middle-income residents. The argument against private land ownership is that land won't be accessible to the poor citizen if it is privatized.

Antagonists of the public ownership argue that in the current state where land is publicly owned, the poor didn't access land. Currently, 'land belongs to the public on paper while it belongs to the ruling party and its cadres in reality', they assert. Land is an important resource and those who make decisions on it become power centers. The fact that poverty could not be avoided or lessened after 50 years of nationalization of land could be a proof against public land ownership. Tamrat (1998) explaining the economic benefits of private ownership of land, further argues that private ownership is a tangible expression of a citizen's entitlement to his share of the natural resources of his country. Privatization, he adds, frees the administration from the tedious and time taking task of administering urban land and allowing it to concentrated on the city's glaring governance and policy matters.

Another argument that goes against public ownership of land is due to wastage, underutilization and poor economic use. As a result of public ownership, the debate goes, vast land has been in

[46] While addressing the parliament on 15 November 2022, the Ethiopian Prime Minister, Abiy Ahmed indicated that there is a strong need to privatize land, at least in urban areas.

the hands of public corporations for offices, storage facilities and rights-of-way for the high voltage electric power lines without paying charges to the city government.

Some argue taking middle ground:

> 'Public ownership and the lease system are not totally renounced; they give a good land management system if properly implemented and practiced. The major hurdle is the institutional set up. The fact that the majority of the city's land holdings are still in the permit system and that no transfer to lease has been conducted whereas the law has been there for more than a decade.'

There are certain areas of development decisions where conformance or performance was not applicable, but where the plan served only as a trigger. This is seen in the construction boom in almost all corners of the city that boosted the city development, in particular creating jobs and income to the urban poor, and supporting the growth of the building and construction sector as a whole. Through plan conformance/performance, redevelopment of central-city areas like Mercato, Lideta and Kazanchis, construction of condominium and real estate housing, streets construction, industrial parks, provision of modern services, engagement of the private sector in most urban development activities in housing, service provisions in education and health became the hallmark of the post-ORAAMP plan.

In summary, it has been found that the plans, both citywide and local, have shown combinations of conformances, nonconformances and performances with respect to the strategic thematic areas. Many centralities emerged and supported the overall urban development exhibiting performance whereas the expected hierarchical organization couldn't be realized, showing nonconformance. Building height conformance for Mercato along the perimeter could not be repeated for Mercato central area where the plan promoted low-rise. There was an attempt to apply block development, but only with few achievements, and the rest developed plot-based (Case 2).

Attempts made to develop mixed housing were partly met, whereas the concept was misunderstood, and land use zoning change occurred (Case 1). In some of the instances, the plan was consulted to adjust the land use and to building heights employing performance. Functional mixed development was applied in condominiums and individually built housing (formal and informal) whereas private real estate developments failed to exhibit this quality: they are more of 'gated communities.'

Industrial land use proposals were respected in certain zones whereas efforts to relocate polluting industries were not successful. Streets and transport facilities construction were among the major conformances whereas pedestrianization was seriously neglected. Existing city parks were maintained, and some new ones developed but advancing urban greenery and public open

spaces proved a challenge. Some of the institutional sets recommended such as the Housing Agency, Transport Bureau and AAICA (though continuity was a challenge for the later) were established, but UDECOM, the PPP arrangement anticipated to promote city centers development was not established causing a rift between planning and partnership in the implementation phases.

The factors behind conformances, nonconformances and performances were also combinations of plan quality, land management and institutional set up. Better implementation of Mercato LDP was the outcome of better organized plan quality (manifested by the participatory process, clarity of the plan document and consistency between the plan components), strengths of the Mercato association and a high land price (for high-rise buildings). Comprehensiveness and implementation strategy components of the plan, institutional set up and political attention rendered to condominium housing, as well as priority in land allocation, were all responsible for a relative success of condominium housing. Clarity of the plan and its comprehensiveness, the institutional coordination between planning and implementing agencies, political concern manifested through budget allocation were contributors to the success of streets and transport plans implementation. On the contrary, many failures refer to the missed adoption of hierarchically organized centers, to impose the formal/informal housing strategy and the resulting informal and illegal housing, to apply the mixed land use concept, to relocate polluting industries from environmentally vulnerable areas, to implement the BRT option, to implement the centralized regional bus terminals, etc. All these failures were attributed to difficulties in drafting and promoting detailed planning and implementation strategies, including land supply and institutional capacity building.

8. Conclusions and recommendations: Towards a new culture of spatial planning.

In meeting the main objective of the research, the preceding chapters have presented understanding of the extent of plan implementation and the effect of plan quality, land management and institutional set up on plan implementation. This chapter is dedicated to concluding the findings and recommending areas of improvement in future planning in Addis Ababa and similar cities in Africa.

8.1. Conclusions

The following key-conclusions are drawn from the research findings and form the basis for the final recommendations.

1. A good planning design (product and process) does not guarantee *per se* conformity and compliance during implementation. Institutional set up and land management are key influential factors in determining plan implementation. The implementability (conformance/performance) of spatial planning is determined not only by the quality of the plan, but also by land management and institutional/legal/political contexts. Evaluation of plan quality and contextual factors contributes to improvement of both plan quality and implementation thereby to improving contribution of spatial plans to urban development. Such an evaluation should be an amalgam of both conformance and performance as plan should have not only developmental, but also operational traits. Evaluation may not be solely limited to the city wide or local plans. It should be comprehensive and applied at all planning levels using both summative (ex post) and formative (ex-ante) evaluation methods. Another major area of concern in evaluation is the due attention needed to environmental evaluation.

2. Spatial planning and implementation in Addis Ababa exhibited both formal (city administration) and informal (government) planning, termed as 'double planning'. Such a double-planning approach (or else scenario) means that the city has a formal and legal plan adopted by the city administration and a non-visible (yet parallel) plan of the federal government. Both act in practice to influence the city development trajectory, with non-visible having sometime more impact than the formal/legal one. This double planning practice has an impact of wasting public resources (monetary, institutional and human). Even worse, it impedes the economic as well as human development trajectory a city planned to pursue. This phenomenon could be attributed to a combination of low plan quality, weak

institutional setup and a land management system that allowed an increasing gap between land prices and land values. Inability of the plan to meet the ruling party's intentions (usually volatile) and the institutional failure to enforce regulations, to manage and control unnecessary interventions, and public ownership of land were all major fertile enabling environments for such 'double planning'.

3. Imported planning practices had little significance to local conditions unless they were customized. Developing cities like Addis Ababa need not directly copy from imported planning models. Different urban planning models of the west were designed for the purpose of meeting the development needs and curbing the challenges of their urban center temporal and context based. These models do not fit the situation of developing cities where the level of urbanization is very low, where there is high level of informality, mixed use, and growing unemployment, etc.

   Planning in African perspective needs to be designed to foster three intertwined major objectives: economic development, urbanization, and environmental concerns. The current misguided urbanization that has made African cities centers of poverty, slums, crime, and violence, may only be transformed through a comprehensive economic and spatial development planning that corresponds urbanization. This process should also give heed to the environmental concerns of climate change and the consequent hazards that are endangering future African cities. The African Urban Agenda (AUA), an UN-Habitat initiative to facilitate sustainable urbanization practices in Africa (Pieterse E., et. al., 2015 in Guneralp B., 2018), provides an opportunity to incorporate ecological governance and conservation into urban governance and planning. It should be integrated with nature, as it has been traditionally; African peculiarities of harmony with nature, and mixed-use urban developments that promote not only mix of functions and income, but also the resulting mix of social values, traditions and interactions are believed to promote sustainable human development. The western urban setting may also emulate this practice and adapt to their local context to build the social capital needed to promote sustainable urban future globally. Normative planning should encompass synoptic/comprehensive long-term planning as well as the incremental, transactive and the advocacy, but with the African context perspectives. For long term growth and development, Africa needs a statutory plan that guides development and safeguards the environment (hence eco-centric). The incremental and will ensure a gradual detail design of programs and projects based on existing capacity, and the transactive planning enables communication among key stakeholders and ensures wide community-based development. Advocacy is promoted in the African context where most urban residents have not capacity and time to engage effectively in planning to influence

decisions and the ensuing implementation of programs and projects. Advocacy groups fill in this gap to ensure plans and programs consider the interests of the weak and poor urban citizens are respected. Participation was effective only when communities were organized and exerted influence on the existing system. There are no independent and able organized urban communities that can pursue and defend their interests. The existing urban communities are either weak and having limited objectives (for example *idir* and *equb,* as community service and saving mobilization devices) or related to the administrations (for example, youth, women, consumers associations) and cannot promote different agenda than those supported by the administration.

Habitat International (2016) recommends negotiated planning that focusses less on normative expressions of how planning should be and more on the actual practices as an important tool for African cities. This model allows for complex power dynamics among many stakeholders throughout the planning implementation process to be surfaced and the political nature of planning to be more rigorously understood. The recommended negotiated planning is tantamount to the communicative planning that emphasizes citizens participation, decentralization, interaction and iteration, the role of politics, commitment, and consensus among all the stakeholders in an extensive institutional context. Nevertheless, Africa cannot afford to alienate spatial planning (synoptic) in favor of participation only, but rather learn from quality urban design as well as participatory skills practiced by developed countries and adapt them to the local context. Imported participatory planning that was meant to be pro-poor also proved unsuccessful because it did not resonate with weak status of local civil society (UNCHS, 1999 in Okeke D.C., 2015).

4. Plan evaluation is important in improving planning practices and the attainment of their intended goals. Such evaluations need to be temporal and context contingent. Imported evaluation methods may not be directly adopted for African context. There is thus a need to design a comprehensive evaluation method and evaluation criteria that fit the African perspective. The conformance and performance methods of summative planning evaluation have shown good results in terms of future improvement in plan performance. But the formative evaluation approach is not covered in this study as it is beyond its scope.

5. There has been a developing pluralistic urban planning approach. Addis Ababa's planning culture has been a combination of indigenous traditional planning and colonial/non-colonial international approach. Both citywide plan and LDP adopted continuity of the city plans. The findings showed that their concepts, principles, and proposals were based on the preceding plans' concepts and proposals to the extent possible. It is because of this continuity, that some historical structures and neighborhoods, the overall city main structures (the city

center, the north south and east west axes) and land use distribution (Entoto green areas, eastern zone residential and Akaki-Kality manufacturing industry, etc.) exist to date. The continued LDP preparations contributed to the developing planning culture.

8.2. Recommendations

The study has shown the need for improvement in the current planning system of Addis Ababa within the city's land management and institutional framework. In this sub chapter, recommendations towards the future improvement in the city's planning culture and future research areas are presented. Urban plans are prepared to reach at some desired goals and to fulfil certain practices. In order to achieve this, plans need to be implemented. The plan seeks to keep structural, strategic and operational dimensions together (Patassini, 2021).

8.2.1. Improved planning system

1. Improve plan hierarchy, type, and quality

The purpose of planning may not only be to solve problems of the existing urban centers, but also in promoting balanced urbanization through growth of smaller urban centers and creating new ones. This calls for an integrated long term national spatial development plan[47] encompassing major sectors such as socioeconomic, infrastructure and environment. Regional development plans should be prepared within this national framework. Addis Ababa's planning region may be defined by the respective federal institution/commission with a joint involvement of Federal Government, Oromia Regional State and Addis Ababa City Administration. This commission should also have a duty of setting goals and overseeing the regional plan preparation process. The urban spatial plan (structure plan and LDPs) will be prepared within the framework of validated regional plan. The validated urban spatial plans will be umbrella for incremental and communicative strategic plans (annual, five years and ten years) and annual operational plans of implementing sectors.

This is to be clearly linked with sustainability concerns of climate change and other environmental stakes. One of the major concerns and objectives, inter alia, of regional planning and statutory long-term urban plans are the attainment of sustainability through addressing environmental objectives. Of course, these objectives are implemented through

[47] The NUDSP prepared by Egis and MUDCH may be revised within this framework to include promotion of urbanization and prepared under the auspices of the Federal Plan Commission that overarches all development sectors institutions.

local development planning at urban, peri urban, rural service centers or any rural locality. The Addis Ababa City Structure Pan (2017-2027) and the unpublished ASSOID report of 2014 recommend some crucial environmental measures to be implemented. These could be important starting points to develop a comprehensive environmental component integrated with regional and urban plans across the country. Worku's (2017) recommendation that climate change consideration should be an established practice in urban planning processes to promote sustainable city development is also to be noted.

The national, regional and urban spatial plans[48] should be synoptic and comprehensive in nature and will be legally endorsed by respective bodies. The strategic and operational plans will be incremental and communicative with qualities of advocacy. Synoptic and comprehensive components should design the general framework and define planning scenarios, whereas strategic plans should refer to dynamic negotiation between state, market, and communities.

2. **Adopt a comprehensive plan evaluation:** The national, regional, and urban spatial plans quality should be evaluated using a set of criteria: comprehensiveness/completeness, coherence and consistency, participation (social interaction, dialogue, inclusion and deliberation) of communities and stakeholders, communicability of implementation strategies and tools by the respective review body[49] prior to their validation. The city structure plan may contain only core defining elements focusing on such functions as major transport trunk lines and facilities, major centers, industrial zones and environmental zones; and leave the rest for strategic and operational planning during implementation steps.

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[48] Urban spatial planning in Africa cannot be detached from rural areas planning. Since our urbanization process is related to lack of job opportunities both in urban and rural areas and migration is induced as a result of perceived, not actual income differences, as opposed to the planning practices of the west, there should be an integrated planning that also proposes interventions in rural setting, integrated and in coherence with the interventions in urban areas.

[49] Spatial plans also need to undergo quality evaluation before validation. This will ensure improvement of quality and hence improvement in implementation. They should undergo strict scrutiny by the respective authority; but using a group of professional consortiums (for example, organized from AEA, AEUP, AECE, AEEP). This may later lead to creation of a strong association of Ethiopian urban planners (AEUP) that can oversee the urban plan quality with enshrined legal responsibility.

The strategic and operational plans quality should be evaluated for their compliance with the citywide structure plan and the LDP, for coherence and consistency, participation, communicability and adequacy and ease of implementation tools and strategies by the respective review team before endorsement. The strategic and operational plans may negotiate between what has been developing informally and what has been formally developing (locally or imported) and; superimposed needs striking a balance to solve the formal/informal conflicts is needed.

Evaluation of plans may not be limited to regional or urban level plans only. LDPs and neighborhood level plans, huge projects of citywide or even more impacts should undergo a formative (ex-ante) or summative (ex post) evaluation as the case may be. Sectoral projects (transport stations, or lines,) environmental projects (waste sites, city parks), large housing projects (condominiums and large-scale real estates), markets and industrial parks could be such examples.

3. Coordinate spatial plan with institutional system

Reform programs should be geared towards developing the internal human capacity of the organizations and bringing in additional ones from outside to fill identified critical gaps. The basic tenets of institutional building and learning curve may be adopted from both traditional/local institutions and developing economies cities**.** In terms of sustenance, experiences from long lived traditional institutions such as the Ethiopian Mosque, the Ethiopian Orthodox Christian Church, and from relatively successful modern institutions (the Ethiopian Airlines, for example), and others may help develop continuity of institution building, data management and information transfer. Administrative structures are at the mercy of political change and their management capacity does not depend on the presence of qualified technical personnel. This can be swept away at any time, as it happens at any 'electoral' appointment or on strategic decisions. Reinstituting Addis Ababa's regional status may have an impact of guaranteeing a more extensive political representation and providing the capital city with a special statute capable of representing it, taking into account administrative boundaries and relations with the surrounding area. The impact of double planning may also be reduced, at least from the federal government side.

4. Manage political interventions to minimize negative effects of double planning and land management.

Irrational political interference can be circumvented by adequate assessment of the existing political system, understanding and incorporating political intentions in planning. The challenge here in the Ethiopian context is the volatility of politics. Nevertheless, establishing

and institutionalizing a good ground for smooth working relations with political entities might give a good start to minimize the negative impacts of unsolicited political intervention and double planning. The apolitical stance in the planning field and the top down political and administrative culture could also be broken when culture of dialogue and trust is developed between professionals and politicians. Trust needs time to develop, but the basics of trust development may be triggered. Future planning of the city should have a clear understanding of the political agenda underneath the table before going deep into planning proposals. This arrangement will enhance application of monitoring, evaluation and accountability and minimize the negative effect of state land ownership[50], leasing double system (auction and allocation) and ensuring fair price and distribution of land. The nominal monitoring, evaluation and accountability that are usually targeted at ensuring one's political obedience/compliance will be reversed. Professionals engaged in planning and implementation process do not necessarily have to be political cadres to ensure adherence to established rules and regulations. Instead creating a clear check and balance system would ensue.

5. **Participation and communication**
   This may go parallel with managing the apolitical culture in the field of planning and challenging the top-down political culture that affect public administration. Initiating awareness creation campaigns so that the community understand and value the benefit of participation in planning-implementation process may help improve public engagement. This could be triggered and supported by advocacy in which professional associations and concerned community developers (traditional or otherwise) take active part. As there are no strong community support groups now, the task of nurturing and cultivating the culture seems to have fallen on the shoulders of urban professionals. Capacity and commitment of professionals is highly sought to support the community engaging in proper implementation of policies, plans and projects.

6. **Improve existing planning law**
   This may finally lead to the need to improvement the existing urban planning law (574/2008) to be updated in accordance with this new planning framework. The need for evaluation criteria to be stressed, giving a general guideline/framework for evaluation (summative and formative) including evaluation criteria. Plan validations should check for inclusion of such criteria in the plan to be validated. Some provisional norms and preventive measures the that

[50] The state land ownership is a double-edged sword: it can support or destroy planning depending on how we plan and manage it.

guide implementation also need to be included in the national planning legislation, intended to cover the period when urban plans are prepared.

Table 3. Towards a new planning system

Hierarchy and level	Plan type	Core stakeholders	Review body	Core review (evaluation) criteria[51]	Validating body	Stages for evaluation	Core supervising/implementing body
National spatial plan/National urban policies	Statutory synoptic/ comprehensive/ rational	National line ministries and agencies	National and regional Plan commissions, AETP, AEA, EEA	Plan quality, compliance with land and institutional setup, engagement of key stakeholders	Parliament		National and regional Plan commissions
Regional spatial plan	Statutory synoptic/ comprehensive/ rational	Addis Ababa City Government, Oromia Regional State, National core agency	Addis Ababa, Oromia and national plan commissions, AETP, AEA, EEA	Plan quality, compliance with land and institutional setup, engagement of key stakeholders	Addis-Oromia regional plan commission		AACG, SZO
Integrated urban SP and LDP	Statutory synoptic/ comprehensive/ rational	Addis Ababa City Government core organs, urban communities, Chamber of commerce, Professional associations and universities,	Addis Ababa plan commission, AEUP, AEA, AEEP, AACC, AEUP, AECE	Plan quality, compliance with land and institutional setup, engagement of key stakeholders including communities	AACG council		AA plan commission

[51] This is recommended to be conducted at the end of plan preparation process, but just before validation. It is to be used as a major prerequisite and input for validation. Evaluation at the beginning and middle of the project would be part of the planning process and the organizational setup is expected to incorporate an evaluation group similar to ORAAMP's or AACPPO's supervisory body or technical advisory committee. These experiences may be reviewed and documented for such purposes. The summative (ex post) evaluation criteria (already partly developed for the purpose of this research) could be used as basis to start with. It is expected to be further developed, and along with an evaluation body, will be part of future research to complement this recommendation.
Afterall, the recommended system here is not a full-fledged one, it only displays a framework to be enriched and developed by similar expertise in the field.

Integrated urban strategic plan (annual/5/10 years)	Incremental/ communicative/advocacy	Addis Ababa City Government core organs, urban communities, Chamber of commerce, Professional associations and universities,	Addis Ababa plan commission	Plan quality, compliance with land and institutional setup, engagement of key stakeholders	AACG council		AA plan commission
Sectoral annual operational plans and projects	Incremental/ communicative/advocacy	Addis Ababa City Government sector agency, the plan commission, affected community representatives	Addis Ababa plan commission	Plan quality, compliance with land and institutional setup, engagement of key stakeholders	AACG cabinet		Sector agencies

8.2.2. Further research

Though the findings of this study are, per se, open to scrutiny from different angles (thematic, methodological, epistemological, etc.) it is the conviction of the researcher that they can serve as basis for further research. The main objective of the research was to evaluate spatial plan of Addis Ababa with respect to conformance and performance and to investigate the effect of plan quality, land management and institutional setup on plan implementation. But still there are grey areas and flaws where further research is needed to enhance and enrich the findings. Here are few areas that need to be dealt with as a continuation of this research.

1. This study was basically limited to review of the plan as a document and its implementation, leaving out the detailed ex ante planning context, the planning process and the impacts of the planning and implementation outcomes. These areas may need to be further researched and studied to complement the findings and recommendations of this study. The impacts of the most recent plan of 2017 (AACPPO's) on the spatial city development in a very volatile and uncertain situation may be studied to fully contribute to the improved evaluation and planning system for the city's future.

2. In the Ethiopian context, the role of spatial planning cannot be limited to development control and urban governance, but also extends to urbanization promotion and development. Moreover, national urbanization and development require spatial planning levels ranging from national to city. In this study the relevance of urbanization and national/regional spatial planning for development has been noted and a framework recommended. Future research may deal with details of key subjects, characteristics and activities this process of urbanization and the hierarchical spatial planning should embrace along with policy and institutional contexts in order to fill the existing gap and further enrich the recommendations presented above. Integrated spatial and economic planning seem to be the way forward for Ethiopian development. In particular the national and regional plans should do away with the hitherto practice of 'national economic plan' and the recent attempts by the MWUD (currently MUI) in the preparation of NUDSP and the ongoing RDSP projects. This area also needs proper attention in future research.

3. This study has shown the critical linkage between spatial planning and land management system and the extent to which it influenced plan implementation. The relevance of public versus private land ownership as well as the role of the lease system for Ethiopian urban

context has not been well assessed. Whether land should remain public property or private or some combination of both and whether the lease system is an appropriate policy for Ethiopian urban context (including institutional) needs to be researched well.

4. This study has also shown that Addis Ababa's planning and implementation practices have been stranded by weak and unsustainable institutional set ups. Institution building and maintenance is a major area for plan/implementation improvement. The underlying reasons for failure to establish sustainable urban institutions as well as the strategies needed to be followed to establish learning and growing institutions needs to be further researched. The issue of self-governance may also be an important area in tandem with capacity issue. Reinstituting Addis Ababa's regional status may be considered as it gives the city more autonomy, power and freedom to manage its planning and implementation.

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Appendices

Appendix 1. Addis Ababa's Planning practices other than ORAAMP's AACDP

Table 1. Taitu plan of 1886, approaches and practices.

The approach	**Ex ante/Context**	**Key Plan/Design contents**	**Post hoc/Implementation**
Traditional action plan/land use allocation.	-Foundation -Freehold land titles to nobility -Traditional and Fithanegest law -Menelik's Edict of 1907 on land assignment, sale and registration -Establishment of municipality in 1909 -Cadastral services of 1914 -Land concession to foreign diplomatic missions	**Planning process and output** A foundation Plan: Basis for creation of a new traditional capital city Traditional on-site operational design (definition of location and land assignment according to power hierarchy Settlement vision for the royal quarters, and the nobility grouped around. Concentric circular clustered city concept, each cluster having its own neighborhood. Tri-polarity of organization; organized around 3 nodes: political (Palace), commercial (market) and social (church) Land management model: freehold land assigning to nobility according to hierarchy. Feudal lords became sole distributers of urban land. Tribute paid to the land lord.	**Implementation and outcome** Establishment of the Ghibi and feudal lords' residences and their subjects Establishment of diplomatic compounds, and streets connecting them to the palace. Creation of the three nodes and connecting streets Base of neighborhood clusters and historical heritage later

Table 2. Le Corbusier (1936) planning approaches and practices **[Annex]**

The approach	**Ex ante /Context**	**Key Plan/Design contents**	**Post hoc/Implementation**
Symbolizing the power and prestige of colonization	Period of colonization	**Planning Process Output** Symbolic perspective and monumental axis Dual city and dual railways stations (Foreign and indigenous)	**Implementation outcome** None

Table 3. Guidi and Valle (1937) planning approaches and practices **[Annex]**

The approach	Ex ante/Context	Key Plan/Design contents	Post hoc/Implementation
Symbolizing the power and prestige of colonization	- Period of colonization - Refoundation and 'civilization' - Context led proposal: based on data from aerial photography for topography, climate, local construction materials - Basic ideas came from the Benghazi/Tripoli conference of the movement to 'modernize' African architecture. Also based on the practice in Asmara. - Debates and changes on the design approaches, even to transfer the capital to Ambo?	**Planning Process and Output** Colonial design principle: Dual city (Foreign and indigenous) and strict zoning Ethnic based zoning New center below rail Detail plan by municipal staff Basic infrastructure and services	**Implementation and Outcome** Buffer between native and colonial quarters Social and public housing (Popolare, Casancis, etc ...) Resettlement projects (Mercato and Addis Ketema) Mix of housing typologies (Italian, Greek, Armenian, tukuls) Sewer lines built. Created the primary European colonial foot print

Table 4. S.P. Abercrombie plan (1956) approaches and practices **[Annex]**

The approach	Ex ante /Context	Key Plan/Design contents	Post hoc/Implementation
British approach: Town and county planning school of thought Garden city movement and later the new towns movement; Master plan	-Monarchy Initiated by the need to modernize the capital after colonial era with London experience. Made possible by the Emperor's relations with the Brits during the exile. - Group/ collaborative design with foreign and local officials - Under the Ministry of Interior - Ethiopian mapping and geography institute	**Planning Process and Output** Under the Ministry of Interior Omnibus plan (future vision) From region (consideration of four satellite towns to city Limit to optimal city size Green belt around the city The ring road principle - 3 concentric circles and radial roads City divided into self-sufficient communities (neighborhoods) Community spaces and urban greenery Guidelines for buildings and construction	**Implementation** Failed implementation following failed planning act. Municipal planning office failed **outcome** Attempt to introduce the urban law/legislation. Produced 2 memorandum in 1955 Conflicting with traditional land ownership and management system and hence, no power of the legislation.

Table 5. Bolton Hennessey & partners plan (1956) approaches and practices **[Annex]**

The approach	Ex ante /Context	Key Plan/Design contents	Post hoc/Implementation
Garden city; Master plan (similar to Abercrombie's plan)	- Monarchy - Development of Abercrombie's plan - Interim plan - Under the Ministry of Interior - Open window to French planning and architectural culture	**Planning Process** Abercrombie's plan revised on new topographic map Considered as an operational plan of Abercrombie's structure plan Open to the French school of thought (H. Chomette, M.Duhoux, etc.) **Output** Sub centers Location of industrial areas Modified/updated municipal boundaries without satellites Advised some legal administrative mechanisms for the implementation of the plan (planning office, etc.)	**Implementation and outcome** District planning Implementation board

Table 6. Luis Hoym De. Marien plan (1965) approaches and practices **[Annex]**

The approach	Ex ante/Context	Key Plan/Design contents	Post hoc/Implementation
-Land use master plan -Urban management approach	-Monarchy - Under the Ministry of Interior - Creation of Municipal college (ecole technique)	**Planning Process and Output** Under the Ministry of Interior Revised Abercrombie's plan using new topographic map (Sofratop) Upgrading and densification in built up areas Reintroduction of mixed use Improving the building construction standards in the new expansion areas Particular attention to the N-S axis (Churchil Street) for integrating and connecting the N and S part of the city that was divided by RW Station Sectoral plans as implementing devices to the master Plan (water supply, waste collection and disposal, transport and road network, detail plan for Churchill and Piaza, etc.). Identified international circuit Linear industrial area along the rail way line Introduced for the 1st time, control and regulating the implementation for the transition period between plan adoption and approval lest the implementation conflicts with the plan (safeguarding norm) SOFRATOP map production Creation of Ecole technique	**Implementation** Projects on water supply, roads, sanitation (sewage system by Eng. Fontaine) Detail plan for Churchill and Piazza **Outcome** UNECA, OAU (Mezzedimi projects) Linear industrial axis (Nefas Silk) south of railway Modern CBD market renewal (Amede Gebeya) and public buildings Self-help housing (Kolfe, Bole)

Table 7. Prof. C. K. Polony plan (1978-79) approaches and practices **[Annex]**

The approach	Ex ante /Context	Key Plan/Design contents	Post hoc/Implementation
Land use master plan; regional approach Socialist approach/ Marxian thought and the Hungarian school of thoughts	Socialist city Spatial planning duty transfer from the Ministry of Interior to the MUDH Land and extra houses nationalized	**Planning Process Output** Under the MUDH Completed the work of Knut von Troil who started the work in 1974 Regional macro vision 7 urban growth poles to contain AA's primacy Strengthening the idea of corridor and regional planning practice and taking the city expansion as far as Nazreth, 100 km. S-E of Addis Urban hierarchy (5 ketenas and 25 keftegnas) Upgrading and renewal plans Series of working papers on the city and metropolitan area. Outer ring road Boundary for inner city (CBD) Reorganization of market system Urban green framework	**Implementation and outcome** Implementation of self-help and public standard housing (Hamle 19 in Bole (22 Mazoria) Resettlements from flood prone areas (from Ambasador to Megenagna, Kebele 24) Renewal attempts in Piazza Development of Abiot (Revolution) square Upgrading commercial districts

Table 8. AAMPPO (1986) plan approaches and practices

The approach	Ex ante/Context	Design/Plan quality	Post hoc/Implementation
Comprehensive, integrated rational/ Synoptic plan	Combination of western and eastern planning ideologies Bilateral cooperation Twin consultants (Italian and Ethiopians) and articipation of other Europeans experts Multisectoral professional inputs Incorporated Polanyi's concept Land allocation by the MUDH	**Planning Process** Three level planning (regional-Metropolitan-urban scales) Three level service centers (Ketena, Keftegna and Kebele) Interinstitutional coordination (AAMPPO-MUDH-AA Municipality) Comprehensive research and modelling (RESEFA/urban-rural exchange) **Output** Detail district and subject implementation plans Structure and land use plans Housing typologies design Implementation institution (NUPI) and National urban planning laws in 1986. Operational aspects included in the plan Legal plan approval after 8 years	**Implementation** Proclamations 315, 316,317/1987 (urban plan preparation, zoning, building permit and NUPI establishment) **outcome** Site and services and cooperatives (Gergi, Mekenisa, Lafto, Bole) Self-help in Megenagna Mixed (production and residence) development in Nefas silk Enlarged city core boundary from 21 to 54 thousand ha. and the city administrative region having three more rural woredas. Mixed economy policy facilitating the implementation of plan.

Table 9. AACPPO (2017) plan approaches and practices

The approach	Ex ante/ Context	Design/Plan quality	Post hoc/ Implementation
Synoptic, Structural, Strategic, comprehensive, Integrated (institutional, financial, infrastructure, legal) Statutory structure and local development plans supplemented by strategic plans	Revision of ORAAMP plan Planning under the city continued Widely spread informal settlement Revised city charter Continuously changing city organizational structure. Wide-spread law enforcement failure Construction boom in the city	**Planning Process** Oscillating between two scenarios Addis Ababa City (closed plan) and Integrated regional development plan (open plan) and finally settled for closed scenario thanks to the 2014 to 2017 riot that led to reformed EPRDF government. Interactive and collaborative planning and implementation process Participatory and semi-bottom up Collaboration filled with intense frictions between party officials and factions Autonomous and mainly led by technicians Inward development, redevelopment and densification **Output** Polycentric compact city. TOD (along LRT, BRT and MRT corridors and nodes More focus to ecological balance (River sides, parks and forest development), social development and capacity building Physical plans and published plan documents Creation of four new institutions and new organizational setup Plan approval (proclamation No 52/2017) Capacity building training	**Implementation** Autonomous plan commission, cabinet member reporting to the mayor New implementing and monitoring agencies New city reform program, but purged before implementation. Centers and corridors development corporation purged before fully organized Mismatch between plan and implementation of large projects (Legehar central park and transport hub converted to massive real estate project) conflicting the plan. Adwa park being converted to condominium housing and other constructions without consultation to the approved plan. **Outcome** Ongoing river side and Entoto parks Mesqel Square upgrading Widening of Churchill Street

Appendix 2. Summary of major institutional changes in Addis Ababa during the last two decades.

2003: Addis Ababa City Government Executive and Municipal Organs Establishment Proclamation No.1/2003

2003: Addis Ababa City Government Executive and Municipal Organs Establishment Proclamation No.2/2003.

2008: Proclamation No.1/2008; Amendment to Proclamation No.2/2003. This was done to create consistency with that of the federal government organizational system.

2008: Proclamation No.4/2008; Addis Ababa City Government Executive and Municipal Organs Reestablishment Proclamation. This was done to apply decentralization in accordance with the revised charter (321/2003); and to organize Sub-city and Woreda establishment laws under one integrated law.

2008: Proclamation No.5/2008; A Proclamation to re-amend the proclamation (19/2005) to provide for the Responsibilities of the city Government Organs in the Transfer of the City Government Houses and its execution in accordance with the revised charter (321/2003)

2008: Proclamation No.7/2008; A Proclamation to provide for the Responsibilities of the City Houses and its Execution Proclamation No 19/2005 Re-amendment Proclamation in accordance with the revised charter (321/2003)

2008: Proclamation No 8/2008 to amended Addis Ababa city government health service Administration and management Proclamation No 108/2003 in accordance with the revised charter (321/2003)

2010: Proclamation No. 25 /2010 to Re-Amend the Addis Ababa City Government Executive and Municipality Service Organs Re-establishment Proclamation No. 15/2009

2011: Proclamation No 27/2011to Re-amend the Addis Ababa City Government Executive and Municipal Service Organs Re-establishment proclamation, No. 25 /2010.

2012: Proclamation No 28/2012 to Re-amend the Addis Ababa City Government Executive and Municipal Service Organs Re-establishment proclamation, No. 15 /2009.

2012: Proclamation No. 35/2012, The Addis Ababa City Government Executive and Municipal Service Organs Reestablishment Proclamation

2013: Proclamation No. 37/2013, A Proclamation to Provide for the Amendment of the Addis Ababa City Government Executive and Municipal Service Organs Re –establishment Proclamation No. 35/2012

2014: Proclamation No 43/2014, A Proclamation to Provide for the Re- Amendment of the Addis Ababa City Government Executive and Municipal Service Organs Re–Establishment Proclamation No. 35/2012

2015: Proclamation No. 46/2015, A Proclamation to Provide for the Re-amendment of the Addis Ababa City Government Executive and Municipal Service Organs Re-establishment Proclamation No. 35/2012

2019: Proclamation No. 64/2019, Addis Ababa City Government Executive Organs Re-establishment, in accordance with the new reform

Appendix 3. ORAAMP Supervisory board and technical advisory committee members

Supervisory Board members*:

Abbay Tsehaye - Minister of Federal Affairs
Ali Abdo - President Addis Ababa City Government
Berhanu Tamrat - State Minster of Federal Affairs
Juneidi Sado - President, Oromia Regional State
Solomon Kahsaye – General manager, National Urban Planning Institute
Abebe Zeluel – Head, Works and Urban Development Bureau
Amare Asgedom – Former head, Works and Urban Development Bureau
Ketema Zewde – Head, Plan and Economic Development Bureau
Asefa Tesema - Addis Ababa Ex- deputy mayor
Gebregzi Tsehaye – Head, Addis Ababa Private Industries Association

* There were several short time additional members not listed here

Technical Advisory Committee members:

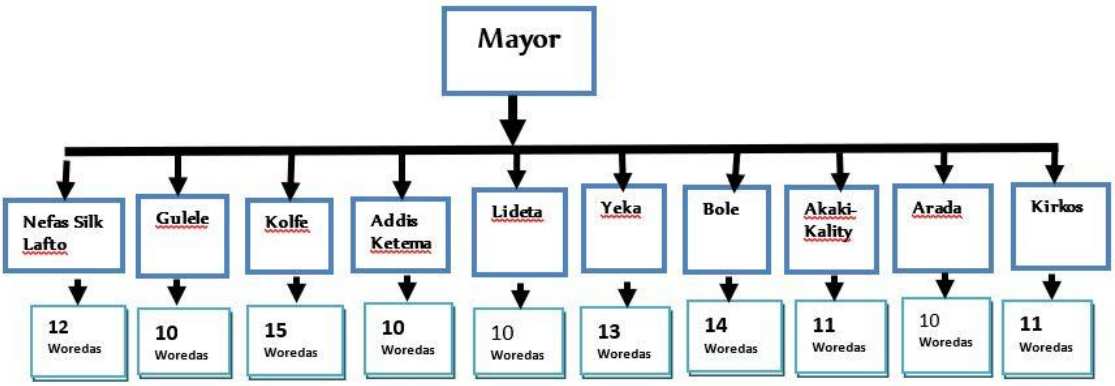
Abebe Zeluel - Head, Works and Urban Development Bureau
Amare Asgedom – Former head, Works and Urban Development Bureau
Tsedale Mammo – Deputy head, Works and Urban Development Bureau
Tesfaye Mengesha – Head, Master plan preparation department of Works and Urban Development Bureau
Minas Hiruy – Executive director, Hope Enterprise
Tadese Gebregiorgis – D/General manager, National Urban Planning Institute
Daniel Solomon – Ethiopian Civil Service College
Fasil Giorgis – Addis Ababa University
Yemane Sahlu - Department head, Plan and Economic Development Bureau
Wondatir Abbay – Department head, Trade and Tourism Bureau
Seyoum Desta – Addis Ababa Water and Sewerage Authority
Biniam Bedilu – Department head, Addis Ababa City Roads Authority
Million Melese - Department head, Transport and Communication Bureau
Endale Getachew – Ethiopian Electric Power Corporation
Retta Desse - Ethiopian Telecommunication Corporation
Tilahun Goshu – Department head, Environment Bureau

Zewdu Alemneh - Finance Bureau
Araya Belay – Addis Ababa Private Industries Association
Alamirew Belay – Social Affairs Bureau
Mathewos Asfaw – General Manager, ORAAMP

Appendix 4. The city organizational structure.

(The ten sub cities and 116 woredas, and currently 11. The 11th is Lemi Kura formed by taking some woredas from Yeka and Bole).

Source: Addis Ababa City government organizational structure study final report, 2015



Appendix 5: Interviewees

Purposive sampling technique has been employed in identifying, selecting and grouping of interviewees. Four groups are identified based on their roles:

Plan makers who directly participated on the plan preparation as project leaders, managers, supervisors and experts expected to give reliable responses to the questions related to the planning context, process, outputs, the implementation tools and strategies composed in the plans.

Plan implementation executives and technicians particularly in land management, construction permit and planning supervision sections.

Policy makers of federal (mainly from the MUDCH) **and city officials** who are aware of the city's planning and implementation process and had some role influencing not only the policies and strategies, but also the practice one way or the other.

Private developers engaged in Mercato LDP implementation forming associations to influence the development. They answered questions related to the process followed in implementing the plan, the relations and interactions they had with the government, how the processes facilitated or impeded implementation, their roles in the process, the challenges and opportunities arose, etc.

The first three groups of interviewees were engaged in both cases, whereas the last group was dedicated only to Mercato LDP case.

Appendix 6: Questionnaire Survey Formats

Questionnaire Survey Formats No. 1. And 2.

(Dear, please ignore where you think a question is not related to your area of experience)

Respondent's name: **……**

Education: *(please fill in and make the necessary corrections where I erred!)*

Role: **AACDP (Addis Ababa City Development Plan)**

Case 1: **AACDP of 2003 (ORAAMP)**

Case 2: **Mercato LDP**

Date: 27 May 2020

Research title**: Addis Ababa city plans: Compliance and performance evaluation.**

Research Questions

- To what extent were spatial plans of Addis Ababa implemented with respect to conformance and performance?
- How did plan quality, land management and institutional setup influence plan implementation practice in Addis Ababa?

[NB: You are expected to simply put an 'x' in the cell corresponding the particular question**,** therefore providing 12 answers**.** At the end of each planning phase, space has been provided for summary opinion or further explanation on answers given earlier to questions on that particular phase. In case you think I missed a critical issue, please also provide on this slot or on a separate page, as it seems convenient.]

Great thanks for supporting me and participating on the research!!

Case 1. Criteria for AACDP (ORAAMP) assessment focusing on the two core stages of planning

Case 2. Criteria for Mercato LDP assessment focusing on the two core stages of planning

Planning Phase	Major Questions		Extremely (80-100%)	Highly (60-80%)	Moderately (40-60%)	Little (20-40%)	Not at all (0-20%)
Plan Quality (plan as a document)	**1. Were the plan proposals and conclusions consistent with the vision, objectives, and goals?**						
	2. Do you think the plan was comprehensive enough in its thematic and spatial scope?						
	3. Were the plan documents and communication clear enough?						
	- Are the size, format and language conducive to the use intended? - Is the plan attractively laid out? - Was lobbying considered?						
	4. Did the plans adequately reflect the needs and aspirations of the community?						
	5. Were implementation tools and strategies adequate?						
	- Did the LDP preparations follow the city's priority order as identified by the structure plan? - Were there approval and implementation regulations, manuals? - Have financial implications been considered? - Were institutional tools indicated? - Are the criteria indicated by which the plan is intended to be judged?						
	6. To what extent was the plan flexible to permit new data and findings to be fed in to update the plan?						
	Additional explanation or opinion on the plan quality?.....						

	…… ……						
Plan Implementation	7. **Do you believe that there was adequate institutional capacity to implement the plan?**						
	- Do implementing agencies have adequate awareness and knowledge about the plan? - Organizational set up, working system, financial, human resources?						
	8. **To what extent did stakeholders participate in plan implementation?**						
	9. **Was there adequate institutional coordination and integration particularly with land management?**						
	- Do sectoral agencies consult the plans in decision making (for drafting their annual programs, projects and budgets?						
	10. **To what extent was monitoring, evaluation and accountability undertaken during plan implementation?**						
	11. **Do you think public land ownership is a hindrance to plan implementation? And hence to urban development?**						
	12. **To what extent did the political will affect plan implementation?**						
	Additional explanation or opinion on the plan implementation? ……. ……. …… …… …… …… …… ……						

Appendix 7. Analysis tables

Planning Phase	**Questions**	Responses given							
		Extremely	**Highly**	**Moderately**	**Low level**	**Not at all**	**Strengths**	**Weaknesses**	**General Comments**
Plan Quality	1								
	2								
	3								
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