

Doctoral Dissertation Academic Year 2014

**Study on Urban Formation of Historical
Center and Heritage Risk in Ethiopia**
Degradation of Living Conditions in Historical Districts

Graduate School of Media and Governance
Keio University

Rumi Okazaki

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Keywords: Ethiopia, central district, lived-in heritage, feminization of poverty, informalization of heritage, prostitute in heritage

Degradation of buildings and migration of the poor have been critical problems often discussed in historic cities in developed countries. However, the situation is worse in developing countries where it lacks infrastructure and public support with no accumulation of research. In order to make plans for historical cities, it is a prerequisite to understand the mechanism of deterioration from both architectural and social point of view.

This research makes a comparative study between three Ethiopian historical cities: Gondar, Mekelle, and Harar. It aims to evaluate the historical perspective of Ethiopian cities, clarify the deterioration process of historical districts, and specify the vulnerability of the lived-in heritage by way of conducting bibliographic survey and complete architectural and social surveys. The results were then integrated to make comprehensive analysis of historical cities.

A series of work revealed that many historical buildings unique to Ethiopian traditional building typology still remains, however there are prominent deterioration of living environment due to the lack of maintenance and growing existence of informal economy. Nationalization of land by the socialist regime exerted a drastic effect on Ethiopian cities where it expelled traditional landowners and introduced a mass of poor inhabitants. Newly created kebele was the managing body for the expropriated houses, but the poor maintenance made the situation of these houses in a critical state and attracted low-income residents, especially females engaged in prostitution, to move into deteriorated heritages (prostitute-in-heritage).

From the findings, there were two types of Ethiopian historical cities found in this study: “dispersed Habesha city” and “concentrated Muslim trading city”. Historical centers once served as residential districts for high officials and aristocrats, but the remains could not sustain its glory. “Informalization of heritage” from both spatial and social point of view is of high concern and there are tangible signs that social problems such as feminization of poverty exist.

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エチオピアの歴史都市における中心市街地の形成と ヘリテージリスクに関する研究

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キーワード：エチオピア，中心市街地，遺産居住 (lived-in heritage)，
貧困の女性化，遺産のインフォーマル化，プロスティチュート・イン・ヘリテージ

歴史都市の多くは中心市街地に遺産を集積させているが、建造物の劣化と貧困層の流入に伴うインナーシティ問題が広く指摘されている。先進国ではその解決をめざした多くの研究が存在するが、開発途上国では都市の基盤整備が欠落し、公共のサポートのないまま夥しい低所得者が合法・不法を問わず市中心部を占拠し、遺産の価値を著しく貶めており、研究の蓄積もない。歴史地区を計画する際には、遺産の建築的側面だけでなく、居住形態を社会的文脈で把握し、歴史的環境の劣悪化のメカニズムを解明することが求められる。

本研究は、エチオピアの歴史都市であるゴンダール、メケレ、ハラールを対象として遺産を擁した中心市街地を比較検討し、エチオピア都市の歴史性の評価、歴史地区の劣悪化プロセスの解明、遺産への居住に内在する脆弱性の解明を目的とする。研究方法としては、史資料の発掘に伴う文献調査と現地での悉皆調査を基本とし、その総合化を通して諸点の解明に至る。

一連の作業の結果、対象地には固有の伝統的タイポロジーに則る歴史的建造物が多数集積しているが、維持管理を欠き、貧困層のインフォーマル経済を現出させ、居住環境の劣悪化が著しいことが明らかとなった。エチオピアでは帝政期の大地所有体制が社会主義政権による土地の国有化と余剰住宅の接収により崩壊、市中心部の富裕層が没落し、ケベレ（住区）所有の公営住宅に転用された余剰住宅に貧困層が集中し、住宅経営が一転する。本来、貴重な遺産であったこれらの住宅が細分され、インフォーマル経済に依存した生活が常態化する。女性世帯主の割合が極めて大きく、劣悪化した遺産に低家賃で住まう売春婦（プロスティチュート・イン・ヘリテージ）が顕在化する。キリスト教圏とイスラーム教圏では、都市空間の構成原理が異なり、前者は民族や宗教、職業を違える集団が共存し多重の生活空間を構成するが、後者では同一民族の結束が固く排他的であり、新規参入者は周縁部又は新市街地に居住する一方、市中心部のムスリム・コミュニティーは安定している。

以上の分析より、エチオピアの歴史都市としては「散住型ハベシヤ都市」と「密集型ムスリム交易都市」が検出され、かつて高官や貴族の居住区として機能した歴史地区においては、とりわけ貧困の女性化を中心とした生活環境および経済状態の「インフォーマル化」を起こし、それにより遺構が十全な形を維持することができず、空間的・社会的な衰退を引き起こしていることを結論として示した。本研究はこれまで行われてきた先進国型の歴史的市街地の保存を継承しながらも新たに途上国における遺産保護の手法確立の一助となり得る。

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List of Abbreviations

A.O.I	<i>Africa Orientale Italiana</i>
AARH	Agency for the Administration of Rental Houses, Ethiopia
AAU	Addis Ababa University
CAT	Cultural Association of Tigray
CFEE	<i>Centre français des études éthiopiennes</i> (French Centre for Ethiopian Studies)
CRCCH	Center for research and Conservation of Cultural Heritage, Ethiopia
CSA	Central Statistical Agency, Ethiopia
EPA	Ethiopian Privatization Agency
EPRDF	Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front
FUPCB	Federal Urban Planning Coordinating Bureau, Ethiopia
FUPI	Federal Urban Planning Institute, Ethiopia
GDP	Gross domestic product
GIS	Geographic information system
GIZ	<i>Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit</i>
GTZ	<i>Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit</i> (former GIZ)
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites
IES	Institute of Ethiopian Studies
ILO	International Labour Organization
IPRAUS	<i>L'institut Parisien de Recherche Architecture Urbanistique Société</i> (Parisian Institute of Research Architecture Urbanism Society)
MWUD	Ministry of Works and Urban Development, Ethiopia
NUPI	National Urban Planning Institute, Ethiopia
UN-HABITAT	United Nations Human Settlements Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

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Introduction

1. Background

Ethiopia is a country endowed with a long history since ancient times. Contrary to the conventional image of an African state, often referred to as a hotbed of poverty and war, richness in heritage and nature has stimulated intellectual interests of many people outside of this country. The author used to be one of such amateurs fond of this country. It has been ten years since she has started focusing on research in Ethiopia and has been engaged in a series of investigations on urban situation in such cities as Harar and Gondar, both known as UNESCO World Heritage cities. She has also committed in the field survey of resettlement problem of nomads in Djibouti as well as the old ports of Sudan and Somalia neighboring to this country.

Despite mythical landscape of ancient Ethiopia, it is also true that this country has been suffering from poverty, famine and war. When the author was engaged in urban studies on the historical cities in Tigray and Amhara Regions, these constraints became much more realistic because of the war between Ethiopia and Eritrea. Tigray Region, the capital of which is Mekelle, has a long border with Eritrea and, strangely enough, both Tigrayans and Eritreans share the same language, Tigrinya. This derives from the fact that Eritrea was separated from Tigray during the 19th century for the purpose of establishing Italian colony connecting the Red Sea and the highland. Refugees and returnees from Eritrea were everywhere in Tigray. It is not possible to deepen the question of the inner city problem without considering these people.

The author has been engaged in a series of researches on urban issues in Mekelle since 2003. The research team to which the author belongs has started the program of heritage conservation and urban studies together with Mekelle University since the 2000's. After the establishment of the School of Heritage Conservation (Institute of Paleo-environment and Heritage Conservation) in Mekelle University in February 2007, an international symposium on the theme of Ethiopian Heritage followed in Tokyo. The author has participated in these activities in Mekelle and finally started her own research program on the central district of this city in 2009. The result of this research was concretized in her master thesis presented to Keio University in January 2010.

The master thesis had an objective of giving the analysis of the history and the actuality of Mekelle so that the author deliberately avoided treating urban issues of other Ethiopian cities. The example of Mekelle, then, were quite suggestive although the city only dates back to the middle of the 19th century. The interest towards masonry Tigrayan architecture was, nevertheless, the first reason why the author had been involved into the project because its uniqueness and beauty. When the author tried to trace back the history of Mekelle, there were few documents to be referenced. In addition the demolition of houses was about to begin in the oldest part of the city and the rapid development became questionable. Urgent action was in need confronting this situation. Unfortunately the documentation about the history of Mekelle was not at all available. The author had to start from the most fundamental works such as collecting old documents as well as interviewing elderly people. For the analysis of the present living condition in the central district, it was also necessary to coordinate the field research and collect enormous amount of data. Thanks to the cooperation of municipal and private institutions as well as the university, the author

was able to undergo documentation and field surveys so as to acquire sufficient information on the history and actuality of Mekelle. Most of the data was processed in Japan in order to create necessary visual information as soon as the author returned back to Japan.

Parallel to the works in Mekelle, the author has been engaged in the researches on other cities in Ethiopia and its neighboring countries. The encounter with Gondar, one the most important World Heritage Cities in Ethiopia, was nine years ago. The author participated in the research team as an undergraduate student and underwent field survey of the central district. The data collected was not sufficiently analyzed until the author started this process only since 2007 because the mission of the team was shifted to a more complicated master planning of this city. After finishing these works of city planning, further research program has been planned together with the municipality since 2011, and the result of this new survey contributed for updating the data.

The field survey on the urban situation of Harar was carried out with the same framework as Gondar and Mekelle seven years ago. This Muslim city shows a completely different feature from other Christian cities of Ethiopia. The author's team enjoyed the stay in this charming walled city and encountered with local people, who provided a tremendous amount of materials, written and oral, to the team. It took years to make analysis on these materials as the author was obliged to concentrate on Mekelle's issues for a while. However, since the completion of the master thesis, the author was able to handle the materials and documents on all these cities in Ethiopia. The situations of these cities are different by regions and ethnic backgrounds. The author has been tempted to compare the different features of Ethiopian historical cities so that an overall policy making process for conservation would be established. The content of this paper dates back to the early 2000's and it comprehends the whole process of the author's involvement in Ethiopia since then.

2. Objective

This paper tends to be a comprehensive study on the problems of historical cities in Ethiopia. Focusing on the northern part of this country, where it is considered to be the cradle of Ethiopian civilization, the author has selected three cities: Gondar, Mekelle and Harar. Gondar represents the Gondarine Dynasty between the 17th and 19th centuries as the capital of this dynasty. Mekelle was constructed as a new capital during Yohannes period of the 19th century. On the contrary, Harar played the role Muslim emirate capital in the eastern zone of the highland for a much longer period. These target cities show the presence of historical quarters in the center of the city. The urban formation process as well as typology of building heritage is studied carefully on the basis of precise field researched. Historical observation is one goal while the consideration on policy making process is another issue to be discussed. In this regards, objectives of this study are listed as the following points:

(1) Clarify the urban formation process of Ethiopian historical cities

Not much research on the urban history of Ethiopia cities has been done in the past. This study intends to clarify the formation of the urban fabrics including streets and blocks and to abstract the mechanism of urbanization in such a country that has undergone completely different urban history from Europe or Asia. The question about the urbanity in Ethiopia is also raised parallel to the clarification of urban evolution.

(2) Evaluate historical districts and buildings as Unique Heritage

Evaluating historical districts and buildings is crucial when discussing the characteristic and importance of the city. In this study after the finding process, appropriate evaluation of the remaining fabrics is especially underlined in a district chosen as a case study area in the central part of each historical city. Unlike the cases of monarchs' castle or religious monuments, historical districts here consist of buildings for residential purpose in the form of lived-in heritage, in which ordinary people unfold their daily lives. As no detailed data base has been accumulated in terms of residential buildings in Ethiopia, the building materials and techniques as well as construction method in the target cities should be well studied by making field research.

(3) Find problems within housing and social situation in the historical quarter

It is evident that the rapid growth of the city is causing a great deal of problems within the city and must be solved. However, the problems are vague and are not yet seriously sensed by the local authority. In this study, housing and social situation of the central district is carefully investigated and analyzed. The correlation between the residents and buildings is to be analyzed in order to find the real problems that the inhabitants carry. To attain the goal of both conservation of heritage value and amelioration of living conditions, the problems should be clarified.

(4) Conception of policy making process for conservation

As a country of old historic monuments, Ethiopia has well established the methodology for the conservation of old historical relics and monument in collaboration with other countries. However, the urban environment was not regarded as a historical entity. The reality of the inhabitants should be well studied and analyzed. Besides the pressure of the new development, other factors such as poverty and social confusion made the urban condition unstable. The study on the central district of historical cities is the starting point of conceiving the policy making process based on the reality of the inhabitants.

3. Target Area

The target area is the central districts of historical cities in northern Ethiopia: Gondar, Mekelle and Harar [Fig. i-1]. Gondar is an old capital of Ethiopia, founded by Emperor Fasilidas in the first half of the 17th century and flourished until the middle of the 19th century as an imperial seat of Ethiopia. Situated in the midst of a hilly landscape in northern Amhara Region, this city dominates a vast agricultural hinterlands stretching over this region. The presence of the Imperial Castle, called *Fasil Ghebbi* in the heart of the old city raised an international attention in terms of heritage conservation in an African country, which is exceptionally endowed with rich tradition of building culture. It was successfully registered in the UNESCO World Heritage List in 1979. However, the rapid population growth caused by high birth rate as well as massive immigration from rural areas after the end of the 1960's made its living environment in a considerably serious state. In 1970 its population was 41,788, but in 2003 it became 149,149. Moreover the recent increase in the population has been much more crucial. Population of 2010 counts 231,977, meaning that it has doubled within a decade. The petrol trade with Sudan and the investment by over-sea Ethiopians during the last decade have improved its economy, and, thus, accelerated the immigration toward this city. The team of Keio University where the author belonged was engaged in the revision of its master plan from 2001 to 2004 by the request of the municipality and undertook series of surveys on urban problems of this city. This study concerns the housing condition of the central district surrounding the imperial castle.

Mekelle, the capital of Tigray Region in northern Ethiopia, has once been the capital of Ethiopia in the second half of the 19th century and has been holding the position of political and economic center up to this day. The palace is placed in the center of the city and the urbanized area expands surrounding it creating a unique example of an urban space in Ethiopia. Moreover, Tigray Region has an excellent tradition of masonry construction and Mekelle demonstrates an outstanding example of a "stone city". The city is situated approximately 2,000 m above sea level. The Population is 215,000 (2007), growing approximately 13% each year. Due to the rapid population growth, the city has experienced a dramatic change in the past few decades. Today, the increasing speed of development is causing to destroy many houses in the historical district. The study on historical aspects of urban and architectural issue is absolutely in need. To clarify these points in a historical context, other settlements in Enderta Province (*woreda*) are also targets of this study since they are closely related to the formation of Mekelle during the 19th century.

Harar is one of the most impressive cities in Ethiopia as it still maintains historical core surrounded by city walls, called Harar *Jugol*. In 2006 this fortified city was registered in the UNESCO World Heritage List, as "*Harar Jugol, said to be the fourth holiest city of Islam, numbers 82 mosques, three of which date from the 10th century, and 102 shrines, but the townhouses with their exceptional interior design constitute the most spectacular part of Harar's cultural heritage*"¹. The location of the city in the eastern highland on the way to Somalia gave this city a high opportunity to dominate the main routes from the Red Sea towards the inland of Ethiopian highlands and, thus, to become a prosperous trading center.

Unlike other parts of Ethiopia, this area is characterized by the unique townscape

¹ From the home page of UNESCO World Heritage center (<http://whc.unesco.org/>)



Fig. i-1 Map of Ethiopia and the surrounding region

and lifestyle generated by the local people in the course of long history. Muslim culture has played a decisive role among the natives called Harari, who once established an independent caliphate in the medieval period and kept it until the end the 19th century. However, since the coalition with Ethiopian Empire under Emperor Menelik II in 1887, the immigration from the inlands has been accelerated, resulting in co-habitation of different ethnic and religious groups. Native Harari people represent only 11.8% of the total municipal population after Amhara (40.5%) and Oromo (28.1%), but they still keep their own territory within the city walls. Total population of Harar City was 99,368 according to the census of 2007.² Today, approximately 24,000 people live within the 60 ha of the walled area and half of this population is Harari. Lifestyle is different according to ethnic and religious groups although the city looks apparently like a typical multi-ethnic society. The conservation of its historical environment has become one of the most urgent issues for both the municipality and the federal government, but the social structure that supports the real life of the historical districts has not yet been profoundly studied.

² Total population of Harar City was 99,368 according to the census of 2007.

4. Methodology

Since this paper is a comprehensive study on the urbanization issue of historical cities in Ethiopia, several methods to attain the objectives are implemented [Fig. i-2]. To grasp the urban formation of old cities, documentation, data processing for maps, and reconstruction are basic methods. Following this process, field researches were carried out in the targeted cities. After measurement of historical buildings and interview with residents, the reconstructive process followed. Appraisal of heritage, found in the central districts, by way of grading system came at the end. Parallel to this heritage research, social research on the target area was carried out. Interview and statistic processing are the main methods for this survey. Finally both heritage and social research were integrated in order to abstract the hidden problem within deteriorated historical area.

4-1. Documentation

4-1-1. Collecting Historical Documents and Research Reports

Collecting historical documents for this research took much effort since there are only a countable number of them left. Basic documents such as old books written by European travelers in the 19th century, old pictures, and reports were found mainly in libraries, online database provided by universities, newspapers and publishing companies, galleries, and professional institutions mainly in Europe. A very few number of them could be found in Ethiopia. Personal websites, blogs, films from youtube, and products posted up on e-commerce sites were also useful to find private collection of historical documents.

A few documents were found in Japan. Some books from Keio University and University of Tokyo were referenced for general information, but not much was gained from them. However, one of the most important material for this research, “Housing in Makalle” (1971), a report by the Swedish research team, is kept in the Architecture Institute of Japan (AIJ). This report contributed considerably as the basic documents that treated the urban situation of Mekelle half a century ago. This kind of old research documents are rare. In other cities, only the Italian documents of the 1930’s were useful to understand the urban situation of Ethiopian cities.

Parallel to the collection of documents, specific program of the filed work was planned. Collection of historical documents in Ethiopia had been started by the team to which the author belonged since early 2000’s. Large institutions such as Cultural Association of each region and Public Library as well as municipalities were among the first to be visited. Not much in number was collected, however, some of the most important documents were found.

Addis Ababa was the next to be visited. Due to the time limit, Institute of Ethiopian Studies in Addis Ababa University (IES) and Federal Urban Planning Institute (FUPI former National Urban Planning Institute, NUPI) were the two places to be chosen for research. It should be noted that the easiest things, to get permission to use the library, to search for documents with index cards and borrowing them, copying and etc., took time. There were

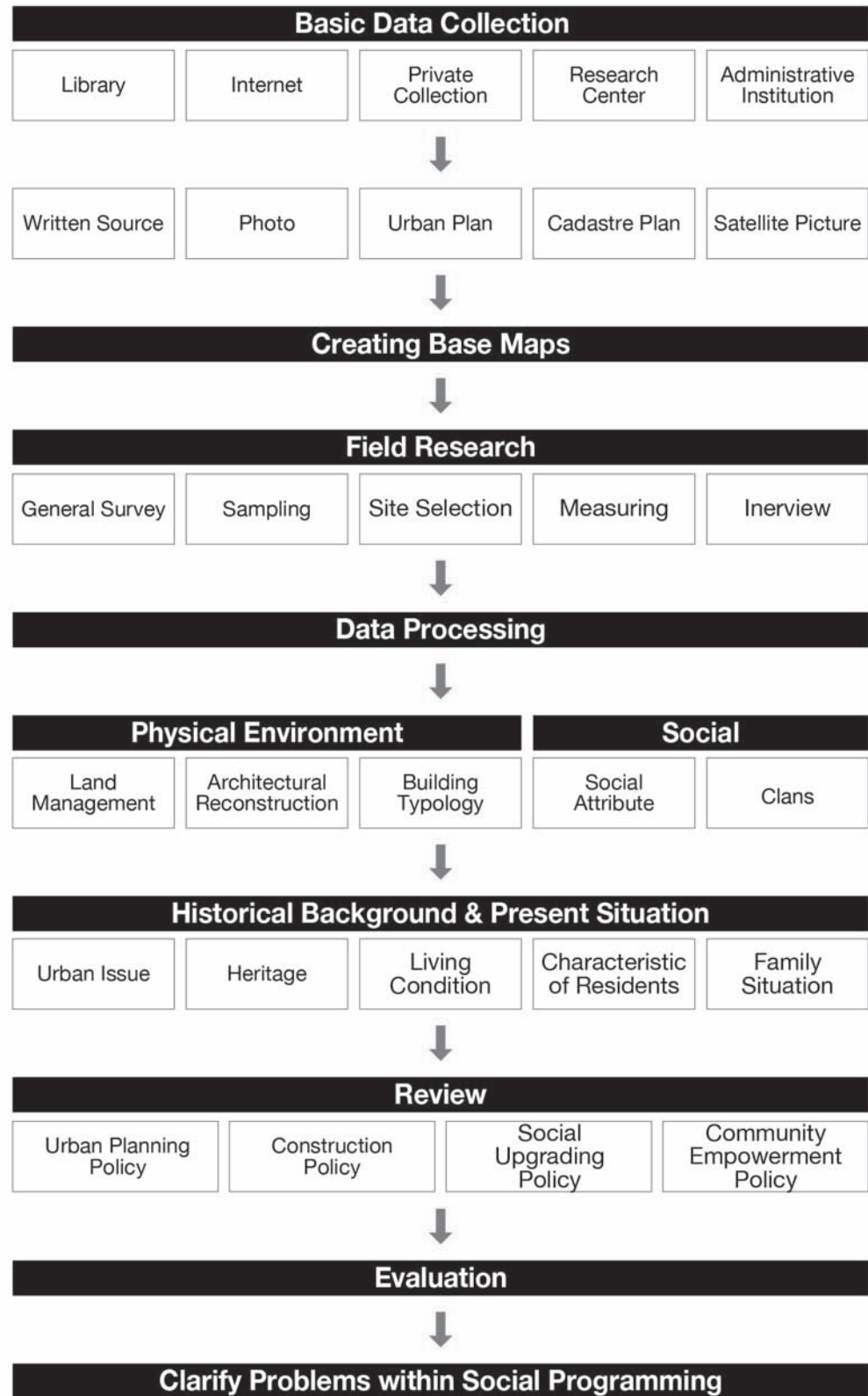


Fig. i-2 Research Flowchart

many valuable documents in these two institutions, especially at IES, having the largest collection about the history of Ethiopian historic cities. Unluckily, their copy machine was not in use for several years, therefore not all the information was obtained.

4-1-2. Data processing for Maps

After collecting all the documents, each one of them was carefully studied. Historical books about Ethiopian historical cities were limited, therefore old maps and pictures were used to trace the formation of the city. Firstly, in the old map analysis, old maps (aerial pictures were included) from each time period and maps from the present time were compared. By comparing the maps the author tried to clarify the change in the shape of the districts. Secondly in the old picture analysis, old picture and the present situation were compared. The author was able to detect some of the landscapes in the picture and for those that were detected, pictures from the same angle were taken for comparison. Data processing by way of comparing the pictures from different time period lead to integrate a series of maps and plans corresponding each period of urban history.

4-2. Reconstructive Approach

Reconstruction is the key to clarify the old state of urban situation as well as buildings. The author has applied this method in order to find the authentic value of the buildings and spaces. Collected materials and measurement of existing buildings contributed much for this process of reconstruction.

4-2-1. Reconstruction of Urban Formation

No drawn documents about the situation of old settlements before the birth of respective cities existed. However, the old pictures by European travelers as well as satellite pictures helped to discern the original compounds and buildings of the remaining. The photos by the Italians were the first photographic documents to trace the townscape of these cities. The comparison of a large number of pictures enabled the dating of the buildings, especially constructed during the Italian occupation period and after.

4-2-2. Reconstruction of Old Buildings

Reconstruction of historical buildings is a crucial process for the appraisal of authentic value. Photographic materials, interview with the residents and those of concern, and examination of masonry construction on site are basic points to discern the time of the construction. After checking these points, important heritages were reconstructed.

4-3. Field-Based Research

4-3-1. Measurement of Historical Buildings and Analysis

The field-based research was carried out in each city in the same framework. Concerning Gondar, the initial full-scale field research was carried out in August-September 2003, following the preliminary one of March 2002, and the complementary one was done in August -September 2009, four years after the completion of the master plan revision. Second Full-scale survey was carried out in August 2011 by the author with the assistance of the municipality.

On the contrary, Harar has constantly attracted architectural historians and cultural anthropologists, following the Italian scholars who undertook the survey of occupied Ethiopian cities. The House of Arthur Rimbaud in the heart of the historical core, where this famous French poet was said to have resided after he abandoned literature career and became trader in the second half of the 19th century, raised an international attention for preservation and even touristic promotion. This may be one of the reasons why French researchers have contributed for the appraisal of its historical value. Among them the mixed research team of IPRAUS, CFEE and *l'Ecole nationale d'architecture de Paris-Belleville*, led by Philippe Revault and Serge Santelli, has undergone a full-scale survey of Harar Jugol from the viewpoint of architectural heritage and urban spaces since 2001. Their report, published in 2004, is accurate and useful to understand the urban fabrics and the spatial composition of Harar *Jugol*. They dared to investigate several important houses which represent unique design of Harari traditional houses.

Japanese research teams have started their own contribution during the last decade. The authors' team, based at Keio University, has published a few papers on the urban formation of Harar as well as its modern urban policy in the course of the 20th century . To achieve the goal for the analysis of the housing aspects within the historical core, the authors' team undertook a field survey in August 2007.

The one on the city of Mekele was done in June-July 2009, mainly focusing on masonry architecture and the whole city. The research was mainly done by the collaboration with the Institute of Paleoanthropology and Heritage Conservation in Mekelle University. Three historical buildings were found in the *Kebele* 14 district and were measured. Pictures were taken with the digital camera for record and interview towards the residents were also made. CAD data of cadastre map of Mekelle was provided by the Mekelle Municipality, which became the base map of this research.

4-3-2. Interview with Residents

The field survey of the historical core of each target city was followed by interview with the local residents and those who concern. The author tended to undergo complete survey within the targeted area, which consists of several blocks.

The main objective of this survey was to clarify the housing and social issues in the targeted research areas. Three main data were collected; Questionnaire about housing and

social issues, interview on the history of the area and their own compound, and taking record of the compound and architecture by making a sketch of the ground floor plan and taking pictures with the digital camera. Each and every household in the targeted area was visited to collect these data. After the collection of the data they were combined to create outputs. First the Questionnaire data was organized into a table. Then a CAD map with the ground floor plan of each house was made. By using the questionnaire table, the CAD map was colored to identify the different answers. These outputs were used to make a basic overview analysis of the research area on housing and social issues.

The field survey was carried out at least twice during the last decade in order to examine the recent transformation of the target cities. After the introduction of new land policies and building standard, the urban situation is radically changing during the last decade. The comparison of two different phases shows certainly the dynamics of the present cities, both positive and negative. The author intends to reflect these data into the conception of new urban policy related to the conservation of historical districts and the activation of lives of the inhabitants. The last part of this paper is, thus, dedicated to the conception of policy making process.

Part One

Consideration on
Urbanization and Land
Management in Ethiopia

Chapter I

Urban Formation of Ethiopian Cities

1. Reviews on the Existing Researches on the Urban History of Ethiopia and Related Red Sea Coastal Area

1-1. Premises for Urban Study in Ethiopia

Ethiopia is a country endowed with rich history and, accordingly, with range of heritage spread all over the country. However, the efforts for historical research on Ethiopian cities, both by Ethiopian and foreign scholars, have not yet provided sufficient information on how these cities formulated and evolved over the course of a long history since the ancient Aksumite Dynasty. A limited number of research papers on this subject have been published by researchers, but they have not reached the mature state of overall research as in the cases of European or Japanese cities. Even the definition of the urbanity of Ethiopian cities is still vague due to the paucity of case studies in this field. Most of the urban studies on Ethiopian cities have been carried out by anthropologists and, if it is related to the excavation of buried sites, by archaeologists. The recent touristic interest in UNESCO World Heritage Sites in Ethiopia such as Aksum, Gondar and Lalibela has raised public attention toward these kinds of historical cities, but the level of research on these cities is far behind international standards, that is, that of European or Japanese historical cities.

To accomplish the study on urban history, the notion of the triangle of land, buildings and inhabitants is crucial. Lack of these basic factors, which would constitute the nucleus of urban issues, may have caused the delay, or even the indifference in the field of urban history. Although the triangle is regarded as the main structure for the reconstruction of the urban history, each of these three has not yet been mastered in the case of Ethiopian cities. The land issue concerns, for instance, exploitation of urban areas, new development and, especially, tenure which represents the legal and institutional aspects of land. Despite the existence of cadastre maps and old documents on the land transfer, history of land has not yet gathered the attention of researchers. Building process is also very important. Relations of client and contractor or master architects and skilled workers such as masons, carpenters and plasterers, and the logistics of materials are the fundamentals for systematic study on the topic how houses and other buildings are conceived and erected. Records on the life of the inhabitants are scarcely left. Illiteracy may have exacerbated this situation. The anthropological approach by way of interviews, in contrast, is a possible means for clarifying the transformation of urban life.

Unusually among African countries, Ethiopia has successfully preserved its historical monuments and relics, including old documents. Some documents, written in Geez, have been biased by theological or religious connotation, but precise analysis makes it possible to understand their social context. Church history has, in fact, attained a mature level of research thanks to the abundance of historical documents preserved in monasteries. Urban history could have benefitted in the same manner if historical evidence was properly preserved, but it would take more time to attain this goal.

1-2. Preceding Research

A limited number of papers on the history of Ethiopian cities could be cited both inside and outside the country. Urban development issues were widely discussed during the reign of Haile Selassie II in the 1960's and early 1970's. Then the political turmoil in the period that followed did not allow continuing such discussion. Despite the contribution of aspiring scholars such as Mesfin Wolde Mariam, Jean Conhaire, Richard Pankurst and Fecadu Gedamu, they were obliged to stop these efforts. No attention had been given to this field until the 1980's. Then, the publication of Richard Pankurst, erudite of Ethiopian studies and former director of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies at the University of Addis Ababa, ended the historical discontinuity. Entitled "History of Ethiopian Towns from the Mid-19th century to 1935", his book treated a dozen of Ethiopian cities in a philological way.¹ The main points were the interactions of the personalities of the top hierarchy of this country. The decision making process for planning and urban construction was extracted from various historical documents. Yohannes IV, known as the founder of Mekelle, and Menelik II, precursor of modernization of Ethiopia from the late 19th century to the early 20th century, are the main figures to conceive a modernized idea of Ethiopian cities. The starting point of Mekelle was the construction of the imperial palace, which is thought to have been led by an Italian architect. The foundation of Addis Ababa, the biggest event in the latter at the late 19th century, was promoted by a Swiss engineer. The aspect of the land management and the construction techniques, however, were not well treated, devoid of appropriate methodology and graphic materials although the institutional issues on land tenure and succession were quite well analyzed. This means that the spatial aspect of Ethiopian towns and cities was not touched. However, the establishment of the graduate programs at Addis Ababa University promoted the research program on contemporary urban issues, mainly from economic and social point of view. The Institute of Ethiopian Studies took the initiative of such efforts, holding regularly international symposia. The centenary celebration of Addis Ababa in 1986 was a good opportunity to promote this kind of campaign.²

The period, which Pankurst chose, corresponds to the end of old Gondarine Dynasty and the birth of a strong centralized imperial power. The Italian occupation following their invasion of 1935 was a violent implementation of Italian modernist urban theory combined with Fascist regime and resulted the complete transformation of Ethiopian cities, but Pankurst dared not enter in this topic, on which Italian scholars were to start careful studies in the 1990's, but within the context of Italian urban history related to the colonial city planning outside of Italy. The most prominent study was carried out by a group of Italian architectural historians in the early 1990's.³ Archive of the master planning documents, *piano regolatore*, and relating architectural plans contributed for the completion of this research, but the understanding of Ethiopian indigenous urban settlements was beyond their interests.

¹ Richard Pankurst "History of Ethiopian Towns from the Mid-19th century to 1935", Franz Steiner, Wiesbaden, 1985

² In November 1986, an International Symposium on the Centenary of Addis Ababa took place in the capital of Ethiopia. The proceedings comprised 13 papers in relation of the history and the actuality of the capital.

³ Giuliano Gresieri, Pier Giorgio Massaretti, Stefano Zagnoni ed. "Architettura Italiana d'Oltremare 1870-1940", Marsilio, Venezia, 1993. The works of Mia Fuller are also significant. Mia Fuller "Moderns Abroad: Architecture, Cities and Italian Imperialism" Routledge, London, 2007, Mia Fuller, Ruth Ben-Ghiat "Italian Colonialism", Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2005

It was only after the collapse of the *Derg* government that overall surveys on urban situation started as each municipality faced the serious problems of land management and the need for future development programs. Various foreign experts were called upon by local and the central governments to do the consultation for these tasks. Keio University team led by Riichi Miyake, to which the author belonged, was engaged in the master plan revision of Gondar City between 2000 and 2004 and conducted a series of research projects together with local experts. The gathering of old planning documents and interviews with those who spent childhood before and during the Italian occupation enabled the well-systematized building of urban history consolidated by the fact-finding process for urban life and administration.

Tomohiro Shitara, core member of Keio University team, has focused on the urban transformation of Gondar since the Emperor Fasilidas period and presented a doctoral thesis in 2008, entitled “A Study on the Formation of Traditional Living Space and its Transformation by Modernization in Gondar”. The comparison between the existing buildings and the historical documents enabled the reconstruction of imperial Gondar around the 18th century. The question of building techniques, such as masonry and *chikka* construction, was systematically discussed in this paper as well.⁴ His idea on the urban settlements was ambitious as he categorized “dispersed settlements within urban territory” meaning that Gondar was not a city with continuous built-up areas, but rather discontinuous settlements situated according to geographical conditions. Acoustic and visual relations among those settlements are the keys to understand the character of such Ethiopian cities. This means the fundamental difference from the European model or from those in Japan.

In the case of Mekelle, a team from a Venetian university, *Istituto Universitario di Architettura di Venezia*, was engaged in land management issues in the mid 1990’s prior to the land reform on a national level. Their final paper “Urban Land Management in Ethiopia – the Case of Makalle” (1996) was the first detailed study on the transformation of land policy, focusing on the nationalization process and the resulting changes of land management during the *Derg* period.⁵ Parallel to this group the author’s team has set up its basis in collaboration with Mekelle University since the early 2000’s and led a series of research projects on urban issues of this city.⁶

Harar has attracted a certain number of architects and urban scholars due to its unique walled-city character. In particular, French institutions have been involved probably thanks to their interest in the house in which Arthur Rimbaud is thought to have resided. The team led by Philippe Revault and Serge Santelli undertook a full-scale survey on the old city of Harar in 2003 with the assistance of French academic institutions and published a complete report on the urban situation of the old city from the typological point of view.⁷ Architectural details as well as construction system was clearly analyzed with the participation of architects and urban experts. Unfortunately this group stopped their

⁴ Tomohiro Shitara “A Study on the Formation of Traditional Living Space and its Transformation by Modernization in Gondar”, doctoral thesis, Keio University, 2008

⁵ Istituto Universitario di Architettura di Venezia “Urban Land Management in Ethiopia – the Case of Makalle”, Post Graduate School of Urban and Regional Planning for Developing Countries, Venice, 1996

⁶ The author has carried out a series of field surveys in central Mekelle together with local experts, resulting the master thesis presented to Keio University. Rumi Okazaki “Study on the Urban Formation and Actuality of the Central District in Mekelle, Ethiopia – Appraisal of Historical Quarters and Inner City Problems”, master thesis of Keio University, 2010

⁷ Philippe Revault, Serge Santelli ed. “Harar – Une cite musulmane d’Ethiopie” Maisonneuve & Larose, 2004

engagement after the publication of this precise report.

Besides a typological approach to urban formation, research on social network and organization has become important recently. In particular, the role of *iddir*, the community bond among the residents, has become a research topic for the new generation of researchers. In fact, papers by Alula Pankurst and Elias Yitbarek suggest the decisive role of this tie in sustaining the community.⁸ Anthropological and sociological studies are well combined with the notion of urban history and sustainability for future.

⁸ Alula Pankurst "The Emergence, Evolution and Transformation of *iddir* Funeral Asasociation in Urban Ethiopia", in *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, Vol XLI, Nos. 1-2, Institute of Ethiopian Studies, Addis Ababa University, 2008, pp. 143-185, Elias Yitbarek "The Role of *iddir* in Neighborhood in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia" in *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, Vol XLI, Nos. 1-2, Institute of Ethiopian Studies, Addis Ababa University, 2008, pp. 187-197

1-3. Categorization of Ethiopian Cities according to their Purposes and Roles

Ethiopian cities are clearly marked by different layers of time [Fig. 1-3]. Its land system and buildings have been impressed by the nature of respective age although popular residential buildings have kept the tradition of circular houses except Eastern Tigray where the masonry tradition has been outstanding. The notion of land tenure and territory has been decisive to define an urban compound, which is strongly related with social hierarchy since the ancient imperial period. This means that urbanity should be comprehended according to a complex of different land management systems and architectural behaviors that have formulated the interaction among people, institutions and the built environment. Categorization of towns and cities should be closely related with this interaction. Residences of imperial families and clans as well as top hierarchy nobles formed the nucleus of the city while churches, dominating the top of hills or the depth of valleys in many cases, were other focal points to generate urban complex.

Present Aksum was once the cradle of Aksumite civilization constructed on the surface of old archaeological layers from early settlements that were scattered widely around the city. Only obelisks remain from the ancient period, but the site of its old churches still bear the traces of ancient religious sanctuaries. Aksum was worthy of being classed as a metropolis according to some historians.⁹

After the fall of Aksumite Dynasty, medieval Ethiopia did not produce large amounts of agglomeration as it had in ancient Aksum. Emperors and princes set up their own courts but they were rather mobile, making use of tents or other temporary structures. Even in the case of Lalibela, the monarch-monk established his own court in a monastery in a theocratic political situation. Lalibela could be considered a large complex of monasteries that attracted pilgrims, but not a city or a town in the modern sense.

Gondar was purposefully constructed to place the political capital of Ethiopia in the vicinity of Lake Tana. Emperor Fasilidas carefully chose this site in the first half of the 17th century, following a number of castle constructions by his father, who had caused political turmoil due to his conversion to Catholicism. The Emperor mobilized Portuguese-Indian-Ethiopian engineers and workers to construct his palace complex. His subjects gathered around this palace and formulated their living quarters. This period corresponds to the age of great movement between the West and the East and was, indeed, the age of great construction, in which people enthusiastically conceived and erected new types of castles and palaces in Japan, China, India, and in other parts of Africa. Understanding the case of Ethiopia in the international context will lead to the comprehension of the birth of this prosperous castle building age in Ethiopia.

Contrary to Orthodox Ethiopian urban culture, Muslims in the periphery of Ethiopian Empire had shown strong concern on concentrated urban systems. Harar, known as a unique Muslim city in the eastern plateau of the Ethiopian highlands, was constructed from the very beginning of Islam's penetration to this part of highland. The present city comprises of buildings dating back to the 10th century. Its townscape apparently conveys the urban

⁹ Tekla Hagos, *op.cit*

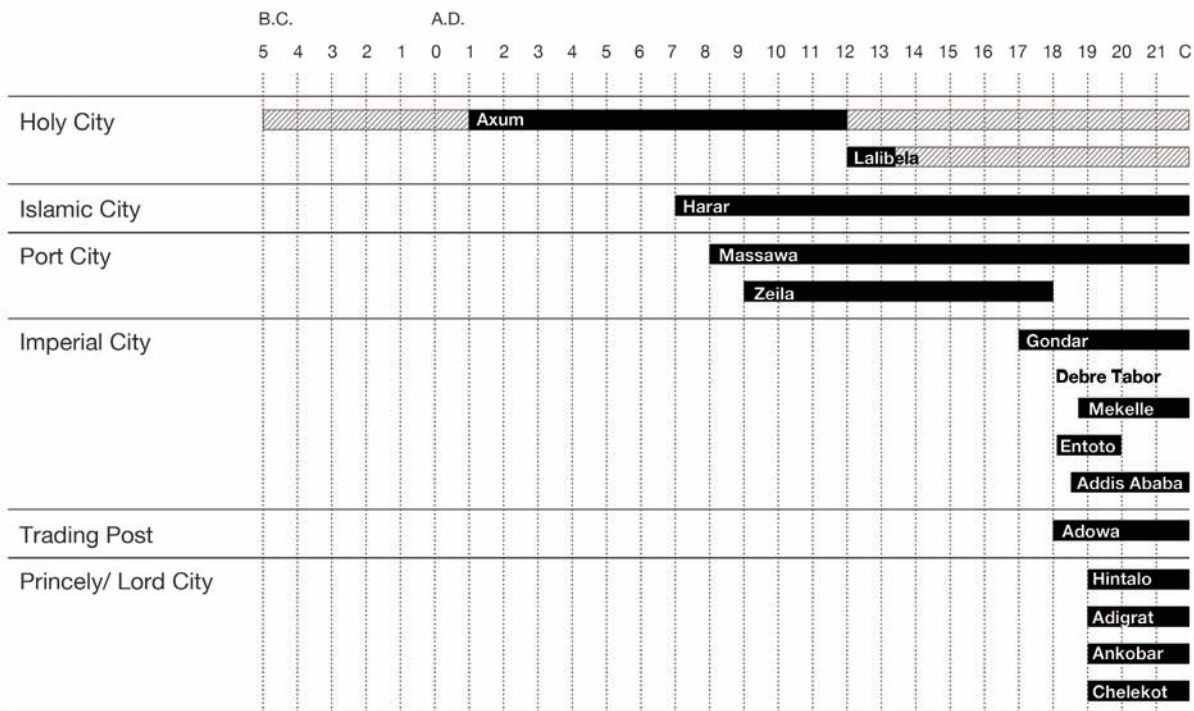


Fig. 1-3 Chart of Categorization of Ethiopian Cities

structure of the medieval age, represented by concentrated buildings, the courtyard typology, and the serpentine street system. Coastal settlements have evolved to prosperous port towns also in the medieval age thanks to the frequent trading in the Red Sea Area. Massawa, presently in Eritrea, and Zeila, in Somaliland, were two major ports at the end of the long caravan routes from the highlands. Consequently trading posts situated along the trade routes became important commercial centers. Such were the cases for Adwa, which has kept the status of the largest trading town in Tigray.

Therefore, the type of Ethiopian urban complex until the middle of the 19th century was limited. Only Gondar, its capital, and several other trading towns, besides Muslim commercial towns in the periphery of Ethiopian Empire, could be defined as an urban complex. However, after the transfer of the capital by the initiative of Emperor Tewodros, urbanization started in the second half of the 19th century. Mekelle was a good example of a new imperial city embracing an imperial palace within it. The process of urban formation was the same as Gondar 200 years before. Following the construction of the palace by the Emperor Yohannes IV, his subjects gathered around it. The idea itself is, therefore, classical.

The initiative by the following Emperor, Menelik II, accelerated the urbanization of major settlements in Ethiopia, introducing modernization to this country. First Entoto in 1881, then Addis Ababa in 1886 were founded in southern Shoa region. To enable the expansion to the empire toward the south, the situation of Addis Ababa was the most suitable. Dendena Tufa describes the initial development of this capital as the allocation of *sefer*, camp of military officials (*Fitawirari, Ras, Dejzmach* etc.), occupying the hilltops around the imperial palace.¹⁰ This type of vertical hierarchy is the key to understand the development of such

¹⁰ Dendela Tufa "Historical Development of Addis Ababa: plans and realities" in *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, Vol XLI, Nos. 1-2, Institute of Ethiopian Studies, Addis Ababa University, 2008, pp.30-35

imperial settlements like Ankobar and Addis Ababa, both promoted by Menelik II. Natural and geographical factors matter in such cases.

The categorization of Ethiopian cities before the 20th century, therefore, is rather simple. Excluding the cases of the ancient settlements and towns, there is a clear distinction between the Muslim urban tradition and Ethiopian imperial initiative for palace/castle cities. Construction of imperial capitals was the most planned conception of new cities while commercial and trading towns originated from prosperity within and outside of the empire.

1-4. Etymological Review on Urbanity among Ethiopians

The oldest images of Ethiopian towns and villages, drawn by an objective realistic painting technique, could be seen in the book of Henry Salt, a British traveler, artist and collector of antiquities on the occasion of the trip of viscount Valentia, whom Salt accompanied as secretary and draughtsman from 1809 to 1810.¹¹ The images conveyed in these drawings are different from the conventional idea of European or, even, Asian cities as the houses were loosely allocated following the topological conditions of the site. Apparently the notion of settlement, whether it is a town or a village, does not always coincide to what has been discussed in a conventional context. An etymological review on the notion of the settlement is necessary.

Ethiopians used the term *ketema* (*kutuma* in Tigrinya) to describe cities. Traditionally this term has been cherished to correspond to the idea of “town”. Akalou Wolde-Michael argues in his article contributed to IES that the notion of *ketema* was introduced at the turn of the 20th century to define the newly constructed garrison town¹², depending on the research of a French geographer before the First World War¹³. However, the term “*kutuma*” was referred as the Tigrayan expression of town in the publication of Salt of 1816¹⁴, meaning *katema* in Amharic or *kutuma* in Tigrinya was not invented at the end of the 19th century, but local people commonly used it one century before the appearance of garrison cities. It is interesting to understand the image of a town according to the terminology of Salt [Fig. 1-4]. It is much more primitive than European or Arabic cities, but its function could be easily understood by this image. Taking into account that *kutuma* consists of several settlements and a market place, its population must have been 2,000-3,000.

There is a clear distinction between this *ketema* and *mender*, which means village. *Ketema* in general possesses the function of market and administration in addition to a concentration of inhabitants. Village people gather there regularly for the exchange of their agricultural products and other goods. According to Salt, major towns such as Chelekot and Adwa were called *geneta* while small towns or, rather to say, large villages like Adigrat and Wukro were called *gulta*. Morphologically this *gulta* is not substantially different from *mender*, but it is a chief place among the groups of villages. For instance, Mekelle used to be a *gulta*, a small town-village with a market at the beginning of the 19th century when Salt visited this place. Sometimes, military camp, called *sefer*, played a crucial role to form an urban built-up zone. The urban formation of Addis Ababa is considered typical case in which a certain number of *sefers* grew to form a separate district from the end of the 19th century.

Henry Salt referred in his book to the distinction between a small house (*beit* or *bet*) and a large house (*aderash*) in Amharic.¹⁵ The former is an ordinary type of house while the latter has been used to describe a large banqueting hall of the nobles and even a palace building.

¹¹ Encyclopedia Britannica

¹² Akalou Wolde-Michael “Urban Development in Ethiopia (1889-1925), Early Phase” *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, Vol. XI, No.1, Addis Ababa, 1973, pp.3-4

¹³ Henri Dehérain “Les Katama dans les provinces méridionales de l’Abyssinie pendant le règne de l’Empereur Menilik” *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*, XIV, Paris, pp.225-241

¹⁴ Henry Salt “Voyage to Abyssinia, and Travels into the Interior of that Country, executed under the Orders of the British Government, in the Years 1809 and 1810”, Carey, Philadelphia, and Wells & Lilly, Boston, 1816, p.413

¹⁵ *ibid.*



Fig. 1-4 Town of Dixon, painting by Henry Salt, 1809

As represented in the expression like *azaj aderash*, master of ceremony of the court, *aderash* meant household of high-ranking nobles as well. The two story houses constructed by such as high-ranking nobles as *ras* or *dejasmach* were often called *aderash* as it received a quantity of subjects for ceremonial purposes. *Bet* is sometimes used to mean a quarter of a group of homogenous houses. In Gondar, the central districts were called *Etigebet* (quarter of priest houses), *Islambet* (quarter of Muslim houses) and so on.

In Tigray, building techniques were used to categorize houses. People there distinguish *hidmo* and *gojjo* as two different traditional housing types. The former is a masonry house with a flat roof while the latter is the one with a round plan, mostly topped with conic roofing. In Amharic, the latter is used in the form of *gojjo bet* by combining two words. In eastern Africa, such round shaped house has been generally called *tukul* by the Europeans, but its origin is unclear. The details of their spatial compositions and building techniques will be treated in the next chapter.

Hidmo is also used to describe a compound having this *hidmo* house within it. A family, or sometimes, several families lived in such compound. Besides the main house, either round shape (*tukul*) or rectangular, several attached buildings stood in order to house servants and animals. In *mender*, groups of *hidmo* compounds constitute the totality of the village. A church, mostly surrounded by greens, is also an important element. There is no notion of street nor square in a Western sense, but the in-between spaces among *hidmo* compounds play the role of communal space for passage, stock and gathering. The layout follows the topography, as difference of levels is crucial for drainage in rainy season.

1-5. What is a Historical District?

All the above-mentioned discussions would suggest the importance of a basic word for defining the “historical district” of “historical place” within a city endowed with history and historical events. The interpretation of the local context, that is, the Ethiopian context is the starting point for such basic works because history is always deeply related with locality. Locality, in fact, is formulated on the basis of people’s daily lives, customs and behaviors while site-specific events such as constructions, festivals or incidents become decisive factors for creating the memory of the space. Parallel to the evolution of an urbanized zone, additional values that enrich the urban life is indispensable to make it historically evaluated.

Therefore, a historical district is not only an old part of a city. It must be significant as a conveyer of heritage, evoking the historical events of the city and the notion of a place, as well as a container of cultural continuity, embracing remains and traces of the past in the form of architecture and artistic works. Sometimes, family stories, which took place there for generation, is significant even though old families have disappeared. The definition of the World Cultural Heritage by UNESCO suggests the existence of architectural/artistic works or groups of buildings/spaces that are “of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science” and “of outstanding universal value from the historical, unfavorable, ethnological or anthropological point of view”. In the cases of Gondar, Aksum and Harar, all World Heritage sites, such categorization seems to be just because of their exceptional architectural or archaeological features. However, the lives of people living within them seems to be different from sophisticated expectations for universal cultural value and, accordingly, contradictory to the categorical understanding of historical places.

The question is who could evaluate the universality and how it is measured in a country where the residents are deprived of basic means to live in harmony with such heritage. Poverty and indifference must be one reason, which does not allow the locals to protect and preserve historical monuments for their own sake, but there must be far more fundamental problems generating complete different cycles of “co-habitation” with history.

The key points must be: who and how they live there, and how they recognize heritage. The mode of settlement is unique in Ethiopia due to the notion of enclosure represented by *hidmo* and even *sefer*. Thus, the idea of city and town is different from those in Europe or Asia. Originally the central core of a city was a castle or a palace, but no specific central residential district was there in spite of the existence of an open-air market. Historical districts seem to have been formulated based on such dispersed type of settlement in a poly-central manner. What mattered was the convergent power of a family or a clan formulating its own enclosure. After the population grew, such enclosures were integrated and united that the city was covered by continuous built-up areas all around. However, present central districts are a mixture of old families and newcomers. The interplay between these two different groups would create types of conflict and cooperation among the inhabitants.

The purpose of this study is to categorize the idea of historical districts in Ethiopian “historical cities” and to analyze the physical environment and inhabitants on the basis of this category. In the following sections the author will focus on several major cities in Ethiopia and make comparative analysis of their urban formation processes to categorize the conception of historical quarters according to their respective cultural background.

2. Question About the Imperial Capitals and Their Urban Configuration

2-1. Gondar as a Capital of Gondarine Dynasty

2-1-1. General View

As observed before, the notion of a capital in the Ethiopian Empire appeared only after the 17th century when Emperor Fasilidas founded the palace and its surrounding living quarters for his subjects in Gondar. Gondar played the role of the center of power for two centuries and a half until Emperor Tewodros II decided to transfer his capital to Debra Tabor in the middle of the 19th century.

Gondar is one of the most remarkable cities in Ethiopia. Capital of Ethiopia between the 1636 and 1855, this city attracted world attention as the seat of the “King of Kings”¹⁶. Its foundation in the first half of the 17th century was political as Emperor Fasilidas deliberately chose the site and selected a team of architects and craftsmen. Situated in the midst of hilly northern Amhara, this city dominates vast agricultural hinterlands stretching over this region. The presence of an Imperial Castle, called *Fasil Ghebbi*, in the heart of the old city raised international attention in terms of heritage conservation in an African country, exceptionally endowed with rich tradition of building culture, and came up with the registration on the World Heritage List of UNESCO in 1979. Its construction process was well studied by Portuguese scholars¹⁷ as well as by Tomohiro Shitara, who stayed in Gondar as a chief member for the revision of the master planning led by Keio University and finalized his doctoral thesis on the subject of urban planning of Gondar in 2008¹⁸.

2-1-2. Reconstruction of Old Central Gondar

(1) Gondar in the 19th Century

In his doctoral thesis, Tomohiro Shitara characterized this city as a dispersed type of agglomeration in which a certain number of settlements, upper and lower in relation with hills and valleys, are linked with appropriate visual and sonic distance. This idea differs slightly from that of Dendera Tura who mentioned the vertical hierarchy of Addis Ababa, pointing out that the development of the capital depends of the allocation of military officials’ camp, *sefer*, on each hilltop around the imperial palace.¹⁹ The territory of Gondar was limited and this geographical condition is not as wide as Addis Ababa. It is better to understand that the presence of high mountains and deep valleys resulted into a sensible relation among the settlements beyond the geographical constraints.

The map of Gondar drawn by Charles Eugène Perron, a Swiss cartographer, and published

¹⁶ The top ruler of Ethiopian ruling hierarchy has been called “*Negus Negusta*” (King of Kings = Emperor) since Aksumite Dynasty in ancient period. The full title of the Emperor of Ethiopia contains the terms *Atse* (Emperor), *Negus Negusta* (King of Kings), and *Seyoume Igziabeher* (Elect of God).

¹⁷ Among them, see: Manuel Joao Ramos, Isabel Boevida ed., “The Indigenous and the Foreign in Christian Ethiopian Art: On Portuguese-Ethiopian Contacts in the 16th -17th Centuries”, Ashgate Pub. Ltd. 2004

¹⁸ Tomohiro Shitara, *op. cit.*

¹⁹ Dendela Tufa, *op. cit.* p.35

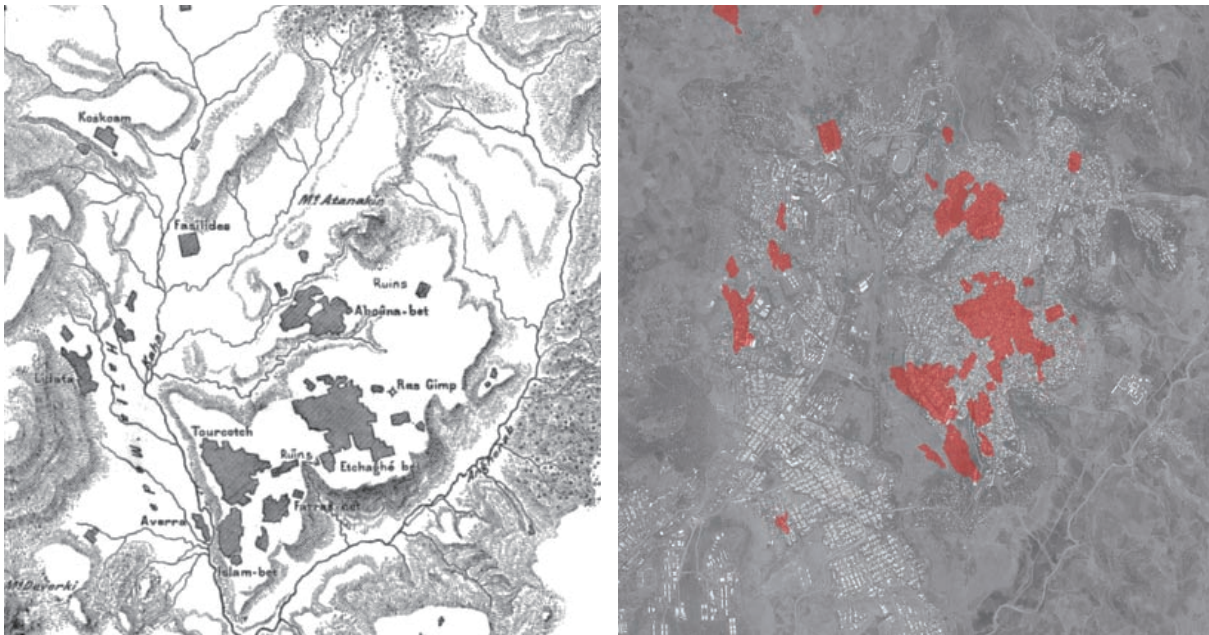


Fig. 1-5 Map of Gondar executed by Charles Eugène Perron, c.1885
 Fig. 1-6 Overlay of Perron's Map on the present topographic map of Gondar

by Elysée Reclus, a French geographer, around 1885 is one of the most interesting materials that convey the images of Gondar in the second half of the 19th century.²⁰ It shows the different quarters spread according to the topographical conditions [Fig. 1-5]. Overlaying Perron's site plan on the present topographical map of Gondar certainly reveals the location of different settlements and proves the hypothesis of dispersed settlements by Tomohiro Shitara [Fig. 1-6].

This juxtaposition of different dispersed settlements seems to have been decisive and realistic. The expansion of the "urbanized area" before the modernized era was not continuous, but was rather an allocation of numerous independent settlements or villages. Vacant zones, either greeneries or valleys, separated each settlement. Although the central part with *Fasil Ghebbi* was, politically speaking, the most important place, other settlements such as *Addis Alem* and *Abn Bet* played supplementary roles as living quarters for traders and craftsmen. In Perron's map, this commercial zone (*Addis Alem*) is indicated with the name of *Islam Bet*, suggesting the presence of Muslim traders.

(2) Central Districts: *Quagn Bet* and *Gira Bet*

To understand the urban transformation in the course of Gondarine Dynasty and the following modernization period, the reconstruction of the central district of Gondar should be the first step. In Perron's map, this central zone is named *Etchage Bet*, meaning Priest House, and occupies the largest surface area among the settlements in the southwest of the palace *Fasil Ghebbi*, which is indicated as "ruin" in his map. Perron's map is deformed in such a way that the location of southern market zone is falsely projected towards the southwest. To correct this deformation requires present cadastre map of the old city, but the lack of a GIS cadastre map in the municipality office obliged the author's team to produce

²⁰ Elisée Reclus, "The Universal Geography, the Earth and its Inhabitants", edited by E.G. Ravenstein, Virtue & Co Ltd, London, 1885. Neither Reclus nor Perron visited Ethiopia. The original map of Gondar must have been collected from some other contemporary source.

its own cadastre map by gathering necessary data related to the land management and housing.

In the long history of Gondar, what has been unchanged is the imperial palace, *Fasil Ghebbi*, but surrounding residential quarters encountered repeated cycles of prosperity and decline. The estimated population during the most flourishing period is, according to Tomohiro Shitara, 60,000 in the middle of the 18th century, but repeated conflicts within the nobles from the end of that century and, decisively, the departure of Tewodros in 1855, followed by the attacks of the emperor's army, induced the decline of its population down to 10,000. The offensive by fanatic Mahdist invaders from Sudan around 1888 marked the completion of the finishing blow to the urbanity of this once-flourishing capital. The damage was so serious that even at the beginning of the 20th century the town of Gondar was described "dead as a city of the past". Two drawings of Gondar in the second half of the 19th century revealed the devastated state of the city even before the attack by the Mahdists: one by Theophilus Waldmeier²¹, a Swiss missionary who stayed in Ethiopia for 10 years, and another by Achille Raffray²², a French entomologist. Houses were based on the circular type surrounded by stonewalls, known as *kib*.

The picture of Waldmeier suggests the presence of a dense living quarter, surrounded by stonewalls, in the west of the palace while that of Raffray does not show any congested living quarters [Fig. 1-7], [Fig. 1-8]. Buildings were scarce, grouped by small compounds. A comparatively large compound in the forefront of his drawing is peculiar as it represents a circular arched wall without roofing, within which a much smaller circular building is erected. The location corresponds to Medhane Alem Church, the bishop's see of Gondar, in the midst of *Abunbet* (bishop's quarter), but no such building was to be found except this one. Even the church of the bishop (*abuna*) was left devastated and replaced by a smaller temporary church building within a ruin. This *Abunbet* district was to be selected by the Italians for the construction of new commercial zone in the late 1930's.

Both pictures by Waldmeier and Raffray remind us of the fact that the living quarters around the palace were characterized by the presence of large territories surrounded by stonewalls, in which 3-4 circular type houses were grouped. This may correspond to how the noblemen established their military encampment (*sefer*) in the neighborhood of the emperor's palace. Unlike *Abunbet* district, the neighboring quarters used to possess a number of such walled territories. The oldest church from the period of Emperor Fasilidas, Abajale Tekele Haimanot Church in the west of the *Fasil Ghebbi*, was the most outstanding one covered by trees. Unfortunately, this church was burned down by the Mahdists in 1888 and reconstructed later. It is not so difficult to read the hierarchy layered by houses (*bet*), housing compounds (*kib*), quarters (*mender* or *bet*) and the town (*ketema*). However, the emigration of the residents and the devastation of abandoned buildings over time faded away the urbanized aspect of densely populated quarters.

The urban formation of Gondar was well analyzed by Tomohiro Shitara.²³ In accordance

²¹ Theophilus Waldmeier (1832-1915), Swiss Quaker missionary. After staying 10 years in Ethiopia, he was captured as prisoner by Tewodros II and finally released by the British troop headed by Napier in 1868. His autobiography entitled "Autobiography Theophilus Waldmeier, Missionary: Being an Account of Ten Years' Life in Abyssinia; and Sixteen Years in Syria", S.W.Partridge & Co. London, 1886, was widely read.

²² Achille Raffray (1844-1923), member of the Société entomologique de France and the Société de Géographie, made a scientific voyage to Ethiopia in 1873 and published "Voyage en Abyssinie, à Zanzibar et au pays des Ouanika", *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*, No. 6, 1875.

²³ Tomohiro Shitara, *op. cit.*



Fig. 1-7 Gondar in 1862, drawing by Theophilus Waldmeier



Fig. 1-8 Gondar in 1873, engraving by Achille Raffray

with the construction of the castle buildings by the emperors of the Gondarine Dynasty, nobles settled in the surrounding area while the imperial families and their relatives resided in the castle compound. The eastern part of the surrounding area, called *Quagn Bet*, was reserved for higher-class nobles and clergies while the western part, *Gira Bet*, was gradually occupied by lower class warriors and their dependents, including even prostitutes. The aerial photos of the 1930's illustrate clearly these settlements around the castle before the implementation of modernized city planning [Fig. 1-9]. The eastern *Quagn Bet* still shows features suggesting the settlement of relatively well-established families while the western *Gira Bet* consists of a few circular shape masonry houses and a considerable number of humble mud-surfaced dwellings. The pejorative expression of "*Gira Gondare*" (poor Gondarian), widely used in this region, originated from the inhabitants of the latter.²⁴ As the target of the author's team is situated in the midst of this *Gira Bet*, the housing problem within it seems to have been historically generated.

The townscape of central Gondar is completely different from the old one, but remains of that period are still to be seen. The presence of old circular buildings (*kib*) is apparently the heritage from this period.²⁵ The authors' team confirmed the existence of 43 circular houses in the central district of Gondar. 25 (60%) were found in *Kebele 11 (Gira Bet)* and *Kebele 9 (Arada = market area)*.²⁶ It is natural that such a historical place as *Gira Bet* maintains these old houses since the imperial period, but, strangely enough, only a few circular houses were found in the eastern zone of the *Fasil Ghebbi*, regarded as a residential quarter for high-class nobles and clergies.

A picture taken by an Italian cameraman in 1936 conveys the old image of the northern part of *Gira Bet* with the presence of large circular buildings. This area, called Abajala Tekle Haimanot District because of the church founded in the early 17th century and thus entitled, has been known as one of the most sophisticated areas in contrast with the disordered southern part. The picture of the 1936 confirms the existence of larger size houses, but after the "modernization" of this area, all the traces of such houses have gone away [Fig. 1-10], [Fig. 1-11].

A comparative study between existing circular houses and an old engraving executed by Achille Raffray clarifies the remaining situation of old houses. This engraving of 1873 is precise enough that the surrounding area of *Fasil Ghebbi*, especially *Gira Bet*, is realistically drawn. Reconstitution of the late 19th century townscape by a 3D map of this engraving confirms that at least 2 existing circular houses among 12 in *Kebele 11* date back to this period²⁷. After Gondar had lost its position as capital due to the decision of Emperor Tewodros II to move the capital to Debra Tabor in 1855, the city was attacked and sacked twice by the emperor's army, first in 1864 and then in 1866. These political upheavals made the city considerably devastated and many nobles and merchants were forced to

²⁴ *ibid.* p.101

²⁵ Tomohiro Shitara, "Present Condition of Historical Italian Buildings in Gondar", *Nile-Ethiopian Studies* 10, 2006, pp. 15-22

²⁶ *Kebele* is the last and smallest administrative unit, which corresponds to neighborhood, in Ethiopia. This *kebele* administration system was created by the *Derg* government in 1974 in order to strengthen the local control for the revolutionary purpose, but it is maintained even after the fall of this regime. Gondar is divided into 20 *kebeles*. *Kebele 11* actually covers the most deteriorated part of Central Gondar. As for the role of these *kebeles* in Gondar, see: Yuko Otsubo, Riichi Miyake, Tomohiro Shitara, Kyoko Homma "Study on the Housing Policy in Gondar, Ethiopia, and its Reality" in *Bulletin of Architectural Institute of Japan*, F-2, 2004, pp.259- 260 (in Japanese)

²⁷ Tomohiro Shitara, "A Study on the Formation of Traditional Living Space and its Transformation by Modernization in Gondar", doctoral thesis, Keio University, 2008 (in Japanese), p.102



Fig. 1-9 Fasil Ghebi and its Surroundings, aerial photo by Italians in 1930's



Fig. 1-10 Fasil Ghebi and its surroundings, "Gondar, antica capitale" propaganda movie by A.O.I., 1936



Fig. 1-11 Present site of Fig.1-7, all circular houses have disappeared

leave from the city. The engraving of Raffray represents the town only 7 years after the second attack. Many nobles' buildings that had surrounded the castle were either destroyed or ruined. Therefore, the authors have to conclude that most of the current circular houses were reconstructed after this period except the two, which are identified as existing on the occasion of Raffray's visit.

(3) *Fasil Ghebbi* and its Surroundings

Elio Zacchia, an Italian archaeologist, tried to reconstruct the image of central Gondar of the 18th century by surveying the remaining structures of the castle and its surroundings²⁸ [Fig. 1-12], [Fig. 1-13]. He retraced the idea of a large living quarters surrounded high walls and smaller housing compounds also surrounded by walls. The central district of Gondar was, thus, divided in to many quarters: that of imperial palace and those of its dependents high-class nobles probably originating from military *sefer* system. The existence of bridges, connecting the palace and the nobles' quarters, represents the privileged position of these nobles who are allowed to get direct access to the imperial court. In other words, the city of Gondar consisted of several walled quarters. The notion of street in-between high walls appeared within this urban fabric. Generally, Ethiopian rural villages were only groups of housing compounds. There is no notion of streets. In-between spaces are free passages for anyone, even cattle, but in the case of Gondar, streets were carefully designed to guarantee access to the nobles' residences. Watching the aerial photo by the Italians, the notion of a square and a crossing had already been present.

2-1-3. Urban Transformation in the 20th Century

(1) Situation in the 1930's

After the departure of Emperor Tewodros II in 1855, Gondar was nearly abandoned, which resulted in a sudden decrease of the urban population. The Mahdists' attack in 1889 devastated the city as most of the original churches of the 17th century were burnt down except the Church of Debre Birhan Selassie. To understand the urban situation between the end of the 19th century and the Italian Occupation that started in 1936 is difficult as the political center of Ethiopia shifted to Mekelle and Addis Ababa, so the number of preserved documents is not enough to describe the urban situation of Gondar in that period. The only possible way to reconstruct the urban situation is to use the Italian documents of the 1930's, including photos and propaganda movies. It is expected that these documents still narrate about the urban situation of the early 20th century, which did not force a radical transformation of the city in comparison with the subsequent occupation period. The visual images of Gondar in the mid 1930's would reveal the "indigenous state" of the city as the Italians described.

Contrary to its preceding period, documents made during the occupation period were rich as the Italians dispatched a special team for the archaeological excavation, groups of building engineers for construction of new towns and journalists for propaganda purposes. Documentation was their first works to start the administration of the colony while the journalists tried to focus on the "undeveloped part" of the native Ethiopian living quarter

²⁸ Alessandro Augusto Monte della Corte, "I Castelli di Gondar", Società Italiana Arti Grafiche, Roma, 1938

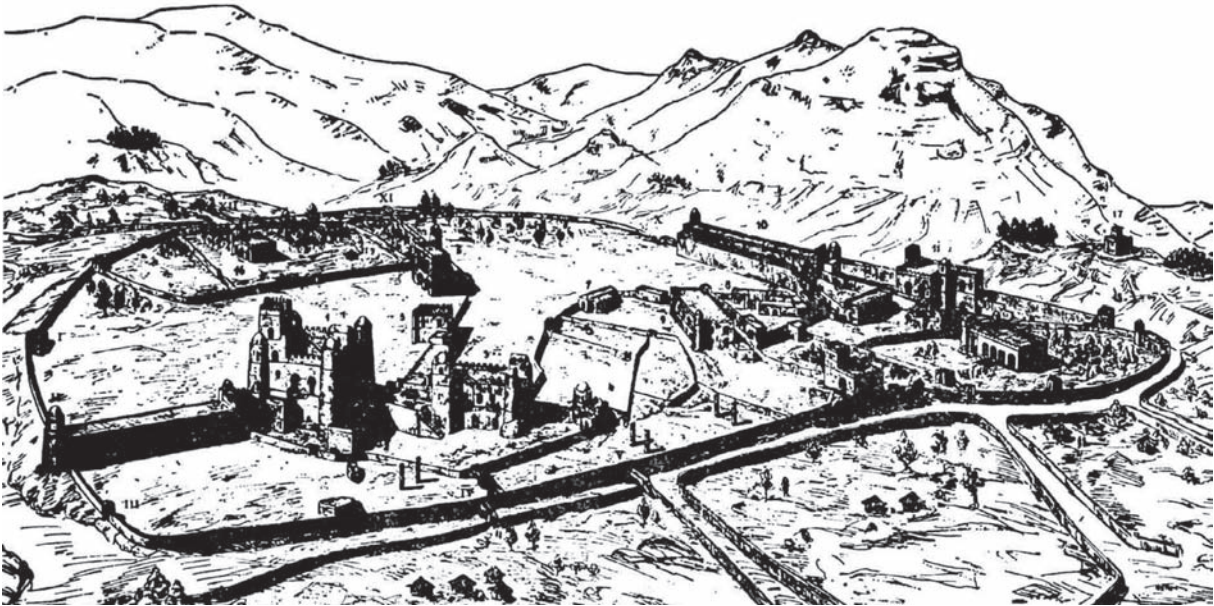


Fig. 1-12 Elio Zacchia, reconstruction of Gondar of the 18th century (1938)



Fig. 1-13 Present aerial view of Elio Zacchia's image, Google Earth 2011



Fig. 1-14 Aerial view of Gondar, photo taken by Italians in 1930's



Fig. 1-15 Present aerial view from the same angle of aerial photo in 1930's, Google Earth 2011

and the “enlightened part” of the Italian new town. In this sense, the propaganda movies are useful as the reference of the Ethiopians’ life and their living conditions although the Italians regarded the old city as “presenting only small and miserable *tukuls* grouped around the ruins of the castles.”²⁹ In addition, the aerial photos taken by the Italians clearly show the status quo of Gondar [Fig. 1-12]. Houses, walls, paths and greens are recognizable. The comparison between these aerial photos and recent Google Earth satellite photos enabled the reconstruction of the map of central Gondar in the 1930’s [Fig. 1-13].

According to the aerial photos of the 1930’s, the densest area was the western part of the palace, called *Gira Bet*. These photos even enable the reconstruction of original state of cadastre of this quarter with precise traces of all the housing compounds. The reconstructed urban plan of *Gira Bet* was suggestive, not only because of its organic formation by various sizes of compounds with circular houses in the middle, but also because it is well linked with several important churches situated on topographically prominent places. The location of the churches both inside and outside the castle compound was decisive to formulate the urban tissue of central Gondar. Especially, Mariam Church and Abajale Tekle Haimanot Church, the oldest church in Gondar from the period of Emperor Fasilidas, have been playing the role of the focal points within the *Gira Bet*.

Gondar, as the city of imperial seat, has been characterized by the presence of a public square called *Adababay* in the south of the palace. A huge tree of the Emperor’s *walka* (*ficus vasta*), thought to have been standing since the period of Fasilidas, was the symbol of this square, but even within the living quarter of the nobles and warriors, smaller size squares were allocated. The origin of these small public spaces will be examined in the following chapters. The image of this square over the *Adababay* Gate, taken by a movie camera in 1938, represents the congested townscape with smaller circular houses [Fig. 1-16].

(2) *Piano Regolatore* by A.O.I.

The Italian colonial government started the implementation of a new town planning, *Piano Regolatore*, as soon as they occupied Ethiopian territory and established A.O.I. (*Africa Orientale Italiana*). In the case of Gondar, Gherardo Bosio³⁰ was appointed architect for the master plan in 1936. The works of this architect have been well treated by several architectural historians so far³¹ and here the author’s attention is limited to his idea of reorganization of the city and the resulting influence for later development of urban areas.

Bosio was involved in the master planning of Gondar from 1936. According to Rifkind, his first plan was completed in summer 1936 after a few months’ interval from the occupation of the city by the Italian army³². Among the three drawings with the signature of this architect still existing, “*Schema per il Piano Regolatore di Gondar*” (date unknown) corresponds to this first plan [Fig. 1-17]. It requires a complete change of urban system of Gondar by creating a vast administrative center and residential zones by way of the

29 ‘*Gli Annali dell’Africa Italiana*’, Anno II, Numero 4, 1939, p.401

30 Gherardo Bosio (1903-1941), Italian architect from Florence. After working in Florence and designing several public facilities there, he was appointed as the master architect for occupied Ethiopia from 1936. He was in charge of Dessie and Gondar.

31 See: David Rifkind, “Modernity and Continuity in Ethiopian Architecture and Urbanism – the Case of Gondar”, web-based publication, 2012. Giuliano Gresleri, “1936-40: Programma e strategia delle <<città imperiali>>”, in Giuliano Gresleri, Pier Giorgio Massaretti, Stefano Zagnoni ed. *Architettura italiana d’oltremare: 1870-1940*, Venezia, 1993, pp. 178-201

32 David Rifkind, *op. cit.* p.10



Fig. 1-16 Adababay seen from *Fasil Ghebbi*, "La visita di Teruzzi", propaganda movie by A.O.I., 1938



Fig. 1-17 *Schema per il Piano Regolatore di Gondar* by Gherardo Bosio, date unknown

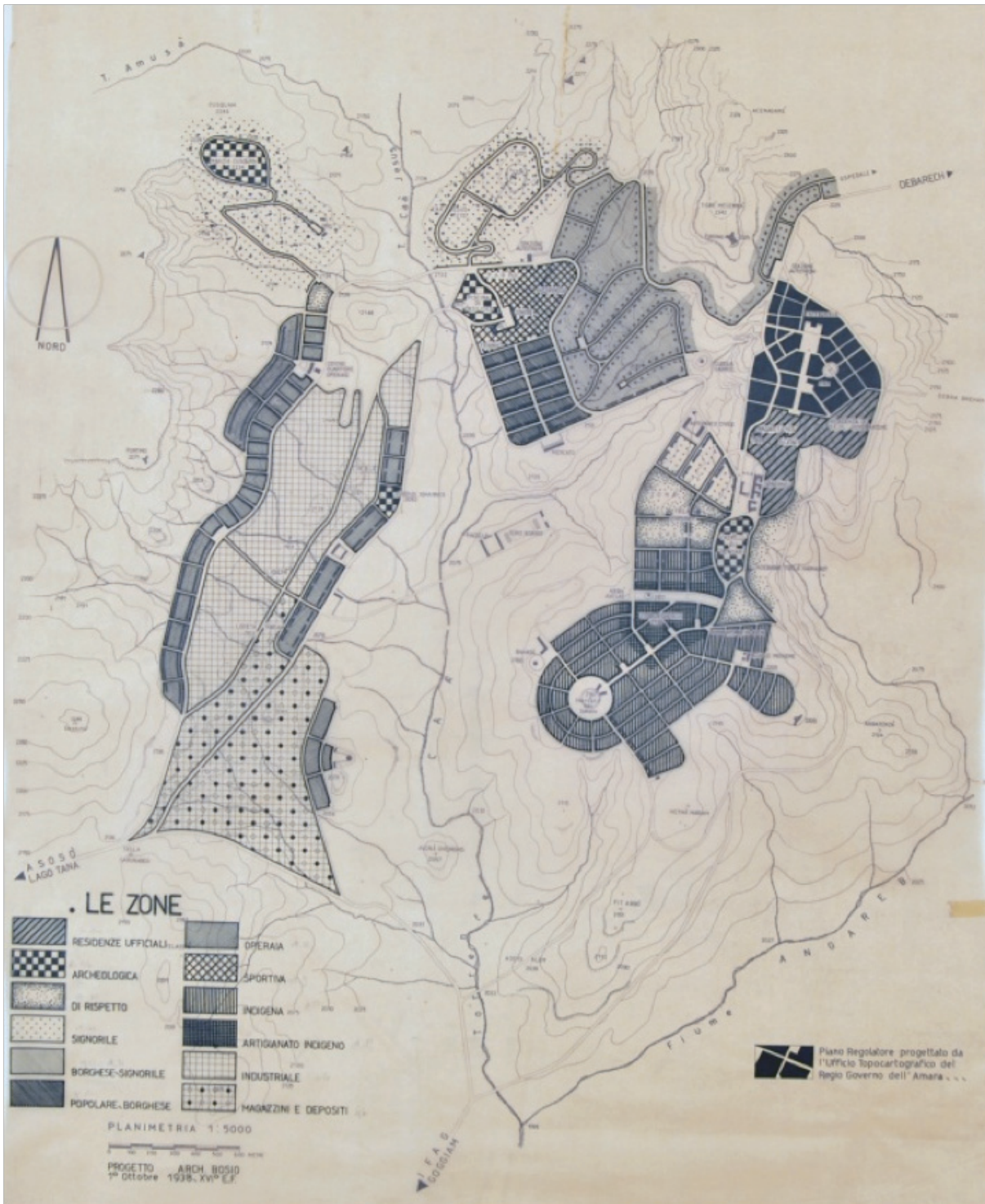


Fig. 1-18 *Piano Regolatore* of Gondar by Gherardo Bosio, October 1, 1938, land use plan



Fig. 1-19 *Piano Regolatore* of Gondar by Gherardo Bosio, October 1, 1938, facility and building plan

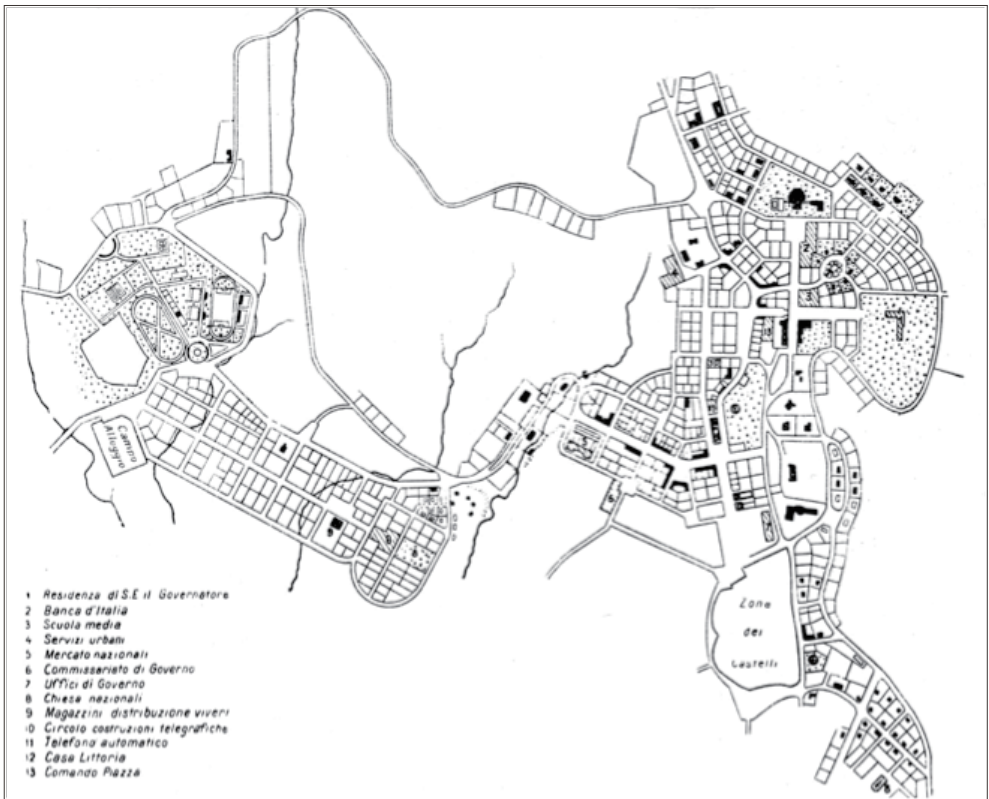


Fig. 1-20 Piano Regolatore of Gondar, published in 'Gli Annali dell'Africa Italiana' 1939

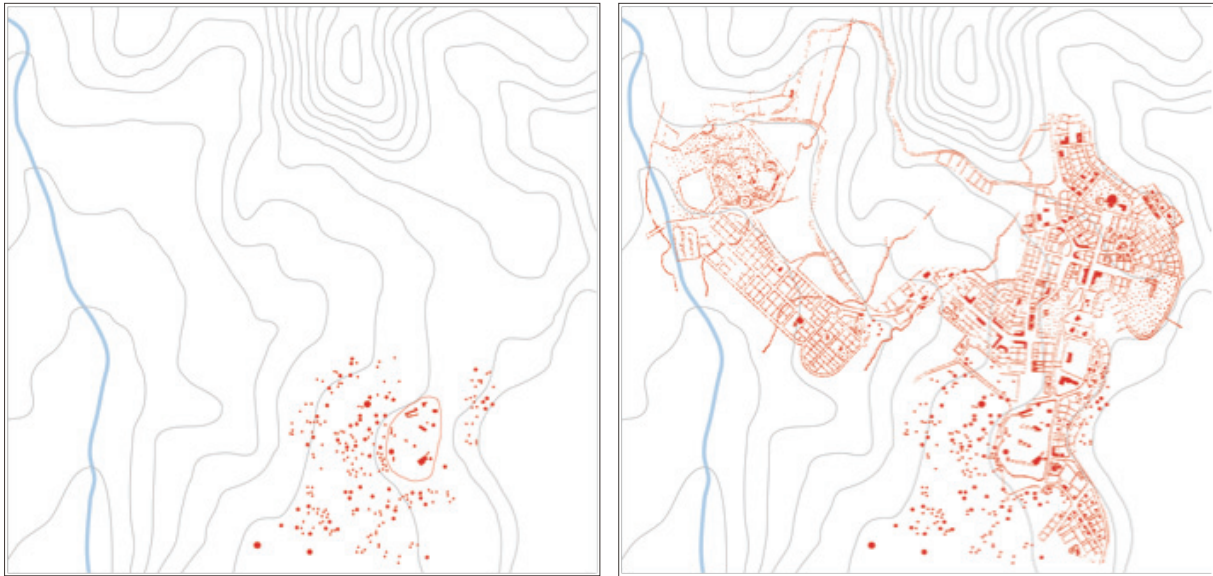


Fig. 1-21 (left) Urbanization of Gondar around Fasil Ghebbi in the 1930's

Fig. 1-22 (right) Italian Master Plan of 1939 overlaid on the present map

clearance of the existing urbanized area. Even the *Fasil Ghebbi* complex was to disappear. This plan was drawn on a 1/10,000 map with contour lines by 5m. It may raise a question how the Italians measured the topography of this area within a period of one or two months, but the comparison between this master plan and the final one of 1938 revealed that the contour lines were rough and do not coincide with reality. The architect ought to have shown the initial idea to the newly appointed military governor of Amhara, General Alessandro Pirzio Biroli. By way of instant measurement by quick survey, the architect, who was then based in Asmara, came to conceive a certain new idea, although it did not correspond to the reality, represented by the location of the airport in the bottom of the valley and the complete negation of *Fasil Ghebbi*.

Contrary to this initial plan, the final one was apparently worked out from detailed survey and contemplation. Two existing drawings, a land use map and a building scheme, both dated October 1, 1938, show a modernist approach by the creation of new towns and the maintenance of preserved and untouched zones [Fig. 1-18], [Fig. 1-19]. The new towns were the urbanized administrative center neighboring the castle zone in the north and wide residential zones on the northern slopes with the conception of a garden city. The preserved zones were *Fasil Ghebbi* as an archaeological site and indigenous districts for the natives, although a new gridded street pattern was to be introduced. The architect's choice of the "respected" residential zone seems to have limited to the living quarters of higher-class nobles and warriors around the castle. The congested zone of *Gira Bet* was to be replaced by a regularly subdivided residential district. The organic aspect of natives should be overcome by this type of modernist urban theory. This master plan of 1938, thus, represents the idea for the creation of a new capital of Amhara Governorate with the notion of victory over "poor, chaotic and unhygienic" indigenous settlements.

In 1939, the master plan was modified. The plan published in '*Gli Annali dell'Africa Italiana*' shows partial implementation of the total plan of the last year³³ [Fig. 1-20]. Lack of funding, repeated poor harvests and resistance movements all hindered the project. The new master plan focused on the creation of a new urbanized district in the north of the castle compound and adjacent residential zones in the northeast. *Quagn Bet* district was to be replaced by a new housing zone, but *Gira Bet* district was kept untouched. The Italian Occupying government claims the separation between the White districts and the indigenous district so as to implement the segregation policy [Fig. 1-21], [Fig. 1-22]. The preceding grid street plan in the indigenous sector was abandoned. It was only after 1967 when the new master planning was implemented by the Haile Selassie's government that the street pattern of old Gondar was radically changed into a geometrical pattern.

The fact that this revised master plan prescribed the new planning in *Quagn Bet* district in the east of the *Fasil Ghebbi*, replacing it by regularly subdivided residential lands with single-house type parcel, means that this area had already lost its original feature of being the nobles' residence. On the contrary, *Gira Bet* area was left untouched as it was congested by a considerable number of indigenous houses as seen in the aerial picture. In fact the majority of the population of 14,000 Ethiopians was forced to live in this segregated zone while some 2,000 Italians came to reside in the new town. This dualism of the indigenous and the colonial due to the segregation policy used to be the most outstanding character of

³³ *Piano Regolatore* of various cities in Ethiopia were published in the colonial magazine "Gli Annali dell'Africa Italiana", Numero 4, 1939

urban planning by the Italian colonial government.

The evolution of Bosio's master plan explains the change of the colonial government in terms of a reorganization of a historical city in Amhara. Their intention was to underline the symbolic importance of an old Ethiopian capital and to concentrate all necessary efforts to enrich the city as a new capital of colonial Amhara. However, due to several reasons, they were obliged to change their mind of fulfilling all the measures prescribed in the master plan. The implementation was limited: only the new administrative and commercial sectors in the north of *Fasil Ghebbi* were completed. This area was empty enough to allow unrestricted intervention by the developer without any difficult negotiation with the locals. The architect's idea and the level of the construction are worth evaluating. Their concern about the historical heritage was also put into action as the restoration of *Fasil Ghebbi* started with the invitation of Italian restorers.

Concerning the controversial *Gira Bet* district, its northern part was designated as "respected area" due to its historical value, but the southern two-thirds was the target of complete reorganization to become subdivided housing quarters as prescribed in the master plan proposal of 1938. However, the final plan did not follow this line. Segregation policy, finally taken by the colonial government in the last stage of the master planning process, coincided to the reduction of the project's scale and, most essentially, to the concentrated investment of the limited fund solely to the new town center. Accordingly, all the Ethiopian quarters were left untouched as "indigenous" areas.

2-1-4. Development Plan during Haile Selassie I Period and Transformation of Central Gondar

(1) "Ethiopianization" of Town Planning

When the Italians withdrew from Ethiopia in 1941, the urbanized zone of Gondar had already doubled. Both the administrative zone on the top of the hill, neighboring to the castle of *Ras Mikael Sehul*, and the commercial zone on the former site of *Abunbet* were completed. The Ethiopians succeeded this "heritage" and made use of them as their administrative commercial centers. The infrastructure, especially the street and road system was well implemented by the Italians. Main roads were asphalted, including the roads surrounding *Fasil Ghebbi*. Narrow streets, sandwiched by two rows of stonewalls, were widened so that the connecting bridges between the palace and nobles' compounds were abandoned. Thus, old stonewalls were demolished and the traces of old *sefer* system thus disappeared.

The urban situation and the planning procedure between the 1940's and 1980's, that is, from the Italian withdrawal until the fall of the *Derg* government, have not been carefully studied so far although it would have been crucial in influencing the current situation of the central districts. In fact, existing official documents from this period are limited in number. The political upheaval and the following civil war during the *Derg* reign must have caused the loss of various types of documents both on the central and local government levels, but it should be noted that the subsequent imperial government from 1941 failed in establishing unitary dominance over regional decision making process although the emperor Haile

Selassie I took strong initiative. The emperor launched policies of land reform, agricultural improvement, urban development and tourism development despite the opposition of conservative aristocrats with vested interests.

Planning discipline and methodology in Ethiopia were said to have been transferred to this country in the 1950's and 1960's when new schools for architecture and town planning were created: the Ethio-Swedish Institute of Building Technology from 1954, which became the basis for establishing the School of Architecture and Town Planning within the College of Engineering of Haile Selassie I University from 1963.³⁴ The latter has consistently been the nucleus for training Ethiopian urban planning professionals although the number of the alumni was limited. However, the need for new urban planning was so large that the imperial government was obliged to count on foreign experts such as Sir Patrick Abercrombie³⁵ and a consulting company named Bolton Hennessy and Partner,³⁶ both from London, as well as Louis Hoÿme de Marien³⁷ from Paris. Besides, Arturo Mezzedimi, Italian architect who practiced in Addis Ababa during the reign of Haile Selassie I, was influential for designing public facilities as well as urban planning. He was effectively an advisor to the emperor and commissioned town planning of 42 regional cities such as Mekelle, Arba Minch, Gambella and Jimma.³⁸

(2) Master Plan of 1967

While it has been known that the imperial government executed a master plan of Gondar, and implemented in 1967, no documents have been found either in the municipality or in Addis Ababa. However, a recent survey by the author revealed the existence of this original plan in Italy as the master plan was made by an Italian architect' team.³⁹ This team, called Studio BDS⁴⁰, was formed between 1966 and 1969 when they were working for the Ethiopian Government after they won the international competition for the master planning of Ethiopian major cities.

The idea of Studio BDS is clear; land use is well regulated by the existing urban complex and topographic conditions [Fig. 1-23], [Fig. 1-24]. Three key characteristics could be

34 On the occasion of the establishment of the School of Architecture and Town Planning at Haile Selassie I University, Yasushi Kijima (1937-1992), Japanese young professor-architect, was invited as lecturer. He taught there for 2 years. Then the Finnish government took over the school for 10 years and dispatched such experts as Yuhani Pallasmaa.

35 Sir Patrick Abercrombie (1879-1957) is an internationally known British urban planner, especially for his Greater London Plan (1944). In his later years he was commissioned the master plan of Hong Kong (1955) by the British Government and Addis Ababa (1956) by Haile Selassie I.

36 The detail of this group is still uncertain. All the information referred to by the researchers might have come from the manuscript preserved in Addis Ababa University, entitled John Bolton, Hennessy and Partners "Addis Ababa Municipality Report on the Development Plan", Addis Ababa, 1961

37 Louis Hoÿme de Marien (1920-) is a French architect, graduate of the Ecole des Beaux-arts in Paris with first Grand Prix de Rome in 1951. In 1965 he led the group of French architects and consultants under the title of Mission d'urbanisme et d'habitat, professional group for over sea cooperation sponsored by the French Government, to conceive the master plan of Addis Ababa.

38 Arturo Mezzedimi (1922-) is an architect from Tuscany. During the Italian Occupation period he stayed in Eritrea, but after the war, he entered the Ecole des beaux-arts in Paris, then worked in the office of Alberto Sartoris. Invited to Ethiopia from 1959, he realized many commissions all over Ethiopia until the abdication of the emperor in 1974. He moved his office to Djibouti, then. See: Rumi Okazaki, Riichi Miyake, "Study on the Shift of Master Planning Process of Mekelle, Ethiopia 2 : Urban Planning in Imperial Period", *Bulletin of Architectural Institute of Japan*, F-2, 2010, pp.405- 406 (in Japanese)

39 Pietro Barucci, "Progetti et Opere dell'Architetto Pietro Barucci", Edizione fuori commercio, 2008, volume secondo-progetti urbanistici

40 Studio BDS (Barucci Di Gaddo Sacco) was formed between 1966 and 1969 by three Italian architects: Pietro Barucci (1927-), Beata Di Gaddo (1921-), and Ugo Sacco. Inspired by the idea of organic historical cities along the Mediterranean Sea, they published a series of town planning and vernacular type housing both in Italy and Maghreb countries. After the winning of the International Competition for the master planning of Ethiopian Cities, they were commissioned 18 major cities in Ethiopia in three years.

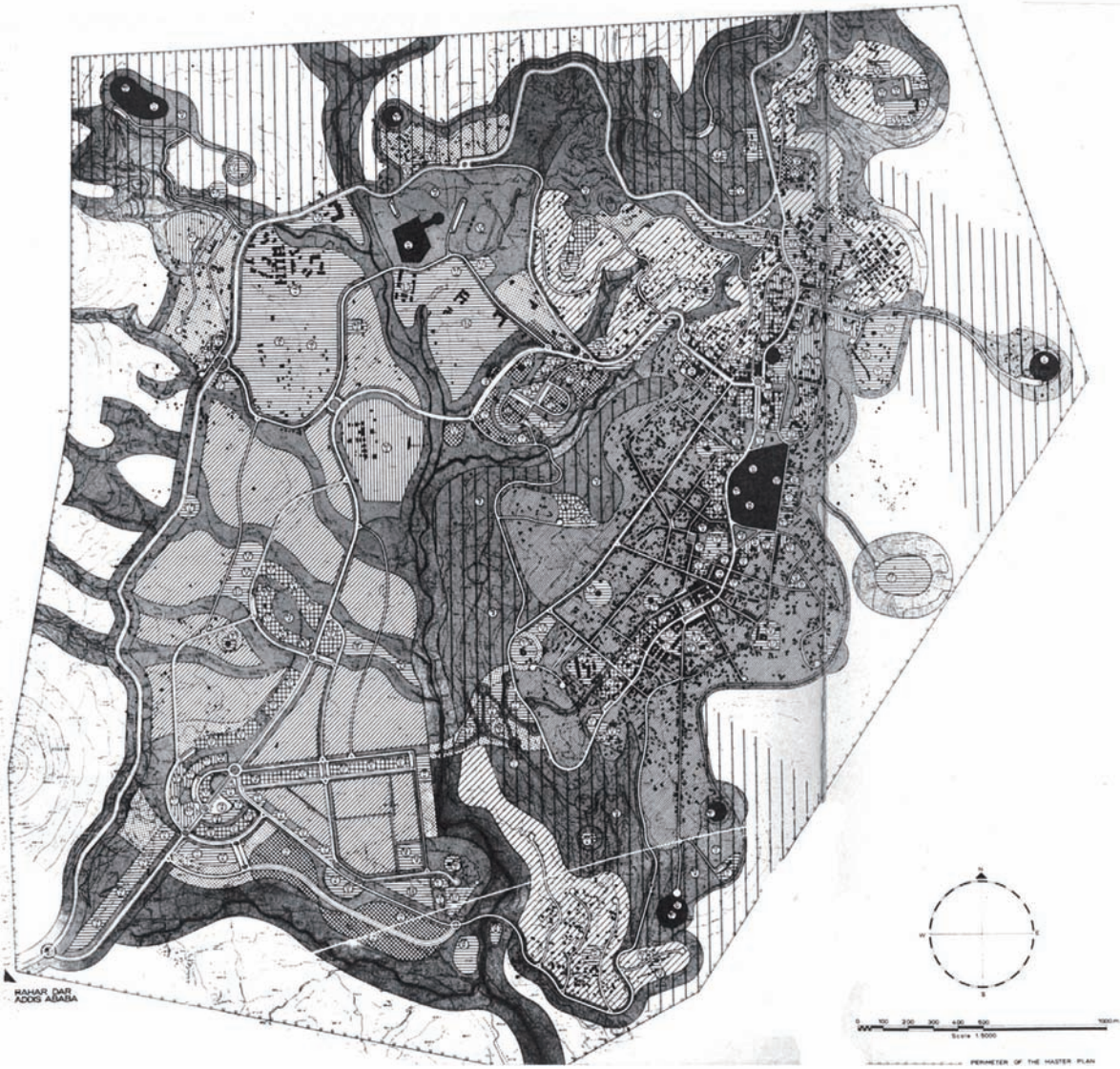


Fig. 1-23 Master plan of Gondar, by Studio BDS, 1967



Fig. 1-24 Detail of historical quarter, master plan of Gondar, by Studio BDS, 1967

detected from this master plan. First of all, the introduction of block and street pattern seems to be the key factor to reorganize the urban fabric of central Gondar. Secondly, the linear combination of old (indigenous) and new (Italian) Gondar represents another strong notion for the integrity of the whole city. Thirdly, the designation of buffer zones on the slopes of hilly Gondar came to ensure the protection of Gondar's unique historical landscape and silhouette.

Generally speaking, the rise of block and street urban pattern could be seen in the early 20th century in the case of Mekelle as the author will describe in the following section of Mekelle, but as long as Gondar is concerned, the nature of the city is substantially different. The Italian Amhara Governorate successfully introduced this system in the new town zone, that is, the commercial center in the north of *Fasil Ghebbi*, and this was the first time for the history of Gondar to see the completion of modernized streets as well as the introduction of an alignment system.

Although the Italians had not touched the congested residential area neighboring to *Fasil Ghebbi* called *Gira Bet*, the new regime of Haile Selassie I applied a new urban planning policy inspired by European modernist planning. Studio BDS introduced a new street system in the historical quarters in two ways: one by a surrounding circulation system, another by an inner grid division. Comparison with the aerial picture from the 1930's suggests that the new street system in *Gira Bet*, implemented by the master plan, was overlaid on the original diagonal footpath pattern around Abajale Tekle Haimanot Church. However, this geometry was rigorous to correspond to the original organic spatial composition based on topographic order. New buildings were constructed in order to follow the alignment of the grid pattern blocks and streets so that old buildings, mainly circular type buildings, happened to be absorbed within the groups of new construction. Many important circular houses were demolished for the purpose of building new rows of houses along the streets.

Interviews with old local residents in *Kebele 10* proved the period of the construction of the streets as well as row houses alongside them.⁴¹ This pattern is evident in the new development plan approved in 1995.

The *Arada* (market) district in the southern slope of the *Fasil Ghebbi* kept being an important for economic activity in this town. As it still comprised traditional commercial activities, the area from *Gira Bet* to *Arada* was intended to be transformed into continuous block and street townscape like a corridor. Construction of commercial buildings in the form of row houses was, thus, strongly recommended.

The axial road connecting from the post office, designed by Gherardo Bosio, and *Arada*, passing alongside *Fasil Ghebbi*, became the main corridor of the city. Following the intervention by Italian planners, the opening of continuous streets and open spaces was considered to be an important task for the Ethiopian planners in the municipality. The

⁴¹ Informant Fantaye Afework, granddaughter of the mayor of Gondar, *Dejazmach* Kassa Meshesha, 65 years then, clearly described the reconstruction process of her house in *Kebele 10* in the second half of 1960 from circular houses to row house type fitted for grid street pattern. Another informant Emuhaye Wudyeye Gora Chekole, residing in a small rectangular type house within an urban block, 85 years then, remembered well the days under the Italian occupation and under Haile Sellasie I. She told that the road system had changed suddenly in the latter period. Interviews with locals of *Kebele 10* were carried out in August 2011.

narrow walled paths alongside the castle compound and accompanying bridging system over them disappeared definitively. Although the castle compound was recognized as a historical monument, the surrounding districts were only “mixed districts of commercial and residential purposes” and did not attract attention of the planners.

(3) *Derg* Period

The most decisive changes during the *Derg* regime in the field of urban development were the land reform and the local administration change by creating *kebele*. As the details of this political action is to be analyzed in the next chapter, here the author would refer only to the fact that the expropriation of surplus housing units destroyed completely the nobles’ landownership and caused a strong impact on the system for sustaining the local community. *Kebele*, as the lowest administrative unit, became the main enabler in the provision of housing units, giving the potential control over local issues related to the daily life of the inhabitants. The poor majority benefitted from the right to live in their own dwellings, but maintaining the building quality and consequent living quality by constant maintenance was beyond their capacity due to the lack of resources and interest.

No major planning activity took place in the central city except the protective measures by UNESCO World Heritage in the *Fasil Ghebbi* complex and other imperial monuments. The Ethiopian government adopted their own cultural policy by making use of the country’s incomparable historical monuments and sites such as Lalibela and Gondar. A series of actions to highlight their value to the international society was specially promoted on the government level. The campaign was so successful that these sites were designated as World Heritage one by one: Lalibela in 1978, Gondar in 1979, and Aksum in 1980. Between March and May 1984, at the request of the Government of Ethiopia, the Director-General of UNESCO arranged a consultant mission led by Flemming Aalund, a Danish restoration architect, to be carried out in connection with the proposed international campaign for the preservation of Ethiopian historical monuments.⁴² The interest of UNESCO as well as Ethiopian CRCCH (Center for Research and Conservation of Cultural Heritage)⁴³ was limited within the boundary of *Fasil Ghebbi* complex, such as the establishment of a museum, cultural center and workshop besides the restoration of the buildings.⁴⁴ CRCCH followed this recommendation and advanced the refurbishing of the castle buildings.⁴⁵ Heritage conservation and urban planning were, at that time, completely different disciplines

⁴² After the visit to designated historical sites, Aalund elaborated a report with recommendation and submitted to UNESCO and ICOMOS. See: Flemming Aalund “Ethiopia - Master Plan for Presentation and Preservation of Cultural Heritage”, UNESCO, Paris, 1985, Flemming Aalund “Preserving Ethiopia’s Cultural Heritage”, Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, Naples, 1986

⁴³ CRCCH (Center for Research and Conservation of Cultural Heritage) started its history in 1952 by the foundation of the Institute of Archaeology in collaboration with French Archaeological Mission. This institute grew up with various missions for excavation, restoration and preservation, and finally during the *Derg* regime it took the form of the Center for Research and Conservation of Cultural Heritage (CRCCH) under the Ministry of Culture and Sports Affairs. In 2000, it was renamed the Authority for Research and Conservation of Cultural Heritage (ARCCH) by proclamation No 209/2000.

⁴⁴ Flemming Aalund *op. cit.* pp.81-84

⁴⁵ Solomon Worede Kal, “Restoration of Historical Monuments of Gondar”, *Annales d’Ethiopie* 13, 1985, pp.119-133, Solomon Worede, head of Project Section of CRCCH, was the counterpart of Fleming Aalund.

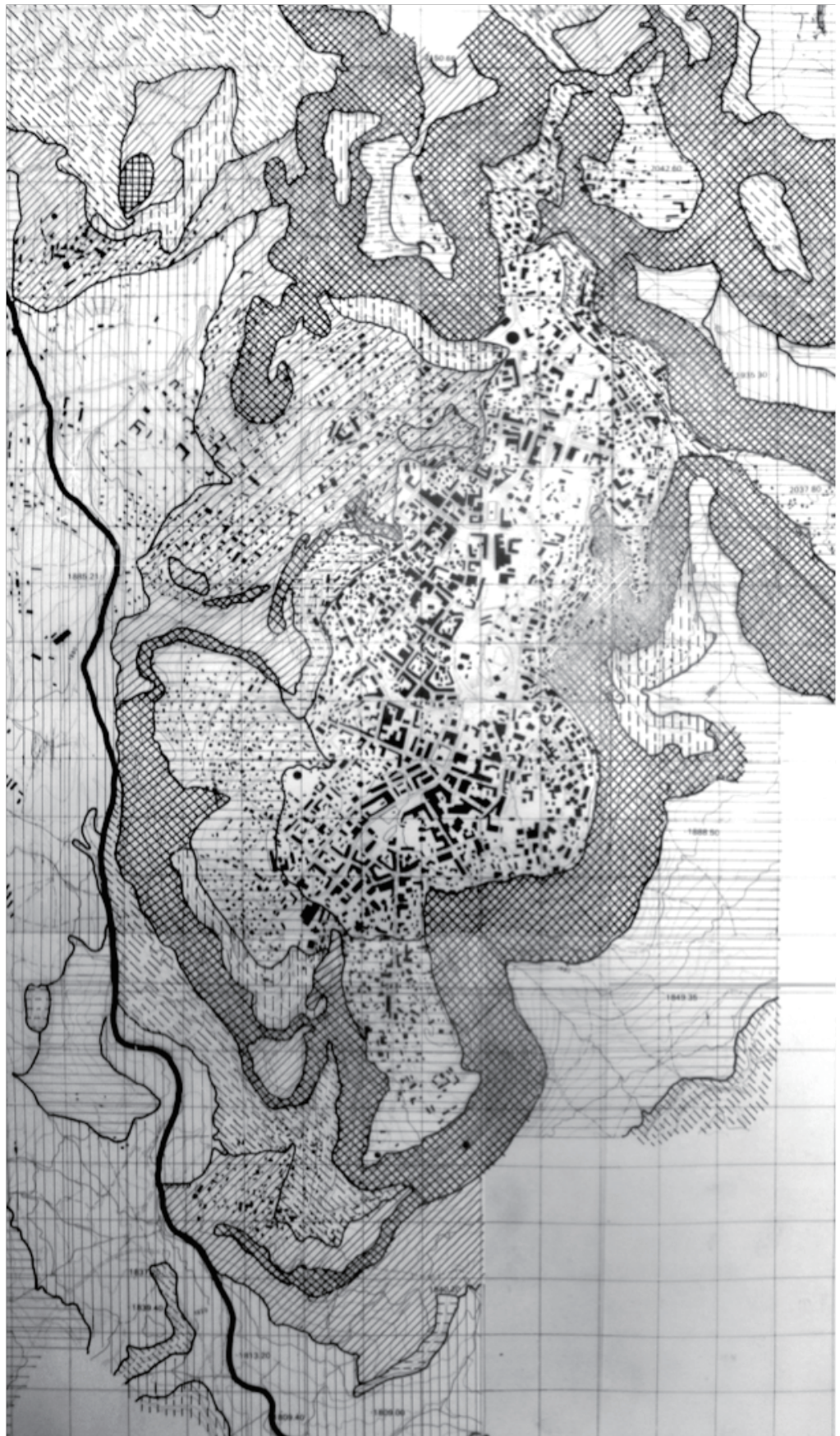


Fig. 1-25 Master Plan of Gondar by NUPI, 1995

2-1-5. Master Plan of 1995 and its Revision in 2006

(1) Master Plan of 1995

As soon as the *Derg* government collapsed in 1991, the revolutionary government decided to launch new development programs for all the major cities in Ethiopia and commissioned NUPI (National Urban Planning Institute)⁴⁶ to prepare new master plans for major cities. Even in this confusing period just after the fall of the previous regime, the planning body was run by Ethiopian experts and civil officers as the basis for “Ethiopianization” had been well established since the 1970’s. The Master Plan of Gondar, approved in 1995 [Fig. 1-25], was a continuation of the former plan adopted in 1967. It underlined the importance of a historical city with the presence of UNESCO World Heritage, but its tendency was to promote competitive buildings. No special concern about the silhouette and the townscape was taken in favor of free market policy. By allowing the development of high-rise buildings (G+3 and above) around the historical district, the dictating elements have become the new high-rise buildings and not the old castle or other historical buildings.⁴⁷

However, the idea of green buffer zones on the slopes of the hill was maintained. The plan assumed the residential zone in the same area as during the *Derg* period with adequate green areas around, but the growing pace was so rapid that the master plan could not account for the growing population and the pressure for expansion into the surrounding areas. Preservation of historical sites and greeneries was thought to be more and more as an important factor. This is the starting point for the revision of the master plan. A Keio University team from Japan was invited with the intermediary of the Building College of Addis Ababa University, where they used to organize workshops regularly.⁴⁸

(2) Revision of the Master Plan

After 2001, the joint team of Addis Ababa University (AAU) and Keio University took initiative for the revision of the master plan. Abraham Workneh, lecturer at AAU, and Tomohiro Shitara, doctoral course student of Keio, were the two main figures in charge of this mission. Field surveys, consultations, and workshops were organized regularly with the participation of various experts. This proposal was completed in 2004 with the title of Structure Plan [Fig. 1-27].

The Structure Plan aimed at the recovery of historical importance of the city with the intension of making Gondar one of the major tourist sites in the country. The other critical issue related to the city’s historical significance is that small but ancient structures such as circular houses should be well considered and integrated into the urban fabric. The Italian new town is also the target of the protection. Thus, the plan applied, for the first time, the concept of protected area from the viewpoint of historical environment. In terms of their historical importance, the Structure Plan identified two historical sites in the city

46 NUPI (National Urban Planning Institute) was established under the Ministry of Urban Development and Housing at Addis Ababa in 1987 for the purpose of contribution to the design and development of a national urban development policy. Following the country’s shift to the federation, it was reorganized as FUPI (Federal Urban Planning Institute) under the Ministry of Federal Affairs in 2005 by Proclamation No. 450/2005.

47 Abraham Workneh, Tomohiro Shitara, “Report on The Structure Plan of Gonder”, second edition, 2006, Municipality of Gondar, p.12

48 Keio University team led by Riichi Miyake was first invited to Gondar in 2000 for consultation purposes and exchanged an agreement with the mayor, Abayneh Layew, for future collaboration.



Fig. 1-26 Gondar master plan revision, historical landscape plan, the black colored area shows the area of the historical site, other area shows the buffer zone, by Abraham Workneh and Tomohiro Shitara, 2006

of Gondar. The first consists of the castle complex and its complementary facilities (Fasil Bath, Horse House, and Poultry), the old churches (Debrebirhan Selasse Church, Quisquam Church) and the circular houses in central Gondar. The second is the “Italian Quarter”: an area that stretches from *Arada* market to *Buleko* Square including a group of commercial, administrative and residential building complexes in *Piazza*. Accordingly, the nuance of the historical zone was attained by way of differentiation from historical monuments/sites, the surrounding district with historical importance and a buffer zone [Fig. 1-26].

The Structure Plan, approved by the city council in 2006, suggested that intervention in such areas can only be effectuated by making appropriate urban design guide lines and building height regulations proposed as part of this structure plan [Fig. 1-28].⁴⁹ The old city has become the target of conservation, but for the sake of the inhabitants, it should not be a museum-like picturesque city, but rather a place maintaining the features of an urbanized area with free market policy in terms of the sales and purchase of real estate properties.

2-1-6. Transformation of Land Occupancy

The author has been engaged in researches related to the urban evolution of central Gondar since 2003, first as a member of the research team led by Riichi Miyake, then as a coordinator of the project, and has tried to formulate a hypothetical process of the urban transformation in central Gondar.⁵⁰ It is still difficult to reconstruct the original state of Gondar at the beginning of the Fasilidas reign, but the above-mentioned reconstruction procedure for 18th century Gondar enables the serial understandings on its own land system since the middle of the Gondarine Era. The general process is summarized as the following

⁴⁹ Abraham Workneh, Tomohiro Shitara, *op. cit.* p.12

⁵⁰ Riichi Miyake, Rumi Okazaki, Moe Hirohara, “Studies on the Living Condition and the Housing Problem in Central Gondar, Ethiopia”, *Bulletin of Fuji Women’s University*, No.48, Ser. II, 2011, pp.23-33

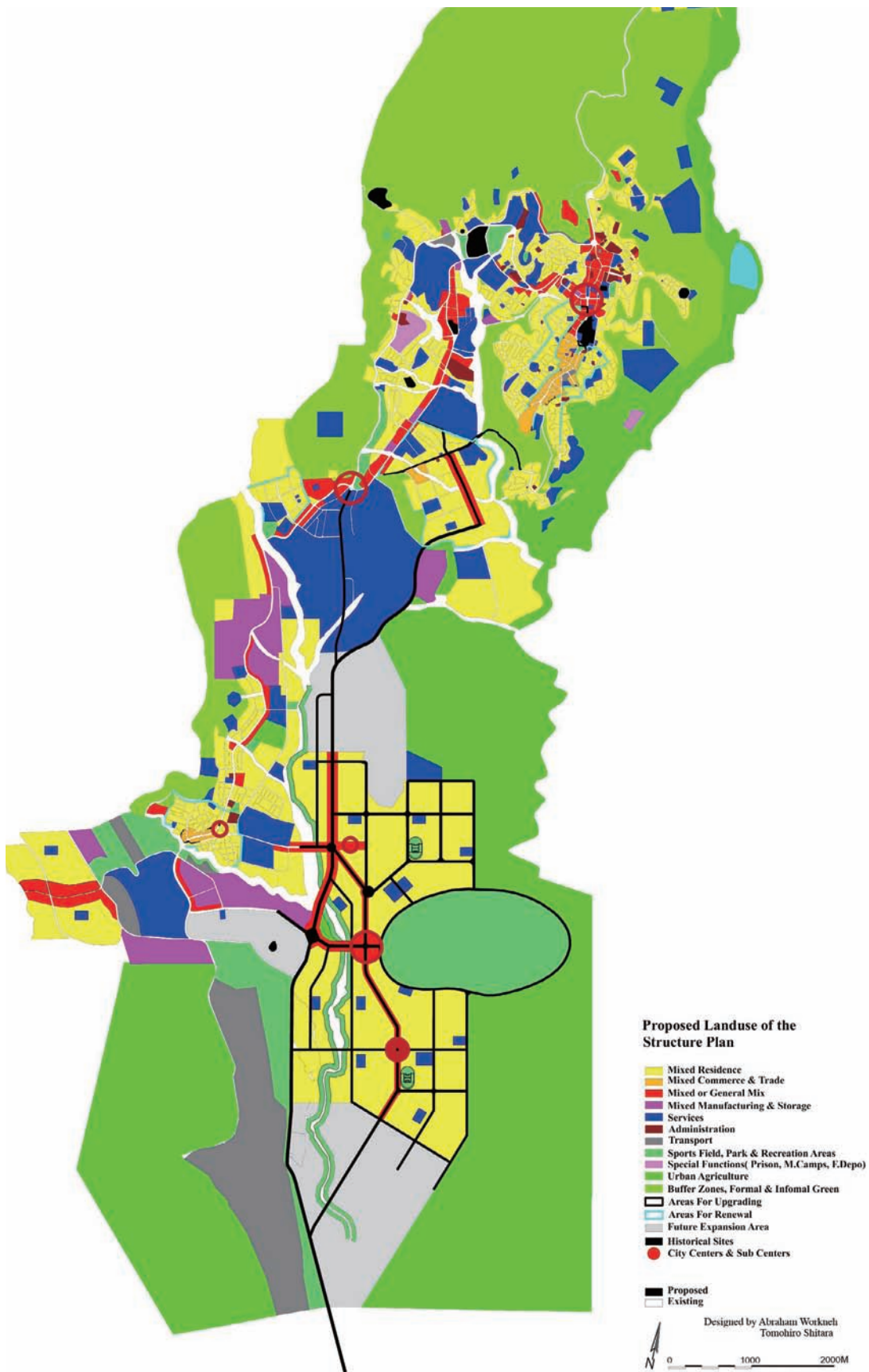


Fig. 1-27 Gondar Master Plan Revision, Land Use Plan, by Abraham Workneh and Tomohiro Shitara, 2006

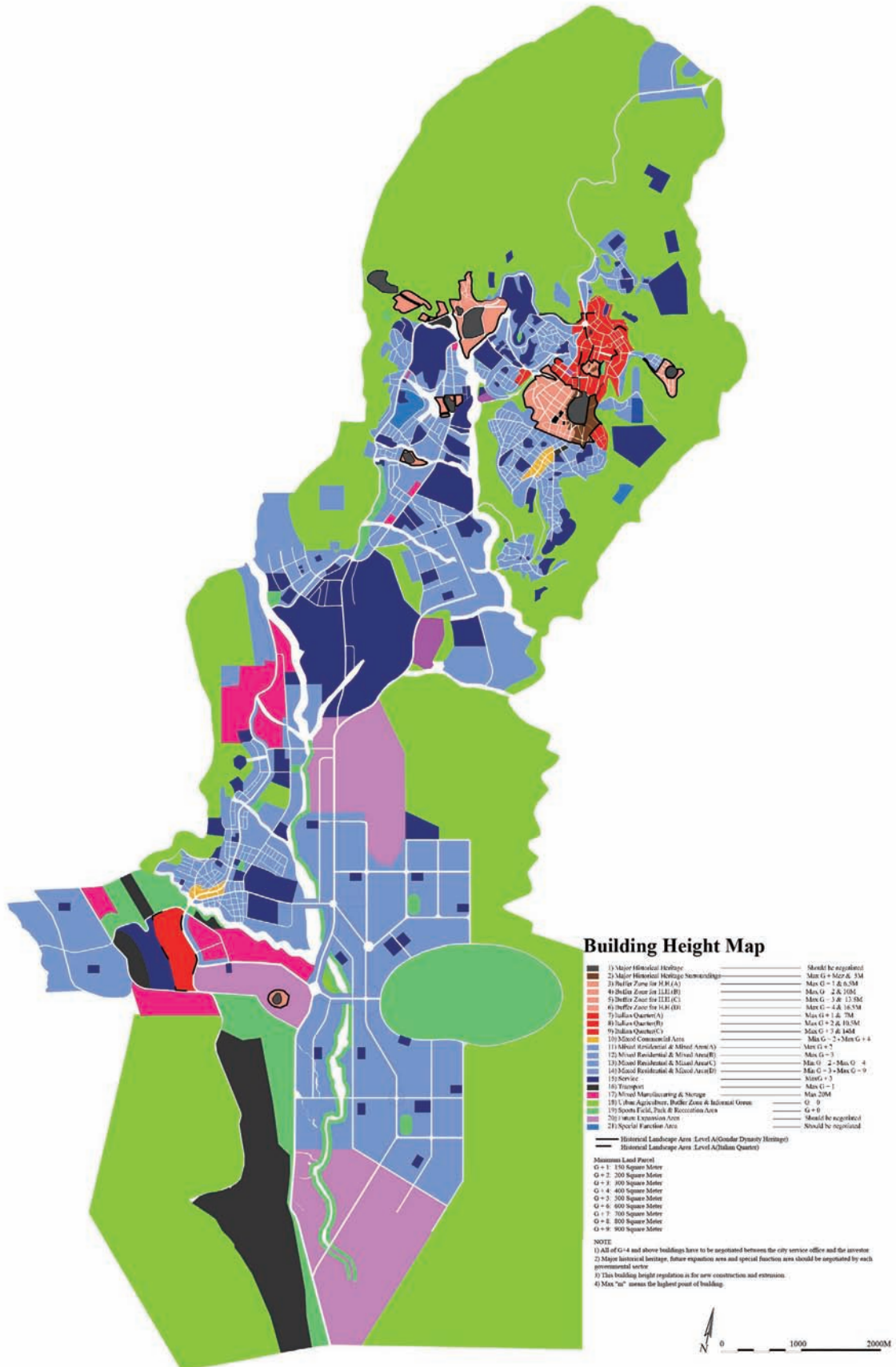


Fig. 1-28 Gondar Master Plan Revision, Building Height Map, by Abraham Workneh and Tomohiro Shitara, 2006

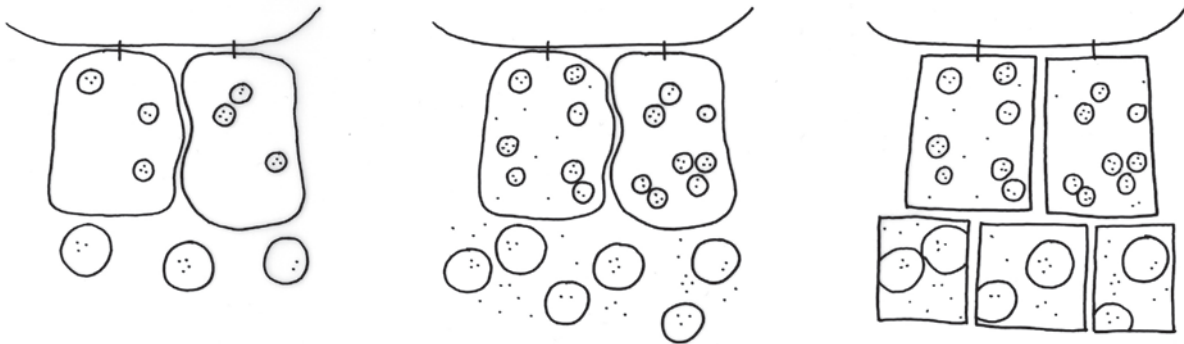


Fig. 1-29 Schematic flow of transformation of land occupancy and housing area next to *Fasil Ghebbi*

[Fig. 1-29]:

- a. Around the *Fasil Ghebbi* complex, high-class nobles were allowed to develop their own quarter in the same manner as the military encampment called *sefer*, but with permanent structures. The quarters (camps) were surrounded by high stonewalls. Bridges connecting these quarters and the palace complex allowed the direct access to/from the palace. The nobles lived in a group of circular houses with their subjects within this walled quarter. Churches situated within and outside the palace complex played an important role for forming the townscape around *Fasil Ghebbi*.
- b. Over the course of time, the number of nobles' houses increased, forming different housing compounds within the walled quarters. The lower class warriors as well as traders and craftsmen formed their own living quarters around this central part. The distribution of these settlements (*Abunbet*, *Islambet*, etc.) followed a topographical order. This defines the character of Gondar as a scattered type of settlement.
- c. In the second half of the 19th century, due to the attacks by various forces, Gondar suffered from a significant decrease in population. Many houses and churches were ruined accordingly. The Mahdist attack of 1888 was decisive to devastate the major part of the town, including the palace complex and churches. This situation continued until the beginning of the 20th century.
- d. Under the Menelik II's reign at the beginning of the 20th century, Gondar gradually recovered its population and activities. The concentration of housing compounds was once again intensified, but the palace complex was left unpopulated.
- e. Italian Invasion starting from 1935 changed the situation completely. The decision to make Gondar the provincial capital allowed large scale master planning (*Piano Regolatore*) by an Italian architect. However, due to the lack of funds and political uncertainty, the final implementation was to construct an administrative district and a commercial center in the north of *Fasil Ghebbi*. The old city was left untouched as an indigenous district was subject to a segregation policy. Construction of a wide road system around the palace complex required the demolition of border walls of the nobles' quarters and the bridge connection system.
- f. The new master plan in the late 1960's under the Haile Selassie's government was implemented in the central district. Contrary to the Italian one, this new city plan traced the original pattern of walled quarters, but with a much widened street pattern.

Some of the residents tried to afford modernized life style and constructed new housing units along the new streets.

- g. Central Gondar did not show any special development throughout the reign of the *Derg* government. Although the new master plan of the 1990's by NUPI after the fall of the *Derg* regime designated clear goals for the development of the whole of Gondar, the central district was left as a mere commercial zone. Nothing happened there until the master plan revision of 2006, elaborated by Keio - Addis Ababa Universities, designated this central district as a "historical zone" and included strict restrictions against excessive development. No special operation for rehabilitation or restoration was carried out there up to now.

2-1-7. *Gira Bet* as a Sensitive Historical Quarter

Commercial zones are identified in two parts of the old city. One is situated in the traditional center around *Arada* (Market), another is located in the new town, developed by the Italians. All the master plans since the 1960's have aimed to balance the north (Italians quarter) and the south (*Arada* district). However, the in-between district, part of *Gira Bet* that neighbours *Fasil Ghebbi*, has been scarcely commercialized. It still keeps the image of a district with bars and prostitutes. The old *Gira Bet* district is a kin to a vacuum, sandwiched by two commercial centers (north and south) and forgotten for decades despite the presence of the World Heritage site just next to it. Acknowledged by the Structure Plan of 2006 as historical zone, this area still maintains the atmosphere of the past. Older residents who have spent their lives there since the Italian Occupation retain their traditional manners and practices. For instance, transporters use this area as a depot for merchandize following the traders' tradition here. Old noblemen keep their residences as it used to be in the old days until the *Derg* government introduced new socialist land policy and expropriated most of their properties. Juxtaposition of such an old customary manner and new immigrants were the new phenomenon of this area. Some engaged in businesses such as bars and brothels.⁵¹ Others are dependent on daily informal business thanks to the convenient accessibility of this district. Such is the case of a district considered to have developed from the settlement of warriors who used to serve the court of Gondarine emperors.

The present problem of urban planning here is the fact that no action plan has been taken to improve the living conditions of the inhabitants in spite of the execution of a strict Structure Plan. Without a detailed plan prescribing the future implementation by the authorities or other associations, this district is only an old quarter with shady and fragile buildings, in which inhabitants barely make a living. Prostitution and bars are still common while some descendants of nobles occupy one portion of this area. Prior to the development of a detailed plan, basic research should be done in relation to the reality of this area: Who lives there? What are their living conditions? How do they maintain their lives? This paper aims to discover the reality of the site, which sets the scene of urban history. Apparently very poor, but the scene of historical events and personalities, this area could attract more attention in the future. In the following chapters, a detailed survey of the social aspects such as housing condition and the nature of the inhabitants will be revealed.

⁵¹ Even during the imperial period, *Gira Bet* was famous for prostitution. Several brothels were run by locals, including the one in the middle of the quarter.

2-2. Mekelle as a Capital of Yohannes IV

2-2-1. General View

Towns in Eastern Tigray are impressive due to the dominance of masonry townscape. Such is the case in Mekelle. Apparently it differs much from Gondar. Although Mekelle is a young city within the long history of Ethiopia, it has experienced several great events, relating to the creation of unique urban characteristics. The first and most important event took place in 1872 when Emperor Yohannes IV arrived from Tembien and started the construction of his palace. Aristocrats and warriors settled around the palace. Accordingly, Mekelle evolved into a bustling city from a mere group of villages. The second was the arrival of the Italians in 1935, exerting European influence such as the first master plan of the city and European style buildings. After the socialist *Derg* period, in which the city suffered from stagnation, rapid growth started due to strong pressure of migration from rural areas. However, the central zone of the city has been left untouched and neglected in spite of its rich heritage.

The author has been working of the subject on urban formation and the social character of Mekelle since the middle of 2000's. Papers by the author have been submitted to competent academic institutions as well as to a symposium held in Mekelle.⁵² The following section aims to make an analysis on the urban formation process of Mekelle in order to answer the research question of the formation of a historical district in the heart of the urbanized zone.

2-2-2. Reconstruction of Old Mekelle

(1) Origin of Mekelle

Mekelle originated as a mere rural community in the heart of the Enderta Area before Emperor Yohannes IV started the construction of his palace around 1872. Nine villages spread over this area: 4 on the plain and 5 on the slope of the eastern hills.⁵³ The painting by Henry Salt⁵⁴ of 1809 is the oldest visual document to convey an image of this area [Fig. 1-30].⁵⁵ Overlaying this painting on the present landscape of Enda Yesus Mountain proved that the painting described the village of Conay Daero. The relations of all these 9 villages were like the case of Gondar, with sonic and visual interrelations amongst each other. Among them, the village of Enda Meskel was said to be the oldest one.

A field survey held in Enda Meskel in 2010-2011 has proved the existence of an old *hidmo* house on the top of a hill. The interview with the present occupants revealed that

⁵² Among them, the following is the most precise in terms of the analysis on the urban formation of the central districts: Rumi Okazaki "Deterioration of Heritage by Informal Urbanization in Mekelle, Ethiopia", *Journal of Asian Architecture and Building Engineering*, vol.10 no.2, pp.343-350

⁵³ The author has detected nine villages through field surveys: May Degene, Conay Daero, Enda Meskel, May Liham, Chomea, May Gafaf, Ende Anania, Ada Gafaf, Ende Gabir. Rumi Okazaki, *op. cit.* pp.343-344

⁵⁴ Henry Salt (1780-1827) was a painter and a traveler. He was initially trained as a portrait painter in London. In 1802 he accompanied the Viscount Valentia as secretary and draughtsman on a tour of the east, including Egypt and Abyssinia. He was sent back to Abyssinia in 1809-11 by the government to establish diplomatic and trading links.

⁵⁵ See Henry Salt, "Voyage to Abyssinia and Travels into the Interior of that Country, executed under the Order of the British Government in the Years 1809 and 1810", Carey, Philadelphia, and Wells & Lilly, Boston, 1816



Fig. 1-30 View of Enda Yesus Mountain and Conay Daero, painting by Henry Salt, 1809

this house was constructed around 1840, prior to the construction of Yohannes Palace.⁵⁶ An informant recounted the story inherited in their family related to the encounter of Mirtcha Wolde Kidane, father of Yohannes, and Sillas, mother of Yohannes and sister of Araya Dimitsu, then prince of Tigray, in this very place. This story is the proof of the connection between this village and the imperial clan of the 19th century. The present house, based on a typical *hidmo* house plan, has been proven to be the oldest construction ever known in this area.

(2) Construction of Yohannes Palace

Yohannes Palace was said to have been officially designed by an Italian carpenter, Giacomo Naretti, by the order of the emperor.⁵⁷ This craftsman had been recruited in Egypt on the occasion of the construction of the Suez Canal and moved to Ethiopia, receiving the

⁵⁶ The informant Devese Mengesha, resident of the old *hidmo* in Enda Meskel, is the fifth generation from the founder of the house, *Blata* Emal, who accompanied Mirtcha Wolde Kidane, father of Yohannes IV, and arrived here on his return to Enderta around 1836. Here Mirtcha met Sillas Dimitsu, who became pregnant and bore Kassa Mirtcha, future Yohannes IV, in the next year. *Blata* Emal was given a piece of land here and constructed the actual *hidmo*. This story proves the existence of a settlement in Enda Meskele in the early 19th century as well as the heredity of *Blata* Emal's family in old Mekelle prior to the construction of the palace. Until the *Derg* reign, the family used to possess vast land around this area. (Interview on August 6, 2010)

⁵⁷ The diary of Giacomo Naretti (1831-1899) was edited and published in 2004, but this does not tell the detail of the construction of the palace. Naretti's main concern was related the political events and life of the emperor. Due to this fact, it is probable that his background as carpenter contributed only for the interior and furniture design of the palace. Giacomo Naretti, Alberto Sbacchi, Gino Varnetto, "Giacomo Naretti alla corte del Negus Johannes IV d'Etiopia: diari 1856-1881", Associazione di storia e arte canavesana, Ivrea, 2004.



Fig. 1-31 Engraving of Mekelle, *L'illustration*, No. 2758, 4 January, 1896

protection of the emperor. Although he left his diary describing the daily events during his stay in Ethiopia, few pages are given to the design and the construction of the palace. The question whether he was really involved in the design and execution of this palace should be examined carefully through the building survey in situ in future, but it is already known that several buildings for the imperial family in and outside of Mekelle were constructed with a disciplined masonry technique. The local masonry technique in Eastern Tigray was so ubiquitous that even rural *hidmo* enjoyed the sophisticated stone piling and decoration techniques. The construction organization within the imperial court is still in question.

The picture of Mekelle published in a French magazine *L'illustration* in 1896 just after the Italian defeat bears witness to this city at the end of the 19th century [Fig. 1-31]. Although the emperor had lost his life during the battle against Mahdists in 1889, the construction of the palace and its surroundings continued. Around the palace a group of compounds as well as encampments (*sefer*) of high-ranking nobles were allocated to house the subject of the emperor and his military officers.

Italians who invaded Mekelle at the end of 1935 took a number of photographs of the townscape and events of this city that are useful for the reconstruction of the original state of the city before the implementation of the master plan (*Piano Regolatore*) in 1937 [Fig. 1-32], [Fig. 1-33].⁵⁸ Prior to this period, the central zone around the palace was well built up and gathered a number of houses within the old compounds. Another aerial photo taken in the 1960's clearly shows the realization of *Piano Regolatore* [Fig. 1-34].

⁵⁸ The original drawing of *Piano Regolatore* of Mekelle was not yet identified, but it was published in *Gli Annali dell'Africa Italiana*, Numero 4, 1939, as the master plan executed in 1937.

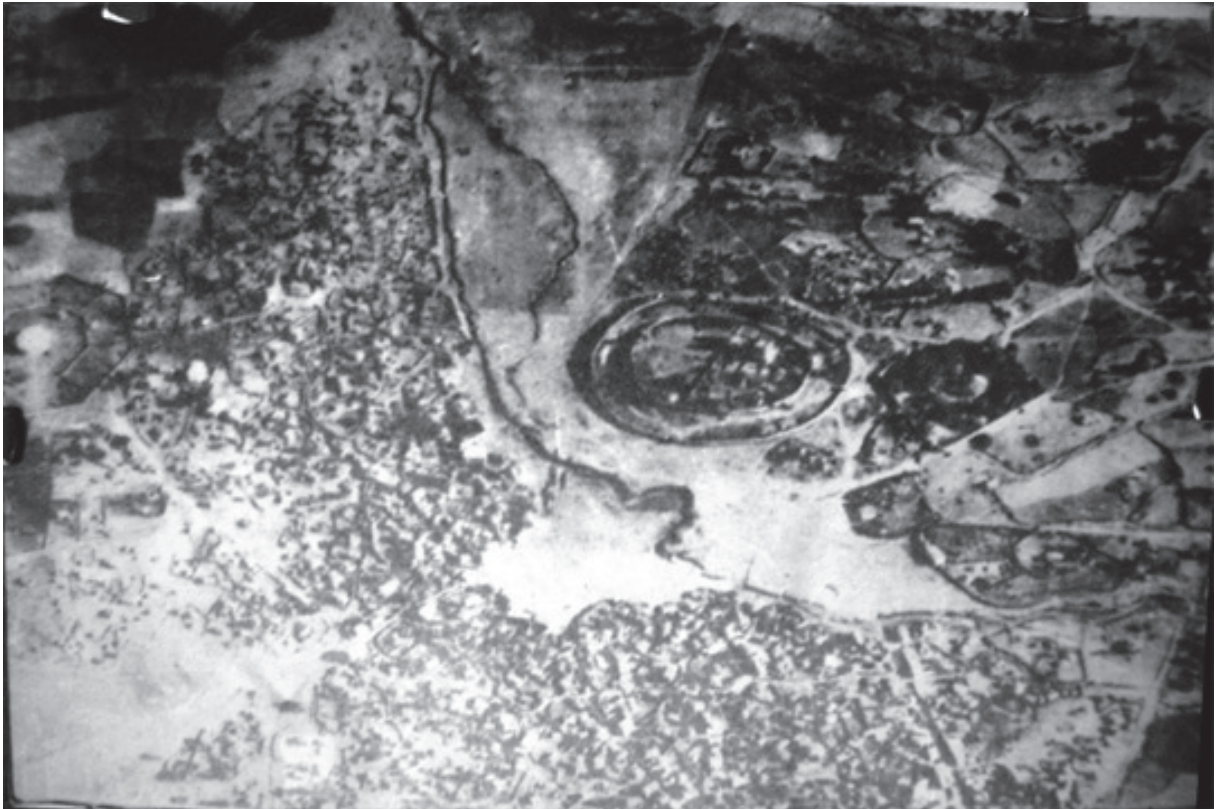


Fig. 1-32 Aerial photo of Mekelle, 1930's, collection of Cultural Association of Tigray



Fig. 1-33 Central Mekelle, 2009, Google Earth

(3) Urbanization around Yohannes Palace

Yohannes Palace is a completely new type of construction in Ethiopia. Mixture of Tigrayan masonry building culture and European architectural styles, it is the most outstanding monument in the second half of the 19th century Ethiopia. The surrounding quarters were important. The emperor's subjects gathered there so as to form a vast residential area for the nobles and warriors. At the turn of the 20th century, this area became a built-up zone with continuous town houses along the streets, which took the shape of a block type urbanized area evolving from the groups of *hidmo* houses at the starting point. The notion of streets was thus introduced much earlier than in Gondar.

The urbanization process started with this decision of the Emperor. The residential sector of his subjects were allocated along May Liham River and stretched in the shape of an "L". It is divided into two zones: the northwest and the south. The villages of Ada Gafaf and Enda Anania were absorbed in these residential quarters. An aerial photo taken around 1935 [Fig. 1-35], [Fig. 1-36] shows old traces of this residential sector. Careful observation of this picture leads to the identification of each compound of high officials. Each compound with a traditional *hidmo* house is rather large. Besides the main corps several attached buildings are included inside the compound with a surrounding wall. The shape of this compound is rather oblique and hundreds of such compounds were gathered in concentration in the residential sector. The passage is, in general, the in-between spaces among the assembly of compounds, but the existence of paths and alleys are clear as they form a radial layout, projecting from the Palace. It is clear that certain planning processes intervened in the making of these residential quarters. The basic concept of urban planning could be characterized as "*associated hidmo*" system. This is neither the Cartesian grid system used in Europe, nor self-dividing system like in the Middle East.

The population of Mekelle grew abruptly on this occasion, owing to the migration of the subjects of Yohannes IV and their servants. With a title as the see of the Emperor, the nature of the city could be categorized as palace city, with a palace in the center and surrounding high officials' quarters. Village people were integrated, then, as those who provide provisions to the palace and high officials. A zoning system was apparent as the hierarchy from the Emperor (Palace), high officials (residential quarter), laymen (settlement) and clergy (church) is distinguished. The administrative issues for the local people were handled at Medhane Alem Church while the high officials were under the control of the court. The establishment of a Muslim community towards the west means the introduction of strong economic and trading activity, making use of their international network. The tolerance policy of the Emperor promoted considerably the migration of Muslim population here.

(4) Birth of Block and Street Pattern around the Turn of the Century

After the sudden death of Yohannes IV, Mekelle encountered a series of casualties until the beginning of the 20th century. *Ras Mangasha Yohannes* (1865-1906), Yohannes's son and his successor in Mekelle, bowed down to the new Emperor Menelik II who marched to Mekelle in 1890. The new Emperor resided in Entoto, near future Addis Ababa. Mekelle, therefore, lost the title of capital, but the Palace was still inhabited by *Ras Mangasha*. In 1894 the Italians started a military campaign for conquering Ethiopia. Mekelle was seized by the Italian army, occupying the hilltop next to Enda Yesus Church, the highest point of

Mekelle, and constructed a fort [Fig. 1-37], [Fig. 1-38]. They withstood the fierce attacks by *Ras Makonen's* forces, but the city was seriously damaged during this campaign from December 1894 to January 1895 [Fig. 1-39]. After the withdrawal of the Italians, this fort remained abandoned. Few visual images from this period remain.

Only a few cities in Ethiopia were worth being called “city” in the context of urbanized area and system around the turn of the century. Gondar was the pre-figuration of this type of a city because it had lasted for more than two centuries as the capital, but the layout of the high official sector is much less developed with smaller round shape buildings. However, the case of Mekelle was worth noted. All the buildings were masonry structures with a rectangular shape and much wider spaces. The typology of the residence was a mansion type, with main corps in the center and attached buildings for the subjects and servants around. Local masonry techniques contributed considerably to these types of buildings. The city stands out as the first stone city in Ethiopia.

What is outstanding was the fact that a block type urbanized zone was generated around the turn of the century. Although the political center was shifted to Addis Ababa by the initiative of the new emperor, the position of Mekelle as a strong commercial and trading point, represented by salt trading, did not change. Resulting building activity around the palace filled the vacant spaces within the central zone. This means that a large number of masonry houses were constructed so as to form a block and street pattern in central Mekelle. The lack of demographic statistics during this period does not allow us to estimate precisely the population shift. Tadesse Sequar states that the Ethiopian population during this period about 12,000 while the report of GTZ indicates 15,000.⁵⁹ The latter seems to have its base on the description of Augustus Wylde who noted that approximately 500 enclosures with four to six houses in each at the beginning of the 20th century.⁶⁰ These numbers could be considered as the rough population in the first half of the 20th century, but the internal flow of population was not counted. The row house type buildings along the street had double functions: residential and commercial. Old land parcels were adjusted to the street pattern and even divided into smaller lots.

In 1910 *Dejazmach* Abraha Araya (1872-1917), brother of Yohannes, started building a new castle 1 km in the south of Yohannes Palace [Fig. 1-40], [Fig. 1-41], [Fig. 1-42]. Abraha, who made a fortune by salt trading from Afar, contributed to the new planning of Mekelle. The construction of his new castle in a comparatively far place from the center was, according to Tadesse Sequar, due to the conflict among the ex-Emperor's family. The site of the castle occupies an entire hill, on the top of which two-story masonry building stood monumentally. The site was beyond the May Degene River. This implies that *Dejazmach* Abraha tried to establish his own territory beyond this river.

⁵⁹ GTZ, “The Mekelle Masterplan Design Project”, Technische Universität Braunschweig, 2006, p.51
⁶⁰ Augustus Blandy Wylde “Modern Abyssinia”, Methuen, London, 1901



Fig. 1-34 Aerial photo of Mekelle, 1960's, collection of Abraha Castle Hotel



Fig. 1-35 Aerial photo of Yohannes Palace, Mekelle, date unknown, private collection



Fig. 1-36 Panorama of Mekelle, date unknown, private collection



Fig. 1-37 Photo of Italian fort, 1896, private collection

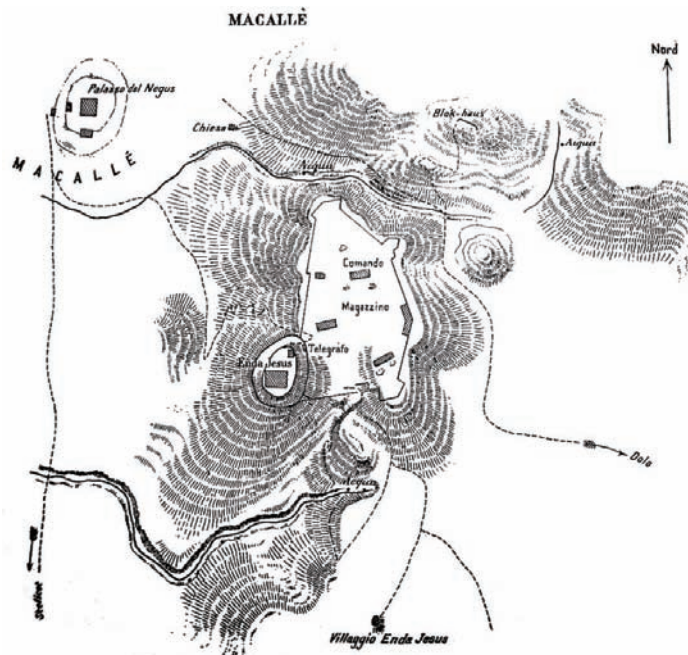


Fig. 1-38 Map of Italian fort, drawn by lieutenant of Luccia Engineers



Fig. 1-39 French newspaper reporting the defeat of Italians at Mekelle



Fig. 1-40 Abraha Castle, photo in 1930's, private collection



Fig. 1-41 Abraha Castle, photo in 1930's, private collection



Fig. 1-42 Aerial photo of Abraha Castle in 1930's, collection of CAT

2-2-3. Mekelle Under Italian Occupation

(1) *Piano Regolatore* by the Italians

Mekelle was the first major city conquered by the Italians who launched its military campaign against Ethiopia since October 1935. Unlike other major cities Mekelle was incorporated into Eritrea Province after the establishment of *Africa Orientale Italiana* (A.O.I.) in May 1936. Ras Haile Selassie Gugusa (1907-1983), grandson of Mangasha Yohannes and prince of Tigray at the time, who came to stand along the Italians against the regime of Haile Selassie I, was allowed to reside in the palace, but Mekelle was obliged to settle for a position controlled by Asmara. The city was also the target of a new master planning system called *Piano Regolatore*, but no original documents were found except an illustration in a magazine “*Gli Annali dell’Africa Italiana*” of 1939 [Fig. 1-43]. Its caption says simply “the master plan of Mekelle” without any detail of the plan. Even the name of the architect is not known.

Although it is difficult to analyze its planning process, the main concern of the occupying government could be well understood. It is to create a new town beyond the old Mekelle, following the segregation policy. There is a clear distinction between the old indigenous town, divided into two sectors (northwest and southeast), and the Italian new town based on rectangular system. The southeast of the old town became the present *Kebele* 14 comprising the study area. The former was not touched as was in the case of Gondar so that the surrounding quarters around the palace with organic street patterns were well maintained until the implementation of the new master plan in the 1960’s.

Unlike Gondar, this surrounding district around the palace has retained features of the early 20th century as this area had a matured urban feature in that period. Nobles’ mansions, town houses and row houses, constructed in the form of proper masonry structure, occupied the central zone⁶¹. Even the additional building constructed after the retreat of the Italians followed the same building technique, so that the whole district was well accentuated by uniformed stone townscape although the street pattern was organic with curved streets and paths.

In comparison with other master plans during the Italian occupation period, the *Piano Regolatore* of Mekelle is not so decisive. The plan was based on a zoning system with two major zones: residential and commercial (market). Public facilities were inserted within the residential zone. The layout pattern was typical grid system without any distortion. What differs from other master plans is that there was no main landmark. Perspective was not so counted. According to its land use prescription, Mekelle may have been considered as a large market city, or a relaying point from Asmara to Addis Ababa. No strong administrative facility was reserved since Tigray had been annexed to Eritrea and under the direct control of Asmara, capital of Eritrea.

(2) From Palace City to Market City

Tsutomu Okudaira, who conducted a study on the urban formation of Harar, summarized

⁶¹ Rumi Okazaki, *op. cit.* pp.344-345

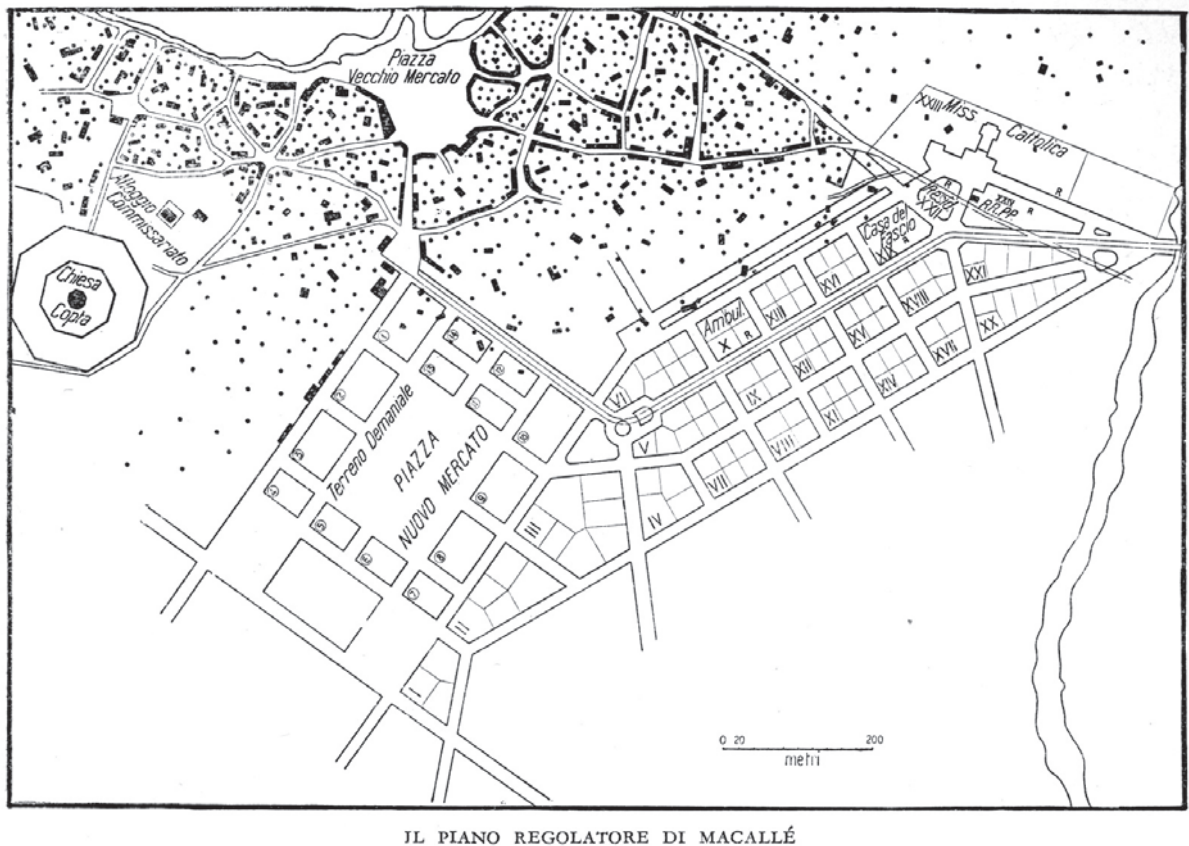


Fig. 1-43 Piano Regolatore of Mekelle, 1937, *Gli Annali dell'Africa Italiana*, Numero 4, 1939

the common aspects of Italian master plans in following three points: modernization, segregation, and evaluation of historical monuments.⁶²

Such was the case in Mekelle. The building activity in Mekelle was not as strong as in Gondar. Only a few public buildings were constructed such as schools, law court and so on, but the market square was vast. No such market facility was established in other cities except in Addis Ababa. This explains the positioning of Mekelle as a station for the distribution of goods within Ethiopia. The segregation aspect of Mekelle was apparent as the new town was situated slightly distant from the old one. As for the historical monuments, Mekelle is endowed with rich heritage such as Yohannes Palace and Abraha Castle despite their comparatively recent construction date. But the master plan did not emphasize the relation to these monuments. Abraha Castle was then already uninhabited as the descendant of *Dejazmach* Abraha fled during the occupation period against the betrayal of ruling *Ras* Haile Selassie Gugsu. This castle was left untouched until the 1950's.

What should be pointed out is that the grid pattern of the new town followed the axis connecting Yohannes Palace and Abraha Castle although this master plan was implemented on a smaller scale than the planned one. The townscape of Mekelle was excellent as most of the buildings were masonry and not at all like Gondar [Fig. 1-44]. However, the provincial government was indifferent to the conservation of such a unique urban landscape.

⁶² Tsutomu Okudaira, Riichi Miyake, Tomohiro Shitara, Takao Shitaishi, "The Study about the Colonial Architecture of Italy : From the Research at Harar, in Ethiopia", *Bulletin of Architectural Institute of Japan*, F-2, 2006, pp.221-222



Fig. 1-44 View of Mekelle from Enda Yesus Mountain, 1937, collection of CAT

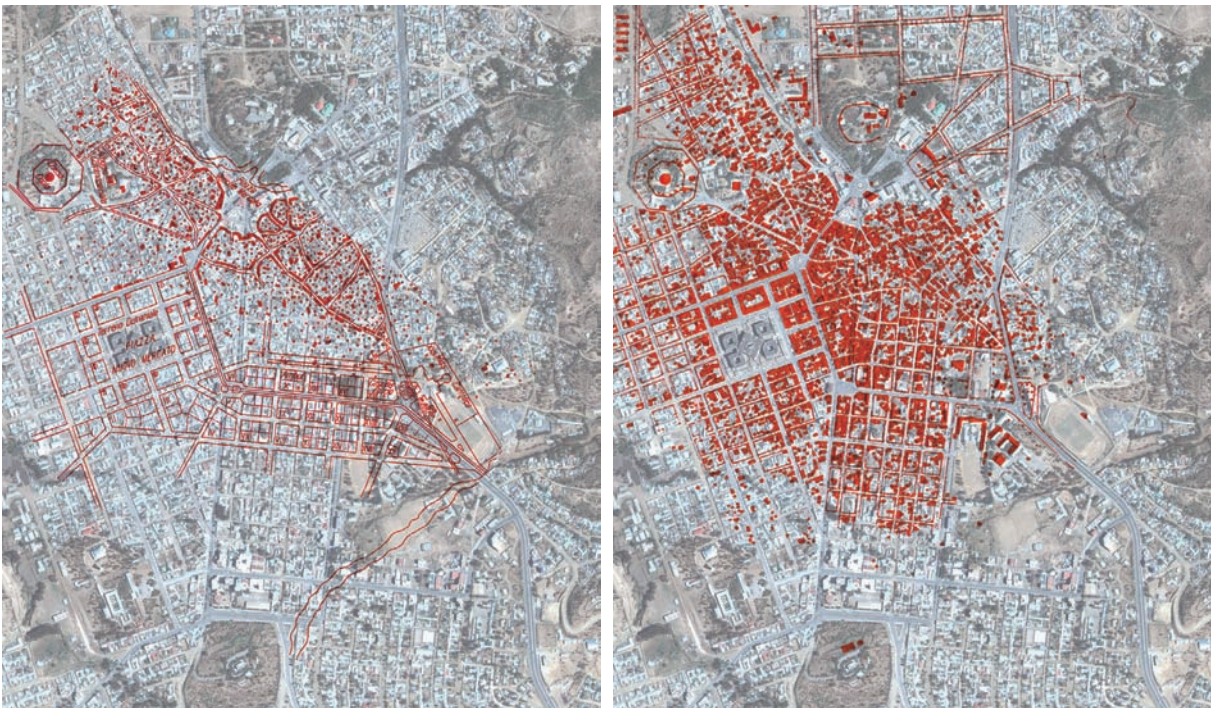


Fig. 1-45 *Piano regolatore* of 1939 layed on to the present aerial photo of 2009 from Google Earth

Fig. 1-46 Plan of the 1960's layed on to the aerial photo of 2009 from Google Earth

2-2-4. Urbanization Process during the Second Haile Selassie Period

(1) High Commercial Activities after the Liberation

After the retreat of the Italians, Mekelle recovered its own autonomy for town management. In fact, in 1941, Mekelle Municipality was established. Before the Italian occupation, Tigray was governed by the nobles, headed by the *negus* (king) of Tigray and town management was the task of the ruler. The distance from Addis Ababa held down the direct intervention from the central government, but after the suppression of rebels against the Haile Selassie I regime just after the liberation caused political snub meaning that Tigray was not much invested. The population stayed the same as the period before the Italian occupation. However, gradual changes in the development of the city could be recognized when they entered in the period of the global growth. Public housing started in accordance with the establishment of the municipality. Education and health care facilities (elementary schools and a hospital) were realized. Infrastructure should be the main concern of the city, but due to the lack of funds, they were obliged to use the facilities done by the Italians such as the water supply from May Degene River.

The aerial photo of Mekelle taken around 1960 explains the development of the urbanized area explicitly [Fig. 1-34]. The abolishment of the segregation policy allowed the spatial connection of the old and the new towns. The new town was taken over by Ethiopian residents and merchants. The notion of modern city planning introduced by the colonial government still stayed and exerted decisive influence on the expansion of the built-up area toward the vacant space between the old and the new towns. The rectangular system expanded to the north and the west, and even to the south. However, public interventions were limited probably because of the lack of funds. The housing condition of the old town was slightly changed because of the immigration of its inhabitants to the new town.

In terms of public facilities, the municipality was obliged to use those constructed by the colonial government. The largest was an elementary school, at the eastern extremity of the new town. During the occupation period, it was exclusively for Italian children, called “*Scuola Italiana*”. Another school called “*Scuola Indigene*” for Ethiopians was established. The former was taken over by the Municipality, given the name of “Atse Yohannes IV Elementary School” while the latter was closed soon after the withdrawal of the Italians. According to Mulubrhan Adane, the number of enrolled pupils was small. It was only 120 males and 10 females in 1941/42,⁶³ but after ten years it became 5 times more. However, it was only one quarter of those who should attend school.⁶⁴

A comparison of urbanized areas between the 1930’s and 1960’s by overlaying the Italian master plan and the aerial photo of 1960’s on the present city zone would show the evolution of the city bridging the pre-war and the post-war periods [Fig. 1-45][Fig. 1-46]. The difference from the Italian occupation period is that the in-between zone between

⁶³ Mulubrhan Adane, “The History of Atse Yohannis Comprehensive Secondary School at Maqalla”, Master Thesis submitted to Addis Ababa University, 1995. The number of pupils was M120 F10 (1941/42), M300 F100 (1942/43), M500 F120 (1949/50), M620 F160 (1950/51)

⁶⁴ According to the demographic pyramid made by the Swedish research team in 1967, the number of the segment (15-19 years old) was approximately 2300. Per Carlsson, Bo Martensson, Rolf Sandstrom, Mats Astedt, “Housing in Makalle, Ethiopia” Svensk Byggtjänst, Stockholm, 1971, p.11



Fig. 1-47 View of Mekelle in 1967 taken by Swedish team

the Italians and the Ethiopians were completely built up. A slight tendency to direct the development toward the south could be identified at the same time. High density around the market suggests the development of commercial and trading activities of this city although the pace of development was not rapid. This could be read in the photo taken by a Swedish planning team who visited Mekelle in 1967 [Fig. 1-47].

In the aerial photo taken in the 1960's, the former village pattern was still recognizable in the outskirts of the urbanized zone. For instance, the oval compound situated at the angle of two axial streets shows typical *hidmo* compound pattern with a diameter of 30m. A Google satellite image reveals that this compound has been transformed to the present parcel within an urban block with a large *garden*. The exterior space is the remaining part of the old compound. This change represents the transformation process from the associated-*hidmo* pattern to a parcel-and-block pattern that occurred in the second half of the 20th century

(2) Plan of Mezzedimi

It was only after the mid 1960's when urban planning and construction became active. In 1966, the new Municipal Hall was completed.⁶⁵ In the same period, an Italian architect,

⁶⁵ According to the pamphlet published by the municipality in 1972, it is written that "346,386 birr was cost for the municipality building" in 1959 E.C. (1966).

Arturo Mezzedimi⁶⁶, was commissioned to draw the master plan of Mekelle. Mezzedimi was a favorite of the Emperor Haile Selassie I and was the most influential architect in that period, closely related to the court. He worked out 42 town planning projects for medium-sized towns, comprising that of Mekelle, with Italian support between 1966 and 1968.⁶⁷ This extraordinary speed explains the necessity of town planning all over Ethiopia, including the newly independent Eritrea, and at the same time the lack of precise assessment of the present conditions. The detail of his master plan for Mekelle was not clear due to the lack of original materials, but the intensive survey on housing condition of Mekelle in 1967 by the Swedish team explained about details of this master plan.

“In the summer of 1967, there was a draft of a master plan for the town of Makalle which had been prepared by Italian architects. Great emphasis is placed in this plan on the expansion of the street network. It is proposed that a through motor road should pass the town. A system of boulevards and squares, if it is realized, will entail large-scale up-heal of the existing building pattern. It is proposed that public building should be sited so as to dominate the street perspective. Extension of the town is to take place towards the north. The proposed housing area, the detailed planning of which constituted our work is situated within this expansion area.”⁶⁸

Mezzedimi's plan was thus an extension plan toward the north from Mariam Church [Fig. 1-48]. The northern part of Mekelle had been a deserted area as the urbanized area expanded always to the south. His idea was rather simple with the monumental government buildings laid out in a somewhat classical manner. This corresponded to the idea of the contemporary central government, or rather the Emperor, who pursued the modern version of public facility and its plasticity, to give priority to the public hall such as ministries and city halls. If we overlay this plan to the present built up area, the plan is considerable in terms of the spread and the density [Fig. 1-49]. It resembles the layout of the new administrative area of Addis Ababa with an axial avenue up to the Palace. The Swedish team was critical against this attitude because this did not solve the fundamental problem of the daily life of the people -housing. After conducting a detailed survey on the living standards and daily lives of the people, they made a proposal at the request of Tigray Development Organization and submitted it to the Ministry of Interior in 1968 [Fig. 1-50]. Instead of Mezzedimi's plan, they proposed housing districts, both dense residential complexes and detached houses on the site reserved for the government facilities by the Italian architect [Fig. 1-53]. Unfortunately this proposal was not realized due to the outbreak of the Eritrean conflict, though it was approved by the Ministry. The report for the Mekelle Masterplan Design done by GTZ, the team from Technisches Universität Braunschweig, confused the plan by the Swedish as the ones by the Italians.⁶⁹

⁶⁶ Arturo Mezzedimi (1922-), who originates from Tuscany, Italy, moved to Eritrea during the wartime, then studied at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris and also in Lausanne. In 1959, he was called by the Emperor Haile Selassie for the design of Africa Hall, the head quarter of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. Appointed the professor at Asmara University, he continued the works in Ethiopia, such as the City Hall of Addis Ababa, the Sport Center of Asmara and so on. He was the architect of the Bus Terminal, the Central Square in front of the Palace and several hotels in Mekelle. After the fall of the Emperor, he moved to Djibouti.

⁶⁷ Arturo Mezzedimi, “Haile Selassie: a Testimonies for Reappraisal”, 1992, from the Home Page of his Office Arturo Mezzedimi architetto. (www.arturomezzedimi.it)

Per Carlsson, Bo Martensson, Rolf Sandstrom, Mats Astedt, *op.cit.*, p.41

⁶⁹ GTZ, “Integrated Housing Development Program Volume II: The Mekelle Masterplan Design Project”, GTZ, Braunschweig, 2006, p.51

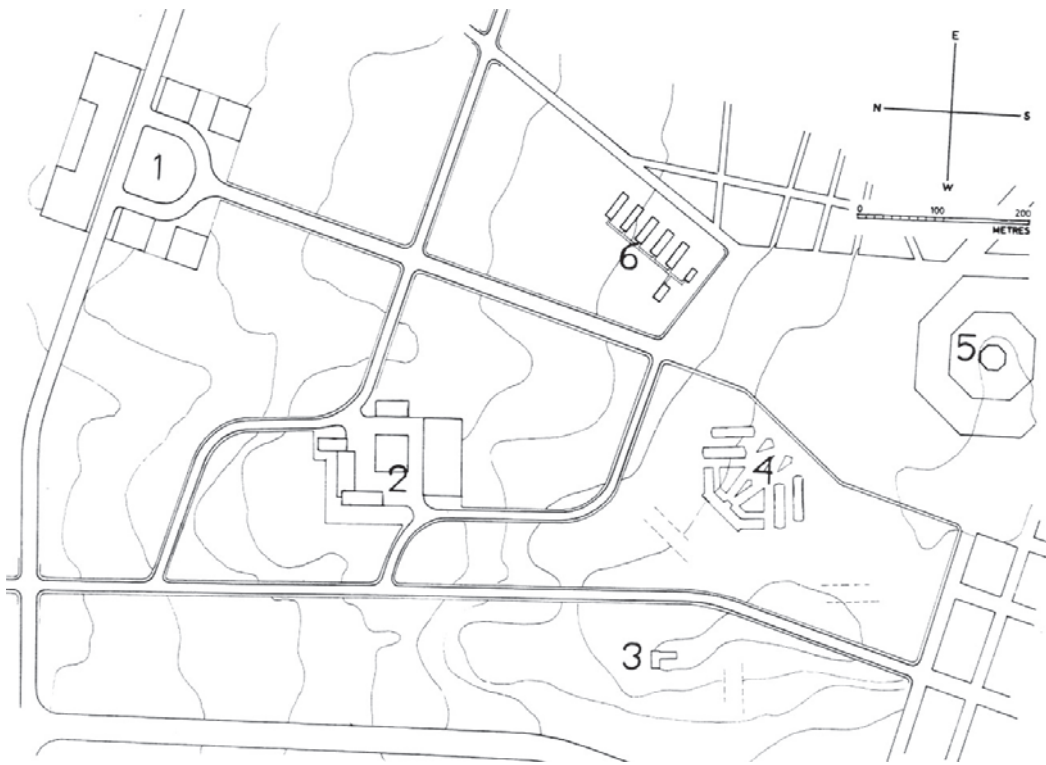


Fig. 1-48 Master plan of Mekelle by Arturo Mezzedimi, 1967, 1. Government palace, 2. Center of residential area, 3. Residence of Deputy Governor, 4. Alternative position and design of government palace (according to another architect), 5. Existing church, 6. Existing school



Fig. 1-49 Overlay of Mezzedimi's master plan on map of Mekelle in 1960's



Fig. 1-50 Housing plan, 1968, by Swedish team



Fig. 1-51 Housing plan with overall Mekelle development plan, 1968, by Swedish team

(3) Construction of Axial Street

In the meantime the development of the city was accelerated in accordance with these plans. From 1971, a square in front of the Palace was constructed by covering the river. In the next year it was completed together with the main axis, which was opened from Zesillassie Square near the Market to the Palace. The picture in the municipal pamphlet of 1972 shows this axial street still under construction [Fig. 1-52], if the picture was taken just before the publication of this pamphlet.⁷⁰ Buildings facing the axial street were demolished and the wreckage spilled over towards the street. The same pamphlet shows the completion of Zesillassie Square, which coincides to the description by Mezzedimi for his design of the Central *Piazza* of Mekelle around the same period.⁷¹ Another picture taken by the Swedish planning team shows the townscape of this axial street toward Abraha Castle [Fig. 1-53], following the master plan by the Italians. The separation green belt in the center was the implementation of the Italians. This photo must have been taken around 1967 during their field survey.

2-2-5. Master Plan of Mekelle after the Collapse of the *Derg* Government

The Development Plan conceived by NUPI in 1993 referred to using existing land that was designated by the Municipality in 1991 [Fig. 1-55], [Fig. 1-54]. Taking into account the stagnation in the later period of the *Derg* regime, this land use could have been conceived with the assumption of a considerable increase of residents toward the outskirts of the city since the 1960's. In fact the demographic curve in this period explains this phenomenon. The population in 1965 had been 22,230 and after 19 years it became 61,583 in 1984 according to the Central Statistics Agency (CSA).⁷² The average population increase was approximately 5.6% per year, although in the final years of the *Derg* regime it decreased down to 49,000. No precise information was kept on how the municipal government managed the extension plan during the *Derg* period. Despite the rapid growth of the population, the city taken by the new regime was suffering from sudden decrease of population and vacant houses that started already in 1989 prior to the liberation of Addis Ababa of 1991. The immigration towards the city would start only after the new government settled the situation all over the country.

(1) Action Plan by the Municipality in 1991

In accordance with the replacement of the government from the military dictatorship to the Liberation Front, urban policy as well as land management was drastically re-oriented in a different direction. A series of proclamations in terms of the decentralization and the land policy resulted in new urban growth management. Mekelle, suddenly closed up because of the presence of Tigrayan Liberation Front in the central government, benefitted from special care from Addis Ababa. NUPI was mobilized to draw an overall plan for the growth of this city. However, due to the lack of reliable data, NUPI managed to elaborate a “development plan”, instead of a comprehensive master plan, in 1993. Prior to the final process of this

⁷⁰ “Work Activities at the Tigray Municipality Offices”, Mekelle Municipality, 1965E.C.(1972), pp.7-8 (in Tigranian)

⁷¹ Arturo Mezzedimi architetto, from his office's home page (www.arturomezzedimi.it)

⁷² National Urban Planning Institute, “Mekele Development Plan -Final Report (Executive Summary)”, October 1993, Addis Ababa, p.33



Fig. 1-52 View of Zesillasie Street towards Yohannes Palace, from municipal pamphlet of 1972



Fig. 1-53 Axial street toward Abraha Castle, photo taken by Swedish team in 1967

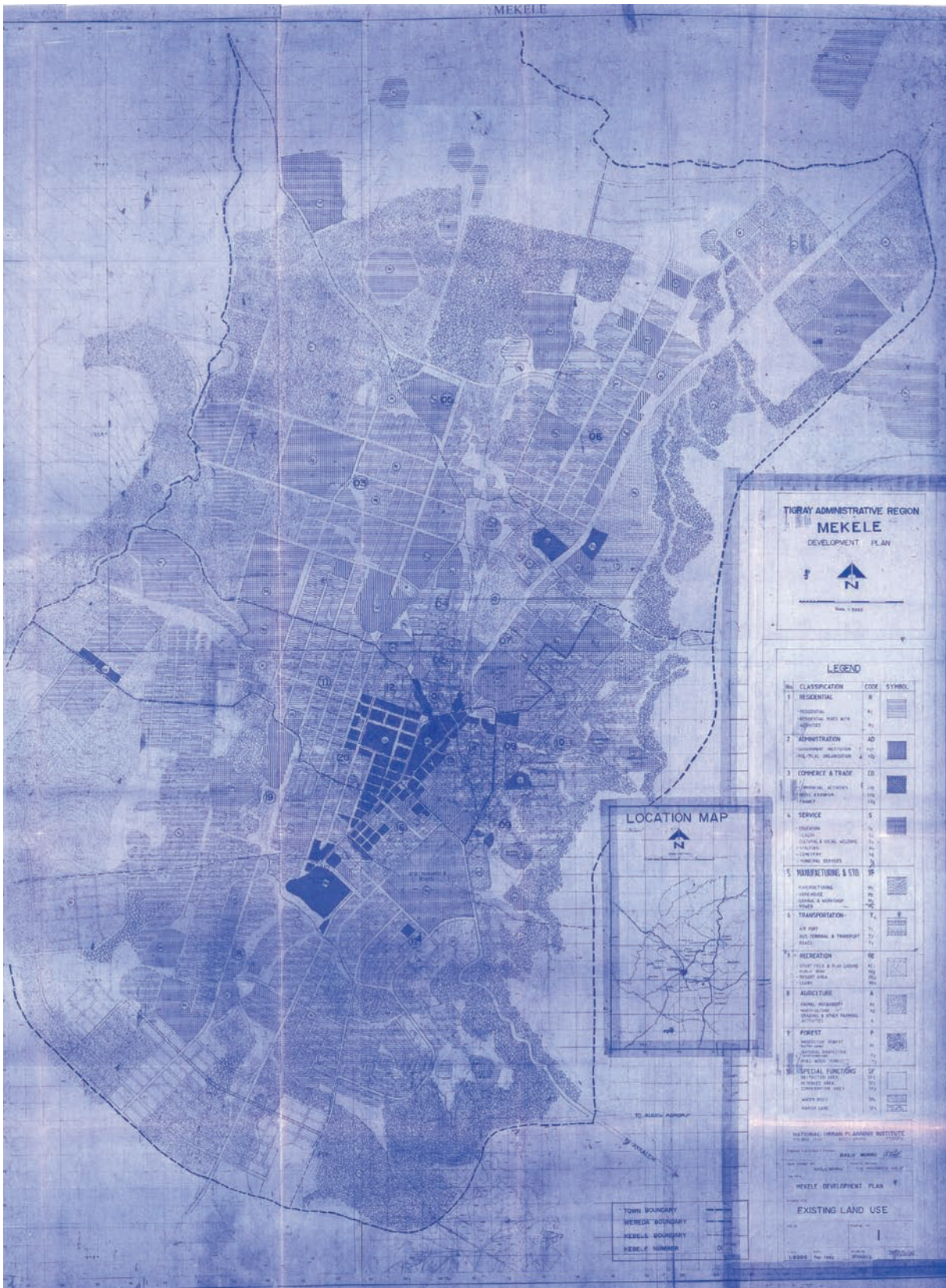


Fig. 1-54 Existing land use of Mekelle, NUPI, 1993



Fig. 1-55 Proposed land use of Mekelle, NUPI, 1993

plan, NUPI conducted a verbal survey with the staff of the Municipality, who presented their own action plan conceived in 1991. It is interesting that only the research by NUPI clarified the existence of this action plan, as virtually no one remembered this fact. No document is left except this redrawn plan to explain the previous stage of the development plan. The lack of equipment such as copy machines would easily remove the traces of such an important action.

Fortunately enough, the author was able to understand the urban planning process in Mekelle just before the intervention of the national institute, thanks to the NUPI archive in Addis Ababa. In comparison with the urban map from around 1960, the planned area spread considerably towards the outskirts of the city. Mekelle was then divided into 20 *kebeles*. Exterior *kebeles* have a much greater surface than the inner ones. This means the outer ones were much less inhabited. To find the rule for extension of the urbanized area, the municipality had employed the axial system, once conceived by the colonial government. Instead of implementing facility planning, this plan shows less active intervention by way of designating the restraints. The outline of this action plan is as follows:

- a. The basic idea was the continuation of the grid pattern of the Italian master plan beyond the boundary of the colonial city. Topographical considerations played an important role. The delta around Ada Gabir old village was a kind of a pivot for the expansion towards the north. Two major sectors are to be recognized: one along May Liham River with the continuation of the Italian grid from Mariam Church, and another beyond Ada Gabir to form a rectangular strip.
- b. The idea of a strong main axis was apparent. An axis, extending from the Abraha Castle in the south to the north, far beyond Mariam Church as an absolute axis of the city. Neighboring Mariam Church, a new administrative zone was reserved as shown in the proposal by the Swedish team.
- c. To the south, concentric lines were preferred to angular ones, probably due to topographic conditions. Slopes were reserved for forests although during wartime a large number of trees were felled for fuel.
- d. Land use for residential purposes occupied 53% of the municipal surface in order to accommodate future growth of the population. Residential zones were allocated within the standardized block, following the size of the Italian grid. A certain number of public service zones were allocated, but without considering their content.
- e. It should be noted that reserves for nature and agriculture were especially considered. The northern part of the city was noted to be adequate for agriculture. The southern part was rather sterile and topographically steep so that it kept some surface for nature. The presence of such natural reserve, despite its deserted appearance, could play as a reserve for future as buffer zones among urbanized districts.
- f. Historical aspects were not taken into account. There was no prescription for the conservation of historical monuments and their protected areas. Even Yohannes Palace and Abraha Castle, which deserved to be classed as national monuments, were categorized only as administrative and commercial facilities. The old city, divided into several *kebeles*, was nothing but a slum-like inner city with low sanitary conditions. The landscape was not at all considered, either.

To sum up, the land use pattern was rather modest and, in general, correct in spite of its monotonous layout of the grid pattern and disregarding of history. The authors of the Development Plan of 1993 also appraised this aspect of the municipal intervention. Therefore the basic attitude of NUPI was to add wider range of future expansion area beyond these already planned districts, rather than changing the concept of the action plan.

(2) Development Plan by NUPI in 1993

After studying the action plan by the municipality, the team of NUPI started elaborating the new development plan after 1992. At that moment the population of Mekelle was less than 50,000, but it is expected that there would be a major trend of immigration from rural areas. The action plan by the municipality is prepared only for the population of 80,000, but the predicted population by the demographic growth of more than 5% would require a plan for doubling the population within 10 years. Therefore the development plan had to be prepared to receive this considerable increase of the population. This was the most difficult part of the project.

The fact that the NUPI team was obliged to investigate six cities in Tigray within only two months and to draw the region-wide development plan at once means how urgent the task of urban planning was, but without adequate data and experience, it was virtually impossible to make an appropriate plan for the future of the city in the true sense of the word. The team, lead by Hailu Worku, took the difficult mission for accomplishing the development plan by any means. The Development Plan was submitted in 1993 finally (fig. 9). In its introduction of the report for this development plan, the NUPI team did not hide their concern about the uncertainty of the finalizing the plan immediately.

“In the absence of comprehensive and reliable data, the development plan is a good choice. This plan can serve for about ten years and Mekele’s spatial plan was undertaken on the basis of the philosophy of development plan. An action plan is a temporary one which aims at providing some tentative solutions of the problems of a concerned area. Its main functions include proposing road-networks and the general setup of residential areas and other activities until a master plan of a development plan would be prepared.”⁷³

The action plan by the municipality was evaluated as such. The planning task started, in fact, from the concerns about the weak points of the city. Inadequate sewerage/drainage, poor environmental sanitation, flood hazard, and shortage of water supply should be settled, but the fragile local financial structure could not be relied upon. Contemplation and a reliable approach were required to resist the pressure of population growth, but the substance of the then applied development plan lacked in ambition and sustainability. The urban growth was only to be controlled by land use management and the amelioration of the road network. Residential zones were thus designated toward the west and the southwest while the road network expanded seamlessly. Notions of buffer zones or green belts finally disappeared. In terms of industrial development, the planning side was reluctant to add industrial zones, only pushing forward small-scale economic facilities such as mills and shops alongside the streets. Their attitude was, therefore, only a confirmation of the status quo with minimal interventions to the plans for different types of land use.

⁷³ *ibid.*, p.1

An Italian team from Venice Architectural University was dispatched to appraise this Development Plan in 1993. They carefully analyzed the plan and resulting agenda and also underwent field surveys in certain districts of the central Mekelle. As Europeans, they understood at once of the value of the historical zones after a comprehensive analysis of the land management within the old city, but the importance was placed on the framework of the plan because of their concern about the amelioration of land lease management. They expressed a full understanding on the framework of land use and the road network. The overall plan shows the direction of growth towards the west and southwest, which were considered not suitable for agriculture. The northern parts are reserved for agriculture while the less fertile land was for the expansion of the city. The road pattern is also the combination of a grid pattern and round circuit, and thus considered rationalized.

“The Agenda constitutes a first attempt of determining components of a future urban policy framework in which coordination between institutions should play a decisive role”⁷⁴

The development plan indicated the least intervention for the sake of meeting the minimum requirements of the inhabitants. In this point, respective institutions including international aid organizations are expected to intervene with their own resources, but still problems remain on how to induce initiatives. The seamless urban expansion system neglects, then, an appropriate volume of inhabitants, articulation of residential quarters, respects for the historical cores, and even the relation with topographical characteristics. We have to wait for the next few decades to find conservation, environment friendly, and local empowerment policies.

2-2-6. Transformation of Land Occupancy and Land Adjustment

Among Ethiopian major cities, Mekelle has kept its feature of a matured stone town with a properly arranged streetscape and the unfavourables of masonry structures. The evolution of the urbanized area is also as systematic as European stone towns, but considering the original state of this city as a loose association of nine rural villages until the second half of the 19th century, the transition from a rural appearance to the present stone town must have been drastic. To understand this transition, the notion of land adjustment is crucial. The original state was that of dispersed *hidmo* compounds around the palace without a clear notion of a street or a square. The existence of a monumental palace generated a concentric attraction for the immigration of nobles and warriors as well as their servants. The role of this place as an inland trading port was also important in accelerating its commercial activities. This obliged the city to a more compact type land use.

Apparently old land parcels, similar to the rural system, was adjusted to the newly established street pattern and divided into smaller lots. The hypothetical process of this land adjustment is as follows [Fig. 1-56]:

1. Groups of large-scale residential compounds were generated surrounding the Palace.

⁷⁴ *ibid.* p.76

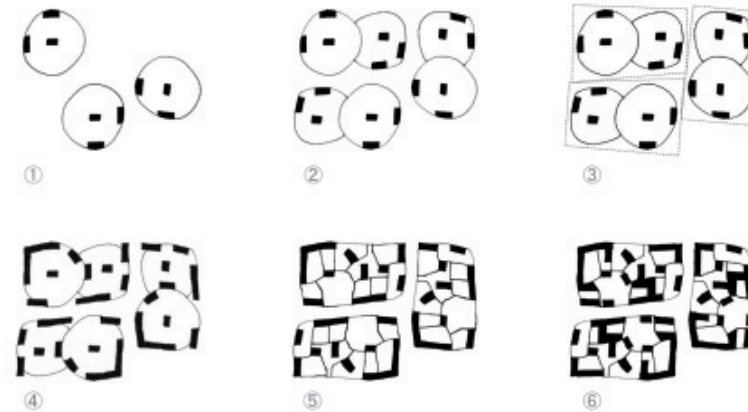


Fig. 1-56 Hypothetical process of urban transformation in Mekelle

Each compound stood independently but with close connection to each other. Paths and alleys penetrate the gaps of these compounds.

2. Augmentation of houses and storage buildings occurred within each compound, corresponding to the population increase. Additional buildings filled the spaces between the compounds.
3. After the designation of the master plan, land adjustment was introduced within the Old Town, which should be adjusted to a block-and-street type of urban complex.
4. Row house type buildings were constructed along the designated streets.
5. At the same time, the ramification of large compounds happened due to the inheritance of the land parcel among the family members, or by concessions.
6. The process of ramification and the construction of row houses and walls resulted definitively in the block-and-street type of the built-up area.

2-2-7. Kebele 14 as a Sensitive Historical Quarter

As discussed so far, the southern part of Yohannes Palace represents the oldest feature of the city center dating back to the period of Yohannes IV and his followers. After the introduction of the *kebele* system in 1975 during the *Derg* regime in order to designate the end administrative unit, this area was given the name of *Kebele 14*.⁷⁵ As the commercial zone of Mekelle shifted to the new towns constructed during and after the Italian occupation, this old quarter was left undisturbed at the hands of old residents as well as new immigrants. Although the building quality is much higher than the central zone of Gondar, this district has been influenced by the drift of different types of informal people. Apparently it looks like a typical historical district, but the life that unfolds within it is not stable and rich. In the course of last half a century, shady businesses such as prostitution, which commonly serves the residents today, has been replaced the image of a flourishing district of nobles and warriors. Although the building type is quite different from Gondar,

⁷⁵ After the Revolution of 1974, the *Derg* Government ordered the expropriation of extra land property allowing the possession of only one housing unit for each household and the establishment of *kebele* as an end administrative unit in order to control the local residents. Most of the expropriated houses were confiscated to this *kebele*, which has been thus playing the key role for public housing even after the fall of the *Derg*

central Mekelle shares the same nature as a shady business district. Details of the life within it will be analyzed in the following chapters, but here it may be sufficient to point out the contradiction between the high quality of historical buildings and the life that unfolds within it.

3. Cases of Muslim Trading Cities

3-1. Muslim Cities in Ethiopia

3-1-1. Red Sea Coastal Regions and Muslim Cities

Old Ethiopia was surrounded by Muslim countries. Considering the history between the 16th to the 19th centuries, Adal Sultanate on the Red Sea coastal Area, which would be later replaced by Harar Emirate, and Sennar Sultanate in the west were very influential as it occupied strategic points for the trading route up to the highlands. Besides these “indigenous” countries, territorial ambition of the Ottoman Empire became apparent in the coastal area from the 16th century.

As long as the Red Sea coastal area, extending to more than 2,000 km southward, has been considered as a hot and futile land with vast deserts behind, a limited number of human settlements have been recognized since ancient times. However, the Egyptians kept strong concerns and explored navigation routes for pursuit of precious materials from Yemen and Abyssinia. Ruins of ancient port cities such as Berenice of Ancient Egypt or Adulis of Aksumite Kingdom are now exposed to the eyes of archaeologists and convey the importance of the ancient Red Sea trading routes to and from Egypt. The Red Sea trade was enhanced by the Turks when the Ottoman Empire gained the dominance over this region from the beginning of the 16th century. Suakin, Massawa and, later, Zeila, became the major ports of Habesh, Turkish Province of Red Sea Africa. The *pasha*, governor, resided in Suakin and controlled other cities by nominating *naib*, deputy, among native Belaw clans in Massawa. Some of the present heritages in these cities date back to the beginning of the Ottoman reign of the 16th century.

The primary and nominal role of these port cities was to assure the navigation for the pilgrims for Mecca as the sultan of the Ottoman Empire recognized himself as the patron of all Islamic people. Transportation of merchandise to the hinterland by caravan was another but practical purpose of this port. Suakin was related to the city of Sennar, the capital of Sennar Sultanate, 1,200 km westward while Massawa was the starting point toward the Ethiopian highlands, where cities like Adwa, Aksum, and Gondar, capital of the Ethiopian Empire between the 17th and the 19th centuries, were goals of caravans. On the other hand, Zeila, first capital of Adal Sultanate, was directly connected with Harar, becoming another capital of Adal from the middle of the 16th century.

The vessel used in this area was *dhow*, traditional Arab sailing boat, suitable for the transportation of heavy merchandise and operated by 10-30 crewmembers on board depending on the size of the vessel. These port cities flourished until the introduction of steam ships that required deep-water port and modernized facilities. Only Massawa has survived and become one of the most important trading ports in present Red Sea area.

A certain number of Europeans described how the travel between the coastal area and highland posts such as Harar and Adwa. For instance, Richard Burton, first European traveler who ever visited Harar in 1855, related about the caravan between the coast and Harar. As a matter of fact, Harar and Zeila were connected by a one-week caravan trip

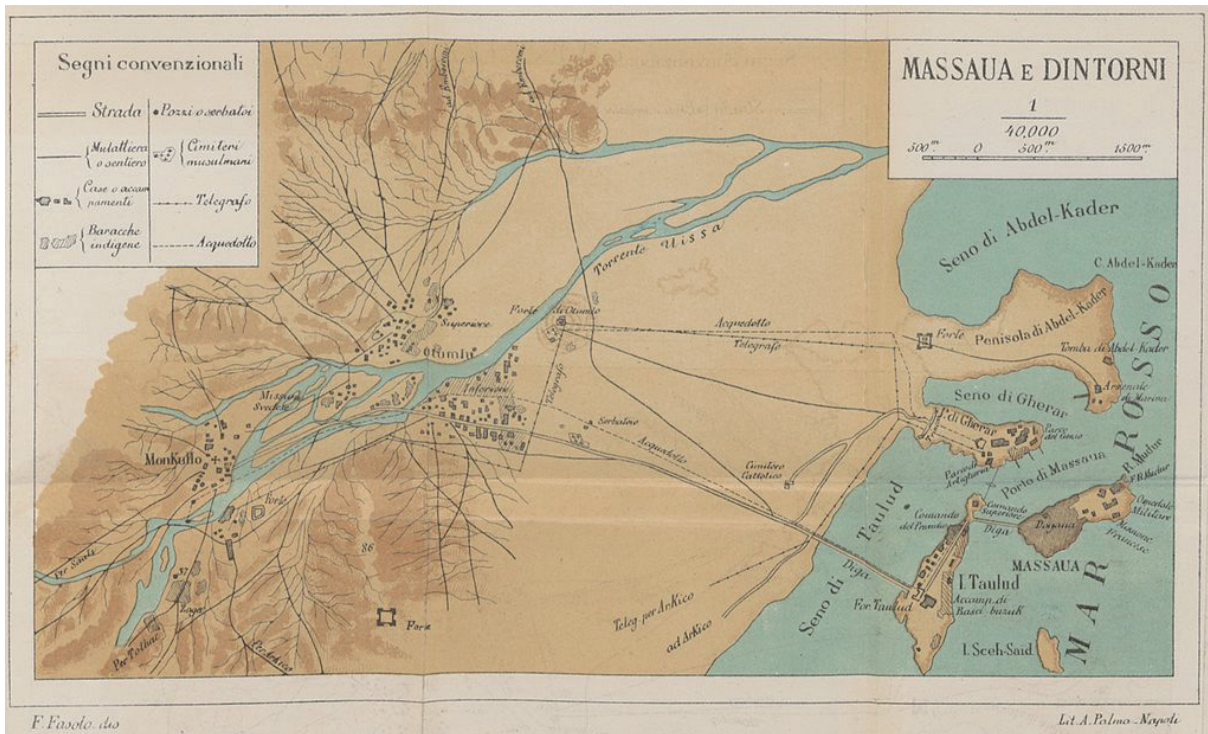


Fig. 1-57 Massawa in 1930's

crossing the deserts and rocky mountains. One caravan consists of approximately 3,000 people and organized three times a year.⁷⁶

*“Principal exports from Harar are slaves, ivory, coffee, tobacco, Wars, Tobes and woven cottons, mules holcus, wheat, “Karanji”, a kind of bread used by travelers, ghee, honey, gums (principally mastic and myrrh), and finally sheep’s fat and tallow of all sorts. ... The best (slaves) are driven and exported by the Western Arabs, or the subjects of H.H. the Imam of Muscat”*⁷⁷

Above-mentioned port cities were departing points for inland trade posts connected by caravan. In Red Sea Africa, various kingdoms and sultanates repeated birth and decline. Among them, Ethiopia has been the most stabilized and powerful nation situated on the highlands of 1,500-2,500 meters above sea level. Gondar, its capital from the 17th to the 19th century, was constructed by Emperor Fasilidas as a new and permanent capital in the vicinity of the source of the Blue Nile, Lake Tana, in the first half of the 17th century with the participation of Portuguese and Indian craftsmen besides Ethiopians. This means that the connection with Europeans had been already established before Fasilidas reign. It is known that the Portuguese mission of that period used generally the route from Massawa via Debarwa, capital of Ethiopian northern provinces, to Lake Tana area where emperors set up their temporary capitals in the form of moving court. Although Jesuits were driven out during Fasilidas reign due to the internal conflict of the court, Gondar continued attracting foreign people and items. Merchandises were transported through the mountainous routes mainly from Massawa calling upon Debarwa, Adwa and Aksum [Fig. 1-57]. If not, by the desert route from Suakin through Sennar. Ethiopian Orthodox Church, which dispatched

⁷⁶ Richard F. Burton, “First Footsteps in East Africa, or an Exploration of Harar”, Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, London, 1856, p.343

⁷⁷ *ibid.* pp. 339-349

regularly, missions to visit Coptic Egypt and Jerusalem made use of this route down to Sennar, and then followed the way to Cairo along the Nile River.

3-1-2. Historical Reviews on Muslim Population in Ethiopian Trading Posts

Within the socio-political context of the Ethiopian history, the Axumite orthodoxy has been playing the key role even after Gondarine Era. The heredity of the Christian kingdom and the posterior Christian empire from the reign of Fasilidas has been always the stage of all the epoch-making events. The dynasty succeeding this heredity was acknowledged as the orthodox political power and even endowed with the right for expansionism. On this pretext, all the surrounding areas were “conquered” so as to be annexed to this powerful orthodox Christian empire. The realm of Ethiopia became three times larger than the previous period in the course of the 19th century. Tadesse Tamarat pointed out the role of Christianity and the Church vis-à-vis the State in the late medieval times, referring to the cases of Lalibela and posterior kings in Solomnonide Dynasty.⁷⁸

However, from the viewpoint of urbanity, the Christian tradition did not always contribute for urban formation although it has left a number of heritages in terms of monastic architecture and relics. Urbanity was not the prerequisite of Christianity as represented in the cases of Christian rulers who were based on moving court before the foundation of Gondar in the early 17th century. On the contrary, Muslim’s contribution for urban formation should not be disregarded. Muslims have penetrated in Ethiopian highlands since its starting period and played an important role for commerce and trade. Muslim quarters were set up in most of the trading points, including Gondar and Adwa. Circulation of commercial items was highly promoted by this minority group.

The living quarters of Muslim population were mostly separated from the Christian area. Existence of customary zoning according to the faith is not peculiar in the age of feudal society in Africa and in Asia. Tomohiro Shitara referred to the clear division of living quarters in Gondar in Gondarine Era.⁷⁹ In the 18th century Gondar, Muslims formulated in fact their own quarter called “*Addisalem*” or “*Islambet*” on the foot of the main hill where most of the Christian people resided, counting one third of the whole population of Gondar. Even the Jews, most of whom were engaged in craftsmanship, were obliged to reside far from the central part of the capital. Muslims there were mainly engaged in commercial activities and in trading for export and import to/from Egypt, Sudan and the Red Sea Coast, handling spice, sugar, carpet, silk, mirror, jewelry, bronze works, tobacco and other precious items.⁸⁰ Even today this quarter has kept its name and the Muslim tradition.

Muslim’s presence was more outstanding in Adwa, which has been the main connecting point from highland Ethiopia to the Red Sea Coast. Henry Salt passed Adwa in 1810 and described the situation of Muslims in the following way.

“Adowa may be regarded as the chief mart for commerce on the eastern

⁷⁸ Tadesse Tamrat, “Church and State in Ethiopia: 1270-1527”, Clarendon Press, 1972

⁷⁹ Tomohiro Shitara, *op. cit.*

⁸⁰ James Bruce, “Travels to Discover the Sources of the Nile, in the Year 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772 and 1773”, vol.3, London, 1790, p.380

*side of Tacazze, all the intercourse between the interior province and the coast being carried on through merchants residing at that place, in consequence of which the Mahomedans there have retained a greater degree of importance, then in any other part of the empire, the trade (...) resting almost entirely in hands*⁸¹

Salt went on to mention that the chief production of Adwa consists in a manufactory of cloths with be best quality in Ethiopia. Muslims were engaged in the trade, both for import and export. The handled lead blocks, tin, copper, Persian carpet, Chinese silk, French broad cloth, Egyptian skins, Venetian glassware and so on for import and for export ivory, gold and slaves were the main three items. The number of slaves exported counted approximately one thousand per year and they were partly exported to Massawa and partly to other small ports to be shipped to various areas of the Middle East. The transportation means were mostly by mules, but in desert areas camels were the most convenient. Muslim merchants and traders were well related to the lowland countries and cities along the Red Sea Coast through their own networks.

Concerning the spatial characteristics and the housing typology, no specific difference is recognized between Christian and Muslim inhabitants in these areas, but, of course, the latter was excluded from that of Christian nobles. It was only after the modernization of trading route from the end of the 19th century that rich Muslim traders come to build their own trading houses. Harar is the most outstanding example of this prosperity.

⁸¹ Henry Salt, *op. cit.*, p.328

3-2. Harar as a Former Capital of Emirate

3-2-1. General View

Harar is one of the most outstanding cities in Ethiopia as it still maintains historical core surrounded by city walls, called *Harar Jugol*. In 2006 this fortified city was registered in the UNESCO World Heritage List, as “*Harar Jugol, said to be the fourth holiest city of Islam, numbers 82 mosques, three of which date from the 10th century, and 102 shrines, but the townhouses with their exceptional interior design constitute the most spectacular part of Harar’s cultural heritage*”.⁸² The location of the city in the eastern highland on the way to Somalia gave this city high opportunity to dominate the main routes from the Red Sea toward the inland of Ethiopian highlands and, thus, to become a prosperous trading center.

Unlike other parts of Ethiopia, this area is characterized by unique townscape and lifestyle generated by local people in the course of long history [Fig. 1-58]. Harar was playing an important role in medieval history of Adal (Somali-Haregey) area. Dominant city in Ifat Sultanate in the early medieval period and, then, capital of Adal Sultanate, which once expanded its territory to present highland of Haregey, Harar enjoyed its prosperity thanks to its strategic location. Muslim culture has been decisive among the natives called Harari, who established an independent emirate in the middle of the 17th century and kept it until the end the 19th century. However, since the coalition with the Ethiopian Empire under Emperor Menelik II in 1887, the immigration from the inlands has been accelerated, resulting in co-habitation of different ethnic and religious groups. Native Harari people represent only 11.8% of the total municipal population after Amhara (40.5%) and Oromo (28.1%), but they still keep their own territory within the city walls.⁸³ Today, approximately 24,000 people live within the 60 ha walled area and half of this population is Harari by ethnicity. Lifestyle is different according to ethnic and religious groups although the city looks apparently like a typical multi-ethnic society. The conservation of its historical environment has become one of the most urgent issues for both the municipality and the federal government, but the social structure that supports the real life of the historical



Fig. 1-58 Panorama of Harar

⁸² From the home page of UNESCO World Heritage Center (<http://whc.unesco.org/>)

⁸³ Total population of Harar City was 99,368 according to the census of 2007.

districts has not yet been profoundly studied.

The author has presented a series of papers relating to the urban formation and the actuality of Harari life after continuous field surveys since 2007.⁸⁴ Harar has often been cited as an exceptionally successful case in terms of the sustainability of the local life within historical compounds in comparison with other African cities suffering from the deterioration of the old living environment. However in reality several districts within this historical complex have been suffering from the serious deterioration of housing and living conditions. In this section the author will examine the evolution of this walled city in order to focus its own inner city problems prior to the analysis on housing and living condition to be discussed in the following chapters. Methodology of urban history based on written, cartographic and graphic documents is to be applied so as to clarify its urban evolution.

3-2-2. Historical Reviews on Urbanity of Harar

(1) Previous Research

The origin of Harar depends on more legendary discourses than official chronological inscription or documents. The oldest document that relates on the origin of this city dates back to the 13th century in the form of an Arabic manuscript, written under the title of “*Fath madinat Harar*” (History of Harar Town) by certain Yahya bin Nasr Allah. This manuscript was edited and translated in German by a German scholar, Ewald Wagner, in 1978, then widely referred to for describing Harar’s legendary origin.⁸⁵ According to this hagiography, the most culminating event to form the city’s character was the arrival of the patron saint of this city, *Sheikh* Umar Abadir El Bakri, who traveled from Arabian Peninsula together with other 405 Muslim saints in the 12th century. This incident marked the transfiguration from loose association of seven worldly villages to an entity of a religiously blessed city. Under the initiative of *Sheikh* Abadir, each saint performed a variety of activities in different places of the city. After their death, shrines were constructed on the site where each saint unfolded his action. This explains the large number of shrines originating from the medieval period and the geographic distribution of the relics of the saints all over the city.

Another important historical source of this city is an Arabic book called *Futuh al-habasa* (conquest of Abyssinia), written by Sihab ad-Din Admad ibn Abd-al-Qadir in the 16th century.⁸⁶ This book relates about the deeds of *Imam* Ahmad ibn Ibrahim al-Ghazi⁸⁷, then ruler of Adal Sultanate and known as Ahmad Gagn (left-handed, in Amharic) among the Ethiopians, who embarked on sacred war (*jihad*) against the Christian Empire of Ethiopia. Adal Sultanate was a Muslim state existing between 1415 and 1577 with its vast territory

84 Among them, see: Rumi Okazaki, Riichi Miyake, “A Study on the Living Environment of Harar *Jugol*, Ethiopia”, *Journal of Architecture and Planning* (Transaction of AIJ), Vol.77, No.674, 2012/4, pp. 951-957, Rumi Okazaki, “Study on the Actuality and the Reactivation of the Ethiopian Historical City: Harar”, *Proceedings of Inter- University Seminar on Asian Megacities*, 2008, CD-R

85 Ewald Wagner ed., “Legende Und Geschichte: D. Fath Madinat Harar”, Franz Steiner Verlag, Wiesbaden, 1978

86 The original Arabic version was translated into English, first in 1923, then in 2004. See: Sihab ad-Din Ahmad bin Abd Al-Qader bin Salem bin Utman, “The Conquest of Abyssinia, or *Futuh al-Habasa*”, translated by Paul L. Stenhouse, Tsehai Publishers, Addis Ababa, 2004

87 Ahmad ibn Ibrahim al-Ghazi (c.1507-1543) was a religious leader (*imam*) and general, then took the title of sultan of Adal Sultanate. After unifying neighboring emirates, he embarked on conquest from Harar over the Abyssinian Empire around 1529. The army of Emperor Dawit II was repeatedly defeated so that the emperor was obliged to hide himself in the mountains. Ahmed’s army advanced even to Aksum and destroyed and sacked numerous churches and monasteries. In 1543, Ahmad was killed by the Portuguese who then allied with the Ethiopian force.

expanding from the Red Sea coast to Haregey highland. Its capital was Zeila on the Red Sea coast for the first time (1415-1420), then Dakkar near Harar (1435-1520), and finally transferred to Harar by the initiative of Sultan Abu Bakir ibn Muhammad in 1520. *Imam* Ahmed, who represented the fanatic side of religious groups and opposed the sultan, finally succeeded in replacing him to his own brother Umar Din as a new sultan. The invasion led by Iman Ahmad was so fierce that a number of churches and monasteries were sacked and devastated by fanatic Muslim soldiers. Harar was referred to as the capital of Adal Sultanate in the book of *Futuh al-habasa*, but the detail of its townscape and urban life was not at all mentioned despite its description on the political and military events led by the *imam*. After his death during the campaign in 1543, his nephew, Nur ibn Mujahid⁸⁸, took his position as *emir* of Harar. This *emir* has been so well-known among today's Harari people as he is the one who ordered the construction of the surrounding city walls. Repeated military conflicts between Adal and the Ethiopian Empire in the course of the 16th century forced the ruler erection of defensive walls. Whatever the political situation in Adal-Abyssinia was, the strategic importance of Harar did not change. The city was flourished after the establishment of independent emirate in 1647 and trading activities were accelerated during Gondarine Dynasty, but the urban history of Harar in this emirate period has not been well studied so far.

On the contrary, Harari urban history since the mid-19th century has attracted a certain number of historians. In addition, the richness of its heritages allowed them to work in various research fields in collaboration with other professionals such as archaeologists and architectural historians, who are well trained to detect physical and spatial values of remaining structures. Recently several researchers, both Ethiopians and foreigners, have visited this city and undertook a series of field research on the subject of urban formation and conservation strategy. With Italian scholars, who underwent surveys of occupied Ethiopian cities, as the first generation, Harar has constantly attracted architectural historians and cultural anthropologists.⁸⁹

The House of Arthur Rimbaud in the heart of the historical core, where this famous French poet is believed to have stayed in the 1880's after he abandoned literature career and became trader, raised an international attention for preservation and even touristic promotion. This may be one of the reasons why French researchers have contributed for the appraisal of its historical value. Among them the mixed research team of IPRAUS, CFEE and l'Ecole nationale d'architecture de Paris-Belleville, led by Philippe Revault and Serge Santelli, has undergone a full-scale survey of Harar *Jugol* from the viewpoint of architectural heritage and urban spaces from 2001. Their final report, published in 2004, is very accurate and useful to understand the urban fabrics and the spatial composition of Harar *Jugol*⁹⁰. They dared to investigate several important houses representing the unique design of Harari traditional houses. Unfortunately, they stopped their research attempt after the publication of this precious work.

88 Nur ibn Mujahid (-1567) was born as nephew of *Imam* Ahmad ibn Ibrahim al-Ghazi, married his widow after his death in the battlefield, and then became the sultan from 1550. He launched sacred war (*jihaad*) against Ethiopia and killed Emperor Galawdewos in the Battle of Fatagar in 1559.

89 Emilio Scarin was the first who systematically analyzed Harari houses and categorized three types of traditional house. See, Emilio Scarin, "Hararino: Ricerche et studi geografici", Centro di studi Coloniali, Firenze, 1942 and Emilio Scarin, "Le variazioni di confine dell'espansione territoriale italiana nell'Africa orientale", Casa ed. poligrafica universitaria, Firenze, 1938

90 Philippe Revault, Serge Santelli ed., "Harar – une cité musulmane d'Ethiopie", Maisonneuve & Larose, Paris, 2004

Japanese research teams have started their own contribution during the last decade. The authors' team, based at Keio University, has published a few papers on the urban formation of Harar as well as its modern urban policy in the course of the 20th century⁹¹. They focused their attention on the modernization process of this city after it is annexed to the Ethiopian Empire in 1887. A series of field surveys on mansions and houses built by rich merchants have been undergone so as to clarify its structural features as well as its designing and building process. Old documents written by European travelers were also useful to understand the situation from the middle of the 19th century up to the first half of the 20th century.

(2) Harar in the Middle of the 19th Century

The first European who ever visited this holy city is Richard Burton⁹², famous British traveler. He started his expedition from the port town of Zeila in December 1854 and reached Harar in January 1855. He was received by *Emir* Ahmed ibn Abu Bakr, who governed this emirate between 1852 and 1866. Burton's observation was so accurate that each detail of urban life, social structure and political situation of Harar were well described one by one and worth as the first class literature on the actuality of this city in the middle of the 19th century. Nevertheless, his first impression upon arrival at the foot of the hilly town was not at all positive [Fig. 1-59]. The silhouette of the town was somber and "nothing conspicuous appeared but two grey minarets of rude shape"⁹³.

The *jami*, Friday Mosque, stood on the top of the hill as it is now. This mosque is thought to have been constructed in the 16th century in the form of a rectangular building. As Burton mentioned, two minarets were incorporated to the main building. A slender minaret, called "*Al Suhayle*", was built in 1761-1762 by Turkish architects during the reign of *Emir* Abdullah and is still standing. Another collapsed just before the arrival of Burton and reconstructed by local craftsmen, which Burton judged as "an inferior effort of Harari art"⁹⁴. The illustration shown in Burton's book in fact represents these two minarets as dominant elements of the hilly townscape.

However, an old engraving entitled "*Harar von Haquim aus*"⁹⁵, used often as an illustration of old Harar but without its execution date, represents three minarets, one of which is bulky and much more dominant than other two [Fig. 1-60]. The chronicle of the Egyptian Occupation explains this fact. The tall minaret was attached to a new "grand" mosque constructed by the Egyptians in 1875 just after they conquered Harar and killed the *emir*. When Burton visited Harar in 1855, neither the Egyptian mosque building nor this

91 Tsutomu Okudaira, Riichi Miyake, Tomohiro Shitara, Takao Shiraishi, "The Study about the Colonial Architecture of Italy : from the Research at Harar, in Ethiopia" *Bulletin of Architectural Institute of Japan*, F2, 2006, pp.221-222

Rumi Okazaki, Riichi Miyake, "A Study on the Actuality and the Local Empowerment in a Historical City in Ethiopia – A Case Study of Harar", *Bulletin of Architectural Institute of Japan*, F2, 2008, pp.137-138

92 Richard Francis Burton (1821-1890) was British geographer, cartographer, ethnologist and writer, making repeatedly expedition to unknown regions and cities in Asia, Africa and America. After his successful travel to Mecca in disguise (1851-1853), he made attempt for exploration to Harar in 1854. Burton is also known as the translator of *Kama Sutra* and the *Book of Thousand Nights and One Night*.

93 Richard F. Burton, "First Footsteps in East Africa, or an Exploration of Harar", Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, London, 1856, p.321

94 *ibid.* p. 321

95 This engraving was printed in the publication of Philippe Revault and Serge Santelli, but without its original source. Taking into consideration the facts that the mosque with bulky minaret was constructed by the Egyptians in 1875 and that this mosque was replaced by a church in 1887-1889, the original photo of this engraving is judged to have been taken between 1875 and 1887.

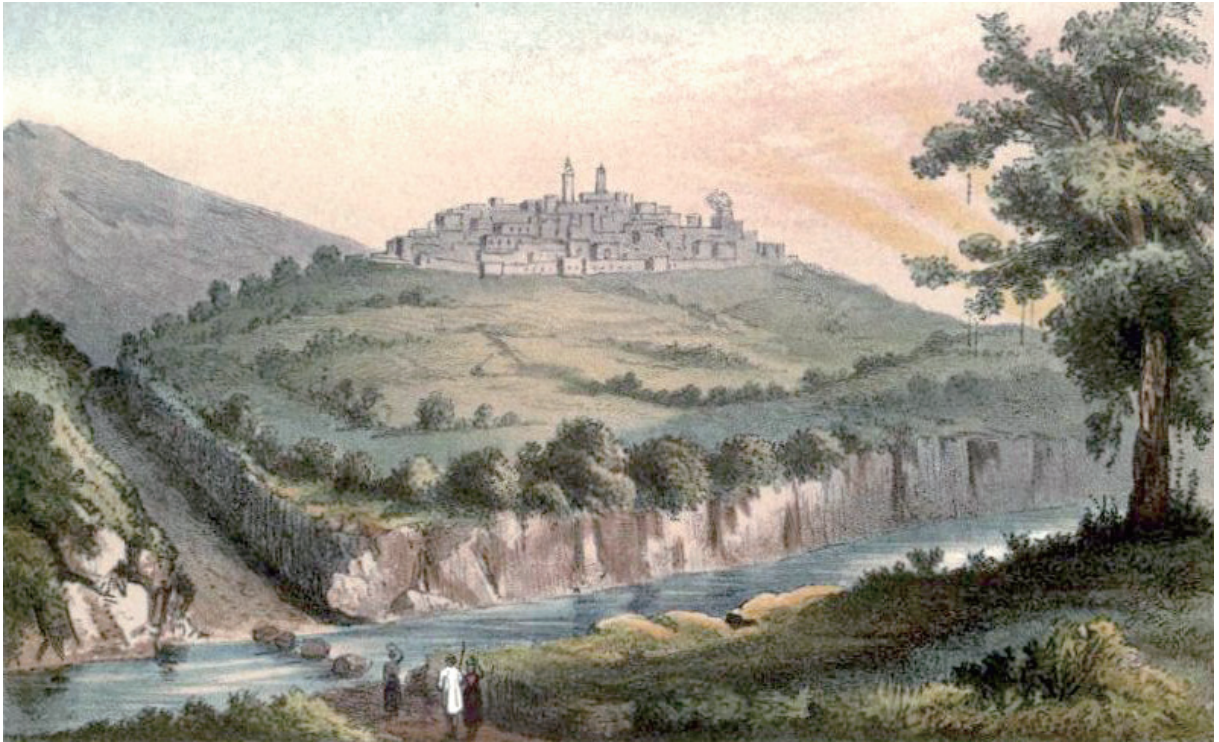


Fig. 1-59 Silhouette of Harar, in Richard F. Burton "First Footsteps to East Africa, or an Exploration of Harar" 1856

bulky minaret existed. Even afterward, Menelik II ordered the demolition of this mosque and the construction of a new Christian church, Medhane Alem Church, on the same site as soon as he conquered Harar in 1887. The photography taken around 1888-1889 still illustrated the presence of this Egyptian minaret behind the church under construction [Fig. 1-61].

Burton went on to say about the houses and streets within the walled city:

*"The present city of Harar is about one mile long by half that breadth. An irregular wall, lately repaired, but ignorant of cannon, is pieced with five large gates, and supported by oval towers of artless construction. The material of the houses and defenses are rough stones, the granites and sandstones of the hills, cemented, like the ancient Galla cities, with clay... The habitations are mostly long, flat-roofed sheds, double storied, with doors composed of a single plank, and holes for windows pierced high above the ground, and decorated with miserable wood-work: the principal houses have separate apartments for the women, and stand at the bottom of large courtyards closed by gates of Holcus stalks. The poorest classes inhabit "Gamisa," the thatched cottages of the hill-cultivators. The city abounds in mosques, plain buildings without minarets, and in grave yards stuffed with tombs, - oblong toughs formed by long slabs planted edgewise in the ground."*⁹⁶

Two different types of housing existed following the social hierarchy. The remaining pictures taken around the turn of the century explicitly convey the images of such housing

⁹⁶ *ibid.* pp.321-322



Fig. 1-60 "Harar von Haquim aus", s.d. , partial view



Fig. 1-61 Medhane Alem Church under construction, from the rooftop, 1888-1889



Fig. 1-62 Flat roof houses of Harar, 1888-1889



Fig. 1-63 Thatched roof houses (*gambisa*) of Harar, 1888-1889

types [Fig. 1-62]⁹⁷, [Fig. 1-63]. The distribution of shrines and mosques all over the urban fabric corresponds to the legendary history of Harar as more than 400 Muslim saints arrived here and acted in a different place and in a separated way. According to the estimation by Burton, the population of the city was around 7,500, one third of which was occupied by Somali ethnic group. In addition approximately 3,000 Bedouins were coming in and out of the city.⁹⁸

Many researchers have been using the map of Harar made by Charles-Eugène Perron [Fig. 1-64], but Perron did not have an opportunity to visit Ethiopia as indicated in the section of Gondar. There must have been an original version for reproduction. In the process of searching original maps, the author has found a colored map of 1876, drawn by a Turkish officer, Mohktar Effendi, in the collection of Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris [Fig. 1-65].⁹⁹ Mohktar was an attaché to the expedition troupe of Muhammad Rauf *Pasha*, who made a surprise attack and conquered Harar with his 1200 soldiers on October 1875¹⁰⁰. As an expert of cartography, he accomplished his task during his stay in Harar just after the military campaign. This French military style map was reproduced by the Swiss cartographer and distributed to the press after a decade.

The map of Mohktar Effendi corresponds to the urban situation before the intervention by the Egyptians. The difference from the engraving “Harar von Haquim aus”, judged to have been produced between 1875 and 1887, is the disparition of the central mosque with bulky single minaret. Until the declaration of new urban policy by *Dejazmach* Makonnen after 1887, Harar used to have five gates, from which one could penetrate into the city by narrow serpentine streets. There was no strong notion of axis or monumentality except the existence of the *jami*, some mausoleums and the market square. Buildings were not whitewashed as today. This may be the reason why Burton felt the somberness

(3) Intervention by Menelik II and *Ras* Makonnen

Menelik II, King (*negus*) of Shoa, then called Sahle Mariam by his birth name, defeated *emir*'s army and conquered Harar in early 1887. The region of Harar, called Hararghe, was finally annexed to the Ethiopian Empire. This political and military event changed completely the destiny of this city, which was once a capital of a prosperous Muslim emirate. Menelik's ambition was primarily to control the strategic point between the Red Sea coast and the Ethiopian highlands so as to express his strong political intention toward oversea powers as well as to increase national income by taxation on circulating materials. The dominance of the Christian empire over Muslim subject should be visualized despite the religious tolerance policy applied traditionally. The king stayed in Hararghe for about one month, pacifying the region around the city, where order had broken down. He

⁹⁷ The photograph was taken by Ridault de Glatigné of Société de géographie, c.1888-1889, just after the conquer by Menelik II. They left a quantity of photographs relating the images of Harar.

⁹⁸ Philippe Revault & Serge Santelli *op. cit.* pp.329-330

⁹⁹ Plan de la ville de Harrar, par M. Mohktar-Effendi; A. Faousi-Effendi, attaché à l'expédition de S. E. le général Raouf-pacha, 1876

¹⁰⁰ Sven Rubenson, “The Survival of Ethiopian Independence”, Heinemann, London, 1976, p.317

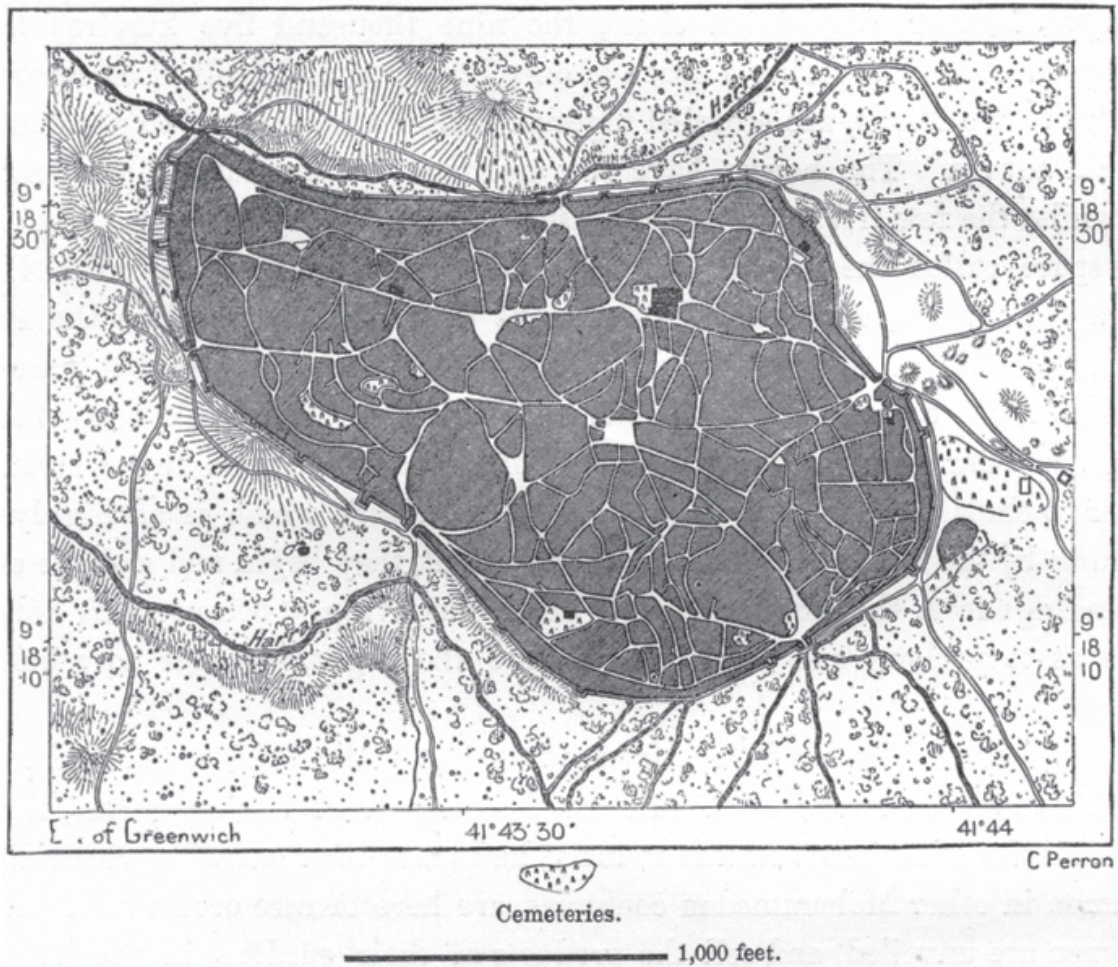


Fig. 1-64 Map of Harar, by Charles-Eugène Perron, C. 1885

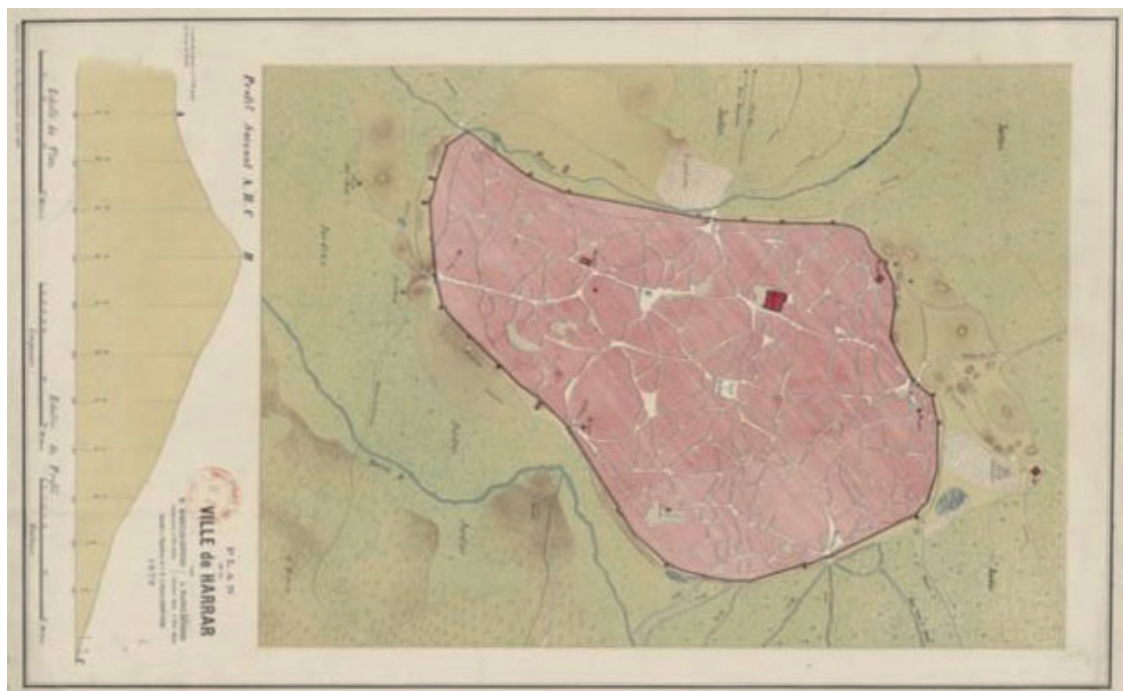


Fig. 1-65 Map of Harar, by Mohkar Effendi, 1876

commissioned *Balambaras Makonnen*¹⁰¹ to be governor of Hararghe with the court rank of dajazmatch in January 1887. Makonnen was allowed a garrison of 3,000 men. Ali Abu Barka was appointed civil administrator.¹⁰²

Implementation of the king's idea was realized by Makonnen, who started new urban policies immediately. The first and most influential task was the construction of Medhane Alem Church in *Faras Magala*, the central square on the top of the hill. A mosque built by the Egyptians in 1875 was demolished and replaced by this new church. An Italian geographer, Luigi Robecchi Bricchetti¹⁰³, who happened to pass Harar in 1888, was asked to give some advice on the construction method to the governor.¹⁰⁴ Its octagonal shape possibly derived from the Giorgis Church in Addis Ababa. For some years, the minaret remained in its original place.¹⁰⁵

Faras Magala (Main Square) was the symbolic place where important facilities, religious and administrative, should be concentrated. Besides Medhane Alem Church, Makonnen took over the *emir's* palace for his residence [Fig. 1-66], [Fig. 1-67]. Neighboring to this complex, another mansion for *Grazmach* was erected [Fig. 1-68].¹⁰⁶ *Dejazmach* Makonnen ordered the construction of two new gates. One is the Gate of the Duke (*Duq Bari*, current *Harar Bari*), from which a street ran straight down to *Faras Magala*. This gate was used exclusively for the triumphal entrance of Menelik and was not used until the Italians broaden the axial street in the 1930's. Another was *Berbera Gate* in the south, but this gate was closed by the Italians. Accordingly *Faras Magala* became the gathering place for the high officials, clergies and warrior while the upper sector along the east-west axis between *Duq Bari* and *Faras Magala* were occupied by Christian Amhara population.

After one year and a half from the first train between Djibouti and Douanle, first station on Ethiopian side, the railway was completed up to Dire Dawa in December 1902.¹⁰⁷ It took 14 hours for some 300 km. The new transportation system affected tremendously to the life in Harar. First point is rather negative. For traders and merchants the position of Harar became much weakened as the railway did not reach Harar. Newly constructed Dire Dawa obtained priority as the connecting point between the Red Sea and the highlands. Second aspect is positive. Building activities benefitted considerably from mass and rapid transportation system. Construction business was thus accelerated supported by much easier use of imported materials such as corrugated irons, steel beams, glasses and precious

¹⁰¹ Makonnen Wolde Mikael (1852-1906) was born near Ankobar as cousin of Sahle Mariam (1844-1913), future Emperor Menelik II. He served Sahle in the court of Ankobar and was mobilized in many military campaigns against Harar (1886-1887), in the First Italo-Ethiopian War (1895-1896), in the expedition to Ogaden (1899-1900) and so on. He was appointed governor of Harar, which position he kept until his death. He was dispatched to Italy to settle the diplomatic problems with Europeans. He was given the court titles of *balambaras* (1876), *dejazmach* (1887) and *ras* (1890). Upon the coronation of Emperor Menelik II, Emperor Haile Selassie I (Tafari Makonnen) was the son of *Ras* Makonnen.

¹⁰² Harold G. Marcus, "The Life and Times of Menelik II: Ethiopia 1844-1913", Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1975, pp. 92-93

¹⁰³ Luigi Robecchi Bricchetti (1855-1926) was an Italian geographer and explorer, who visited Ethiopia and Somalia repeatedly in late 19th century. He visited Harar in 1888.

¹⁰⁴ This episode was described in his own publication: Luigi Robecchi Bricchetti, "Nell'Harar", Galli, Milano, 1896, pp. 51-52

¹⁰⁵ Philip Marsden-Smedley, "A Far Country: Travels in Ethiopia", Century, 1990, p.58

¹⁰⁶ In the photograph preserved in Arthur Rimbaud Museum in Harar, taken in 1898, indicated the presence of *Grazmach's* Mansion facing *Faras Magala*. At this time, the one corresponding to this criterion is *Grazmach Banti*, who became reputed by his expedition to Ogaden in 1900. The mansion in the form of two-story masonry building is one of the largest residential structures after Makonnen's Palace, but its planning seems to be very simple with paralleled rooms both on the ground and the upper floors. Vertical access was done by exterior staircase.

¹⁰⁷ For the planning and construction of French Ethiopian Railway, see: Richard Pankhurst, "The Franco-Ethiopian Railway and its History", *Ethiopia Observer*, 6, 1969, pp.343-379.

wooden materials. Transporters had to carry them only for short distance between Dire Dawa and Harar. This may be one of the major reasons why new types of building emerged in Harar. Indian-Arabic type mansions are typical of such new typology. They suggested completely different building type with wooden structure but mixed with local masonry techniques [Fig. 1-70].

One of the most prominent architecture at the turn of the century was the new palace for *Ras Makonnen*, inaugurated in 1902 [Fig. 1-69].¹⁰⁸ This building occupied the most privileged location within the walled city: behind Medhane Alem Church. This whitewashed two-story masonry building added with observatory room on the second floor and flanking balconies. Concerning the “Indian” type, Revault and Santelli pointed out more than 100 parcels containing this kind of houses.¹⁰⁹ Another example would be the mansion of Muhamad Ali, Indian trader originating from Bombay, which was constructed on the southern slope of the hill.¹¹⁰ This structure is comparable with those of aristocracy such as the *Ras Tafari Mansion* (House for future Haile Sellasie I, constructed in 1910-1911)¹¹¹ and Empress Menen¹¹² Mansion. The beginning of the 20th century was the period of great construction in terms of traders’ houses and imperial mansions.

What is peculiar as building activities in the early 20th century is establishment of large palace and church compounds outside of the city walls. Owing to its strategic position and even to the completion of the Djibouti-Addis Ababa railway as well as resulting considerable income, *Ras Makonnen’s* family exerted tremendous influence upon the political scene of Ethiopia. *Ras Makonnen* died in 1906. His son, Yelma Makonnen, succeeded his post, but the unexpected death of Yelma in the next year made Emperor Mnelik II upset and dispatch *Dejazmach* Balcha Safo, emperor’s favorite general, as new governor. Three years later, in 1910, Tafari Makonnen¹¹³, brother of Yelma, was appointed new governor when the emperor was on the verge of death. It was *Ras Tafari* who conceived vast scale construction works in and outside of the walled city. Becoming regent of the new empress, he settled in Addis Ababa in 1916, and was finally enthroned in 1930. The communication between Addis Ababa and Harar had become much easier because of the completion of the railway link in 1917.

The Palace of the Duke (*Duq*) [Fig. 1-71] was constructed just outside of the Gate of the Duke (*Duq Bari*), surrounded by walls [Fig. 1-72]. The palace stood on an elevated site so as to look down to the whole townscape of Harar *Jugol*. *Ras Tafari*, as new governor, needed modernized government office besides his own residence neighboring to his father’s palace in the heart of the walled city. Next to this palace complex, Haile Selassie Church

¹⁰⁸ A postcard made in Harar entitled “*Palais du Ras Makonnen* (Harar) is accompanied by the construction year 1902. In 1903, *Ras Makonnen* received Skinner’s party, who travelled by rail to Dire Dawa and made a detour to Harar, in his new palace serving jars of “the native champagne” (tej).

¹⁰⁹ Philippe Revault, Serge Santelli, *op. cit.* p.188

¹¹⁰ Muhamad Ali founded his own firm in Harar in 1888 as the first Indian trading company in Ethiopia. See: I.M.Muthanna, “Indo-Ethiopian Relations for Centuries”, Artistic Press, Chicago, 1961, p.50

¹¹¹ Richard Punkhurst describes its architectural characteristics and suggests the dating of the construction according to his reading of the inscription on the door (Ethiopian year 1903): Richard Punkhurst, “The Indian Door of Tāfāri Mākonnens House at Harar (Ethiopia)”, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Third Series, Vol. 1, No. 3 (Nov., 1991), pp. 389-392

¹¹² Empress Menen (1891-1962) was a direct descendant of Emperor Lebna Dengel. She married *Dejazmach* Tafari in 1911 as her third marriage. She played perfectly the role of modernized empress-consort in the international and domestic society even during the Italian occupation period. Her Mansion

¹¹³ Tafari Makonnen (1892-1975), or Emperor Haile Selassie I, was born in Hararghe as a son of *Ras Makonnen*. He spent his childhood in Harar, in the palace of Makonnen. He went up the court hierarchy from Lij, then *dejazmach* (1905), *ras* (1916?) and Balemulu Inderase (regent, 1916), As soon as Empress Zewditu passed away, he was enthroned emperor of Ethiopia in 1930.



Fig. 1-66 Entrance of *Dejazmach* Makonnen's Palace (Former Emir's Palace) on *Faras Megala*



Fig. 1-67 *Dejazmach* Makonnen's Palace, 1888-1889



Fig. 1-68 *Grazmach's mansion on Faras Megala, 1898*



Fig. 1-69 *Ras Makonnen New Palace, 1902*



Fig. 1-70 Wooden house in Gidir Magala, 1898



Fig. 1-71 Palace of Duke

was erected in memory of the new emperor. The expansion of the city toward the west was thus decided prior to the arrival of the Italians. The aerial pictures taken in the 1930's show clearly their disposition vis-à-vis the old city [Fig. 1-73].

(4) Italian Occupation

With the break of Second Italian-Ethiopian War, Harar was finally occupied in May 1936 by the troupe of General Guglielmo Nasi¹¹⁴, who came to stay in the post of governor of Harar Province in A.O.I. until 1939. He was the one who led the master planning of Harar and transformed radically the cityscape as prominent capital of Harar Province by implementing vast scale construction works.

A map of Harar *Jugol* during the occupation period is available in a book written by Emilio Scarin, Italian geographer who worked for the Centro di Studi Coloniali in Florence and was dispatched to Harar [Fig. 1-74].¹¹⁵ Although the book was published after the Italian withdrawal, it contains useful information relating the actuality of the city during occupation. Important places such as squares, gates, and religious facilities are indicated with number, but what is most interesting is the way of representation of the built-up spaces by black and white. Distinction between densely built-up parcels and round shape huts is clear while the layout of streets, paths and squares is identified at once. The density of poorly looking thatched roof huts is still high in the southern slope, but it is much less than half a century before. *Duq Bari* (Gate of Duke) occupies the western entrance. This results in the rise of the west-east axis street, which runs along the ridge of the hill and connects important administrative and religious facilities.

Governor Guglielmo Nasi commissioned Guido Ferrazza¹¹⁶, architect from Florence who had been the chief architect of Asmara City till then. Two different plans were identified as *Piano Regolatore* of Harar. Unlike the drawings for Gondar, no signature of the architect could be seen in these graphic documents, but considering the other documents which clarified the working process of the architect, the two types of drawing could be categorized as the first proposal, made in 1936, and the second and definitive plan. The first master plan was completed in 1937, but due to the incertitude of the topographical information, it was revised to a new version in the same year [Fig. 1-75], [Fig. 1-75].¹¹⁷ The final plan was published in the periodical publication entitled "*Gli Annali dell'Africa Italiana*" in 1939 together with the master plans of other cities, but the original drawings have not yet been found. Also in 1939, Ferrazza published a report on the design and implementation of the master plan [Fig. 1-77].¹¹⁸

¹¹⁴ Guglielmo Nasi (1879-1971) was Italian general who played the key role in Africa Orientale Italiana (A.O.I.). He was sent to Cyrenaica as chief staff of Italian Royal Army in 1934. With the break of Italian-Ethiopian War in 1935, he commanded the eastern column and occupied Harar, where he was appointed governor between 1936 and 1939. He then became the governor of Shoa, and led the campaign against British Somaliland successfully. At the end of the occupation he was appointed viceroy of A.O.I. before he surrendered to Allied force.

¹¹⁵ Emilio Scarin, "Hararino Ricerche e Studi Geografici", G. C. Sansoni Editore, Firenze, 1942

¹¹⁶ Guido Ferrazza (1887-1961) was an Italian architect, who finished Academia di belle arte in Bologna in 1916. While working outside of Italy, like Bulgaria, Thailand and Uruguay, he was influenced by modernist theory. After working in Libya in the late 1920's, he became municipal architect of Asmara from 1935. In 1937 he was invited to Harar, then in Addis Ababa. After the war he moved to Argentina, where he left numerous architectural works. Among the buildings in Harar, Banca d'Italia was designed by himself.

¹¹⁷ Tsutomu Okudaira, "Study on the Construction Process of Harar City in Ethiopia and its Actuality – Idea and Reality of Italian Colonial Cities", master thesis, Keio University, 2007, pp.28-36 (in Japanese)

¹¹⁸ Guido Ferrazza, "Relazione al progetto di *piano regolatore* della città di Harar", Colombi, Firenze, 1939



Fig. 1-72 Harar with the Palace of Duke and Selassie Church

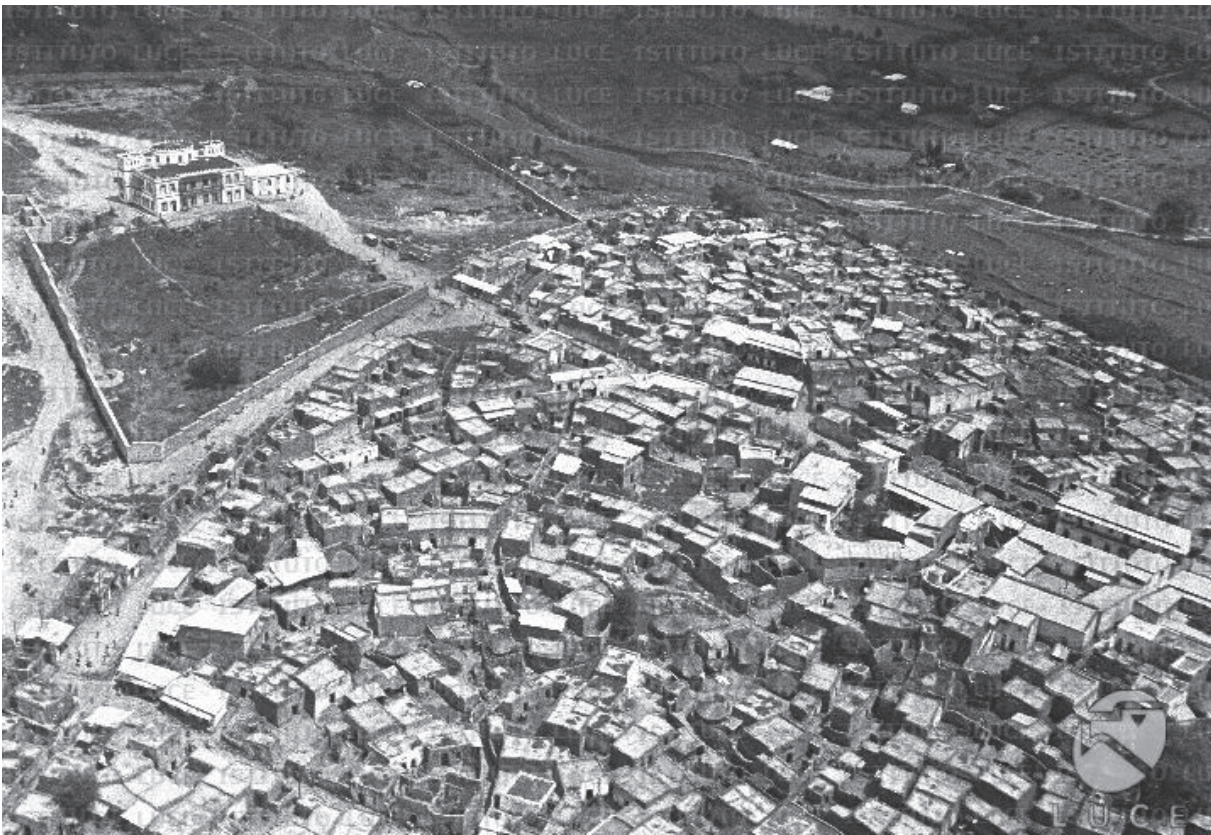


Fig. 1-73 Harar with the Palace of Duke in the west

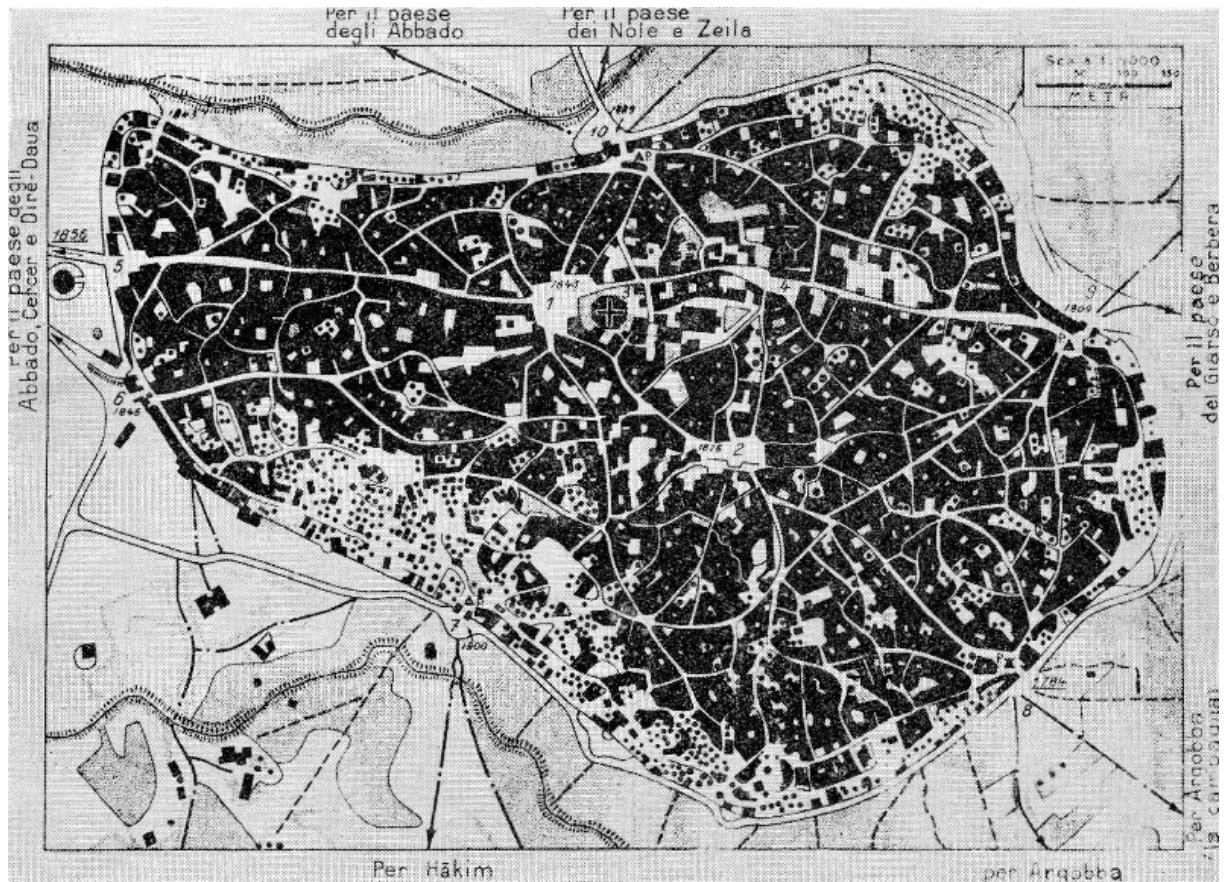


Fig. 1-74 Map of Harar during Italian occupation, by Emilio Scarin

The idea of the *Piano Regolatore* is clear. It constructs a new town outside of the old town. The new town, consisting of administrative and residential quarters for the Italians, was planned in the west of the old town toward the direction of Dire Dawa. This direction of the development was the same as the one conceived by *Ras Makonnen* and his successor *Ras Tafari*, but their traces were mostly deleted by the Italians except The Duq Palace. This palace, initially used as temporary office for the colonial government, was the starting points for fixing the east-west axial lines, but this plan erased completely the new Orthodox church of Haile Selassie. The eye stop of the central boulevard was a large theater, from which two streets started diagonally. This layout with the combination of a wide boulevard and a theater at the end of it reminds of the Opera quarter in Paris, that is, the urban morphology of the Second Empire. Major administrative facilities such as the Governor's office and residence were lined along the boulevard. The Duke Palace, which housed Italian officials provisionally for the first time, was then transformed into a City Hall (*municipio*). Alignment was considered in this administrative quarter while open housing lots with a single house spread behind this complex. A perspective drawing of this master plan represents well its architectural idea.

The first *Piano Regolatore* did not correspond precisely to the real topographic and geographic conditions of the city. For instance, the location and the layout of Duke Palace are incorrect as the architect neglected its inclination vis-à-vis the new axial line. The plan must have been prepared very quickly to announce the idea of the new planning policy before the approval process as in the case of Gondar.

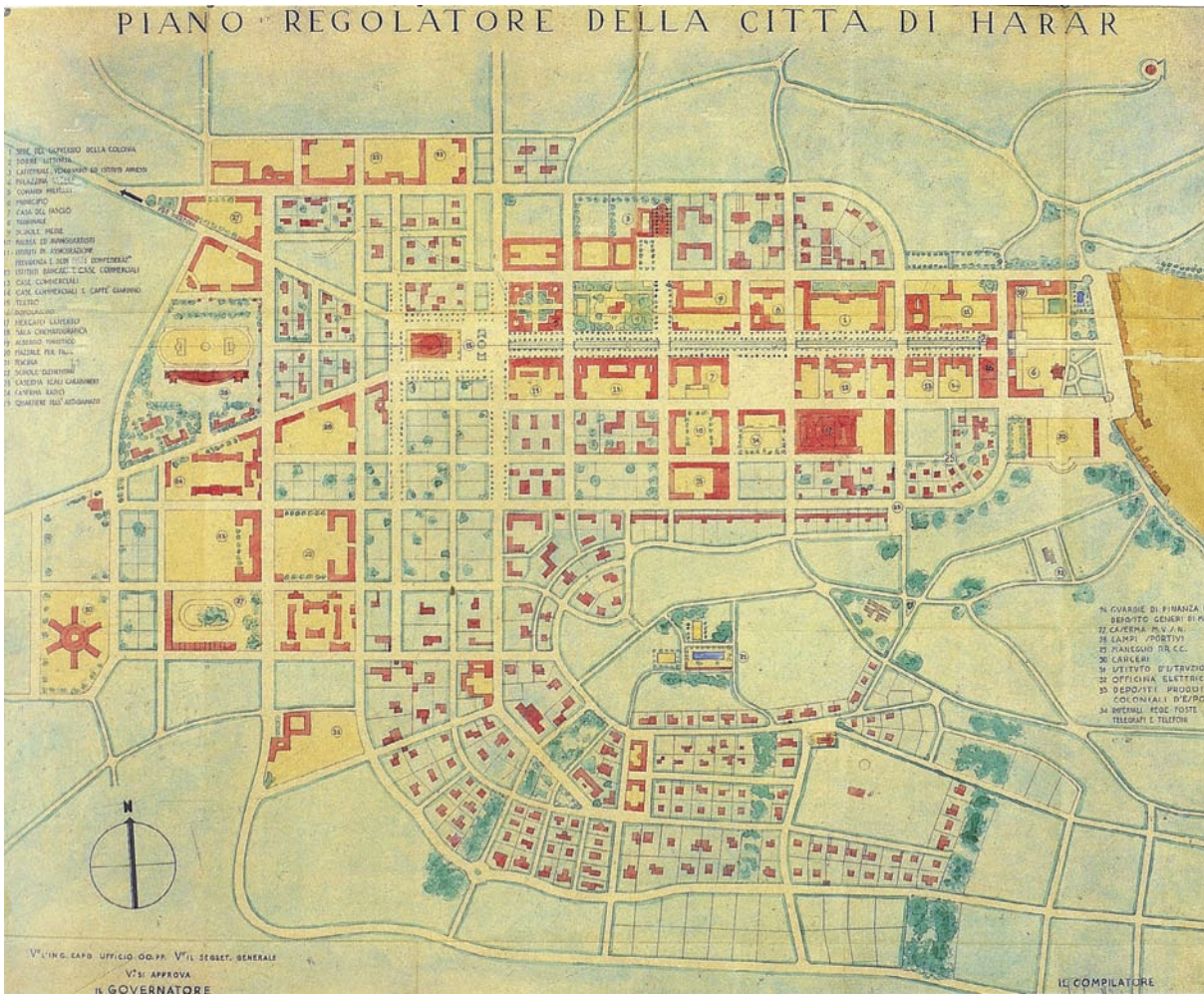


Fig. 1-75 Piano Regolatore of Harar by Guido Ferrazza, 1937



Fig. 1-76 Schizzo prospettico illustrative del Piano Regolatore di Harar, 1937

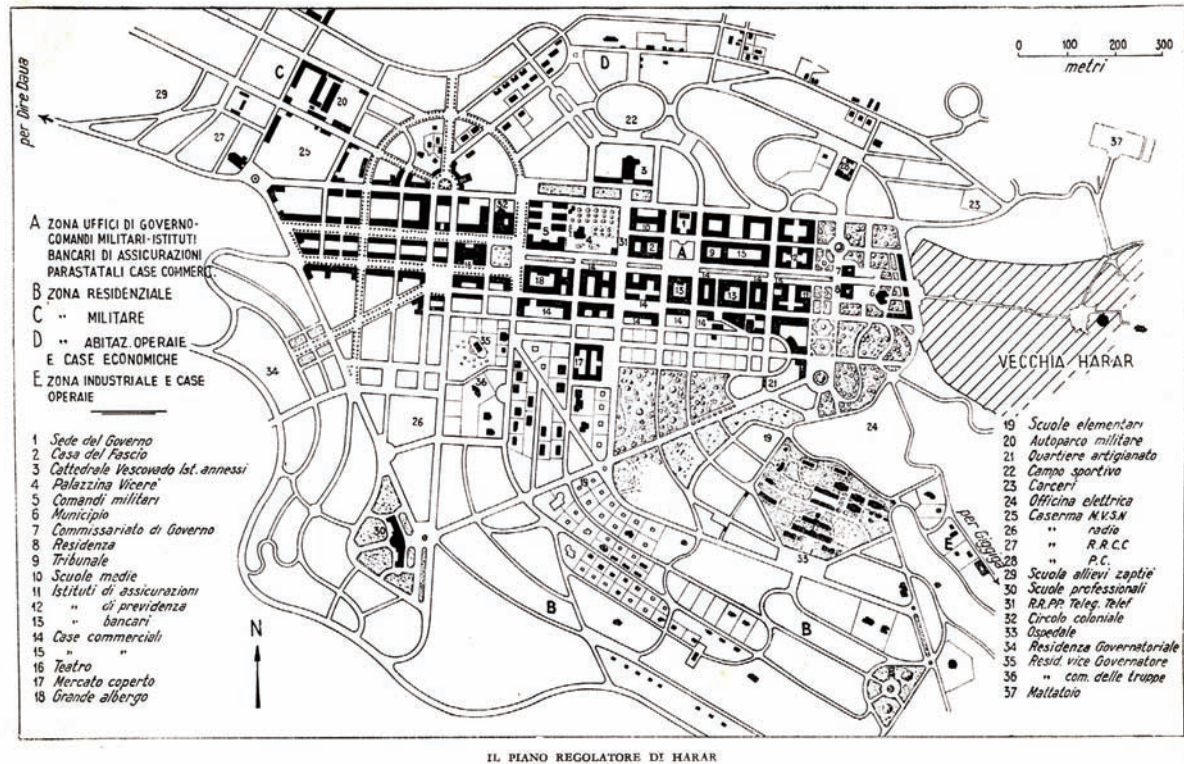


Fig. 1-77 Piano Regolatore of Harar

The final plan, a revised version of the former plan, reflected the reality of the topographic situation and detailed program for the colonial rule. As the present situation of the city is nearly the same as this final master plan, although numerous planned buildings were not realized, one can understand how the colonial government observed its architectural idea when they implemented it. It combines the grid, circular, and diagonal patterns, but the main complex along the east-west axial boulevard keeps the rigid block and street system with a rectangular pattern. Connection with the old town is more regulated than the first. The Duke Palace is not hidden anymore behind the wall-like structures, but is exposed to the wide green open space, which leads directly to the *Duq Bari* and continuing to the axial street within the walled city.

The rapid pace of construction was amazing. The first building, newly constructed in 1937, was the new market (*mercato coperto*) in the south, and during the following year a series of public and commercial buildings were accomplished besides the police head quarter (*commissariato*) situated next to the city hall: two Italian banks, three hotels (*Albergo C.I.A.A.O.* with 24 rooms, *Albergo Municipale* with 20 rooms but no restaurant, and *Albergo Savóia* with 5 rooms and a modest restaurant) and *Casa del Fascio*, head quarter of Fascist party designed with typical Italian modernist flavor, which was one of the monumental buildings.

An official letter sent from the Harar provincial government to the Ministry of Italian Africa in January 18, 1938, clearly explains the guideline for master planning in a following way.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁹ ACS. MAI, 104-18, Tsutomu Okudaira, *op. cit*

- a. Segregation between the natives and the Italians
- b. Spacious layout for public services such as administration, education and banks in the city center
- c. Allocation of housing for office workers near the city center
- d. Direct control of the working site and housing for blue collars
- e. Gradual layout of detached houses toward the suburbs
- f. Allocation of military facilities and industries with distance from the city

What should be noted is that segregation policy was the most underlined factor for the master planning. This resulted in the separation between the Italian new town and the Ethiopian town. French experience in Maghreb countries were frequently referred to in Italian East Africa, but contrary to the French attitude which preferred combining the two different parts to strengthen commercial and communication activities, the Italian colonial government kept rigorous policy of segregation by differentiating the old from the new with sufficient interval between them. In the cases of Gondar and Harar, the architects were deliberate enough to make use of axis for connecting and even separating the two. Especially in Gondar careful manipulation of the given site and gradual layout of each zone and district according to the topographic conditions were successfully accomplished.

(5) Harar in the Second Imperial Period and after

After the liberation from Italian occupation, Harar was listed as one of six “Schedule A” municipalities in Ethiopia for the future development in a decree published in 1942, to be compared with about a hundred towns in “Schedule B”.¹²⁰ The role of the Italian new city did not change except that the segregation policy was completely abandoned. The new administrative buildings were reused by the Ethiopian government and militaries.

This city had special implication not only from the viewpoint of commerce and trade, but also in a politico-psychological sense as the native city of the emperor. Therefore, the first task to be accomplished was the recovery of monuments, which were demolished or damaged by the Italians: the reconstruction of Selassie Church on the west side of the old town. This church had been demolished in order to establish Italian new town adjacent to the old town. The new Selassie Church was finally reconstructed on its original site replacing the courthouse and adjacent commercial buildings.

It was only in the 1960's that major building activity was accelerated. The central government had already noticed the necessity of planning regulation for the future development of urbanized zones. The spontaneous expansion based on the colonial land use plan seemed apparently unnatural. This is the reason why the central government launched an international competition for master planning of Ethiopian major cities in 1966. The elaboration of a new master plan for Harar corresponds to this national attitude for the quest of new urban planning policy. The planner who won this competition was an Italian

¹²⁰ Decree No. 1 of 1941 prescribed the creation of municipalities with appointed councils under the control of the Ministry of the Interior. Six cities including Dire Dawa and Harar were chosen as the "Schedule A" with high priority

architecture studio, called Studio BDS.¹²¹ Although there had to make master plans of 18 municipalities in three years, that of Harar and Gondar was exceptionally important. Their works were comparatively fast as the new plan was accomplished in the next year.

The idea of Studio BDS was very clear [Fig. 1-78], [Fig. 1-79], [Fig. 1-80], [Fig. 1-81]. The core of the urban fabrics was designated to the combination of two existing districts: the walled city of Harar *Jugol*, and a new administrative and commercial center, former Italian new town. Centering this nucleus, gradual expansion of the city was carefully programmed. The notion of historical city was highly respected so that no heavy intervention toward the walled city was intended. Juxtaposition of two squares, one in the walled city (*Faras Megala*), another in the new town, made the connection of straight axis, from which smaller streets were differentiated depending on the topography and designated land use. Density was well regulated: high density was to be maintained in the walled city while the center was properly articulated by well-established modern buildings. In the surrounding areas, smooth and loose housing units in airy atmosphere. The planner tried to avoid the rigid and authoritarian feature imposed by the colonial government. In the development zone, housing estates were distributed with the introduction of European modern planning vocabulary such as roundabout, cul-de-sac, setback, and courtyard. The buffer zone around the walled city was well determined.¹²²

This master plan is very modest and coincides with the international tendency for the well balanced human settlement theory, but the idea of new residential zones was too radical and sophisticated among the locals who were not given the minimum level of income. The local government was not rich enough to invest for the required infrastructure and social facilities. Only a few facilities were realized in reality. Prior to this master plan, the Emperor Haile Sellasie I inaugurated, in August 1966, a new school designated for 500 children of soldiers who had lost their lives in defense of Ogaden. In the same month he visited a newly constructed church dedicated to his father, *Ras Makonnen*. The old Makonnen Palace, where *Ras* lived while he was governor of Harar, was then used as a retreat for the staff of the Haile Selassie I University in Addis Ababa. However, no further initiative was taken to implement the requirement of the master plan. Still, the extent of the urbanization resulted by the new road and street system coincided to the future prospect of the master plan supported by the fact that the growth ratio was very slow. Until the publication of a new master plan in 1998, this plan of 1967 was well kept and utilized.¹²³

In the *Derg* period a new master plan of Harar was launched by the Ministry of Urban Development and Housing in order to correct several factors relating the new socialist policy of the central government, but no implementation was done because of the incompleteness of the plan. The plan neglected the topography and no detailed plan was prepared.¹²⁴

¹²¹ Studio BDS (Barucci Di Gaddo Sacco) was formed between 1966 and 1969 by three Italian architects: Pietro Barucci (1927-), Beata Di Gaddo (1921-), and Ugo Sacco. Inspired by the idea of organic historical cities along the Mediterranean Sea, they published a series of town planning and vernacular type housing both in Italy and Maghreb countries. After the winning of the International Competition for the master planning of Ethiopian Cities, they were commissioned 18 major cities in Ethiopia in three years.

¹²² Pietro Barucci, "Progetti et Opere dell'Architetto Pietro Barucci", Edizione fuori commercio, 2008, volume secondo-progetti urbanistici

¹²³ National Urban Planning Institute, "Report on Development Plan of Harar Town", February 1998, Addis Ababa, pp.120-121

¹²⁴ *ibid*, pp.121-122

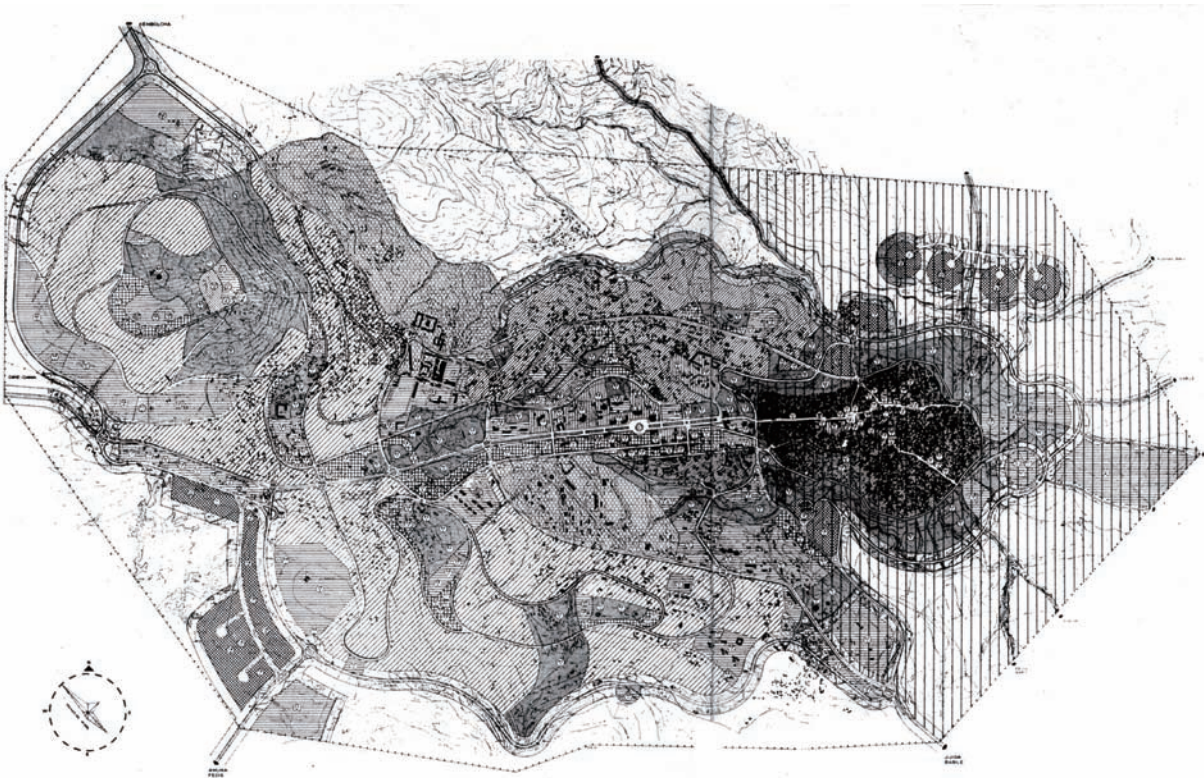


Fig. 1-78 Master plan of Harar, by Studio BDS, 1967

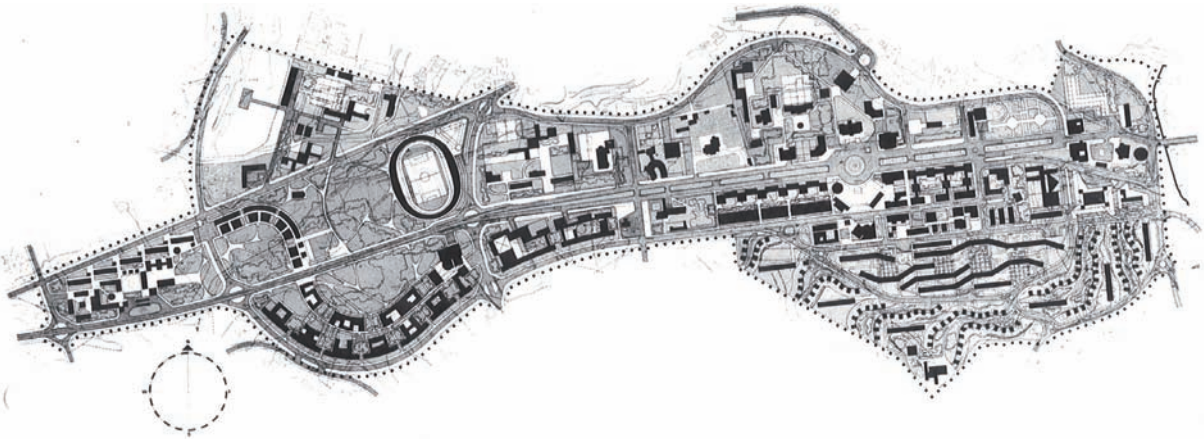


Fig. 1-79 Master plan of Harar, detail plan for the center, by Studio BDS, 1967



Fig. 1-80 Master plan of Harar, detail plan of the market, by Studio BDS, 1967

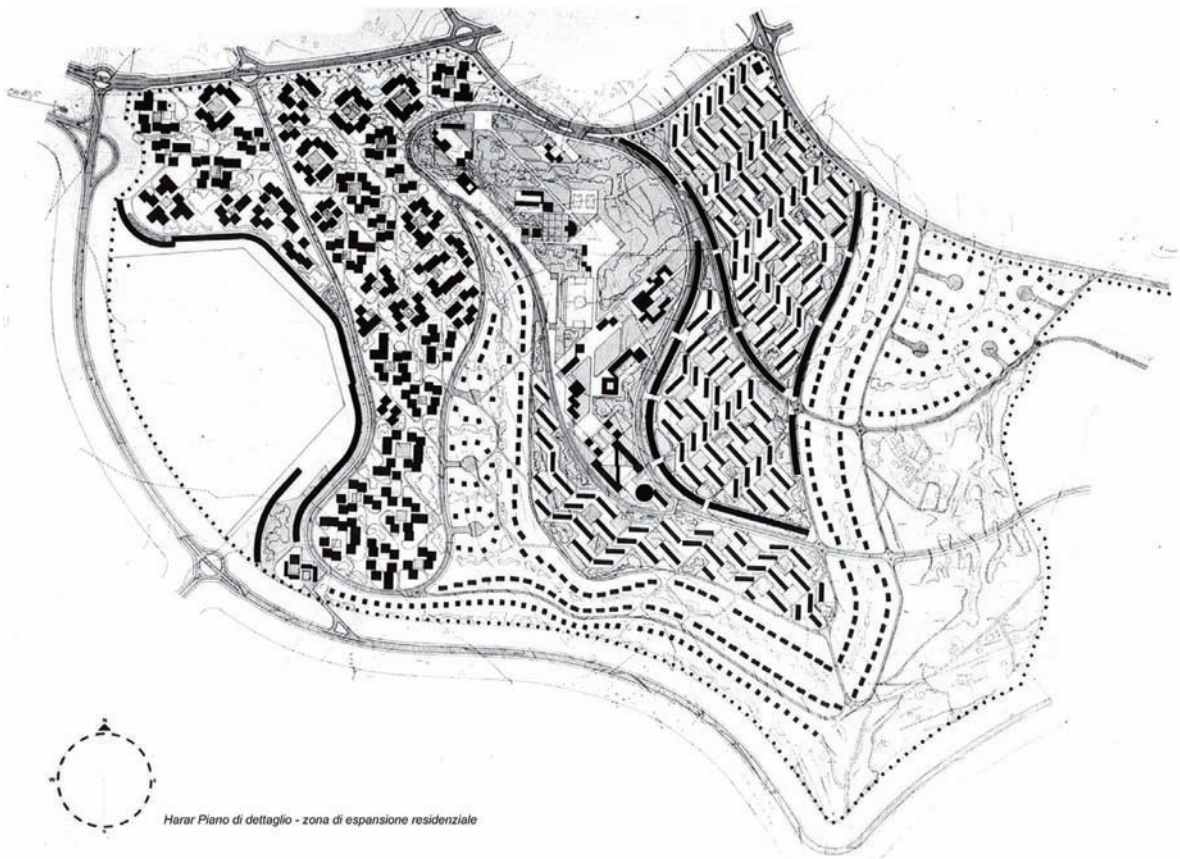


Fig. 1-81 Master plan of Harar, detail plan of the expansion zone for residential use, by Studio BDS, 1967

(6) Conservation Policy in the *Derg* Period

Parallel to the master planning, the conservation policy was studied by foreign and Ethiopian experts. Both Haile Sellasie I and the *Derg* made use of Ethiopian cultural heritage as the front page of this country to attract international attention. UNESCO and ICOMOS dispatched special mission to make research on this subject. The first overall intervention by UNESCO vis-à-vis Harar *Jugol* was the master plan for the preservation drafted by a Danish architect, Flemming Aalund, in 1985. The UNESCO report entitled “Master Plan for the Preservation and Presentation of Cultural Heritage” was the result of the visit of this architect between 1984 and 1985 for the purpose of complete survey of world famous Ethiopian heritages upon the request of the Ethiopian government.¹²⁵ This architect clearly conveys the images of Harar *Jugol* after the implementation of socialist urban policy. Just outside of the walled city new low-cost housing schemes were being developed to the south and gave him worries about the landscape. Within the wall, the nationalization of surplus houses had exerted tremendous influence on the housing conditions: among 5,552 houses registered, only 1,704 (or roughly 30%) were still privately owned. The remaining 3,948 (or approximately 70%) were owned and administered by the public sector which charges very low rents (20 to 50% less than the previous owners).¹²⁶ Albeit opportunity balances for housing, its maintenance was seriously menaced by this phenomenon. Strong intervention of the government, both central and local, was needed. Since the legislative measure of Ethiopian cultural property was judged insufficient to realize the idea of Venice Charter, the consideration about the area conservation was recommended to be introduced.

On the basis of this report, the Ethiopian Government signed with UNESCO “Agreement between the Government of Ethiopia and UNESCO, Conservation of the Historical Town of Harar” in 1987. Both CRCCH (Center for Research and Conservation of Cultural Heritage) and the local government admitted the need for new integral development plan. Fritz Stuber¹²⁷, Swiss urban planner, was invited to intensify the conservation policy of Harar *Jugol* in 1987 and 1988. His report “Master Plan for the Safeguarding of the Historical Town of Harar” was rather a recommendation accompanied by the description of the status quo of the walled city.¹²⁸ Physical conditions of buildings and open spaces were carefully studied and prescribed, but the planner face with the problem of the social restraints caused by the poor living conditions and the lack of capacity for conservation, so that he was obliged to reserve various unseen factors, mostly related to socio-economical background, for future. Accordingly, this master plan was not a regulatory plan with each detailed plan and designated elements, but envisioned to transfer its directive to the local experts who were expected to be trained in cooperation with competent international institutions. The Ethiopian side also submitted a report appealing on the role of the state for the conservation

¹²⁵ Flemming Aalund, “Master Plan for the Preservation and Presentation of Cultural Heritage”, United Nation Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, Paris, 1985

¹²⁶ Before the nationalization of the surplus properties, official statistics says that there were 3,370 owned, 7,440 rented, and 1,190 unspecified dwellings in 1965. The number of privately owned houses have doubled in 1984.

¹²⁷ Fritz Stuber (1939-) is a Swiss urban planner, practicing urban design and conservation in various places in the world. His idea on collective space in historical urban context has been widely shared and appreciated in the expertise of conservation planning.

¹²⁸ Fritz Stuber, “Ethiopia - Master Plan for the Safeguarding of the Historical Town of Harar”, United Nation Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, Paris, 1989. The survey was carried out by the funding of UNDP and in cooperation with CRCCH under Ministry of Culture and Sports Affairs in Addis Ababa.

of Harar.¹²⁹ After two years from the publication by UNESCO, the *Derg* regime was overthrown by the revolutionary forces and the conservation plan was to be postponed.

(7) New Development Plan of 1998

The population growth of Harar between the 1930's and 1970's was slow: 43,000 (1938) and 49,000 (1975). Taking into consideration that more than 30,000 lived within the walled city, the expansion toward the suburban areas was comparatively small. However, the immigration of Oromo people accelerated its speed after the end of 1970's. In fact after the collapse of the *Derg* Government, it was proved to be 76,400 (1994). The sudden growth of regional hub cities was not a phenomenon exclusively seen in Harar, but all over Ethiopia. The fall of the socialist regime favored the movement of people, especially the immigration of rural population to urbanized zones. This caused the enlargement of low-income residential zone. Increase of unqualified houses and huts forced each municipality to revise the preceding master plan which did not fit any more to the pressure of the present sprawl and expansion of built-up areas. Such was the case in Harar. It was NUPI that was commissioned to undergo general surveys and to make a new master plan.¹³⁰

The original plan and its description are currently preserved in FUPCB (Federal Urban Planning Coordinating Bureau, former NUPI) in the form of blue prints [Fig. 1-82], [Fig. 1-83]. The original master plan of 1967 seems to have been lost anywhere in Ethiopia, so that the officials are obliged to refer to the "existing plan" attached to the new development plan of 1998 in order to understand the preceding planning documents.¹³¹

The basic urban problems were described as overcrowded situation in the walled city and the lack of proper planning for the future urban development in request to the present necessity. Still the basic scheme of the 1967 master plan, which define the urban core by combining the walled city and the former Italian district. The new development plan envisions the creation of approximately 10,000 housing units in the suburban areas and the improvement of commercial facilities by relocating unhygienic gultit open-air markets to proper places. Improvement of roads and streets as well as water supply was urgent task to be implemented at the first stage.

The planners of this development plan understood the historical value of the Harar *Jugol*, but their attitude was still ambiguous. The existence of heritage is thought self-evident, but the details were not touched and prescribed. The urban problems there are, for instance, overcrowded buildings and residents, improper additional houses by immigrants, narrow streets which cause inaccessibility by vehicle and so on. Therefore, the proposed interventions were very limited: improvement of circulation by adding several collector streets (CS) and squares and clearance of improper houses. Overall intervention from

¹²⁹ For instance, Woredekal Solomon, "The preservation problems of Harar City", ICOMOS 8th General Assembly and International Symposium <Old Cultures in New Worlds>, Washington, D.C., Oct. 10-15, 1987, Symposium Papers, Vol. 2

¹³⁰ National Urban Planning Institute, "Report on Development Plan of Harar Town", February 1998, Addis Ababa, pp.120-121

¹³¹ Generally speaking, the documentation system of urban planning has been neglected in most of the municipalities of Ethiopia. Due to the change of the regime as well as the planning staff, even the blue prints have been scattered and lost. Keio University team, for instance, suffered a lot from the loss of preceding documents when then were engaged in the revision of the master plan of Gondar City. In the course of this research certain documents have been found in Europe and in Japan when experts who were commissioned to collaborate with Ethiopians in the 1960's and 1970's are still active. The BDS documents (master plan of 1967) were found in such a situation.

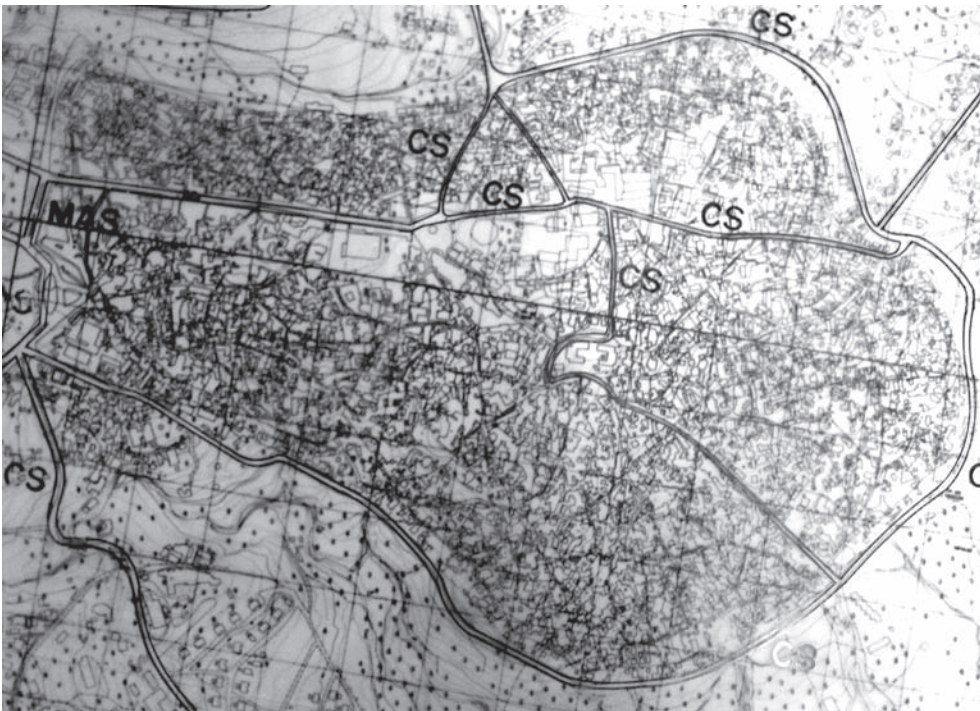


Fig. 1-82 Development Plan of Harar, Existing (*Harar Jugol*), by NUPI, 1998

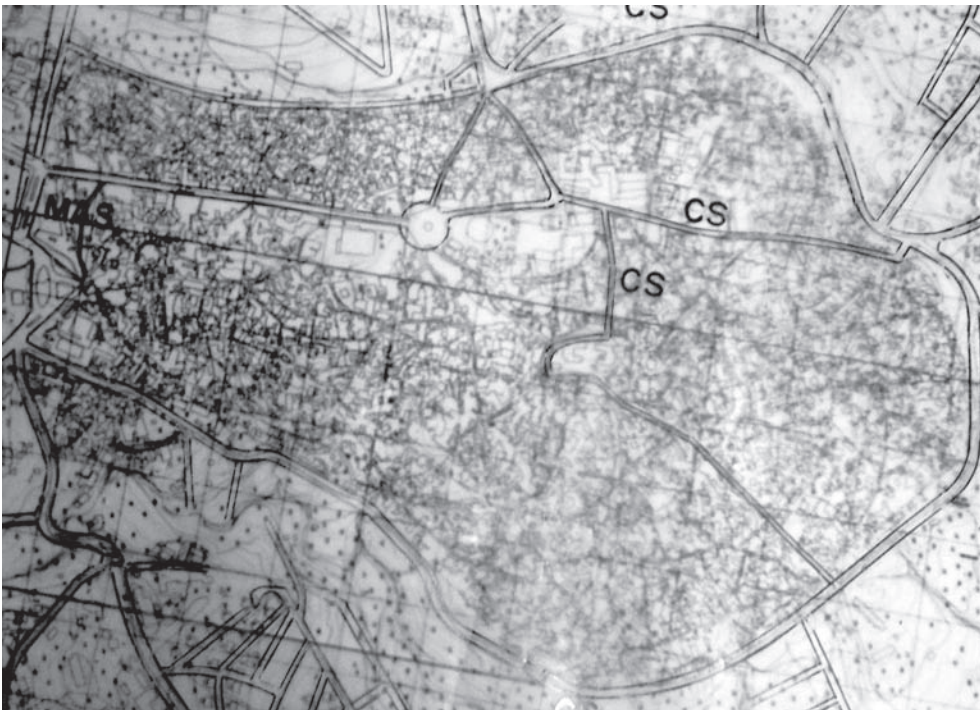


Fig. 1-83 Development Plan of Harar, Proposal (*Harar Jugol*), by NUPI, 1998

the viewpoint of heritage conservation was not referred to. The priority was laid on the development of the new towns including sub centers in suburban areas. The relation between CRCCH and the urban planning section of Harar municipality was not always good as a matter of fact. The former kept its attention only to single historical monuments such as “Rimbaud House” and *Dejazamach* Tafari House and dared not enlarge their vision

to urban entity as historical environment as practiced in Europe and in Japan.¹³² The reality of housing condition in historical districts was beyond their interest.

(8) Integration of Conservation Policy and Urban Planning in the 2000's

The reason why the registration of Harar as UNESCO World Cultural Heritage was delayed in comparison with other historical cities such as Gondar and Aksum derived from the above-mentioned background. It is only in 2006 when this city was acknowledged as a UNESCO World Heritage City.¹³³ The notion of area conservation and buffer zone around the walled city was introduced for the planning of the city.

In the early 2000's, the demand of new development plan was revealed as the internal and external pressures relating the urban situation was all the more strengthened. FUPI, then reorganized from NUPI, was in charge. Habtamu Ashenafi, demographer, headed the team as project coordinator. The national trend for master planning was then inclined toward strategic plan, rather than static regulation plan. They applied this methodology for Harar. Based on the overall survey by the experts of different fields, such as history, urban planning, regional planning, environment, economy, demography, transportation, geography, geology, and GIS. The use of GIS enabled the dynamic analysis of different fields linked each other and easy communication among the experts. After a few years' survey and integration, the new plan was published by Federal Urban Planning Coordinating Bureau¹³⁴ in 2008 as "Harar Integrated Development Plan Project" in three volumes [Fig. 1-84], [Fig. 1-85].¹³⁵

The perception of historical districts was much more advanced than the development plan of 1998. Acknowledging the international value of Harar *Jugol* as incomparable heritage, the planners referred to its reality, saying that it suffers a serious shortage of services as well as living quarters, that people try to get a better living condition at the expense of the heritage by constructing illegal extensions of buildings and services, that most of the buildings, which have historical and cultural importance, are neglected and left for their fate: some are rented to individuals (one of them, the Teferi house, houses more than 36 individuals): some are totally abandoned and ruined and so forth. As a matter of fact, the housing condition was still serious. According to the 1994 population and housing census results, there were 17,445 housing units for 18,102 households in Harar City, which gave an

¹³² Due to the limited financial source, CRCCH took the choice for collaboration with foreign partners when they tried to launch a project of restoration and conservation. Jara Haile Mariam, Tardier Lain "Conservation of the House of RIMBAUD – Project Document", CRCCH, Ministry of Culture and Sport Affairs, 1991

¹³³ On April 12 of the next year 2007, an international conference was organized in Tokyo hosted by Keio University, by inviting the mayors of Harar (Zeydan Bekri, then bureau head of Culture and Tourism of Harar Regional State), Gondar (Abayne Layew) as well as the chairman of CRCCH (Jara Hailemariam) to celebrate this event and raise wider discussion on the international level.

¹³⁴ Federal Urban Planning Coordinating Bureau (FUPCB) was established in 2008. Its original body was born as the planning bureau for the master planning of Addis Ababa, then reorganized in the form of national institute (NUPI=National Urban Planning Institute) under the Ministry of Public Works and Urban Development in 1986-87. After the structural adjustment of the central government body to the federal government, NUPI became a sole and autonomous institution for planning in 1993. When the Ministry of Federal Affairs was established in 2001, its function was to be subordinate to this new ministry. In 2005, it was renamed FUPI (Federal Urban Planning Institute), then after 3 years it has become the present institutional body.

¹³⁵ The report is entitled "Harar Integrated Development Plan Project", published in May 2008 in Harar. This consists of 5 different phases: Analysis phase, Strategy phase, Project phase, Integration phase and Monitoring and Evaluation phase.

average household size close to 4.2.¹³⁶ There were more than 5,000 informal housing units in the city. The master plan suggested the necessity for the provision of 16,000 housing units within a decade. Therefore, from the strategic point of view, the heritage protection system should be improved so as to cover and care 100% by 2011. The tasks would be (1) Restoration and conservation of the heritages, (2) Reducing the over crowdedness through resettlement outside the wall, (3) Securing a buffer zone around the wall, and (4) Enacting stronger regulations to protect the heritage.¹³⁷ In relation to housing, it was needed to fulfill 75 % of the existing and future demand for housing until 2011. This master plan was the first to mention the strategic idea vis-à-vis the reality of the historical quarters and set up action plans in the long history of master planning of Harar *Jugol*.

In the meantime, the contribution by foreign experts should be underlined. Above all, the French research team represented by Philippe Revault and Serge Santelli is outstanding, as the connection between this city and France has continued since the second half of the 19th century. Their field survey on the walled city in the early 2000's brought many findings as well as precise analysis on the actuality of the historical quarter.¹³⁸ Their architectural background enabled measurement of important local houses called *ge gar* and Muslim shrines. After the analysis on the historical and cultural feature of the city and buildings, they organized a series of workshops with the students of *l'Ecole d'architecture de Paris-Belleville* until 2008 [Fig. 1-86], [Fig. 1-87].

Their approach by way of field research and joint workshop with local staff is very effective that sufficient information about the built environment and the living condition of local inhabitants as well as potential stakeholders have been carefully abstracted. This led to the special attention to the deteriorated area within the historical complex. During the workshop they selected *Badro Bari* Quarter on the southern slope of the walled city, which has been pointed out as sensitive area because of its poor and miserable living conditions. In the drawings of the late 19th century, this area was covered by thatched roof round shape buildings, completely different from traditional *ge gar* type Harari buildings. The preceding survey by the French team in 2002 gave the precise distribution of different housing types, which distinguished the different living condition by housing type. *Badro Bari* Quarter, one of the five quarters in the walled city is the very place where low-income people depending on informal economy gather in poor housing condition. The municipality and the regional state have been depending on the French team for collecting data on housing conditions. In this sense, the workshop of 2008 is significant as the student group proposed the rehabilitation of this quarter based on the realistic data and analysis.

¹³⁶ Ministry of Works and Urban Development, Federal Urban Planning Coordination Bureau, "Harar Integrated Development Plan Project, Volume 1, Report on the Analysis and Strategy Phases", May 2008, Harar, pp.87-88

¹³⁷ *ibid.* p.207

¹³⁸ Philippe Revault et Serge Santelli ed., *op. cit.*

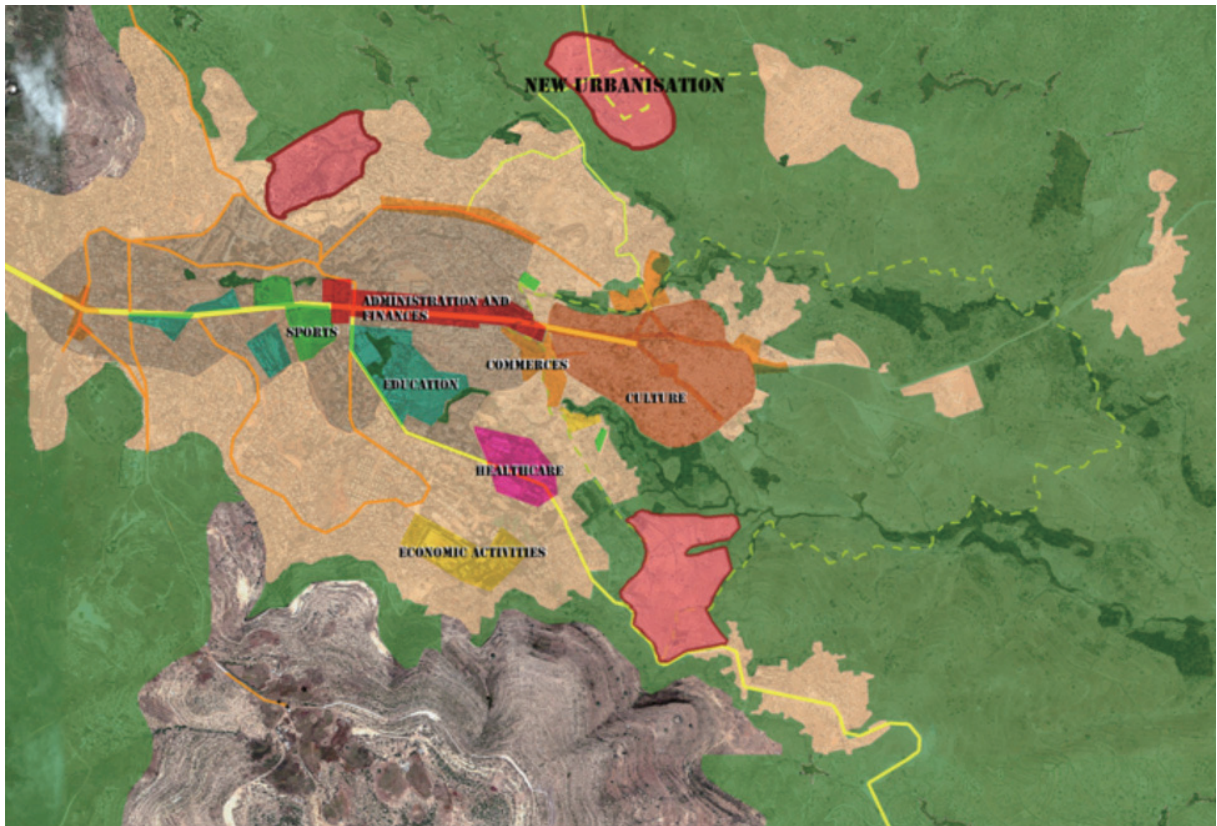


Fig. 1-84 Proposal for urban development and zoning for Harar City, by the team of *l'Ecole d'architecture de Paris-Belleville*, 2008

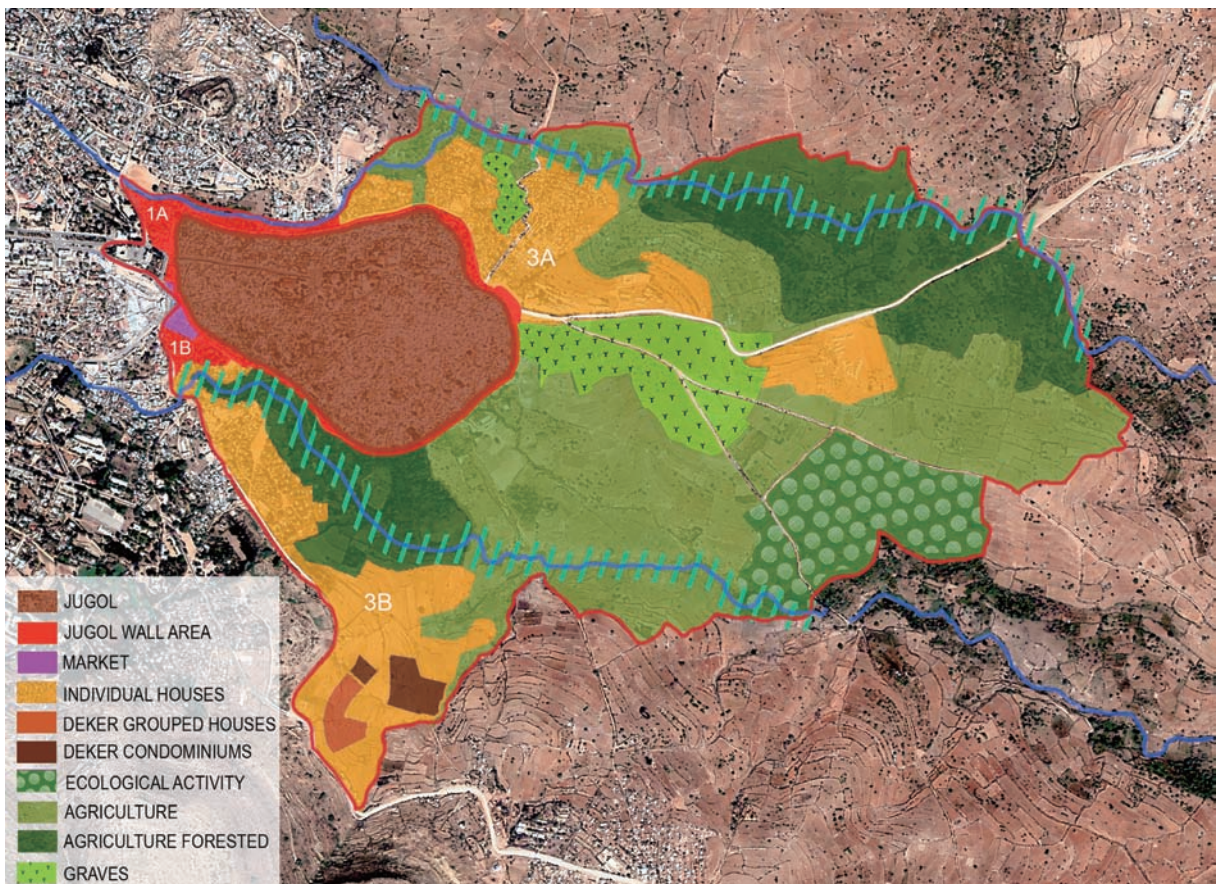


Fig. 1-85 Proposal for urban development and zoning around Jugol, by the team of *l'Ecole d'architecture de Paris-Belleville*, 2008

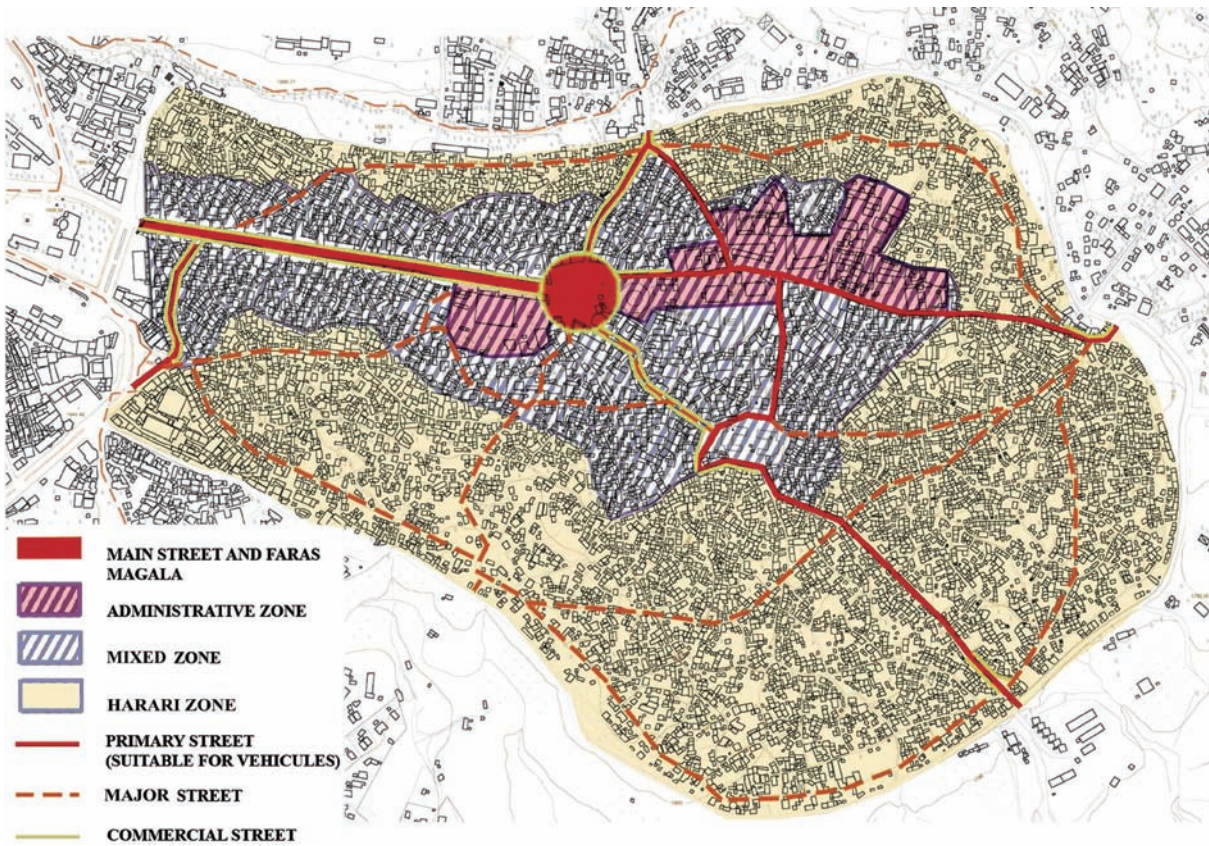


Fig. 1-86 Urban Regulation Map of Harar Jugol, by Philippe Revaul and Serge Santelli

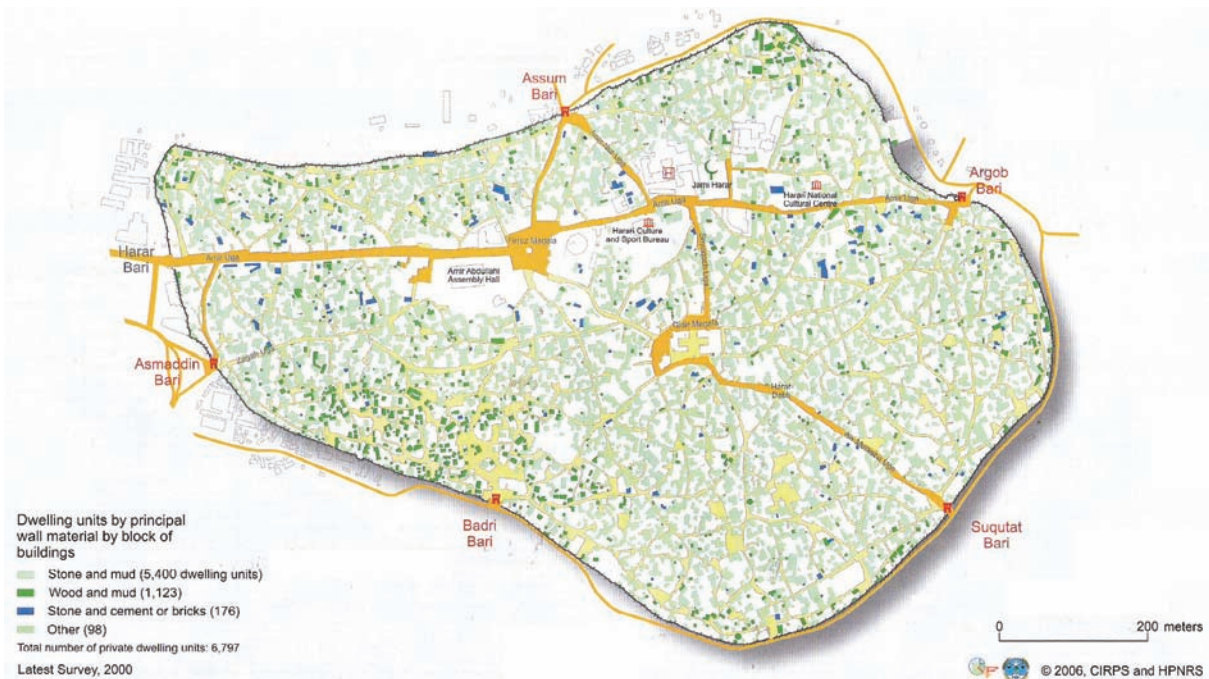


Fig. 1-87 Urban Regulation Map of Harar Jugol, by Philippe Revaul and Serge Santelli

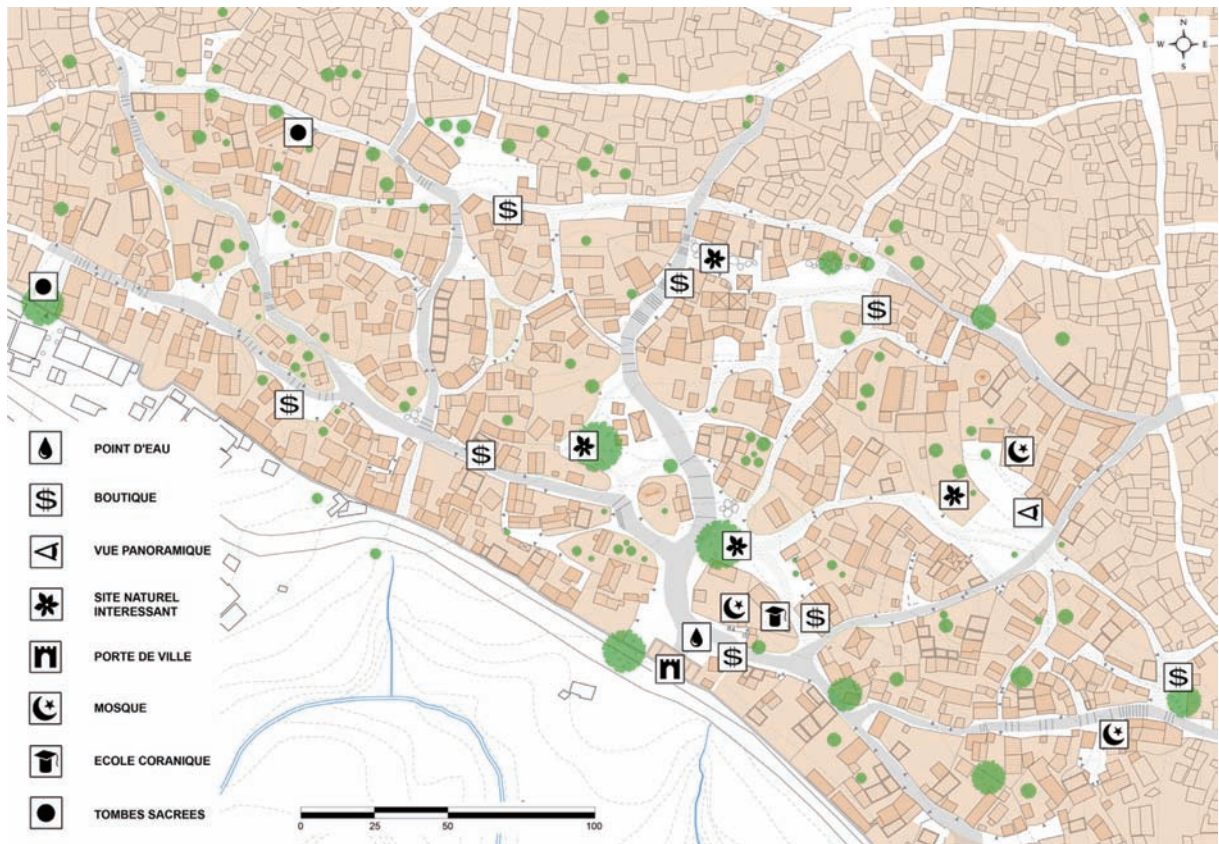


Fig. 1-88 Actual Situation of Badri Bari Quarter, by the team of l'Ecole d'architecture de Paris-Belleville, 2008

3-3. Red Sea Trading Ports and Other Trading Cities

3-3-1. Route to/from Ethiopia



Fig. 1-89 Trading routes connecting the Ethiopian highland and the Red Sea coastal area

Since ancient times, the routes connecting the Ethiopian highland and the Red Sea have played crucial roles to supply import goods and materials like textile, metals and other precious goods. From the 18th century, industrial products from Europe, including guns and arms, as well as raw materials from India and even China passed these routes before the construction of the railway. Ethiopia have also provided numerous items such as gold, ivory, slaves and corn. Accordingly port cities could be considered as the gates of Ethiopia even though they were not situated within the boundary of Ethiopia.

Three ports are especially important: Suakin, Massawa and Zeila. Before the construction of Djibouti, which was to become the terminal for the railway to Dire Dawa and Addis Ababa, these three ports were well linked with Ethiopia. Suakin is located in Sudan. Connected to several places in Sudan by caravan, this port had special relation with Sennar, once capital of Sennar Sultanate and the starting point to travel up to Gondar. Massawa is currently situated on the coastal line of Eritrea. The route from Massawa to Adwa was the frequently used until the establishment of Addis Ababa in Shewa. On the contrary, Zeila was a port connecting to Harar. The route from Harar to Duqaqit and Ankobar, both capitals of Shewa Kingdom, was another option to penetrate within the highland.¹³⁹ As soon as Emperor Menelik II established Entoto and, then, Addis Ababa, the role of this route became decisive.

In this chapter, the author will discuss about the subject of trading cities, referring to the above-mentioned four cities along the coast and inland.

¹³⁹ Ahmed Hassen Omer, "Some Notes on Harar and the Local Trade Route: on the View of Ex-Merchants of Shäwa (1839-1935)", *Annale d'Ethiopie*, vol.XVII, 2001, pp.135-147

3-3-2. Suakin

Ottoman Suakin was a newly planned city over the old fabric of a small Christian town of Beja people who converted into Islam during the 13th century [Fig. 1-90]. The city, consisting of an island and a part of the mainland, enjoyed the ideal position for receiving dhows and even European caravels as it is situated in the depth of an inner bay [Fig. 1-91]. The mainland built-up zone was surrounded by the fortification conceived by a British military engineer towards the end of the 19th century. Within the surface of 40 ha, approximately 600 houses were concentrated in the most flourishing period. The most outstanding building in the early time used to be *Pasha's* residence occupying the center of the island. However, the fame was replaced by a mosque deriving from a mausoleum of a Sufi saint belonging to Marghani Order, whose widow Sharifa Miryam, inheriting the status of its representative, constructed a wonderful mansion in front of the mosque.

Contrary to the mainland part, the island city is characterized by radial street layout. The houses, trading and residential, were occupied by traders and merchants from Turkey, Egypt, Arabia, Ethiopia and even Italy. Shops are allocated on the ground floor of these houses. Besides the residences, buildings of caravanserai (*wakana*) and custom office, both completed at the end of the 19th century, stood out as special facilities for trading purpose while praying rooms (*zawia*) and other smaller popular facilities were scattered within the urban fabrics. The city is connected with two main caravan routes: one to Berber and even to Dongloa westward, another to Sennar through southwest regions. One caravan consisted of 500-1000 camels at the same time, carrying cotton, spices, perfumes, silk, rice, sugar, and flour for outbound, and coffee, ostrich feathers, senna, sesame, gum, hides, animal flat and ivory for inbound.

UNESCO report of 1972 ironically suggested that the prosperity of Suakin was supported by exports of slaves and ivory to explain the rapid decline of this port city.¹⁴⁰ However, recent research on the complicated political and economic issues in the 19th century Sudan revealed that the internal political turmoil represented by Mahdist movement and epidemics in the following period weekend the trade and commerce of these regions to a great extent and did not allow external trade with foreign countries.¹⁴¹ Religious rivalry between Marghaniyya, based in Suakin, and Mahdi sects exerted tremendous influence on Suakin's situation. Although slave trade of Suakin occupied a comparatively larger portion of its economy, it was not such a problem as in Zanzibar that was considered as the main center of slave trade until the beginning of the 20th century.

3-3-3. Massawa

Massawa started its history after the decline of Adulis in its vicinity. Before the arrival of Ottoman troop, this coastal city made the most of its unique position as the port for the Eritrean local kingdoms. Situated on an archipelago off Mokullu, Massawa consisted of a few islands and the mainland although the old town is situated on Batse (Massawa) Island. Henry Salt, British traveler, artist and collector of antiquities, visited Massawa in 1810 and

¹⁴⁰ E.K. Hansen, "Preservation of Suakin", UNESCO, Paris, October-November 1972, p.2, Slave Market of Suakin was closed in 1870 definitively and caused the rapid decline of this port.

¹⁴¹ Gundrun Dahl, Anders Hjort-Af-Ornas, "Precolonial Beja: A Periphery at the Crossroad", in *Nordic Journal of African Studies*, 15(4), 2006, pp.473-498



Fig. 1-90 Suakin in 1930s



Fig. 1-91 Caravanserai of Suakin, 1930s



Fig. 1-94 Massawa in 1833, Letters of Sir Roger Hamley" vol.1, Letter 241, 1833

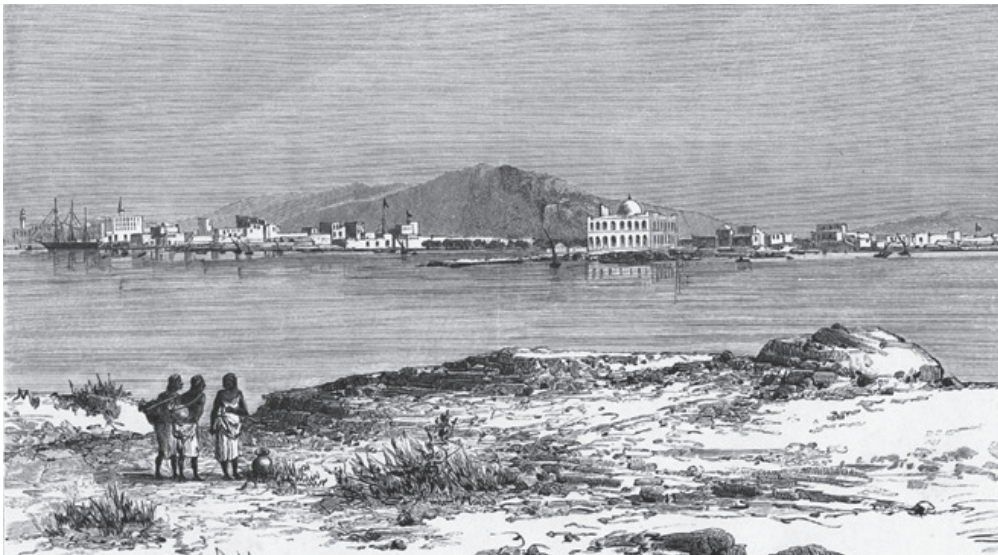


Fig. 1-92 Massawa in 1885



Fig. 1-93 Massawa in 1930s



Fig. 1-95 Zeila in the late 19th century

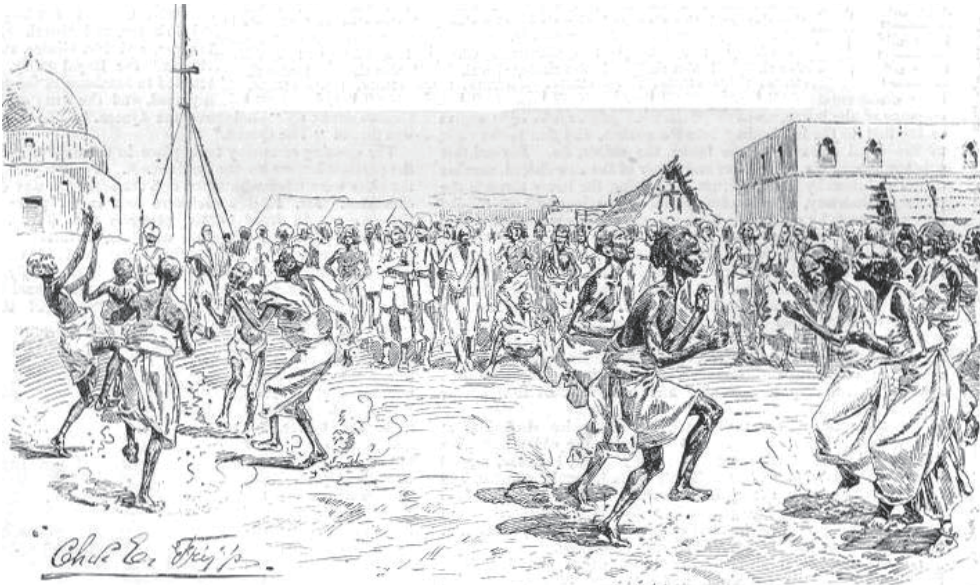


Fig. 1-96 Zeila in 1887, "Zeila and its People", *The Graphic*, May 7, 1887



Fig. 1-97 Zeila in 1940

reported that Massawa was a peaceful city with the population of 2,500 people and that import consists of mainly cotton from Muscat and Bombay while exports consists of gold, ivory, slaves and corn from Ethiopia.¹⁴² In addition he identified 4 mosques, constructed in a plain style, and a few stone houses, most of which were then ruined. Majority of people lived in huts with thatched roof.

Sir Roger Hamley, a British scientific traveler who passed Massawa in 1833, described the townscape as “a most long & low picture” because “even the domes & minarets of the grand old mosques struggle to lift their venerable heads above the mean thatched huts that straggle over half the coast and in places even stretch into the sea upon stilts”¹⁴³. Situated along a hot and dry coast of the Red Sea, the islanders depended the water supply from the mainland by water traders who brought water to the cistern in the middle of the island.

The Ottoman Empire appointed naib, deputy of *pasha*, to the local Balaw family,¹⁴⁴ but Egyptians who took over this place in 1865 dispatched governor (*pasha*) whose residence used to occupy the center of the old town in parallel to the mosque before Wener Muntzinger, Swiss business man but appointed as *Pasha*, constructed a new palace on Taulud Island. Muntzinger conceived a series of construction projects with innovative mind, including causeways which connect the mainland and the two islands. An engraving of the late 19th century is very helpful to understand the situation that period [Fig. 1-92]. Contrary to the description by Henry Salt, the old city was built-up by masonry buildings with several storey. As a gated town, the city comprised a number of trading and residential houses for Turks, Egyptians, Arabs, Ethiopians, Eritreans, Beja, Greeks, Italians and etc [Fig. 1-93]. The urban structure of that period is still well maintained although other part of the city on different islands and the mainland were considerably transformed by rapid development or seriously damaged by war.

3-3-4. Zeila

Zeila, situated near present Djibouti, is a very old port city since ancient times. Its geographical condition with sand bank off shore formed a natural seaport between the bank and the beach. Once a stronghold of Ethiopia, it became the capital of Adal Sultanate, flourishing thanks to the trade of incense, myrrh, gold and above all, slaves. This port was closely related to Arabian Peninsula and once ruled by Mocha, a port city on Yemenite side. It was at the beginning of the 19th century when the Ottoman Empire gained the domination of this region and expanded its force toward.

Zeila used to be the port of Harar because of its vicinity. When Arthur Rimbaud, French poet who became a trader after he had abandoned his poet career, visited this port in 1880, he described that the city is the agglomeration of sailors, merchants and nomads, counting approximately 140 masonry houses and 450 thatched roof houses.¹⁴⁵ 15 days were necessary to travel to Harar by caravan. Two decades before, the ruling power of this city had been

¹⁴² Henry Salt, “Voyage to Abyssinia and Travels into the Interior of the Country, executed under the Orders of British Government, in the Years 1809 and 1810”, Carey, Philadelphia, and Wells & Lilly, Boston, 1819, pp.449-450

¹⁴³ “Letters of Sir Roger Hamley” vol.1, Letter 241, 1833

¹⁴⁴ Jonathan Miran, “Red Sea Citizen: Cosmopolitan Society and Cultural Change in Massawa”, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 2009, p.38

¹⁴⁵ “Lettre, Harare, 12 novembre, 1880” in Arthur Rimbaud ‘Lettres du Harare’, Mille et une nuits, Paris, 2001



Fig. 1-100 Sennar in 1837, by Joseph von Russegger



Fig. 1-98 Sennar in 1826, Guiseppe Ferraro



Fig. 1-99 Sennar in 1826 by Guiseppe Ferraro

replaced to Egyptians.

A drawing of this city from this period is left although the date is unknown [Fig. 1-95]. This explains the juxtaposition of permanent coral block buildings and nomad's tents. A few sketches on the life in the 19th century Zeila, published in a British weekly newspaper, provide concrete images of its townscape [Fig. 1-95].¹⁴⁶ Currently a certain number of old structures such as mosques, governor's house, and market could be recognized as the remains of that period although the city has suffered from fierce economic decline as well as damages by civil war.

¹⁴⁶ A few sketches of the people in Zeila drawn by a British officer, lieutenant Pritchard, were published in *The Graphics*, May 7, 1887. The buildings drawn (mausoleum) is still existing, but seriously damaged by the civil war.

3-3-5. Sennar

Sennar was a capital of Sennar Sultanate established alongside the Blue Nile from the 16th to the 19th centuries. This period corresponds to the Ottoman reign in the coastal area and Gondarite Dynasty in Ethiopia. Its prosperity was supported by the existence of such stabilized powers, which enabled active trade activity by using caravan routes from/to Sennar and assured free passage over them. Although this capital was completely ruined after the arrival of Egyptian authority by Mohammad Ali in 1821, the townscape could be reconstructed by way of the report and pictures by European travelers. Charles-James Poncet, French physician, travelled across Sennar on the way to Gondar, in 1699 and made a precise report on various aspects of the city.¹⁴⁷ He arrived at Sennar with the caravan passing along the Nile from Egypt. Although he might have been shocked by the improper and insanitary conditions of the city, the French doctor was all but satisfied with the palace of Sultan, which consisted of buildings made of sun-baked bricks and with apartments “richly adorned with large carpets after the manner of the Levant.” The commerce of the city was very active. Variety of merchandises was available in the main market place: ivory, gold, tobacco, brass, spices, Venetian glass, silk, cotton, papers and so on. Another market for slaves was open in front of the palace, selling men, women, boys and girls. Egyptians were the main buyers of slaves. Sennar was well connected with Suakin from which merchants sailed even to India via Mocha on the opposite coast of the Red Sea, taking two years for round trip.

Joseph von Russegger, Austrian mine engineer dispatched there for the survey of mineral resource in the 1830’s, visited Sennar in 1837 provided its visual images although the sultanate had collapsed already in front of the interference of Egyptians [Fig. 1-100]. The city stretched along the Blue Nile, comprising several important buildings such as Sultan’s residence, large and small mosques, a few market places as well as cemetery.¹⁴⁸ The drawings of Sultan’s residence and other buildings done by an Italian traveler on the same period clarify the architectural detail and building techniques [Fig. 1-98], [Fig. 1-99].¹⁴⁹ The five-story residence, partly ruined, comprises a vaulted banqueting room with mud brick masonry techniques while another masonry building, most probably a market place, shows the layout of rectangular and open courtyard type facility. These sultan’s facilities were not in use any more. Due to the construction of a canal along the Blue Nile, the site of this old capital has completely disappeared within the route of the canal.

3-3-6. Adwa

Adwa is also known as a large market place in Northern Tigray. Its location was important as the junction of two different routes: one to Gondar another to Tembien and Enderta districts in eastern Tigray. Henry Salt, passing by Adwa in 1810 stated its appearance as follows [Fig. 1-101].

“The town of Adowa is situated partly on the side, and partly on the

¹⁴⁷ J. Poncet, “A Journey to Abyssinia” in John Pinkerton, “Best and Most Interesting Voyages and Travels in all Parts of the World”, printed for Fongman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, Partner-Row and Cadell and Davies, in the Strand, London, 1814, pp. 68-72

¹⁴⁸ Josef von Russegger, “Reisen in Europa, Asien und Afrika, mit besonderer Beruecksichtigung auf die naturwissenschaftlichen Verhältnisse der betreffenden Länder, unternommen in den Jahren 1835 bis 1841”, Schweizerbart, Stuttgart, 1841-1849, 7 vol.

¹⁴⁹ Guiseppe Ferraro, “Veduta del Sennar della antica residenza del Re”, Firenze, 1826



Fig. 1-101 Adwa in 1810

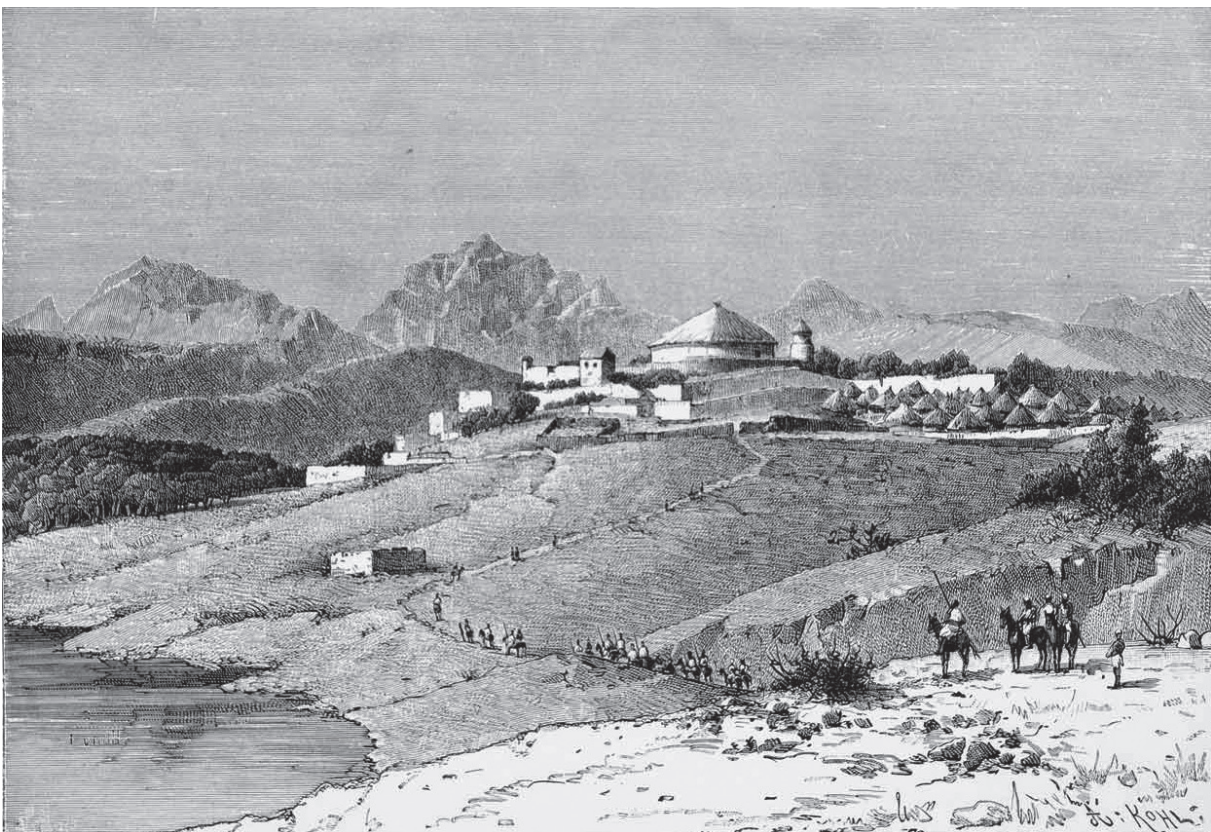


Fig. 1-102 Adwa in 1892

bottom of a hill, a circumstance very unusual in Abyssinia; and the houses, which are all of a conical form, are pretty regularly disposed into streets or allies interspersed with wazy trees and small gardens, some of which are cultivated with considerable care; the town itself being plentifully supplied with water from three streams, which take their course through the valley below. The number of residents in this place, may, on a general calculation, being supposed to contain ten inmates, would altogether amount to a sum probably falling short of the actual population. Adowa may be regarded as the chief mart for commerce on the eastern side of Tecazze.”

Salt added to say about the presence of “*biggest population of Muslim for trading and commerce, manufactory for coarse and fine clothe, already export and import through Massawa*” in this market city. His description is important because he referred even to the numbers of the houses, then provided a clue for counting the population more than 8,000. The housing typology is *tukul* (round house), resembling that of Aksum and other towns. The engraving in this publication explains that houses were dispersed on the slopes and the terraces of a hill although it is very difficult to grasp the general layout of the urban fabric. The question is when this type of very dispersed system became “urbanized”. So far it is difficult to reconstruct the commercial zone of this city despite its fame as trading city. Market and other dependent facilities must have been open-air like in many rural communities of contemporary Ethiopia [Fig. 1-102].

4. Conclusive Summary

Although the origin of Ethiopian cities is very old, deriving from Aksumite Kingdom, the foundation of present cities dates back to the 16th -17th centuries. Gondar is the first permanent residence-capital of the emperors and has provided the examples for court cities. The construction of a palace or a castle in the center is generally the starting point, then, the nobles' residences would gather around it. Basically the principle of establishing settlements and villages in Ethiopia is to allocate them in a certain distance with discontinuous buffers, but in the case of the capital or the court city, the close relation of the nobles and warriors made the enlarged zone of the military officials. In Gondar, the present central district was formulated gradually before the Italian invasion time. In Mekelle, the evolution of the city was rather swift and, thanks to the prosperity by trade, the population grew up so rapidly that the central zone, which used to be a kind of associated *hidmos* (rural house), became well-planned built-up blocks with rectangular street system.

Italian occupation exerted a considerable influence on the history of Ethiopian cities as the colonial government implemented the new city planning (*piano regolatore*) policy in major cities. The population growth by the immigration from rural areas pushed forward the expansion of these cities such as Mekelle and Gondar. New master planes by the imperial government after the 1960's transformed completely the urban pattern in the central areas. The central zones with historical remains were neglected by facing the pressure of new development. Some cities faced the problem of inner city. To understand the value of the historical cities, the reconstruction of the original feature of such historical cities is a key for the conservation policy.

Harar, on the other hand, is a Muslim city having a different origin and history from other Ethiopian cities. Its annexation to Ethiopia in 1887 transformed definitively its character and even life style. Still the inhabitants of Harar *Jugol*, walled city, keep its unique urban morphology and heritage in the form of a living environment. The planning process after the Italian occupation has been the same as other major cities in Ethiopia so that the comparison among the three historical cities is meaningful. Several original documents relating to the urban history and urban planning were found during the data collecting process. Reconstruction of their original feature, land use and morphology has enabled the reading the historical context and authentic feature of these cities.

In Ethiopia, the attention toward the historical value and the protective measures for heritage has started only in the 2000's although the national institute such as CRCCH carried out protection of single buildings such as old churches and places for a long time. Reading recent master plans realized in the 2000's for each city is crucial to understand the actuality and future direction of historical cities. They have adopted different strategic approach to advance the integrated planning of historical quarters. Attention to the deteriorated houses within the historical quarters is now apparent in each master plan. The analysis on such planning process on the basis of historical understanding of the city leads to the new findings on the interplay between built environment and people who reside there.

Chapter II

Shift of Land Management Policy

1. General View on Land Management in Ethiopia

1-1. Outline of Urban Land Management Policy

Ethiopia has experienced a peculiar process of land management. Sudden change from the feudal land distribution system to the radical state-ownership, which occurred in the course of the second half of the 20th century, is comparable to revolutionary measures in socialist countries such as Soviet Union and China. Until the 1960's land tenure and consequent land management stayed in the traditional feudal system without large change. Historians have repeatedly pointed out the monopoly of land by limited number of privileged such as aristocrats and clergies. It is said that less than 1 percent of the population owned more than 70 percent of the arable land, leaving well over a half of the rural population as tenants.¹ Others say that at least two-thirds and presumably four-fifths of the Ethiopian peasant farmers were tenants.² The lack of land measurement system during the imperial period does not allow to grasp the exact surface of land, whether it is monopolized or not, but it is true that this extremely skewed land holding system continued until the reign of Haile Selassie I in the 20th century.

On the other hand, the nationalization of land by the *Derg* government in 1975 caused overturn of this feudal land holding system, first of all, but violent exploitation of individuals' right at the same time. After the fall of the *Derg* regime, the new government tried to set up an alternative land management policy, which would correspond to the needs for democratized society which accepts free market for land transaction. A series of trials have led to the new land management policy at the end of the 2000's: Sustainable Land Management Program (SLIMP). The goal of this program is, first of all, to improve the livelihood of land users from the ecological viewpoint and to ensure sustainable land management, supported by the international community. Harsh geological and climate conditions as well as skewed land management system have prevented the agricultural productivity for the sake of farmers, but the recent approach is based on more international notion of sustainability, pushing forward the best management practices in sustainable land management practices and technologies for smallholder farmers, ensuring vulnerability for land degradation and food insecurity. Reform of land management is the key for these issues. The World Bank underlines the necessity of the rural land certification and administration. The new program should aim at expansion of the coverage and enhance the government's land certification project, with the aim of strengthening land tenure security for smallholder farmers.³

However, the target of this chapter is to clarify the urban land management. In the imperial period, the difference between the "urban" and "rural" societies was not wide as today. The land management system in *ketema* (town) was on the prolongation of rural one as the land was on the hand of monarchical aristocrats and clergies, but since the beginning of the 20th century the urban growth have completely transformed the way on how to master the land in urban settlements. Emerging new urban people, merchants and officials,

¹ Abdul M. Hussein, "The Political Economy of the Famine in Ethiopia," in Abdul M. Hussein ed., 'Drought and Famine in Ethiopia', International African Institute, London, 1976, p.11

² Patrick Gilkes, "Ethiopia: A Real Revolution?", *The World Today* 31, no. 1 January 1975, p.18

³ From the home page of the World Bank (<http://www.worldbank.org>)

came to own their own parcels by way of concession from the government or contracting from the landowners. Market policy was introduced gradually in Addis Ababa and other major cities. At the same time, the poor and low-income urban people were forced to live in informal settlements. The phenomenon of urban poverty started in this period and became more escalated in the second half of the 20th century. It is commonly accepted that Ethiopia has suffered from the land market distortion caused by poor land development and management policies including poor planning, slow provision of infrastructure and services, poor land information systems and slow land transaction procedures.⁴

After the decline of socialist regime, the new government published an urban land lease holding proclamation No. 80 in 1993. This framework has become the principle of land management policy in urban sector in present Ethiopia. All urban land is public property and transfer will only be carried out through the lease system. Since then, details have been studied by each municipality. Relating to historical cities such as Gondar and Mekelle, situation does not change, but sometimes the fluidization of properties in historical sectors causes the demolition of certain buildings not considered valuable in terms of real estate market although the control by the government is much stricter in other free market countries.

⁴ Tendayi Gondo, "Housing Informality in Expanding Ethiopian Cities: Moving beyond the 'New Normal' Syndrome", *Proceedings REAL CORP 2011*, Essen, 2011, p.1

1-2. Preceding Research Works on Land Management

To understand the land management system in the imperial period, Richard Pankhurst was the first to describe the detail. He contributed to a certain extent by publishing two critical books on the economic history of Ethiopia in the 1960's, one treating on the period between the early times and 1800, another between 1800 and 1935, which is the starting year of the Italian invasion.⁵ These two books were deliberately written to give general idea of Ethiopian economic history and have been regarded as the first publication on this issue corresponding to the imperial period. Land tenure was one of their important topics so that the author wrote pages about the feudal way of land management. For Pankhurst, the system of landownership was of crucial importance to the country's economic and social life, for besides determining questions of social class it was the basis of administration, taxation and military service.⁶ However, his interest resided in agrarian land and details were not given to urban land policy.

As for the Italian colonialist land management, a few authors have tried to clarify its land policy.⁷ During the *Derg* period, several scholars wrote about the land management reform in favor of the new regime. The domination of land by limited number of the privileged seemed to be absurd and unequal that the reformist pushed forward the socialist way of land distribution. Many scholars who had been observing the extreme disparity of wealth during the imperial period gave positive comments on the land management policy implemented by the socialist government. John Cohen and Peter Koehn from Canada, for instance, reviewed this land reform in a rather favorable way a few years after the implementation.⁸ The redistribution of surplus housing units, especially, gave favorable impression to the watchers from outside at the initial stage, but later in the 1980's the attention was more paid to the oppressive political situation in which regionalism and ethnicity were negated in a violent manner due to the centralized military power of the Addis Ababa government.

As soon as the *Derg* regime was over, a series of surveys and recommendations for the coming new land management system were publicized successively by foreign and, gradually, by Ethiopian experts. Collaboration between Ethiopian and foreign institutions was common due to the lack of experience among the locals.⁹ Parallel to the national decision for realizing land lease policy, case studies on this genre of land management came to be more and more focused upon. The analytical method differed according to the purposes such as administrative, legal, real estate business and architectural, parallel to the introduction of the new land reform. However, up to now no work has been done in terms of historical city and urban centers.

⁵ Richard Pankhurst, "An Introduction to the Economic History of Ethiopia from early times to 1800", Lalibela House, distributed by Sidgwick and Jackson Ltd. London, 1961, Richard Pankhurst, "Economic History of Ethiopia: 1800-1935", Haile Sellassie I University Press, Addis Ababa, 1968

⁶ *ibid.* p. 135

⁷ Haile M. Larebo, "The Building of an Empire: Italian Land Policy and Practice in Ethiopia 1935-1941", Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1994

⁸ John Cohen, Peter H. Koehn, "Rural and Urban Land Reform in Ethiopia", Land Tenure Center, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1978

⁹ The collaboration with American Research Institution gave rise to: Wibke Crewett, Ayalneh Bogale, Benedikt Korf "Land Tenure in Ethiopia - Continuity and Change, Shifting Rulers, and the Quest for State" CGIAR Systemwide Program on Collective Action and Property Rights (CAPRI), CAPRI Working Paper No. 91, September 2008. On the other hand collaborations with a German institution brought about the new proposal for land lease policy in Addis Ababa: Control Bacry Yusuf, Sileshi Terfera, Admit Zerhun "Land Lease Policy in Addis Ababa" Private Sector Development Hub/ Addis Ababa Chamber of Commerce and Sectoral Associations, 2009. The doctoral thesis of an Ethiopian law scholar is worth noted: Daniel Weldegebriel Ambaye, "Land Rights and Expropriation in Ethiopia", Royal Institute of Technology (KTH), Stockholm, 2013

2. Historical Review

2-1. Pre-Yohannes Period and After

2-1-1. Agrarian Land

To understand the *ancient regime* of the pre-Yohannes period, two important customary measures related to the land right should be underlined: *gult* and *rist*. *Gult* was a right given to the traditional ruling class to dominate over the land and the labor within it. It is like the fiefdom in medieval Europe or Japanese *samurai*'s land tenure called *chigyo*. The ruling class depended on this landownership and received tribute as well as labor service from the farmers. *Rist* is a land-sharing right among the farmers within their kinship group. This right is hereditary and inalienable, maintained by the kinship group successively.¹⁰ Accordingly, this feudal land management system was acknowledged as the basis for the imperial rule over his subjects until the very end of the Solomonide Dynasty in the second half of the 20th century. Land was considered a commodity that cannot be sold or bought and can be transferred only as a family property from one branch of the social hierarchy to another. Land was owned only by elite aristocrats and eventually given to those who contributed considerably to the imperial family as warrior and administrator. Both in Amhara and in Tigray, where this old system had been kept and respected among the ruling class, land management used to be strictly controlled by this customary tradition despite the fact that the center of politics moved to Addis Ababa after the coronation of Menelik, who was engaged in expanding his power towards the south.

The *Gult* and *rist* system was a product of an agrarian society as Ethiopia until the beginning of the 20th century was thoroughly characterized by this nature. As explained in Chapter I, the archetype of a town was born in the course of Gondarine period, but those who merit the name of township (*ketema*) were quite limited in Amhara and Tigray. If the township is defined with the concentration of population and the presence of non-farmers as the majority of inhabitants, one can refer only few examples such as Adwa, Chelikot and Debre Tabor besides Gondar, the old capital, and Harar, which used to be outside of the Ethiopian boundary.

Administratively, the post for the chief of province was assigned to *shum* (governor) as Henry Salt carefully observed in many places between Dixan and Godnar in 1809-1810¹¹, while the post of mayor was, and still is, called *kantiba* (mayor) as D'Abaddie brothers pointed out the case of Gondar in 1838.¹² The latter as the post within the court in the 19th century was exclusively for Gondar and mainly in charge of police and security activities inside and around the capital. Land management in the city was a rather familial business among the aristocrats, and not on the hand of *kantiba*. It was only in 1942 that the municipality was officially created in Ethiopia by the imperial decree of Haile Selassie I. In this respect, Ethiopia kept being a feudal state until the emperor initiated strengthening

¹⁰ John Markakis & Nega Ayele, "Class and Revolution", Spokesman Books, Nottingham, 1978, pp.25-35, explains the cause of the revolution of 1974 as the fundamental contradiction between the *ancient regime* and the reforming drive.

¹¹ Henry Salt, "A Voyage to Abyssinia and Travels into the Interior of that Country, executed under the Orders of the British Government, in the Years 1809 and 1810", Carey, Philadelphia and Wells & Lilly., Boston, 1816, p.191

¹² Arnauld Michel d'Abbadie, "Douze Ans de Sejour dans la Haute-Ethiopie", 1868, reprinted version Echo Library, Paris, 2008

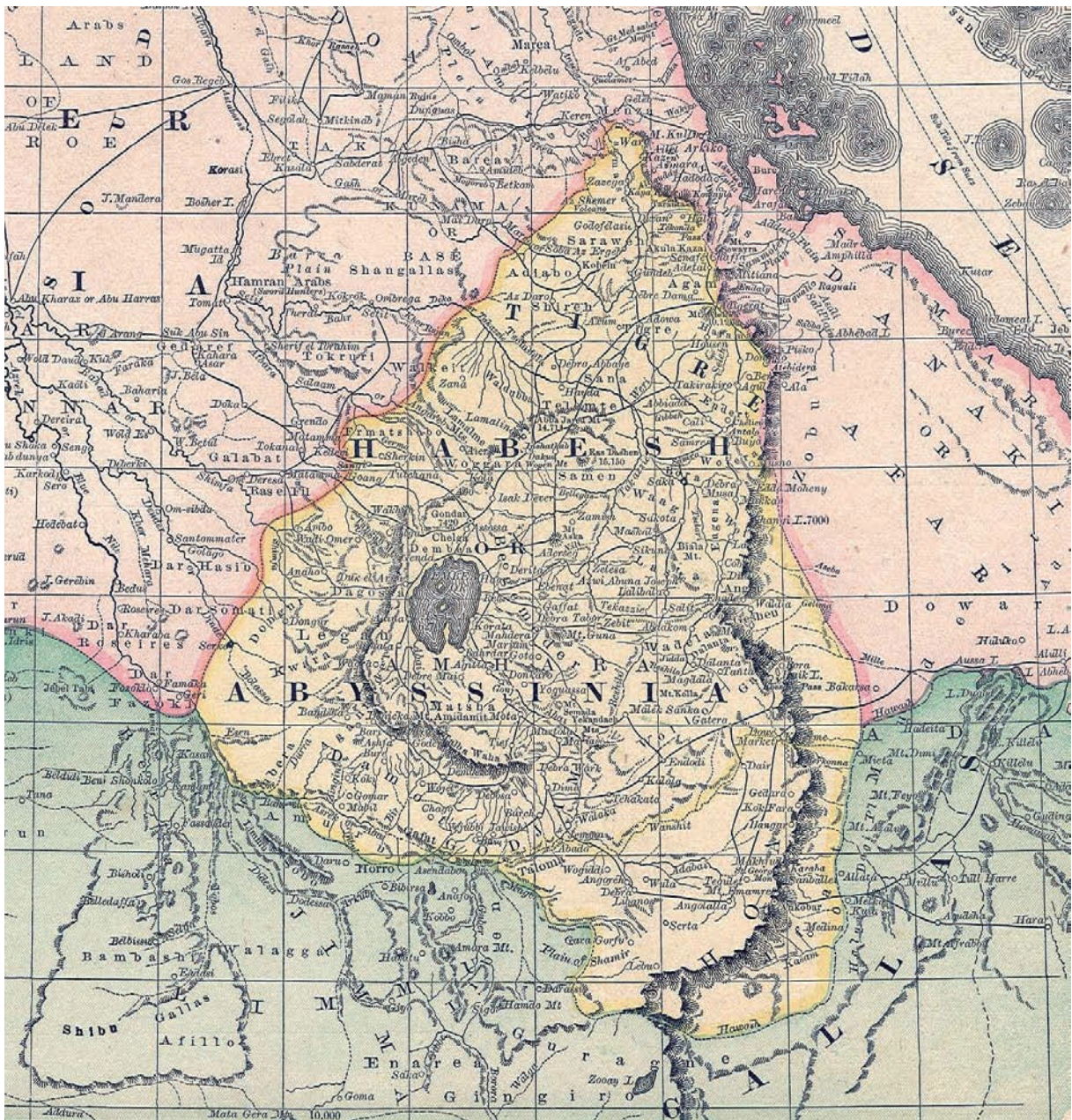


Fig. 2-1 Map of Abyssinia, 1891

his power by intervening to the conventional rights of the local landlords in the 1960's. The main concern of the emperor resided in his will for building a centralized governance system regardless of his "enlightened" pose for attracting foreign investment in a capitalistic context.

Even after the municipality was on duty and exercised different types of civil service such as infrastructure and registry, it was still difficult for poor people to obtain land from the municipality in order to build their own houses, or at least a place to live in. Public housing in a European or Japanese context did not exist there on these days. The municipality was not able to provide them with any rental housing to solve the problem of shelter. "Due to such reasons the majority of people were forced to live in areas which were devoid of good sanitation and other services and which steadily became the overcrowded slums we see

today.”¹³ Only rich people, or those who had access by heredity line were able to run real estate business by investing on their own property.

2-1-2. Urban Settlement and Land Cadastre by Parcel

The *gult* and *rist* system was based on the agrarian society in feudal Ethiopia. It is towards the end of the 19th century when the land management system in urban areas changed into an “urbanized” state. To become urbanized means that the inhabitants gather their lives and people like merchants and artisan start activities within the built-up zone while the civil service and control over the inhabitants are administrated by competent public body. The town or the city has to be one entity where people follow certain rules in terms of their rights and duties. In the previous chapter, the author has analyzed several examples of Amharic and Tigrayan towns of Pre-Yohannes period by finding historical documents and cartographic materials. It goes without saying that Muslim towns in the neighboring regions have started urban communities much earlier than the Christian Kingdom, where concentration of inhabitants and economic activities as well as political power occurred in several places and led to the formation of agglomerations that were worth called “*ketema*” or “*kutuma*”. The case in Enderta province suggests the emergence of a politico-administrative town, Chelekot, alongside a river. Antalo, another political center, occupied the site endowed with convenient connections toward the north (Chelekot, Mekelle, Wukro), the west (Cali, Takeragiyo), and the south (Dur Anbesa, Umea). The maps drawn by Europeans in the late 19th century indicate the relation of these towns explicitly [Fig. 2-1]. In the case of Mekelle, which has formulated magnificent townscape in the early 20th century, the urban formation process from the end of the 19th century was rapid and effective.

The key to understand the urbanization process is the systematic land occupation by distinctive uses related to the life and the economic/administrative activities. Until quite recently, the town was continuation of the rural type of *tukul* housing surrounded by circular stonewalls. Such compounds scatter randomly and there was no notion of street. In-between spaces are a kind of vacuum for any type of land use. However, as Tigrayan towns suggested, if the density becomes beyond a certain level, the spatial formation becomes systematic and “self-governed” thanks to the merit of concentration. The landlords invested for constructing row houses for rent and shops alongside streets. Such urban space is characterized by one entity of land divided by blocks and parcels.

The private ownership of urban land was officially recognized by the decree of Menelik II in 1907 for the first time. Lands could be transferred and become the object of deal unlike the *gult* system in rural areas.¹⁴ Cadastre system was created on this occasion. What is interesting is the article on the cases of expropriation for public purposes. Any landholder is protected by law and eventually becomes the stake in the fate of the city, so that he or she has the right to receive compensation in case of expropriation. This kind of measure for urban land ownership activated the urban economy. Urbanization, not only in Addis Ababa,

¹³ Gebre Wold Ingida Work (translated by Mengesha Gessesse) “Ethiopia's Traditional System of Land Tenure and Taxation”, Ethiopia Observer, 5, 4, 1962, p.302 Gebre Wold wrote this book based on his career experience in 1944 as the director general of the Land Revenue Department.

¹⁴ Daniel Weldegebriel Ambaye, “Land Rights and Expropriation in Ethiopia” Royal Institute of Technology (KTH), Stockholm, 2013, p.65



Fig. 2-2 Dwelling in Chelekot, drawing by Henry Salt, 1806



Fig. 2-3 Residence of Tewodros Debra Tabor, El Museo Universal, April 18, 1868

but also in other regional towns and cities, was hence accelerated by such incentives.

To explain the emergence of cadastre system, it is worth referring to the case of Aynalem, a small suburban town neighboring Mekelle that was formulated towards the end of the 19th century [Fig. 2-4]. As this town keeps the original land pattern without significant alteration during the *Derg* period, it suggest explicitly how this semi-urban entity was formed in response to the successive expansion of its living quarters throughout the 20th century.¹⁵ This town flourished by salt trading by the initiatives of several important families who moved here during and after the end of the 19th century. Unlike Mekelle, where the palace of the prince of Tigray (Yohannes Palace) dominated as a political center and commercial activities unfolded seamlessly, Aynalem was rather a center for traders and carriers of salt business. The mansions of that epoch are historically remarkable based on the same typology as the Mekelle's. What should be pointed out is how the land was divided and regrouped. Major buildings were erected along the main street while some others stood deep inside the block, connected by impasses. The land is organized by block and street system although its pattern is still organic and curvy. The town consists of a number of blocks, all of which are sub-divided into groups of parcels. In contrast with the conventional rural villages where land cadastre is still vague, the land organization of Aynalem is well condensed and systematic. As this area was not designated as an "urban" space and the houses did not experience the expropriation during the nationalization of surplus housing units in 1975, the landlords here still keep their residences in full-scale and keep the appearance as it used to be half a century ago. To understand the cadastre pattern before the intervention of the socialist policy, Aynalem could be regarded as the most typical case of maturity responding to the development of local economy and housing investment.

¹⁵ The field survey of Aynalem was carried out in March 2012 in collaboration with Fuji Women's University and Mekelle University. Making use of GIS database, the urban formation of this town was analyzed in detail by the authors. See: Teshale Atsbeha, Soolomon Tesfamariam, Equbay Tesfay, Rumi Okazaki, Riichi Miyake, "Formation and Development of the Outskirt of Mekelle, Ethiopia", paper presented to the 18th International Congress for Ethiopian Studies, 2012



Fig. 2-4 Cadastral map of Aynalem, 2012

2-2. Italian Occupation

2-2-1. Italian East Africa

Italians started invasion against Ethiopia in October 1935 and finally conquered Addis Ababa in May 1936 after seven months of battle. Emperor Haile Selassie took the train to Djibouti and exiled himself to England by British battleship from there. Since their defeat in the first Italo-Abyssinian War at the end of the 19th century, Italians had been interested in penetrating in Ethiopia again. Asmara was transformed to be a strong bridgehead. Italy was then the last among the Imperialistic game of gaining new colonies in Africa and in Asia. A certain number of studies were undergone in order to illuminate Italian colonial urban planning system and its reality by researchers in Italy, in United States and in Japan. Comparative studies on oversea colonies during the 1930's and 1940's are also common in



Fig. 2-5 Map of A.O.I.

such a way as to compare French and Italian colonies in Africa, or Italian East Africa and Japanese Manchuria, for instance. It is interesting to say that Fascist Italians and militarist Japanese indicated the same tendency as both of them tried to explore new promising lands for the immigration of poor surplus in their own country and made an ideological campaign for their settlement to the newly acquired land, but such attempt ended up in failure after a short period of authoritarian domination against the native inhabitants. The works by Gresieri, Masaretti and Zagnoni, for example, showed thorough scope of Italian colonial urban planning and architecture since the second half of the 19th century.¹⁶

Italian invasion to East Africa had started by the proclamation of colonization of Eritrea in 1882, then Somalia, which became the Italian colony before 1908. Libya had been Italian colony since 1912. Italian colonial urban planning started in Eritrean cities, above all in Asmara, which was considerably invested as the capital of Italian Eritrea since 1900. But as soon as Fascists took over the power, the situation changed. Immigration policy at that epoch was driven to expansionist direction. Confronting with the restriction of new immigrants in American Continent, the Fascist government was forced to gain other territories in African Continent, especially after they suffered from the Great Depression of 1929. The development of new town areas such as Sabaudia and Pontina in the marshland of Agor Pontino in Italy was not at all sufficient. New territories in Africa became the target area as the outlet of the surplus working class in Italy. Ethiopia, which is endowed with cool climate, thus became the target of their ambition to establish huge hinterland for the “racially superior” workers.

2-2-2. *Piano Regolatore* for Ethiopian Major Cities

Four days after they occupied the capital of Ethiopia, Italians proclaimed the establishment of Italian East Africa (A.O.I.: *Africa Orientale Italiana*) in May 9, 1936. In addition to Eritrea and Italian Somalia, Ethiopia became a part of this colonial empire. The whole colonial empire is divided into six provinces: Amara, Eritrea, Galla-Sidamo, Harar, Scioa and Somalia [Fig. 2-5]. The Italian viceroy by proxy for the Italian king and the governor as top administrator in each province constitute the colonial government. Major cities such as Addis Ababa, Gondar, Jimma, Dire Dawa, Harar, Dessie and Mekelle were subject to drastic transformation with the prospect of refurbishing them into provincial capital or core cities. The governor, under the supervision of the Ministry of Italian Africa in Rome, was responsible for the selection of the architect in charge of this task. How they commission the task of master planning differed according to the situation of each province.

The planning process of the master plan, called *Piano Regolatore*, has been well studied by both Italian and foreign scholars. The governor was responsible for the selection of the architect-planner. The provincial government was to make necessary procedure for the implementation of the *Piano Regolatore*, starting from basic research and topographical survey; then, they proceeded onto negotiation stage with competent institutions such as INCIS (*Istituto Nazionale Case Impiegati dello Stato*) which was in charge of public housing, and after all, urban design and logistics for transportation of necessary materials. It

¹⁶ Following publications represent recent research works on the colonial city planning during the Italian occupation period: Giuliano Gresieri, Pier Giorgio Massaretti, Stefano Zagnoni ed., “Architettura Italiana d’Oltremare 1870-1940”, Marsilio, Venezia, 1993, Mia Fuller, “Moderns Abroad: Architecture, Cities and Italian Imperialism” Routledge, London, 2007, Mia Fuller, Ruth Ben-Ghiat, “Italian Colonialism”, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2005

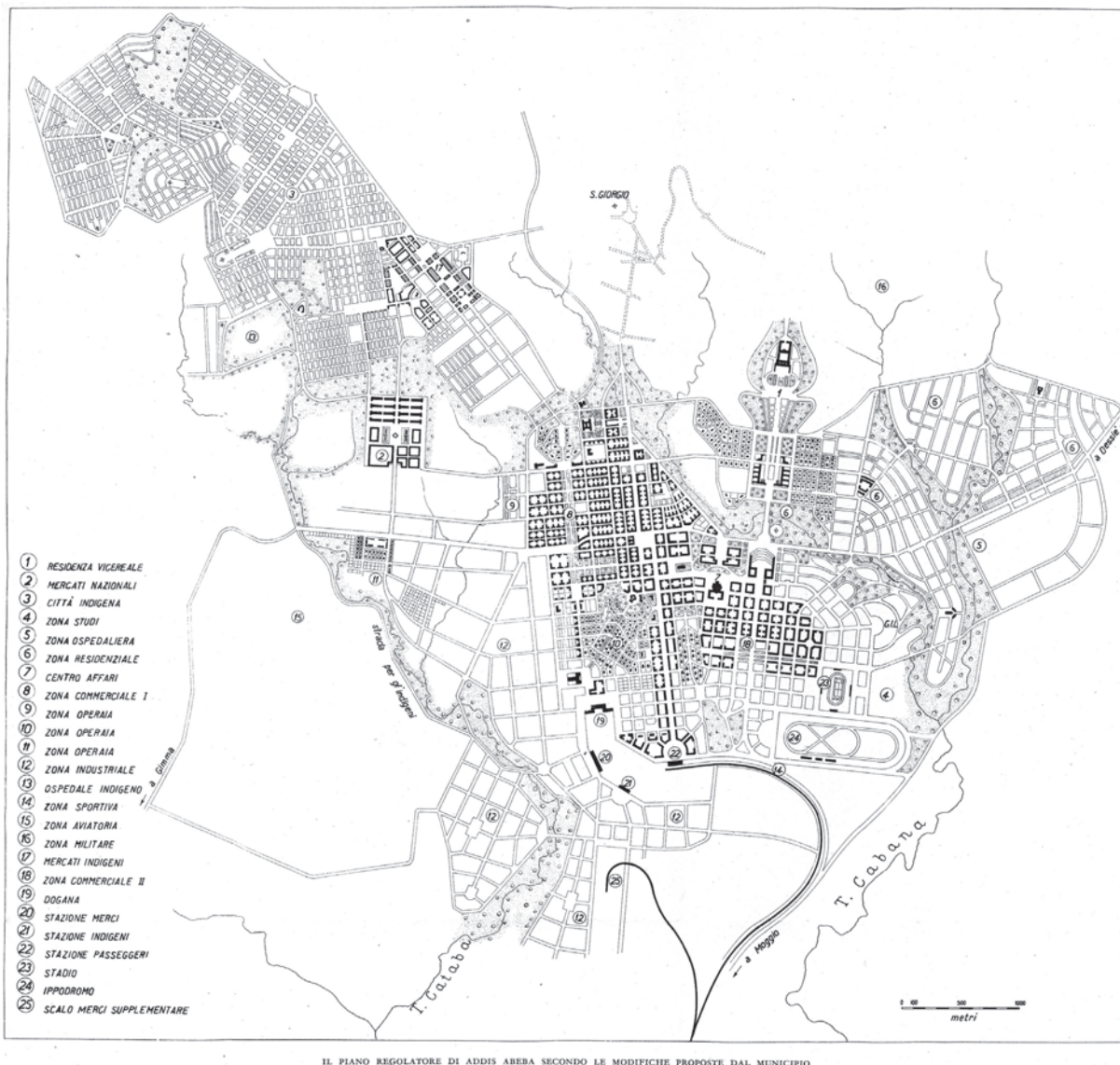


Fig. 2-6 *Piano Regolatore* of Addis Ababa, modified proposal by the Municipality, 1939

is known that in Addis Ababa the *Piano Regolatore* was elaborated by the architects Ignazio Guidi and Cesare Valle (1902-2000), who had already worked for the urban planning of Rome, under the governor Alfredo Siniscalchi. Because of the strong will by Mussolini to transform this city as grandiose as possible, the master plan became so vast and took complicated process for realization. It was submitted in 1938 but the approbation by the Ministry of Italian Africa was only in June 1939, two year before the retreat of Italians from Ethiopia [Fig. 2-6].¹⁷ In the case of Harar, governor Guglielmo Nasi commissioned Guido Ferrazza, architect from Florence who had been the chief architect of Asmara City till then. The master planning started without precise topographic map of the city. The map was ready only in the spring of 1939. Strangely enough, the first master plan was completed in 1937, but due to the incertitude of the topographical information, it was revised to a new version in the same year [Fig. 1-77].¹⁸ Ferrazza was also in charge of the city planning of

¹⁷ Angelo Del Boca, "Gli Italiani in Africa Orientale III", Edizioni Montadori, Roma, 2000, pp. 170-171

¹⁸ Tsutomu Okudaira, "Study on the Construction Process of Harar City in Ethiopia and its Actuality – Idea and Reality of Italian Colonial Cities", master thesis, Keio University, 2007, pp.28-36 (in Japanese)

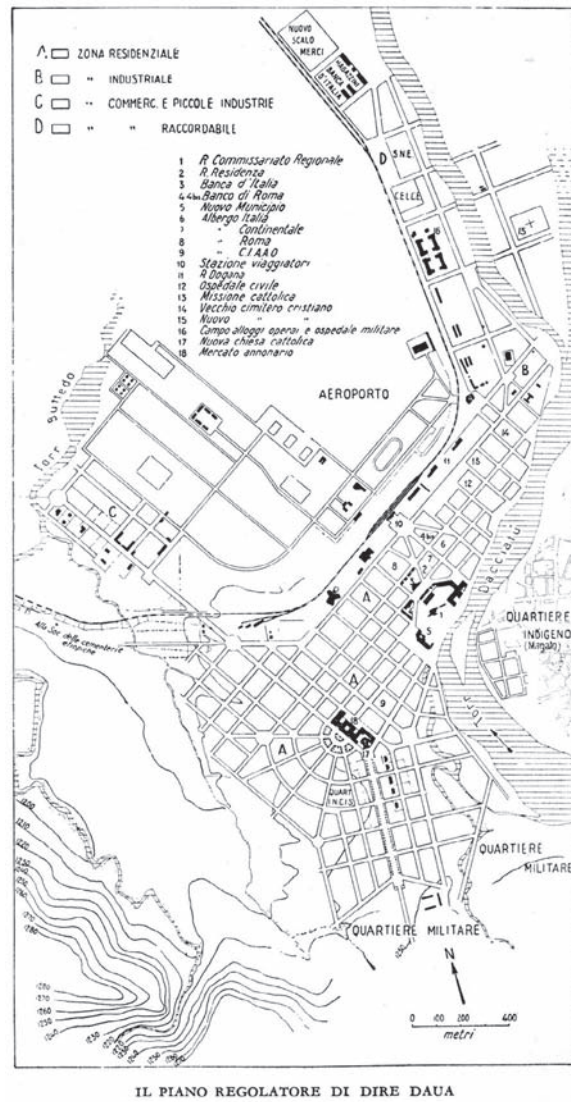


Fig. 2-7 Piano Regolatore of Dire Dawa, by Guido Ferrazza, 1937



Fig. 2-8 Aerial photo of Dire Dawa, 1930's

Dire Dawa [Fig. 2-7], [Fig. 2-8] and Jijiga, both in Harar Province.

The most exciting case could be found in the master plan of Gondar. As a comparatively younger architect, Gherardo Bosio was asked to work for the master planning a few months after the occupation of this city by General Alessandro Pirzio Biroli, governor of Amara. He was quick to react and complete the first plan in the same year, but it was not realized. Besides, he was dismissed by the governor in 1937 because of “a failure to perform his duties”,¹⁹ but the viceroy Amedeo di Savoia expressed his support so that he was able to return to the original post in 1938 and completed the second master plan in October in the same year [Fig. 1-20].²⁰ Bosio was one of the most representative architects in Italian East Africa as he was commissioned not only Gondar but also Jimma and Dessie. His design concept was very similar to that of the Italian Rationalism Movement headed by Terragni and other young architects group. The integration of both the Ethiopian town and the Italian new town was well handled as long as he put respect to Gondar Castle, *Fasil Ghebbi*, as the genuine Ethiopian heritage.²¹

In terms of Mekelle, little is known about the planning process of the master plan. The only available document is an illustration in a magazine “Gli Annali dell’Africa Italiana” of 1939. Its caption says simply “the master plan of Mekelle” without any detail of the plan. Even the name of the architect is not known. But, as we have seen in the last chapter, the form of the realized new town would make us understand the planning process if we compare this to other examples. The basic idea of this master plan is not so remote from other master plans, in fact.

2-2-3. Segregation Policy and Cultural Identity

Consequently, it is not difficult to read the common lines among these different master plans for Ethiopian major cities. The fundamental point was, as discussed in the previous chapter, segregation policy. New towns for Italian colons and indigenous old town had to be separated by zoning. The Italians did not intervene the planning of the latter at all. This policy made the old town center of each city untouched and resulted in the preservation of old buildings regardless of their viewpoint of racial ideology. The colonial government kept the same policy of land ownership and management in the indigenous zone and for the purpose of receiving the immigration of Italian colons, new development zones were set up outside this old city. Accordingly, there were scarcely any confrontation between the Ethiopians and the Italians occupants as long as land management is concerned.

Italian occupation period was so short that they were not able to accomplish the construction of new towns in each province, and they were obliged to leave from there with new buildings both completed and unfinished. These buildings, many of which were public facilities, came to be the concession of the local or central government and used for public purposes as soon as the Italians withdrew from Ethiopia. These buildings with typical Italian Rationalist style are still used as public buildings in most of the cities. In the case of Gondar, these buildings were included as the objects to be protected from conservation

¹⁹ David Rifkind, “The Very Model of a Modern Imperial City: Gondar, Ethiopia”, Proceedings for the 96th Annual Meeting of ACSA ‘Sustainable Design and Beyond’, 2008, pp.786-793

²⁰ *ibid.* pp.786-793

²¹ Tomohiro Shitara, “Study on the Formation and Transformation of Traditional Residential Spaces in Gondar, Ethiopia”, doctoral thesis, Keio University, 2008 (in Japanese)

point of view.

In Mekelle, which has been known as stone city with skilled masons, the colonial government was obliged to mobilize native builders and craftsmen for construction of masonry buildings. This means the local building method was widely employed and ameliorated by way of massive investment by the colonial government. Regarding the bad road connection from the Red Sea, even though they were opened by the Italian civil engineering technology, it is much easier and less expensive to use local materials and manpower. Besides, Tigrayans kept high standard of masonry techniques. Most of the buildings were constructed by local stones to avoid the shortage of concrete and steel bars imported from Italy.

Contrary to the racist attitude of segregation, Italians took into consideration the value of the Ethiopian heritage such as Menelik's Palace, Gondar Castle, Harar walled town and so on. Administrators and architects must have sufficient experience to evaluate such monuments and cultural properties. Whether they intended to make use of such monument for ideological purpose or not, many historical monuments were conserved and even restored, after all, as seen in the case of Gondar Castle. Yohannes Palace in Mekelle was consequently well preserved in the heart of the old town. Archaeologies and historians accompanied the occupying force so as to undergo scientific research occasionally. Architects who worked for the master planning and public facilities were often dispatched from Asmara, where Italians has already established a kind of a laboratory of planning and engineering for African countries. That is the reason why the master plan successfully integrated the historical aspects of old Ethiopian cities. Still this is only a physical aspect. For the purpose of organizing human space, that is, housing, their concern was always for the safeguard and comfort of Italian colons, not for native Ethiopians. Old towns were consequently left untouched while Italian new towns became a fiasco of experimental and innovative design and techniques. The architectural forms derived from Modernist theory, but the building technique was strange mixture of European reinforced concrete and local masonry. Participating in such building activities, Ethiopian builders acquired the European technology and even upgraded their own traditional building technique to comparatively higher level.

2-3. Post Italian Haile Selassie Period

2-3-1. Reform of Land Policy

After the withdrawal of the Italians in 1941 and the return of Haile Selassie I from exile to the capital, the reform of local administration and land policy became urgent issues for the emperor despite aggressive opposition of local lords. Haile Selassie pursued the dream of powerful and centralized monarchy starting from the period of Menelik so that the empowerment of the crown was the most demanded task after the liberation from the Italian occupation. To do so, land management is a crucial factor. Land in imperial Ethiopia was, in a short, an important mean for governing the subjects and even the church as the source of wealth. Those who fought for the resistance against Italy and those who suffered from the occupation, such as soldiers and civilian victims of the occupation, were worth granted land, either rural or urban, as the reward for their contribution and even for compensation. On the contrary, the collaborators were strictly punished and requisitioned their land. Mekelle, which became the opposition side in collaboration with the Italians under the rule of Haile Selassie Gugusa, then the Tigray Prince, was thus deprived its privilege and thoroughly discriminated from Haile Selassie's government. This is one of the reasons why local Tigrinya people resisted strongly against the central government and formed a stronghold of revolt in southern Tigray in 1943.²²

Haile Selassie's concern was the establishment of land right over the country, reducing the feudal power from local lords, who had been enjoying the conventional right of *gult*. The administrative reform of 1941 contained tax reform, which defined the land for which tax had been paid as property of the taxpayer.²³ This system made the taxpayer legal owner of the land. All land for which no tax had been paid was then regarded as the property of the state. It abolished the intermediary role of land owners and *gult* holders.²⁴ The central government thus acquired the control over the land and excluded the involvement of local lords through *gult* system. However, the resistance of the local nobles was so strong that this reform was not fulfilled in a way as the emperor wanted. On the contrary, he encountered from time to time political crisis and even coup d'état. The abolition of *gult* was finally proclaimed in 1966, but the idea of land policy was far from the modern concept of land management. During 30 years of his rule, the emperor kept reserving the sovereign right over all land in his country with the authority to grant and withdraw land rights at all levels²⁵, and this right was eventually exercised to keep "a retinue of war lords, governors, and nobles personally obliged to the emperor"²⁶. This means that the land management was arbitrary and not systematic, depending on the will of the emperor.

²² Mamoka Maki, "The Wyyane in Tigray and the Reconstruction of the Ethiopia Government in the 1940's", *Proceedings of the 16th International Conference of Ethiopian Studies*, ed. by Svein Ege, Harald Aspen, Birhanu Teferra and Shiferaw Bekele, Trondheim, 2009, p.8

²³ Wibke Crewett, Ayalneh Bogale, Benedikt Korf, "Land Tenure in Ethiopia - Continuity and Change, Shifting Rulers, and the Quest for State Control" CAPRI Working Paper No.91, November 2008, p.10

²⁴ Daniel Weldegebriel Ambaye, *op. cit.* p.54

²⁵ Wibke Crewett, Ayalneh Bogale, Benedikt Korf *op. cit.* p.12

²⁶ Siegfried Pausewang, "Peasants, Land and Society. A Social History of Land Reform in Ethiopia", Weltforum Verlag, München, Köln, London, 1983, p.24

2-3-2. Master Planning of Major Cities in 1960's

Italian occupation left several important “heritage” behind for the successive government by Ethiopians. Among them master planning of major cities was the most visible and influential for transforming the traditional and indigenous cities into modern society. Although most of the master plans (*piano regolatore*) were not completed in the late 1930's as the Italian occupation was so short, the winning side took over these newly constructed modern cities which had not been allowed to the “indigenous”. Supported by the international trend of modern urban design, the new government recognized the necessity for continuing the master planning works for the next step of adequate urbanization.

Until the 1960's there was neither school of architecture nor that of urban planning in Ethiopia. To accomplish the planning task, the government was obliged to depend on foreign architects and engineers. Henri Chomette²⁷, French architect, belongs to the first group of foreign architects to be consulted by the emperor and the government officials as he won the competition in 1948 for the imperial palace to be constructed in Addis Ababa. Arturo Mezzedimi, Italian, but a graduate of French school, followed him when he was invited to the capital in 1961. As francophone the emperor favored those who was educated in France like Chometti and Mezzedimi, both graduates of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts.

Following the selection of major local cities which would accept the role of development with priority in the 1960's the government designated foreign architects and engineers for the master planning of these cities. Competitions were held in 1966-1967 so that winner architects were assigned each city. The case of Gondar, for which Italian team Studio BDS was selected and worked for new master plan, was already mentioned in Chapter 1. In Mekelle, Mezzedimi was in charge of the extension plan. These plans were basically based on the modernist theory of urban extension by implementing public and new residential zone with geometrically regulated infrastructure. Acquisition of new land for development was not difficult due to the land reform, and even the Haussmannian type of new axial street system overlapped on the existing city center was done without resistance of local residents.

The central government made several attempts to reform the land management policy and to control over the regional ruling powers at that time. In fact, the economic growth (GDP) ratio in the 1960's reached more than 30% per year. This figure corresponds to the rapid population growth of cities in this period although small regional cities were not the targets of the development policy by the central government. Until then, Ethiopia was left isolated in the international economic community due to its difficult location in the highlands without attracting foreign investors' interests, but the attention to the Middle East as the hot spot for oil industry made Ethiopia's position much stronger and more strategic. However, this economic boom resulted in double aspects of benefit and menace for the traditional rulers in regions. Prerogatives of traditional aristocracy was exposed to the peril of being deprived of their existing land right. Confrontation between the central government and the regional ruling powers, as well as the traditional class and the emerging new urban elites became serious. In 1974 this antagonism resulted in the revolution lead by the *Derg* committee officers.

²⁷ Henri Chometti (1921-1995) is a French architect born in Saint-Etienne. Studied in Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris under the supervision of Tony Garnier, then he won the competition of the imperial palace in Addis Ababa in 1948. In the next year he moved to Addis Ababa, working for many project such as Commercial Bank. In 1953 he was appointed chief architect of Addis Ababa City.

2-3-3. Land Adjustment within a New Town Planning

The master planning of the 1960's exerted tremendous influences on the urban formation and land management of Ethiopian major cities. The basic idea of the master plan is to show how to induce new activities in a designated place in a proper way. Transformation from village-like random and organic spatial layout to a more geometrical block-and-street pattern is another result of this planning system. In Tigray, for instance, the primordial pattern with rough layout of *hidmo* compounds were regulated according to the new urban order. To make gridded streets, a number of buildings were expropriated for public interest and torn down. In many cases old *hidmo* compounds were deformed into another shape [Fig. 2-9][Fig. 2-10][Fig. 2-11][Fig. 2-12]. It is interesting to see how old type housing complex was transformed and integrated into the new urban fabric imposed by the master planning. The administrative procedure was based on the modern theory of public construction work, but many poor residents were obliged to move somewhere else after he or she had received a certain amount of compensation. No alternative housing was arranged on such occasions.



Fig. 2-9 Aerial photo of hidmo compound, 1960s (top left)
Fig. 2-10 Hidmo compound, 1960s (bottom left)
Fig. 2-11 Aerial photo of the former hidmo compound, 2009 (top right)
Fig. 2-12 Transformation (land adjustment) of a hidmo compound to a contemporary residence, 2009 (bottom right)

2-4. Socialist Land Reform

2-4-1. Nationalization of Land

The new regime established during the revolution of 1974, the *Derg* government, underwent extremely radical policies in terms of land management and housing. In urban areas, high ratio urban population growth caused by the immigration for rural area resulted in a serious housing problems, but the exclusive land ownership by limited number of elite aristocrats did not improve the situation in a proper way as the interest of these landlords were investment for more profitable housing and commercial business. The new government introduced socialistic policies which achieve equalization of the wealth by way of promulgation of a series of income-leveling measures, state acquisition of the country's productive facilities and resources, and the exercise of public control over agricultural and urban land, rented urban houses, large commercial and industrial enterprises, and apartment buildings.²⁸ Land was crucial for the realization of such policies.

It was in July 26, 1975, that the new government declared the nationalization of urban and rural lands as well as expropriation of extra houses by issuing the Proclamation No. 47, "A Proclamation to Provide for Government Ownership of Urban Land and Extra Urban Houses". The main idea of this proclamation was nationalization of all urban land without compensation. Still the private ownership was allowed provided that the owner possesses only one single housing unit. On the contrary, all "extra" housing units become government property by expropriation by force. This means a completely radical transformation of land ownership in Ethiopia and possible drastic changes in urban society based on totally different type of land occupancy.

The majority of urban land was of possession of elite aristocrats during the reign of Haile Selassie I in fact. It is reported that, in 1966, 95% of privately owned land in Addis Ababa was owned by only 5 % of the population.²⁹ Therefore, the new law aims at the exclusion of such privileged class and redistribution of the land by strong state's initiative. Landlords who possessed extra housing unit must abandon it so as to hand it over to newly created local administration, *kebele*. These collected houses are redistributed with low rent to those who had been excluded from the property ownership. At the same time the former tenants were also liberated from the burden of expensive rent, debts and other services obliged by the landowners.

From the viewpoint of the poor dwellers, this reform was epoch-making as they were finally allowed to live in a house without difficulty. And still dilemma exists. As the law orders the ceiling of the rent for the collected houses, which should be rented with least rent for the sake of low-income dwellers. Therefore, the total amount of collected rent is so small that the state could not establish a new housing policy based on this fund. The administration was not able to guarantee enough fund for investing for new housing. As the financial situation of the state is not sufficiently mature to realize social housing policy, the

²⁸ John M. Cohen, Peter H. Koehn, "Rural and Urban Land Reform in Ethiopia" *African Law Studies*, No.14, 1977. p.4

²⁹ According to the *Ethiopian Herald* of July 25, 1975, "Seven member of Haile Selassie 's family owned 8 million square meters of land in Addis Ababa, while the heirs of a powerful aristocrat claimed 12 million square meters in Entoto and Yeka zones of the city. Ten former government officials jointly owned 3.8 million squares".

only choice for the state and the local governments was to assign most of housing tasks to *kebele* administration, which was the main body to handle the expropriated housing units and to maintain them. Lack of fund would cause the lack of maintenance. It goes without saying that the construction of new social housing would be impossible. Poor dwellers were obliged to stay in a slum-like small housing unit without any maintenance. Such a dilemma became more and more serious toward the end of the *Derg* regime.

2-4-2. Creation of *Kebele*

Besides the nationalization of land, another radical measure was prescribed in the Proclamation 47: the establishment of *kebele* as a last and smallest administrative unit in this country. In the Proclamation, the future administrative body was described as corporative. At the initial stage, *kebele* was considered a kind of cooperative as in the case of China, people's cooperative. As a matter of fact, the Proclamation 47 defined that the cooperative would be in charge of setting up social and educational facilities such as market, school, clinic as well as roads in order to protect inhabitants.³⁰ This cooperative must have executive committee, public and welfare committee, and judicial tribunals. It contains around 500-600 families or households. All urban inhabitants were expected to become a member of this cooperative.

This cooperative was finally named *kebele*. The main purpose of this small community in the scale of a village is said to be surveillance to find out "people's enemy" according to the socialist context, but it had another important mission: housing. *Kebele* became the main player of the public housing by way of redistributing expropriated houses in urban districts. Many noble families, occupying the central parts of major cities such as Gondar and Mekelle since the 19th century and protected so far by the traditional right of landownership, were deprived of their properties and obliged to reduce their dwelling to one or to move somewhere else to obey the new legal measure.

Although the delimitation of the boundaries of such communities took time for adjusting them with conventional boundaries of old town, the system started to work after several months. Thus Addis Ababa was divided into approximately 300 *kebeles*. In the case of Gondar it reached the division of 21 *kebeles* and Mekelle 20 *kebeles*. The chairman of the executive committee is elected. It is in charge of several services such as administrative (issue of ID card), social welfare for HIV patients and orphans, school management, commercial business like kiosk and café, plantation and so on besides housing service.³¹ *Kebele* has a merit of small and face-to-face community so that after two decades from its establishment, *kebele* administrative system came to be acknowledged and managed smoothly.

³⁰ John M. Cohen, Peter H. Koehn, *op. cit.* p.31

³¹ Yuko Otsubo, Riichi Miyake, Tomohiro Shitara, Kyoko Homma, "Housing Policy and the Actual Condition of Gondar, Ethiopia", *Summaries of Technical Papers of Annual Meeting Architectural Institute of Japan (Hokkaido)*, 2004, pp.259-260

2-5. After the Fall of the *Derg* Government

2-5-1. Introduction of Land Lease Policy

After the fall of the *Derg* Government in 1991, the new transitional government has tried to redirect its land policy toward the free market economy liberating the land from strict and useless socialistic constraints. However, contrary to the expectation for land privatization by many foreign consultants, they kept the state ownership of land, which was proclaimed at the initial stage of the *Derg* regime. To protect from unnecessary speculation and confusion of urban development as well as to maintain the state control over the land was the reason to keep this policy. Instead, in order to respond to the requirement of free market, land lease policy was introduced as the alternative for ensuring the market.³² After an interval of study and discussion, a new proclamation called Lease Proclamation No. 80/1993 was issued on December 23, 1993. This legal measure envisaged the realization of land value, which may generate efficient land use and deals as well as the revenue for the government. To encourage investment for urban development was another factor for benefitting from the land. It allowed a free transfer of lease right in the form of sale, mortgage and contribution in Share Company.³³ This leasehold was finally acknowledged by the new Constitution of 1995 (Proclamation 1/1995), also implicitly determining the state ownership of land in Ethiopia, saying, “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”³⁴.

To implement this policy, the government had to face a number of obstacles from economical to technical levels. It is certain that citizens were encouraged by this policy for the promotion of urban development, but the interest of the investors did not always meet with the intension of the public body. Undeveloped infrastructure put pressure on land in urban centers. Land for future development became insufficient in many cities. The land use and allocation did not meet with the ones designated by public authority. Informal land markets overcome the formal land markets due to the concentration of the poor in the centers and even in the fringes. Since the *Derg* period, housing for the low-income people has become far below the level of expectation. Sometimes, it takes a lot of energy to prepare the fundamental tools for the urban planning, such as cadastral maps and even base maps.³⁵

The Proclamation 80/1993 was repeated and replaced by the Revised Urban Land Lease Proclamation No. 272/2002, issued on May 14, 2002. This new measure clarified the income collecting system from the land as well as the lease system instead of permit system for land holding. After ten years of discussion this proclamation was again revised in 2011 as Urban Lands Lease Holding Proclamation No. 721/2011. This aims to obtain transparency for land lease tender and giving priority to the cases of public interest for rapid urban development. Its goal is to avoid corruption and to ensure smooth procedure for adequate urban development that is admitted by public bodies to achieve an image of a good and fare government.

³² Abuyu Aneley, “Synoptic Reflection on Urban Land Administration Issues in Ethiopia”, *Land Administration Decisions Makers Meeting*, United Nation University, Polytechnic of Nambia, December 2006, pp.5-6

³³ Daniel Weldegebriel Ambaye, “Land Rights and Expropriation in Ethiopia”, Real Estate Planning and Land Law Department of Real Estate and Construction Management, School of Architecture and the Built Environment, Royal Institute of Technology (KTH), Stockholm, 2013, p.83

³⁴ Article 40 of the Ethiopian Constitution (Proclamation 1/2005)

³⁵ Abuyu Aneley, *op. cit.* pp.7-9

2-5-2. Restructuring of *Kifle Ketema* (Sub-city)

In comparison with the *Derg* socialist government that marked a highly centralized political system, the new government pursued an opposite decentralization policy. Following the federalization with 9 regional states and 2 autonomous cities that was confirmed by the new Constitution of 1995, the decentralization of local administration came out as the next step. In fact, *Woreda* Decentralization Program of 2002/03 defined the way on how to attain the local decision making process in their own administrative entity.³⁶ *Woreda* is the third level administration that corresponds to the scale of a city, if it is urban, so that the *woreda* decentralization gives the high degree of self-decision making procedure to the municipal level.

Instead, in contrast with the rapid population growth of Ethiopian major cities, the local smallest administrative unit *kebele* that was created based on the system during the *Derg* period was found insufficient to answer the local needs for increasing social welfare and infrastructure issues. This is the reason why the new administrative unit between *woreda* and *kebele* was created in 2004. This fourth local unit after the region called *kifle ketema*, meaning sub-city, was expected to play the role for performing basic duties assigned to the land administration, the local development and the infrastructure management with a commensurate degree of responsibility. The way to transform this system differs from region to region. In Addis Ababa, the local administration was restructured into 10 *kifle ketema* system, comprising 116 *woreda/kebele*. This *woreda* was formed by grouping 2-3 former *kebeles*. Each household was thus registered according to the hierarchy of *woreda/kebele* (116 in total), sub-*woreda*, (842), *sefer* (3,003) and block (9,009)³⁷. The newly defined *kifle ketema* suggests the orientation for decentralization even among the city administration level in order to promote participation of residents.

In the case of Mekelle, the city area was enlarged five times after the old city absorbed some surrounding townships. It is divided into 7 *kifle ketemas* (*kefele ketma*, in Tigrinya), which is also called *woreda*, 33 *kebeles* and 105 *ketenas*. In Mekelle, the scale of *woreda* is apparently different from Addis Ababa, where there is a clear distinction between *kifle ketema* and *woreda*. The newly born *kebele* that is locally called *tabia* has been designated by grouping several former *kebeles*. The former boundary of *kebele* was mostly traced by newly formulated *ketema*.

However, for major local cities such as Mekelle and Gondar, it took more than six years to implement this new system and the administration kept following the old *kebele* system. Therefore, the author followed this old *kebele* system for her statistic treatment in terms of housing and house register of the city centers in each historical city even though its administrative system was gradually changing to a new system in the 2010's.

³⁶ Meheret Ayenew, "A Rapid Assessment of Wereda Decentralization in Ethiopia" in Teya Assefa, Tegegne Gebre-Egziabher ed., "Decentralization in Ethiopia" Forum for Social Studies, Addis Ababa, 2007, pp.69-102

³⁷ In fact, the whole city of Addis Ababa is divided into 10 *kifle ketema* (sub-cities) and 116 *woredas*. Sector bureaus offices agencies and authorities are established at the *kifle ketema* administration level and they are responsible for implementing infrastructural development, promoting investment, providing economic and social services and perform other regulatory facilities. Number of *kebele* was reduced from 305 to 116 (*woreda*).

2-5-3. Increase of Real Estate Value in Historical Center

One of the main purposes of new urban policies within the new regime is decentralization. As Ethiopia has become a federation by the Constitution, the decision making process had to be conceded to regions to a great extent.³⁸ The way in which the local government undergoes the leasehold policy depends on their hand. Although the most serious urban problem is found in Addis Ababa, one third of which is occupied by informal housings, regional major cities can take different direction for urban planning, depending on the degree of urban growth situation. Inner city problem is still apparent in their historical quarters, but the introduction of land lease policy can ameliorate the situation to some extent because it activates effective land use and induce investment.

The report done by the team of *Istituto Universitario di Architettura di Venezia*, which tried to analyze the transformation of land management system since the middle of the 20th century soon after the start of the new regime, is fairly interesting as it explained precisely the changing process of land management from the *Derg* period to the new government.³⁹ Their approach started from the recognition of typological transformation, which unfolds within urban tissues formed by parcels and blocks. Still lacking in the information about the reality of each parcel and block, this survey provides an overall view on the rapid transformation of the land management system of central Mekelle. The reform by the new government pursued the direction of land lease policy instead of canceling the nationalization of land. Accordingly the former landowners were allowed to retain their former property only by recovering the land lease right. This process contributed for upgrading the level of building maintenance. During the *Derg* period most of the houses were abandoned due to the lack of the financial resource and care in *kebele* administration. Even after the collapse of the *Derg* government, most of the expropriated properties remained the same, but some were returned to the original owners in the form of leasehold. The nationalization process reduced drastically the original value of the buildings in the central districts, but the introduction of leasehold has contributed for raising it. The detail of this process will be discussed in Chapter IV.

2-5-4. New Housing Policy

In terms of housing, there is still a gap between the new policy and the reality. The new government launched the Land Reform Program in 1994 and implemented the decentralization policy for urban planning. Many regional cities have adopted their own way of urban planning. The Revision of the Master Planning of Gondar City was thus commissioned to the team of Keio University, to which the author belonged. However, the housing program had to face a number of hurdles to be cleared although the amelioration of housing conditions is one of the most urgent tasks to be implemented. After the nationalization of extra housing units, the majority of housing stock became state-owned, but due to the lack of finance most of these public housings are in an extremely poor situation without proper maintenance. In Addis Ababa, 57.3 % of housing stock is such

³⁸ The country is divided into nine regional states (*killis*) and two autonomous administrative areas, the cities of Addis Ababa and Dire Dawa. Each state comprises zones, districts (*woreda*), cities, and neighborhood administrations (*kebeles*). *Kebele* system was thus maintained even after the *Derg* regime. In each region the districts are the basic planning unit and have jurisdiction over the *kebeles*

³⁹ Istituto Universitario di Architettura di Venezia, "Urban Land Management in Ethiopia, the case study of Makalle", Post-Graduate School of Urban and Regional Planning, Venice, June 1996

state-owned units.⁴⁰ To settle the situation of the overwhelmingly large number of informal houses is another task.

The national Ministry of Works and Urban Development (MWUD) is the main body to deal with the housing policy and the overall development of the country's urban areas. Within MWUD, the Housing Development Bureau is working towards the implementation of the Integral Housing Development Programme including the MSE Development Programmes, the Urban Development Support Services. Theoretically this national institution is the control tower of the nation-wide policy for housing development, but the resource to be provided to regional cities is limited. Private sector is better than *kebele* housing that is suffering from the low quality of building conditions, as it can provide a more comfortable living standard. The reality of the housing conditions in historical quarters will be discussed in detail in the coming chapters.

⁴⁰ UN Habitat, "Condominium Housing in Ethiopia: The Integrated Housing Development Programme", UN Habitat, Nairobi, 2011, p.6

3. Conclusive Summary

Land in Ethiopia has been a crucial factor to determine the local economy and governance as well as the townscape. It stayed in the form of feudal management system until the second half of the 20th century as only a limited number of landlords owned majority of the land by inheritance. The governing system depended on how they controlled the land on which farmers and eventually tenants were obliged to work and pay tribute to the lords. This *gult* system was the key to understand the manner of how the local lords administrated their territory and obtained their income.

Ethiopia did not have cities in a European sense, but certain type of settlements was recognized as *ketema* or *kutuma* meaning the existence of a commercial and administrative center with market concentrating population of several thousands. Towards the end of the Gondarine Dynasty, such small towns scattered in northern Ethiopia. Privatization of land in the urban area happened step by step in this period, but towards the end of the 19th century, pieces of lands were considered as the target of speculation. Urban development from this period was closely linked with this notion of “capitalistic” process of investment and return. Mekelle, then Addis Ababa followed this process.

The land ownership of these cities was closely related to the early process of urban formation. In Mekelle, the capital of Ethiopia in the second half of the 19th century, high-ranking aristocrats, who settled around the palace possessed large portion of surrounding territory, which was to be divided and even sub-divided into small portions in the course of time, but the ownership remained to the original families. In Addis Ababa, such process occurred in a much broader scale. As encampments by military lords, *sefer*, were the starting point of this city, the land ownership reflected their territories as well as the emperor's. Even until the last dynasty of Haile Selassie I, a limited number of aristocrats inherited this property right, so that the urban development was in hand of these privileged people. Contradiction between this privilege and the disadvantageous state of the majority finally reached the bloody revolution in 1974.

The nationalization of land at the initial stage of the *Derg* government became the given fact in the present situation of historical quarters in each city. Even after the liberation from the socialist regime, the new government kept this nationalization policy. Those who had benefitted from this process during the *Derg* regime were still able to maintain their dwelling with the amount of least rent. Although the expropriated land was returned back to the original owner in the form of leasehold, the house remained in the possession of the *kebele*, which was created at the same time as the nationalization for the purpose of collecting the “extra” houses and managing them. Equalization of land property caused share of poverty as long as the housing condition is concerned. Even mansions once owned by aristocrats were divided into many small pieces to be taken over by those who had suffered from the absence of their home.

The shift of the land ownership system in a typical historical city, Mekelle for instance, during the last two centuries could be summarized in following stages:

1. Distribution of land as reward to the subjects of the Emperor and to the lower class warriors from the local rulers in the second half of the 19th century. Nobles and clergy were recognized their landownership as customary *gult* right.
2. Fixation of the landownership by the nobles to each respective site within the city and, later on, division of each compound (parcel) by succession or by disposal. Ramification process of the compounds followed. These parcels were not affected by the land reform of the central government.
3. Nationalization of land in 1975 by the *Derg* government. The revolutionary action kicked off the traditional landowners and introduced a mass of poor inhabitants within the central districts. Newly created *kebele* was the managing body for the expropriated houses, but the poor maintenance made the situation of these houses in a critical state.
4. New land release policy since 1993 recovered the right of former owners in the form of leasehold. Some of former residents gradually returned to the original sites, but still suffering from the lack of incomes. In the meantime, new land lease policy accelerates the real estate business within the central districts.

Land management is, thus, the key to understand the present situation of urban life. The poor economical condition did not allow outstanding investment in the center of historical cities, but present land lease policy that has replaced collectivist idea of socialism, may cause radical transformation of the historic parts of such cities. To verify the present tendency, the author will focus on the reality of the present city centers and make precise analysis in the coming chapters.

Part Two

Actuality of Historical District
in Ethiopia

Chapter III

Gondar

1. Selection of Research Area in Gondar

1-1. Nature of Research Area

Following the historical analysis done in Chapter I, the actuality of central Gondar is to be observed and analyzed in this Chapter. The symbol of central Gondar is the old imperial palace complex, called *Fasil Ghebbi*, which has been renowned internationally as UNESCO World Heritage, but the surrounding area has been thought to be a slum-like deteriorated quarter without any architectural interest. No study on its building typology had been carried out until the intervention of the Keio University team in 2003. To evaluate the importance of the palace within the urban context, precise study on this central district was absolutely needed. Apparently the buildings which occupy the dense surrounding area looks very poor, especially inside the urban blocks, but it is expected that detailed survey by measurement of the existing buildings and interviews with the inhabitants would prove the history of this quarter as well as the origins of each building. Thus a case study was programmed by designating an area within the central districts of Gondar. With the selection of a district in the very center of Gondar and several types of surveys were carried out in two phases from the early 2000's to 2010's. All the existing buildings and the inhabitants in the case study area were the target of these surveys.

This case study area covers 1.57 ha (net), consisting of 2 blocks in *Kebele* 11, next to *Fasil Ghebbi*. These 2 blocks comprise approximately 150-200 housing units and 600-800 inhabitants. These numbers were proven to change yearly. The number of buildings is much less than the housing unit number as one building may possess several housing units for rental. This area has been traditionally called *Gira Bet*, known as a shady place with bars gathering lower class warriors and merchants mixed with drinking places. Different types of buildings are mixed up in an extremely dense district, but the existence of circular buildings, once residences for higher-class nobles, still exist in this quarter. This type of Gondarine residential building is based on the circular plan, called *kib* by the local people, consistently built since Gondarine Dynasty Era. The compounds with these round buildings however have been replaced by other types of residences with rectangular plan and less solid structure after the implementation of grid-pattern streets. Informal economy is apparent within its slum-like housing, but no precise study had been attempted until the master plan team started this comprehensive survey in this district.



Fig. 3-1 Aerial photo of Gondar, 2013: 1) *Fasil Ghebbi*, red colored area shows the interviewed research area

1-2. Research Method

The research on the central districts of Gondar consists of a series of field surveys done since the early 2000's. Keio University's team, to which the author belonged, who launched the field research program for the purpose of the modifying the existing master plan. The first phase surveys were carried out in this framework. After selecting the case study area, data were collected by Japanese surveyors in collaboration with local municipal officers. Interviews, questionnaires for the inhabitants, measurements of existing buildings as well as collecting old picture and maps were carried out *in situ* and followed by the analysis of building type (typological observation), old families (monographic observation), and integrated analysis of the quality of life in the targeted area (comprehensive observation). To achieve the last goal, overall surveys were carried out in terms of the nature of buildings (housing type, building material, building age, height), housing condition (tenure, infrastructure) and the nature of the inhabitants (age of the head of household, gender, religion, income, occupation, period of residence) in order to attain comprehensive observations related to the quality of life.

The first phase research consists of a preliminary survey in 2002, full-scale survey in 2003, and follow-up survey in 2005 while the second phase consists of a preliminary survey in 2009 and a full-scale survey in 2011, and a follow-up survey in 2013. In the first phase the key surveyors were Kyoko Homma and Yuko Otsubo, both graduate students of Keio University. The second phase was fully programmed by the author.



Fig. 3-2 Aerial photo of research area, *Kebele 11, Gondar*



Fig. 3-3 Base map of research area in Kebele 11, Gondar

2. Typological Observation on Old Buildings in Gondar

2-1. Dwelling Typology in Gondar

As mentioned in Chapter I, Gondar has shown to have the most historical and valuable buildings as the seat of the imperial court since the beginning of the 17th century. Quite a few monuments are still kept within its urban fabric. Besides the imperial buildings such as castles, detached palaces, baths and churches, nobles' residences represent the urban life during its flourishing period. Existing research on the architectural history of Gondar have focused exclusively on the imperial heritage, while other building types were nearly disregarded. The case study area is rich in this respect as it comprises different types of Gondarine architecture from old circular houses to much newer row houses which were constructed after the implementation of the new master plan in 1967. The author has tried to abstract certain dwelling types, which follow the unique urban formation process of this old capital, based on the research by Keio University's research team.

2-1-1. Circular House as Dwelling Type for Nobles and Clergy

Contrary to the imperial court buildings, the typological feature of nobles' houses called *kib*, is rather simple, based on a round plan with a diameter of 9-12m. This type of circular house is also called *echage bet* in Amharic, literally meaning "bishop's house". Probably it must have originated from the fact that high-rank clergy lived in this type of masonry house in the early period of the Gondarine Dynasty although such clergy houses have already spread to eastern *Quagn Bet*. The interviews with the residents and neighbors have proved the building age of each circular house. Before the Italian invasion of 1936, this circular house was a commonly shared building type for the wealthy people, but after the 1940's they were not constructed any more due to the diffusion of new building types corresponding to new urban planning.

Circular houses used to have thatched rooves until the middle of the 20th century, but most of them have been replaced by corrugated iron sheet roofing. Unfortunately, the historical value of such circular buildings has been long neglected as they were thought to be too vernacular and too conventional. In fact, the aerial photo of the 1930's reveals that this type of circular houses was anywhere around the castle compound. The authors' team confirmed the existence of 43 circular houses in the central district of Gondar. 25 (60%) and in *Kebele 11 (Gira Bet)* and *Kebele 9 (Arada = market area)* [Fig. 3-4]. It is natural that such a historical place as *Gira Bet* maintains these old houses since the imperial period, but, strangely enough, only a few circular houses were found in the eastern zone of *Fasil Ghebbi*, which was regarded as a residential quarter for high-class nobles and clergies. In the case study area, four circular houses were identified, though according to the interviews with the local people and even from old aerial photos of the 1930's, this area has been shown to have many more circular houses in the early 20th century.

Tomohiro Shitara made a comparative study between existing circular houses and an old

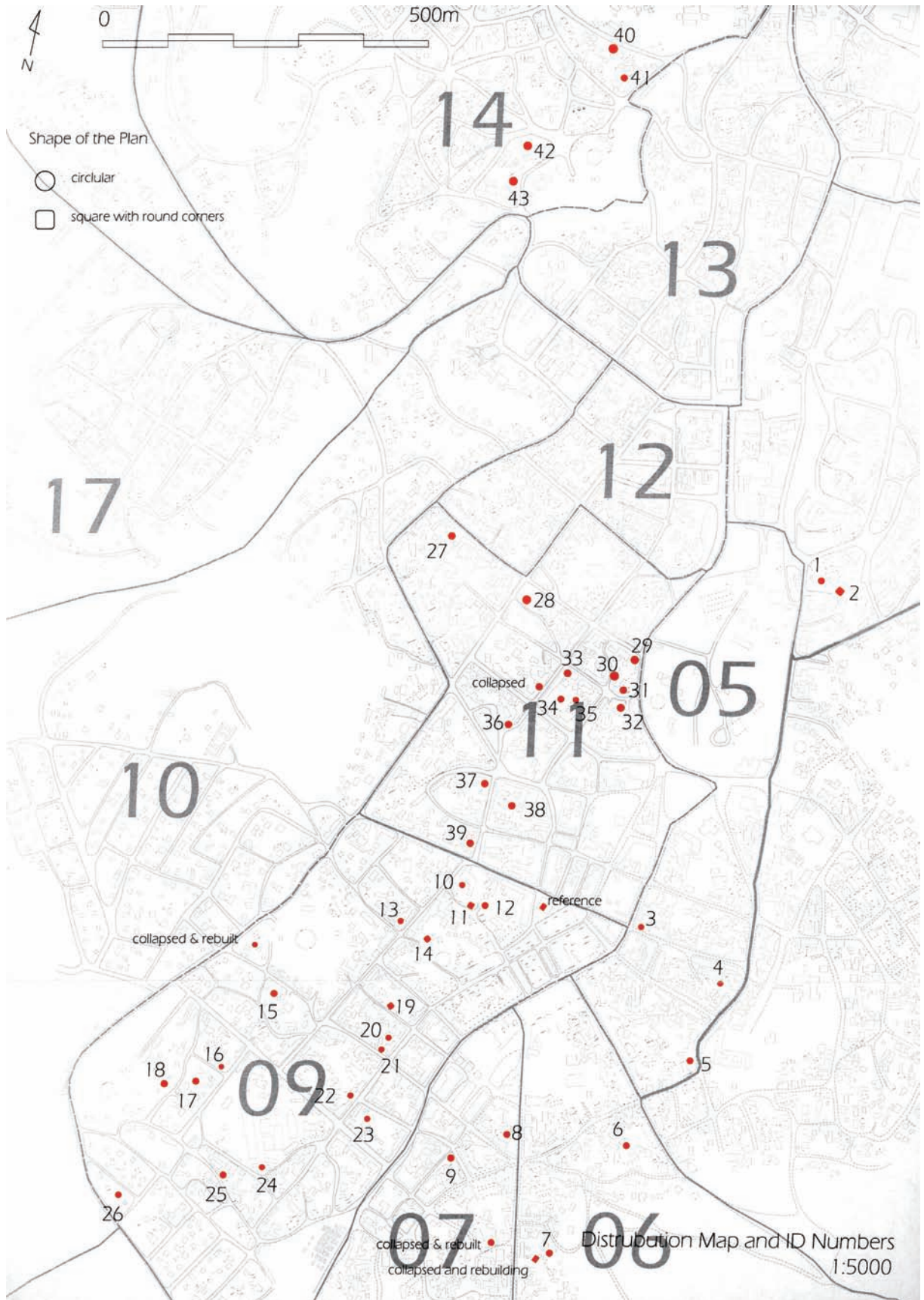


Fig. 3-4 Distribution of Circular Houses in Central Gondar, plotted by Kyoko Homma and Tomohiro Shitara



Fig. 3-5 Circular house drawn in an engraving by Achile Raffrayhouse

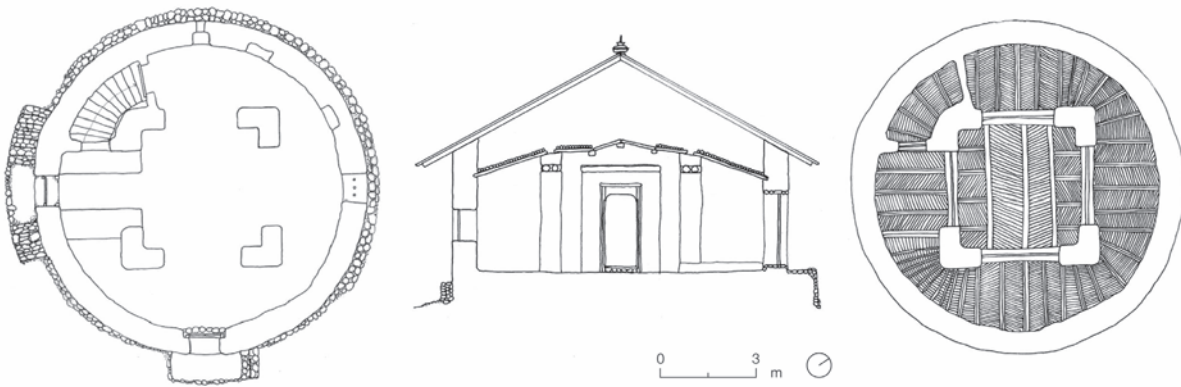


Fig. 3-6 Circular house in Kebele 11, plan (left), section (center), ceiling plan right). This house plan correspond to the top-right house in Fig.3-8



Fig. 3-7 Circular houses found in the research area

engraving executed by Achille Raffray, a French entomologist.¹ The original drawing by Raffray was made upon his visit for a scientific mission in 1873 [Fig. 3-7]. This engraving is so precise that the surrounding area of *Fasil Ghebbi*, especially *Gira Bet*, is realistically drawn. Reconstitution of the late 19th century townscape from this engraving using 3D modeling confirms that at least 2 existing circular houses among the 12 in *Kebele 11* date back to this period.² After Gondar lost its position as a capital due to the decision of Emperor Tewodros II to move the capital to Debra Tabor in 1855, the city was attacked and sacked twice by the emperor's army, first in 1864 and then in 1866. These political upheavals considerably devastated the city and many nobles and merchants were forced to leave. The engraving of Raffray shows the town only 7 years after the second attack. Many nobles' buildings which had surrounded the castle were either demolished or ruined. Therefore, the authors have to conclude that most of the current circular houses were reconstructed after this period except the two that are identified as the existing on the occasion of Raffray's visit.

The spatial composition of this circular house reminds us of the traditional circular churches in Ethiopia. Four L-shaped masonry pillars as well as the surrounding circular wall support the wooden conic roof structure [Fig. 3-5]. Stones with irregular shape and size are rustically coursed by using mud joining. Arched door and windows, framed by properly shaped stones, are inserted within the exterior circular wall.³ The floor is elevated and accessed by masonry staircases from the exterior. Some have an underground cellar. Some are of the two-story building type.

¹ Achille Raffray (1844-1923), member of the Société entomologique de France and the Société de Géographie, made a scientific voyage to Ethiopia in 1873 and published "Voyage en Abyssinie, à Zanzibar et au pays des Ouanika", *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*, No. 6, 1875

² Tomohiro Shitara, "Study on the Formation and Transformation of Traditional Residential Spaces in Gondar, Ethiopia", doctoral thesis, Keio University, 2008, pp.92 (in Japanese)

³ The masonry building technique in Gondar is considered to have originated from the construction of castle compound, that is, from the mixture of Ethiopian indigenous method and Indi-Portuguese technique, but the exactitude of the works is much inferior from that of eastern Tigray masonry tradition. See: Chapter IV.

2-1-2. Rectangular House

Contrary to the circular type, other building types in central Gondar seem to be rather banal in their formal and spatial characteristics. In the case study area, 10% of the existing buildings have been proven to date back to the period before the 1940's. Besides the circular type of buildings, which is mostly for the use of nobles and warriors, the rectangular type of building is also present. Based on a rectangular plan, they are built as detached houses. This rectangular type, which differs from the row house typology which came on stage afterward, seems to have been built for the use of ordinary people, if not as an auxiliary house next to the circular one, as a *chikka* building in many cases.

The most outstanding is the rectangular house that occupies the northwest edge of the case study area. Built around the 1960's, this double-story house responds to the new master plan of 1967 along the old route going southward to *Arada* (market). Its plan is rather simple, dividing the interior space into three. Later the house owner added accomodation wings (*bunnabet*), which had a U-shaped plan.

Another example of a rectangular house also sits alongside the old caravan route. Aged inhabitants remember its building age, that is, around the 1930's. It was said to be a brothel, surrounded by hedge, forming enclosure. This type of rectangular enclosure is exceptional in Gondar.



Fig. 3-8 Rectangular house

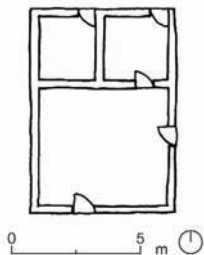
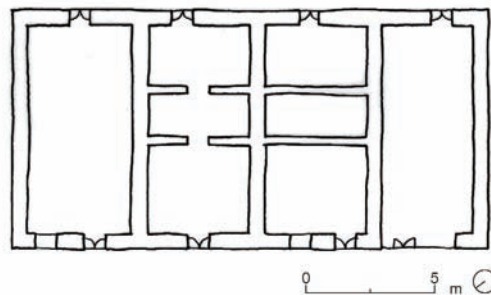


Fig. 3-9 Rectangular house

2-1-3. Row House

The implementation of a new street system within central Gondar generated new housing typology: the row house. Not only the old inhabitants but also newcomers who were attracted by the convenient location of this area constructed houses along the new streets. Majority of housing units occupying the case study area suggests this typology. Careful observation of each house proves the difference between those exposed to the street and hidden within the block. The former has convenient access from the street and high potential for commercial purpose while the other shows low quality *chikka* construction without any commercial value. A certain number of this type was constructed around 1967 on the occasion of the implementation of the new master plan. The interview with one of the oldest family in this block proved that their circular type house was replaced with a rectangular row house type with reinforce concrete in 1967.⁴ This house is a typical modernized house in the urban context of Gondar in the last phase of the Haile Selassie Period. Comparing the outer row houses which are exposed to the streets, the inner row houses were constructed relatively later and with much lower quality.

⁴ The owner of this house is the descendant of Emperor Tewodros and it was the grandfather of the actual resident who decided to reconstruct the house according to the new alignment of the street in 1967. He was then the mayor of Gondar.

2-1-4. *Bunnabet*

Every city in Ethiopia has inns as accommodation for travelers. Such is the case in Gondar. The traditional type of inn has been called *bunnabet*, meaning coffee house. A coffee house, or a restaurant, is situated at the front with continuous rooms in the form of U or V is connected on the backside. In the case study area, three *bunnabets* were identified. All of these were constructed after the implementation of the master plan in 1967 as they follow explicitly the new alignment. Two of these are two story buildings. A *Bunnabet* is often used as a brothel although its main purpose is to accommodate travelers. These coffee houses are often described as places “most commonly, to drink, talk, or visit the prostitutes”.⁵ The tradition of *Gira Bet* as a disreputable drinking area must have amplified this situation.

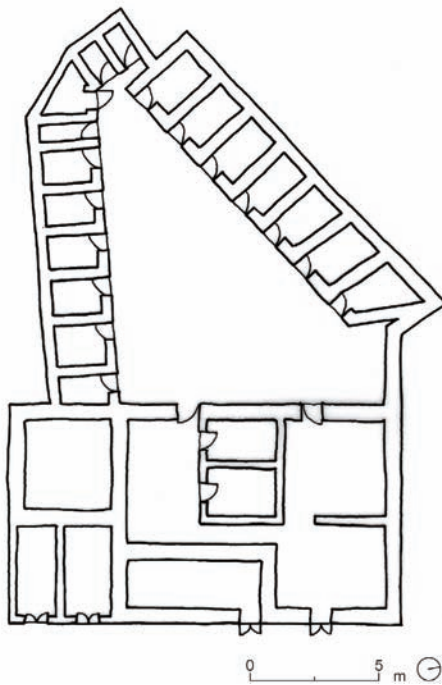


Fig. 3-10 Plan of *Bunnabet*



Fig. 3-11 An example of a room of *Bunnabet*

⁵ Reidulf Knut Molvaer, "Tradition and Change in Ethiopia: Social and Cultural Life as Reflected in Amharic Fictional Literature ca. 1930-1974", E.J.Brill, Leiden, 1980, pp.143-153

2-1-5. Italian Colonial House and Its Influence

Gondar was designated the capital of Amhara Governorate in Italian East Africa (A.O.I.). The master planning by Gherardo Bosio containing the construction of numerous government facilities, was analyzed in Chapter I, but, besides such official facilities, Italians introduced colonial types of housing in order to receive officials and immigrant workers. A promotion film by A.O.I. represents construction of houses in Gondar.⁶ Seized by the modernist idea of housing, Italians were obsessed by symmetrical order. As the case study area was within the “indigenous zone” according to the Italian *Piano Regolatore*, no such buildings were erected there, but in the former Italian residential districts, this type of colonial houses are still maintained and resided in by Ethiopian inhabitants.

The most peculiar is the wooden housing for Italian military officers although it is not identified within the case study area.⁷ It comprises a group of houses in the old military quarter behind the castle of *Ras Mikael Sehul*. Characterized by a wooden dry construction method, this housing system was virtually the first prefabricated housing in the world, prior to Jean Prouvé's contribution in France.

The villa type house is another example of Italian architectural influence. Its principal idea was to provide comfort and luxury as a single story detached house for the upper middle class. Based on a square plan, it has a terrace in front of the entrance. The division of interior space follows the European manner. Although a villa type house is identified in another block next to the case study area, this is an Ethiopian interpretation of the Italian model. Its building material was stone and *chikka*.



Fig. 3-12 Symmetrical house built by the Italians in 1930s, postcard



Fig. 3-13 Villa type house found in the nearby block of the research area

⁶ “Gondar, antica capital” produced by A.O.I. 1936

⁷ The industrial houses introduced by the Italian colonial government was well analyzed by Tomohiro Shitara in a series of his papers on Gondar. See: Tomohiro Shitara, “A Study on Construction Method and Material of Italian Buildings in Gondar”, *Journal of Asian Architecture and Building Engineering*, Vol.5, No.2, 2006, pp.215-220. Tomohiro Shitara, “Present Condition of Historical Italian Buildings in Gondar”, *Journal of Nilo-Ethiopian Studies*, No.10, 2006, pp.15-22.

2-2. Typological Review

The variety of building types is not so complicated in the central districts of Gondar. Referring to its urban history, the evolution of historical quarters depends on the old compounds restricted to nobles and warriors who served the court. Its land use resembles that of an encampment, called *sefer*. Around the court, higher nobles always gathered their warriors in the form of a military camp. Their residences were principally circular houses. In several engravings drawn by European travelers in the 19th century, which depicted such housing types, the present *Gira Bet* area was not so densely populated. And the aerial pictures by the Italians in the 1930's show how it had evolved to form a much more concentrated urban fabric. It is important to know that the notion of compound for each family is not so strong in comparison with Tigrayan *hidmo* style residences. All the houses, either circular or rectangular, are inter-mixed so as to form continuous urban space, at least in the 20th century. In Mekelle, on the contrary, the nobles' houses are clearly delimited by stonewalls. In the 19th century the traditional manner of compound with several circular houses within was still alive in Gondar. The process of densification must have eliminated the boundaries of the compounds.

The hypothetical scheme of Gondarine dwelling types is simple [Fig. 3-14]. The main stream was occupied by the circular house type. Once settled in Gondar, nobles and warriors made their residence in the form of circular house. Each family had its own compound surrounded by a circular stonewall. Attached houses and huts were added within this compound. It was in the early 20th century when the urban activity was accelerated and intensified. Migration of those who were engaged in trade and commerce in central Gondar, especially in the quarters between *Gira Bet* and *Arada*, resulted in the concentration of central Gondar. The interviews with old locals proved this fact.⁸ Different types of dwellings were generated for the sake of ordinary migrant people. They built rectangular houses with minimal financial resources. The Italian invasion occurred in this period. The intention of the Italian Governorate was to construct completely new towns outside of this "indigenous" city, and it is true that they exerted tremendous influence upon Ethiopian buildings. Masons and carpenters learned new construction methods by participating in the Italian building activities. The shift of building type from the old circular type to the "modernized" urban houses would explain this process. Row houses were the result of the new master plan in 1967. The alignment code obliged new constructions to follow the block and street pattern and resulting buildings were designed along streets regarding their building purposes. Moreover, densification required the utilization of inner spaces within blocks. Such row houses were of low quality in terms of building material and technique; this resulted in slum type dwellings.

⁸ The interview with *Emuhaye Wudyé Gora Chekole*, born around 1925, resident of an old house in the case study area, proved that his grandfather started business of trading and settled here, probably at the end of the 19th century. This house is located along the old passage for traders towards *Arada* (market). Interview held in August 2011.

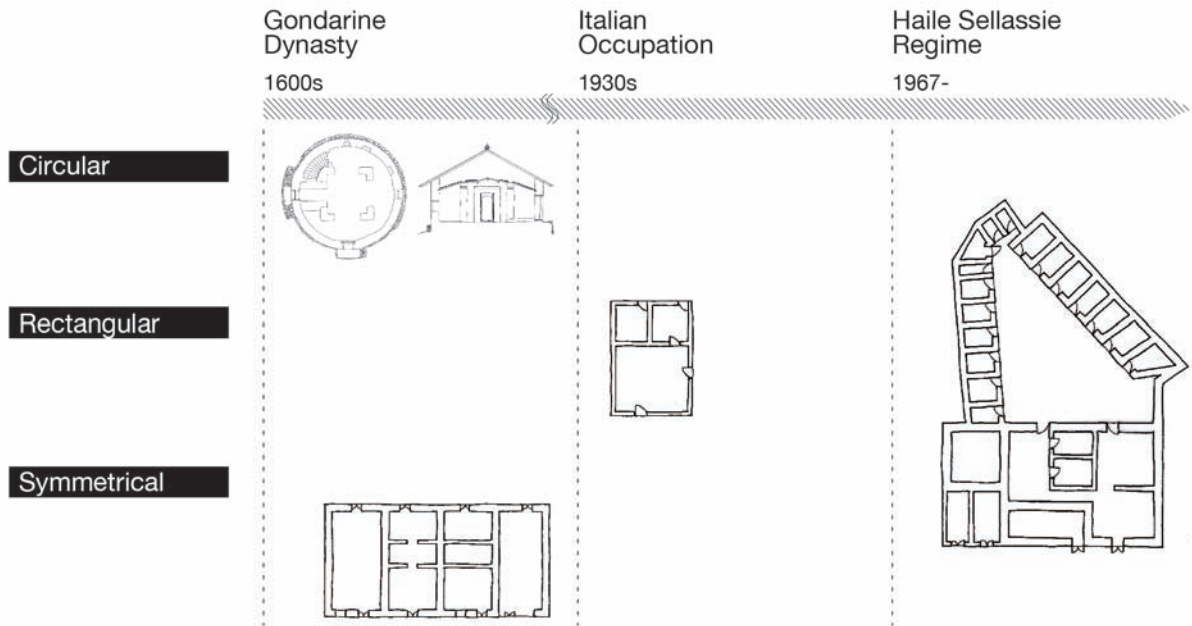


Fig. 3-14 Hypothetical Scheme of Gondarine Dwelling Types

3. Monographic Observation on Old Families in Central Gondar

3-1. Old Families of Central Gondar

Although Gondar has enjoyed a long history as an imperial capital, it is not easy to find its traces among those who have lived in this city. The political changes, first in the second half of the 19th century, then during the Italian occupation in the 1930's, caused a drastic shift of the inhabitants and the radical land reform done by the *Derg* regime nearly eradicated the traces of imperial families and nobles. However, several remains of old circular houses in the heart of the city suggest the presence of the old occupants. The field survey of 2011, as a matter of fact, revealed the presence of several old families within the boundary of *Kebele* 11, which is thought to have been the center of urban activities since Gondarine Dynasty period. The author has carried out a series of interviews with a competent family member of each old family in order to clarify the family history and their residence.

3-2. Old Families and their Residences in Research Area

(1) Emperor Tewodros II and his Descendants (House Fantaya Afework)

According to the old aerial photo and the present cadastral system, several masonry houses situated in the case study area were proven to have been constructed after the master planning of 1967 during the last reign of Haile Selassie I. Such is the case for the house in which the informant, Fantaya Afework, resides. The interview revealed that the family is the direct descendant of Emperor Tewodros II, the last emperor of the Gondarine Dynasty who transferred the capital from Gondar to Debre Tabor in 1855 [Fig. 3-15]. Emperor Tewodros, with the name of Kassa Haile, was a descendant of a noble family residing in Dambia, in line with his father, Haile Giorghis Wolde Giorghis, and grandfather, *Dejazmach* Wolde Giorghis.

Tewodros's son, Meshasha was clever enough to keep distance from his father's reign, which was terminated brutally by the attack of the British Force. Because of this, Meshasha was the one who assisted the escape of the future emperor from detention under his father. Meshasha Tewodros was given the princely title of *Ras* and was allowed to rule Dembia, located near Lake Tana. His son Kassa Meshasha, with the title of *Dejazmach*, was a well-known politician in Ethiopian modern history. He led the resistance against the Italian occupation and was nominated mayor of Gondar after the Italian retreat. His grandson possesses his portrait and his wife's. *Dejazmach* Kassa was the one who constructed the present house. Before its construction, the family used to live in a large compound with circular houses within. His daughter, Mentewab Kassa, who was elected as a Member of the parliament, was also important in the political scene of Haile Selassie regime.

The informant, Fantaya Afework, born around 1946 (65 years old in 2011) as the daughter of Mentewab Kassa and present head of the household, clearly remembers her family history. Her mother, Mentewab had 4 children (2 daughters and 2 sons). As Fantaya lives in Addis Ababa, the house is occupied by Yelemgeghi, one of her younger brothers.

The present house was constructed around 1967 in accordance with the new master plan with its basic urban pattern. The state of the site before the master planning is easily reconstructed thanks to an aerial picture of the 1930's. The family used to possess a wide compound around this quarter. Circular houses and dependant smaller houses can be seen in this picture. The neighbors still remember how this family, who was respected by not only local inhabitants but also by all the classes of the social hierarchy, lived in this compound. The expropriation by the *Derg* Government resulted in the large compound divided into pieces.

Contrary to the old compound and circular houses, the present house is of a much simpler type with rectangular plan divided into several sections. This is apparently designed as a kind of row house, which should fit to the new master plan. The idea of modern life in a westernized housing plan was incorporated. As the residence of the ex-mayor, the family must have cooperated with the new city planning by the municipality and the NUPI. Although humble looking from outside, this type was conceived as the prototype of a new

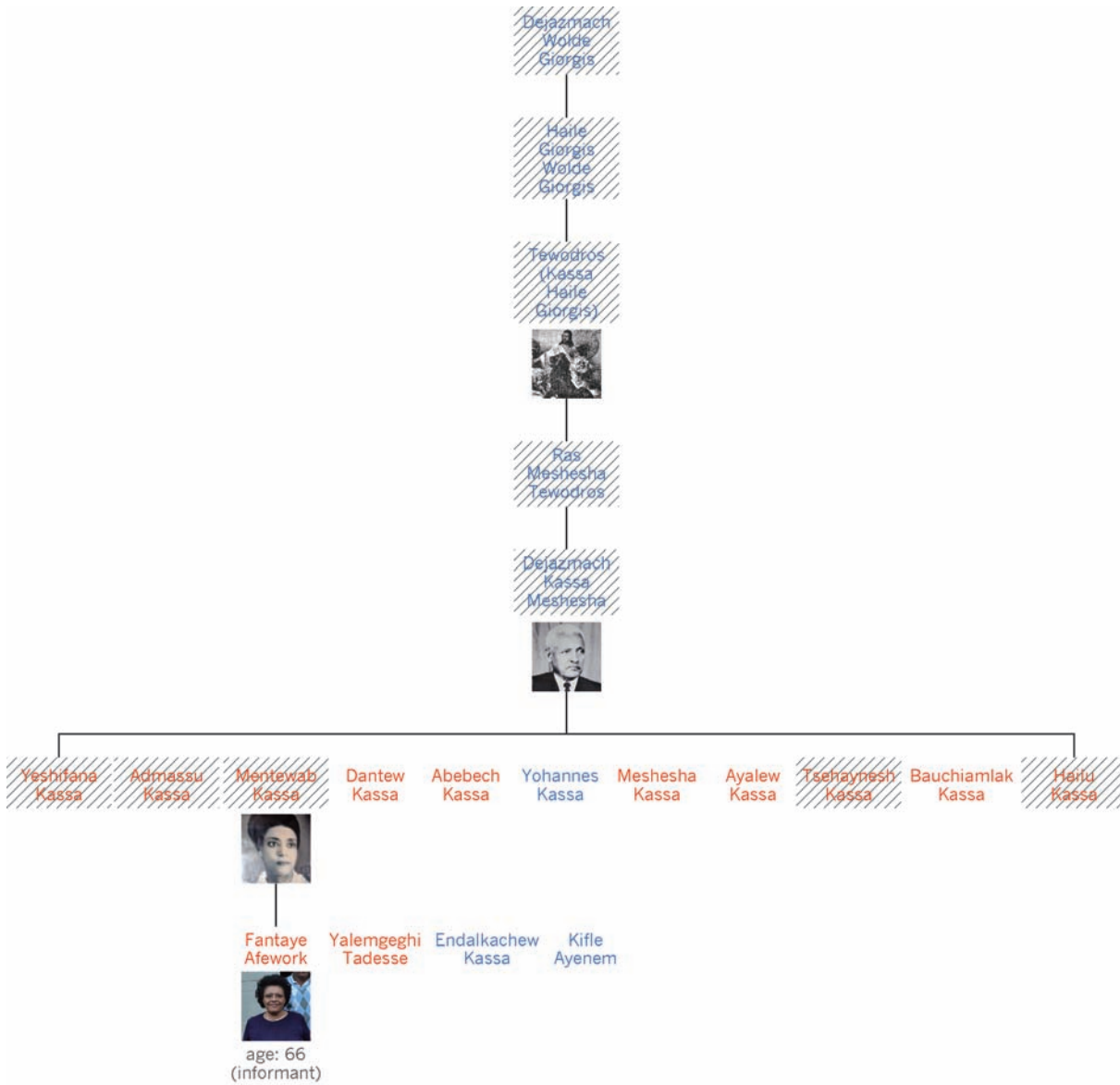


Fig. 3-15 Family tree of Fantaya Afework's Family



Fig. 3-16 House Mentewab Kassa

urban dwelling for the wealthy and was to be harmonized with the new townscape based on grid plan. The neighboring houses, continuation of this row house, used to belong to this family, but the *Derg* Government expropriated all the extra properties.

(2) Old Trader's Family (House *Emuhaye* Wudye Gora Chekole)

From the end of the 19th century, Gondar came to attract traders and merchants. This family has still preserves traces of that period. On the northwest edge of the case study area, descendants of such traders spend life in the same way as before. This *chikka* house with rectangular plan is to be seen in the same block as House Fantaya Afework. This house is resided in by an old woman, the oldest in this area as she was 86 years old in 2011 [Fig. 3-17]. *Emuhaye* Wudye Gora⁹, currently an ordained nun, was born in this house. She said that her mother was born here. This building could be then considered to be dated at the end of the 19th century or beginning of the 20th century [Fig. 3-18]. Her father, Gora, as well as her grandfather, Chekole, was engaged in trading. They belonged to a trading house, that is, to a traditional transportation house with donkeys, horses and mules and travelled back and forth to/from Asmara, Eritrea. It took 6 months to travel from Gondar to Asmara. *Emuhaye* Wudye has two sons. One is a teacher, the other died when he was a child. Her sister is still in good shape at the age of 90, living in Gondar as well.

The original shape of this house was rectangular, but later additional wings were erected for both sides. Whole building belonged to her family, but the *Derg* Government expropriated extra spaces and redistributed them to newly created *kebele* administration. Her residence is a small unit, where she lives together with her son. All this information suggests that this house is one of the oldest constructions, comparable to a much older circular houses for nobles. The dimension of the new housing, which is characterized by a rectangular plan, seemed to have been already shared among the Ethiopians before the coming of the Italians.



Fig. 3-17 Family tree of *Emuhaye* Wudye Gora Chekole's family (left)

Fig. 3-18 House *Emuhaye* Wudye Gora Chekole (right)

⁹ *Emuhaye*, sometimes written as *Emahoy*, is the title for nun, who is ordained. In many cases widow over the age of 60 years old becomes *Emuhaye* after she one year's test period



Fig. 3-19 Portrait of *Emuhaye Adena Tirune* (left)

Fig. 3-20 House *Emuhaye Adena Tirune* (right)

(3) Those Who Succeeded the Old Brothel (House *Emuhaye Adena Tirune*)

This house, in front of one of the largest circular houses in Gondar, is resided by an old lady's family. The head of the household, *Emuhaye Adena Tirune*, born around 1936 (75 years old in 2011), who has been ordained as a nun 5 years ago, has a large family of 7 children (3 sons and 4 daughters). Born in Bellesa (Areboya), 60 km from Gondar, she married, first in Bellesa and second in Gondar. The second marriage was the reason why she moved to this city around 1950, but she does not know well the stories about the Italian occupation.

Her house was constructed during the Italian occupation as an *enquoyemesk*, brothel for prostitution [Fig. 3-20]. The aerial picture of Gondar in the 1930's clearly shows this house, which was surrounded by walls. This walled and gated house, in which young Ethiopian women lived, was the place where soldiers and other males frequented during the occupation period, although the house was also inhabited by ordinary persons like Adena who moved from the countryside. This means that the purpose of the house became vague as other women continued their night business in parallel to Adena's family. The expropriation of this house by the *Derg* government resulted in the change of ownership from a private landlord to *kebele*. Adena's house is still in the possession of *kebele*.

The house itself is an ordinary house made by *chikka* construction with a rectangular plan. It is divided into three rooms, each used as a housing unit for the time being. This is a typical rectangular detached house of the 1930's and 40's.

4. Comprehensive Observation on Housing Conditions and Residents in Central Gondar

4-1. Kebele 11 as Target Area

Throughout the history of Gondar, the Castle compound has been always the very center of the city in a political sense. The neighboring quarters have been providing residences for the subject and clergy who occupied higher ranks in the social hierarchy. Today *Kebele* 11 corresponds to these quarters, though mixed with commercial sectors represented by *Arada*. These central districts are no longer the most privileged zone, but have deteriorated buildings all around. The mixture of old buildings and new commercial functions confuses the nature of this area, as it should be the most dignified and well-arranged district due to its location next to the castle. The case study consists of two blocks with an area of 1.57 ha. They were chosen from this *kebele* to make a full-scale investigation of this sensible district. The survey was carried out in two phases.

First Survey:	Preliminary survey	March 2002
	Full-scale survey	December 2002
		August-September 2003
	Follow-up survey	December 2003
Second Survey:	Preliminary survey	August -September 2009
	Full-scale survey	August 2011

Parallel to the analysis on the physical aspect of the case study area, the survey team has examined the social characteristics of this area by analyzing the data collected from the interviews. The survey of December 2002 focused on the social aspects of the inhabitants by carrying out a series of interviews with questionnaires. In the next year, August-September 2003, the team focused on the physical aspects of the buildings, making measurements of all the housing units and shops in the research area. Therefore the data related to the nature of the inhabitants is from the survey at the end of 2002.¹⁰

This area is heavily crowded with a population of 770 inhabitants and 203 households as of the summer of 2003 (based on the information from the municipality). The density is approximately 490 person/ha. It is amazing that, as the preliminary survey carried out in March of the previous year showed the population of 630 inhabitants and 158 households in the same area, the population growth was 22% in 17 months.¹¹ On the other hand, the average number of a household was reduced from 4.4 (March 2002) to 3.7 (August 2003).¹² *Kebele* 11 is, accordingly, considered to have the highest density in all Gondar. Even in 2009, this high density was still in the same level: 480 person/ha all over *Kebele* 11.

¹⁰ The result of the first survey was first published in 2011. Riichi Miyake, Rumi Okazaki, Moe Hirohara, "Studies on the Living Condition and the Housing Problem in Central Gondar, Ethiopia", *Bulletin of Fuji Women's University*, No.48, Ser. II, 2011, pp.23-33

¹¹ Kyoko Homma, Yuko Otsubo, Riichi Miyake, Tomohiro Shitara, "Study on the Hygiene Condition of the Central Dense Area in Gondar, Ethiopia", *Bulletin of Architectural Institute of Japan*, F-2, 2004, pp.1505-1506

¹² Tomohiro Shitara, Riichi Miyake, Yuko Otsubo, Kyoko Homma, "A Study on the Transformation of Urban Structure and Distribution of Historical Architecture in Gondar", *Bulletin of Architectural Institute of Japan*, F-2, 2004, pp.257-258 (in Japanese)

4-2. First Survey in Kebele 11 (2002/2003)

4-2-1. Process of First Survey

The questionnaire used for the interview contains questions in three categories: nature of buildings (construction type, building material, building age, height), housing condition (type of tenure, infrastructure) and nature of inhabitants (age/gender/religion/ethnic group of the head of household, size of household, period of residence, occupation, income, house economy). Measurement of all the building within the case study area (2 blocks) was carried out at the same time. Students of Keio University, led by Riichi Miyake, took this survey in collaboration with the municipality in December in 2002 and in August/September in 2003.

Among 203 households, 158 answered the questions (recovery rate: 77.8%). The interview was carried out *in situ* upon a visit to each of their houses. Most of the inhabitants were very welcoming, but some were reluctant to talk to investigators and speak of their personal living. Some, accordingly, did not answer certain questions. In terms of measurement of the buildings, most of the inhabitants were cooperative, though some houses were locked due to the absence of the residents and did not allow surveyors to enter inside. The absence of GIS maps of the municipality obliged the surveyors to measure all the buildings manually. All the collected data were brought back to Japan and analyzed. The site plan was drawn based on the measured plans of the buildings.



Fig. 3-21 Building age in research area, Gondar, Kebele 11, 2002/2003



4-2-2. Outcome of First Survey

(1) Nature of Buildings

a. Building Age (2002/2003)

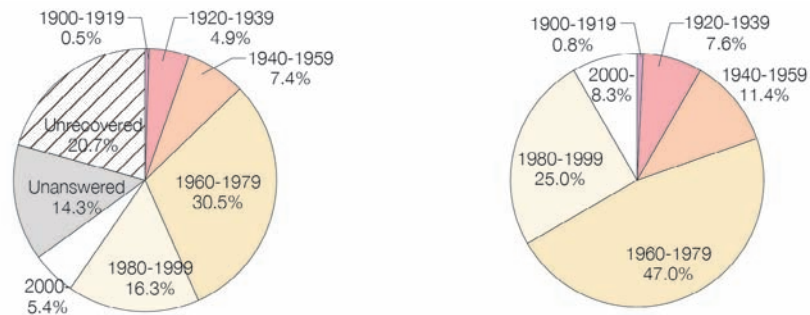


Fig. 3-22 Building age in research area, Gondar, Kebele 11, 2002/2003

The result of the survey reveals that 10% of the existing buildings are very old, built before 1940, that is, before the Italian Occupation period. Among them, 4 circular houses were found. Another circular building was found, but in a ruined state. On the contrary, 74% of the houses were constructed after the implementation of the master plan of 1967. Majority of the building were constructed before the end of the *Derg* government. This means that this area had been already built up and was overwhelmingly crowded around the 1970's and 1980's. Besides 4 authentic circular houses, other old houses constructed before the Italian invasion were mostly regarded as depending buildings to such high-class residences. They keep the tradition of masonry technique. In fact, 6 small depending buildings erected before the Italian occupation, currently used as dwellings, were detected. Several old houses were also detected within the case study area. They are detached houses with a rectangular plan, mainly constructed in the Italian Occupation period. One house currently inhabited by a nun and her family was proved to have been running a brothel. Apparently these old buildings, circular and rectangular, were absorbed within the crowded urban fabrics and it may be difficult to recognize them at once. This concerns the change of a circulation system after the Italian occupation period. Although the Italians designated this area as an "indigenous district" and kept it untouched, Haile Selassie's government implemented a new master plan in 1967 with a grid pattern street system to be covered in the central district. Accordingly, the conventional footpaths connecting these old houses lost their significance within the newly generated urban blocks. Still it is not difficult to find out the traces of these inorganically stretching old paths. Old houses stand, in fact, along these old footpaths that used to be the connecting route toward *Arada*. Most of the row houses were constructed only after the implementation of the master plan of 1967. They were constructed along the newly constructed street. Some are by permanent construction of masonry construction or reinforced concrete structure while most of them are *chikka* construction with mud and eucalyptus timbers, which is cheap but does not stand long. The main street along the wall of the palace was also constructed after 1967, by replacing old walls delimiting the nobles' quarter. As the commercial value of the main street is very high, those who occupy this part of the block tended to build permanent structures of house shops, bars and restaurants.



Fig. 3-23 Building use in research area, Gondar, Kebele 11, 2002/2003

b. Building Use (2002/2003)

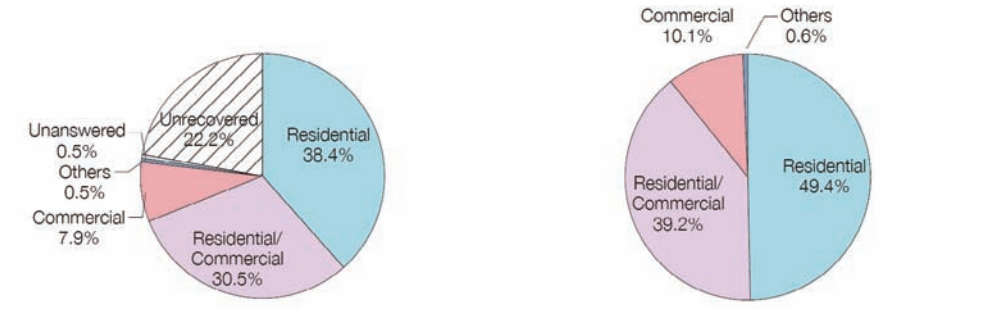


Fig. 3-24 Building use in research area, Gondar, Kebele 11, 2002/2003

Most of the houses are for residential purpose. Among them, 49% are exclusively residential while 39% are for mixed use of residential and commercial. Exclusively commercial use is 10%, which stretches along the main axial road neighboring the main road.



Fig. 3-25 Building material in research area, Gondar, Kebele 11, 2002/2003

c. Building Material (2002/2003)

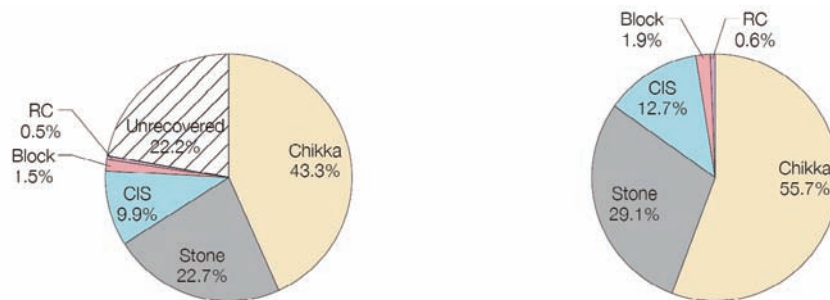


Fig. 3-26 Building material in research area, Gondar, Kebele 11, 2002/2003

Building materials of Gondarine architecture are limited. Basically three materials were detected: stone, *chikka*, and reinforced concrete. Two combination types should be added: timber & iron sheet and concrete block structures. Masonry structures comprise 29 % while *chikka* 52%. Traditional buildings for the nobles such as circular houses are of masonry structures and they last much better than ordinary *chikka*, low quality timber and mud structures, which are not at all durable. Reinforced concrete was introduced by the Italians on the occasion of the construction of public facilities and commercial centers in the 1930's. Although it was widely used from the 1950's in Ethiopia, only a few such buildings were found in this area, such as two-story *bunnabet*.

Post-Italian buildings were principally laid out following the grid pattern. It should be noted that the notion of alignment appeared in such a way that newly constructed houses were forced to be lined on the border of streets and parcels. Until the mid 1960's the building activity was so weak that a limited number of buildings occupied this area, but since the implementation of the new master plan by the Haile Selassie's government in 1967, the area has been transformed to be more commercial on the street side and also became denser behind these commercial buildings. Street side shops have been constructed by using solid structures mainly of stone and in exceptional cases by reinforced concrete, though most of the housing units inside the block were constructed by *chikka*. The latter is in the form of row houses with a single room for one household (5m² in average).



Fig. 3-27 Building height in research area, Gondar, Kebele 11, 2002/2003

d. Building Height (2002/2003)



Fig. 3-28 Building height in research area, Gondar, *Kebele* 11, 2002/2003

The townscape of this central area is very flat. Therefore the number of two-story buildings is very limited. Only 9 buildings have two floors and most of them are found in the northern block. They comprise only 13 housing units that amounts to 6.4% of the total number of housing units in the research area. Note that half of these two story buildings are *bunnabet*, an Ethiopian style inn. The central location must have attracted investment by such business owners.



Fig. 3-29 Type of tenure in research area, Kebele 11, Gondar, 2002/2003

(2) Type of Tenure (2002/2003)

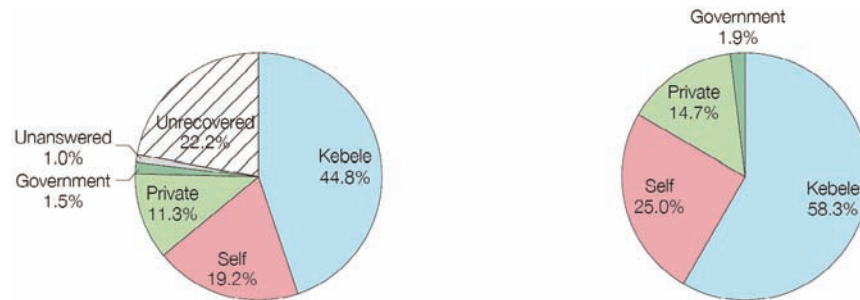


Fig. 3-30 Type of tenure in research area, Kebele 11, Gondar, 2002/2003

The type of tenure shows a specific tendency here. 25% of the inhabitants still keep the ownership of their houses. Some old families from the beginning of the 20th century are included in this group. The rest is either public housing (60%) or rental housing from private owners (15%). Public housing here does not mean standardized collective housing as seen in Europe or in Asia. Most belong to the *kebele* (58%) while others are owned by RHAA (2%) under the federal government. The radical land reform during the *Derg* period forced each household to limit their house ownership to one. All the surplus houses were nationalized. Newly established *kebele* administration was then handed over to these expropriated houses and assigned to public housing for low-income people.¹³ This is the reason why *kebele* runs public housing businesses all over its territory.¹⁴

The annual house rent for *kebele* housing in the target area was only 46.5 ETB (5.43 USD) on average in 2002.¹⁵ This extremely low rent enables poorer inhabitants to afford such *kebele* housing. They live in a humble housing unit with the average surface of 23.1m², two thirds of which are made of *chikka*. Most *kebele* houses, accordingly, suffer from bad housing condition. In addition, inhabitants were not interested in maintenance or repair of such a house that is not their own property. The lack of appropriate maintenance worsened the situation. Concerning the 4 circular houses existing in the target area, 2 were expropriated and handed over to Kebele 11.¹⁶

On the other hand, Private rental housing has become more active. This comes from the change of the housing policy by the new government. Those who moved to new houses outside started private rental housing business. The houses out for rent by private owners are much higher: 85 ETB per month on average in the target area. This difference between the public and the private housing businesses is directly related to the co-existence of two different groups in this target area: one spending their lives on an informal sector or in

¹³ The census of 1994 reveals the type of tenure of the housing stock in Gondar. 41.1% houses were owner occupied and the remaining were rented or occupied by any other means. About 28.86% houses were rented from *kebele*, 19.8% from private households, and 17% from public housing agency. The proportion of owner occupied/rented occupied coincides to that in Kebele 11, shown by the authors' survey. Bekele Melese "Influence Area and Municipal Service Study", Report presented to the Municipality, Gondar, 2002

¹⁴ In Gondar, the number of *kebele* housing units was 6,643 units among 24,454 units as the total number of housing units in 21 *kebele* in 2002. Kebele 11 possesses the highest number of *kebele* housing units (about 1,000 units).

¹⁵ 1 USD (U.S. dollar) used to be 8.57 ETB (Ethiopian birr) in December 2002. It suffered rapid decline in the 2000's as the exchange rate was 12.99 ETB in March 2010, 17.01 ETB in August 2011, 18.75 ETB in July 2013.

¹⁶ The circular house on the north east corner keeps its original feature, containing basement. The owner suffered the loss of their surplus properties during the *Derg* period, but actually thanks to their diaspora family members in U.S. they maintain comfortable way of living.



Fig. 3-31 Age of head of household in research area, Kebele 11, Gondar, 2002/2003

poorly equipped workshops and the others who enjoy a relatively good housing conditions.

(3) Nature of the Inhabitants

a. Attributes of Inhabitants

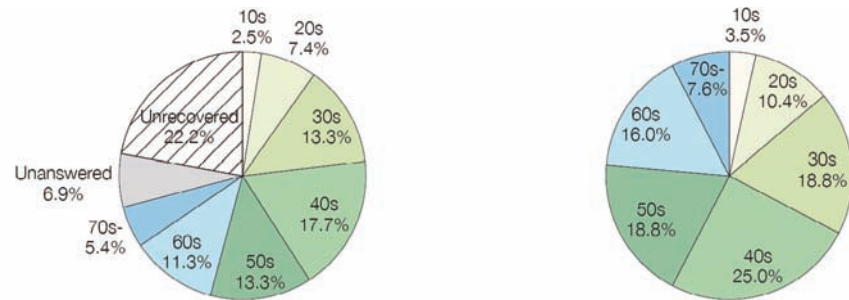


Fig. 3-32 Age of head of household in research area, Kebele 11, Gondar, 2002/2003

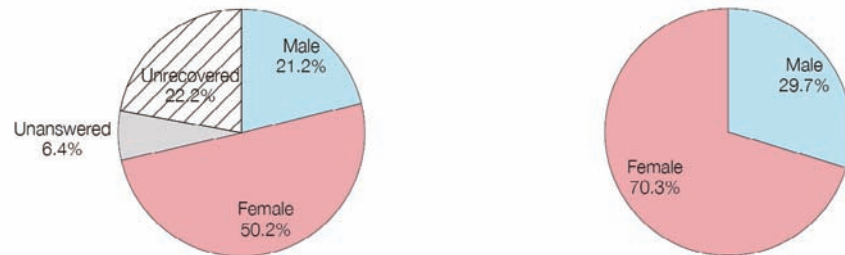
a-1. Age of Head of Household (2002/2003)

The inhabitants of this area show specific tendencies. They are relatively aged and smaller in household size. The average age of the head of the household is 45.9 years old. 24% of them are over 60 years old. In addition, heritage houses are mainly occupied by older families.



Fig. 3-33 Gender of head of household in research area, Kebele 11, Gondar, 2002/2003

a-2. Gender of Head of Household (2002/2003)

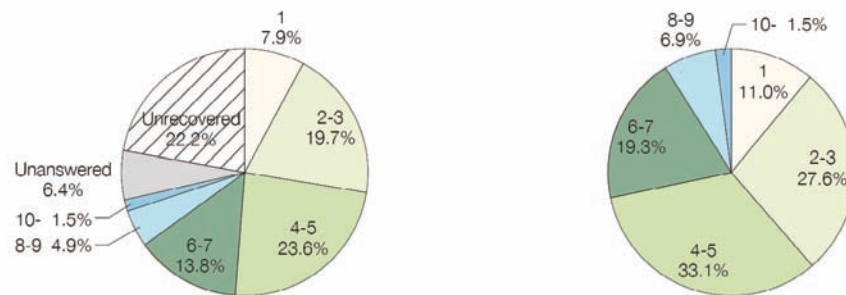
Fig. 3-34 Gender of head of household in research area, *Kebele* 11, Gondar, 2002/2003

70% of the heads of household were female. This comes from the fact that majority of females here were single mothers or widows. The younger generation stands out in this respect: 78% of the heads of household under 49 years old are females. The average number of children (under 19 years old) is 2.4, much smaller than the average of all Gondar (5.6). Despite the extremely high birth rate in Ethiopia (5.55 in 2003, 6.12 in 2009), it is astonishingly low in this central district.



Fig. 3-35 Household size in research area, Kebele 11, Gondar, 2002/2003

b. Household Size (2002/2003)

Fig. 3-36 Household size in research area, *Kebele* 11, Gondar, 2002/2003

The average of the household size in this district is smaller 4.4 persons on average. The average number of children is 2.6. This is much smaller than the average of Gondar City, which was 5.5 in 2003. As mentioned above, the presence of single mothers is the one of the major reasons.



Fig. 3-37 Period of residence in research area, Kebele 11, Gondar, 2002/2003

c. Period of Residence (2002/2003)

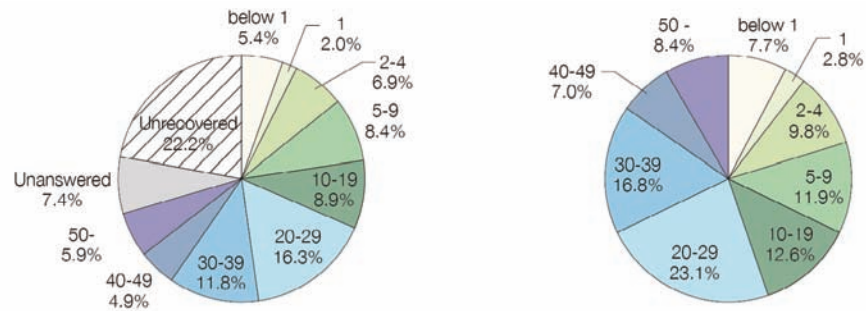


Fig. 3-38 Period of residence in research area, Kebele 11, Gondar, 2002/2003

Comparatively long-term settlement tendency is strong in this area. The average period of residence is 21.5 years. 8% of the households, or 12 families, have lived here for more than 50 years. They are the real old residents in this historical quarter. Those who have lived here more than 40 years account for 15%, or 22 families, while those who have lived there for less than 10 years are 32%. This means two extremes, long-term residents and newcomers co-exist, curiously enough. Old families enjoy their lives here, but at the same time we see the opposite tendency of high mobility as well.



Fig. 3-39 Income in research area, Kebele 11, Gondar, 2002/2003

(4) Socio-Economic Factors (Occupation and Income)

a. Occupation of Head of Household (2002/2003)

The questionnaire of the survey in 2002/2003 did not ask the occupation of the residents. Still, according to the classification of commercial types, certain tendencies could be depicted. For instance, the presence of bar keepers who run bars and alcohol shops is peculiar in this area. As mentioned before, *Gira Bet* has been known as a disreputable “gay trade” quarter throughout the last century. Among 24 bars detected in the target area, two types of residents should be distinguished: one who resides here and runs a business for more than 30 years, and another who has settled in this area just recently to open their own bar. The former group depends on a *kebele*-rented *chikka* house while the latter rents a privately owned house. A few are suffering from very low income, but most of the bar keepers receive a relatively high income. This result does not show the existence of prostitution that is apparently held in bars and *bunnabet* (Ethiopian style inn).

b. Income (2002/2003)

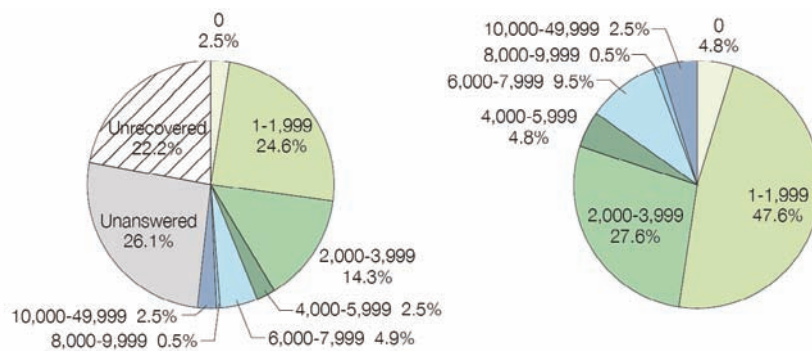


Fig. 3-40 Income in research area, *Kebele* 11, Gondar, 2002/2003

A majority of inhabitants suffer from poverty. 50% of the households here spend their lives with an income of less than 2,000 ETB (Ethiopian birr, 233.4 USD) per year although the average income of this area rises to 3,287 ETB (383.5 USD).¹⁷ As the average income of whole Gondar in 2002 was 2,346 ETB (273.7 USD), this central district has two groups of income: very high or very low. Only 20% of the households earns more than 4,000 ETB and enjoy a relatively stable life. Five of these families among them (3 shop owners, 1 bar keeper and 1 doctor) had the income of over 10,000 ETB per year. This upper income group is occupied with shop owners and professionals. Some families are able to spend a relatively wealthy life due to the money transfer from their relatives in United States. The lower income group is either those who run small business at home or those who depend on the informal sector. The former consists of small shopkeepers and workers who use their dwellings as workshops while the latter are street sellers and prostitutes. Both are mostly females.

¹⁷ The exchange rate of U.S. dollar (USD) and Ethiopian Birr (ETB) is 8.57 in December, 2002.

4-3. Second Survey in Kebele 11 (2011)

4-3-1. Process of Second Survey

The completion of the modification of the Gondar master plan in 2004 changed the situation enormously. The central district was considered an important neighboring area to the World Heritage site and thus a designated district of historic value. Strict height control was imposed on this area. On the contrary, suburban districts were designated as new housing and industrial zones. The distinction between the old and the new sectors were well prepared on the planning level. Still the pressure of population growth was so strong that the central districts were affected by the concentration and mobility of newcomers because of the convenient location. Then, due to the growing needs to understand the transformation and the present situation of the central districts, a new investigation in the same area was planned and carried out in August 2011. In addition, a supplementary investigation was done in August 2013 upon the visit of the author in order to check the unclear points.

The survey of 2011 targeted the three blocks neighboring the castle compound. Two of them have been already investigated in 2002/2003, but another one next to these was left undone although physical aspects of the buildings were completely measured in 2003. Therefore the new investigation was planned to integrate these three blocks in order to complete the total data of this district. However, in this paper, for the purpose of comparison between 2002/2003 and 2011, the author will select the data of two blocks examined common in both surveys and discuss the transformation process of this quarter.

Apparently the case study area did not seem to have changed very much. Therefore, instead of a full-scale measurement, auxiliary measurement in the places where new structures were added was enough to understand the new building conditions. The interviews were carried out in three days in collaboration with the municipality under the supervision of the author and Riichi Miyake. Students of Gondar University were engaged in this task as local surveyors. The collected data were brought back to Japan and analyzed.

The questionnaire used for the interviews was slightly different from that of 2002. It is the same regarding questions in three categories: nature of buildings (construction type, building material, building age, height), housing conditions (type of tenure, infrastructure) and nature of inhabitants (age/gender/religion/ethnic group of the head of household, size of household, period of residence, occupation, income).

In the two blocks that had been investigated in the first survey, 233 housing units were identified. The increased ratio of households is 14.8% compared to the result in 2002. This increase in the last nine years may suggest the population growth of this area, but due to the comparative low recovery percentage, it was virtually impossible to get the exact number. Among 233 households in two blocks, 136 households were interviewed (recovery percentage: 58.4%). The result of the interviews is overlaid on the base map in the same manner as the heritage map in order to visualize the distribution of the each item by household. Analysis process followed this mapping process. The characteristics of the inhabitants according to each criteria are to be pointed out in the following manner.



Fig. 3-41 Building use in research area, Kebele 11, Gondar, 2011

4-3-2. Outcome of Second Survey

(1) Nature of Buildings

a. Building Age (2011)

Throughout the nine years since the first survey of 2002/2003, the buildings in the research area did not change extensively. Although additions or alterations in the existing buildings are found to some extent, in general they are nearly the same. However, due to the economic improvement of the city, the commercial activities seem to have accelerated.

b. Building Use (2011)

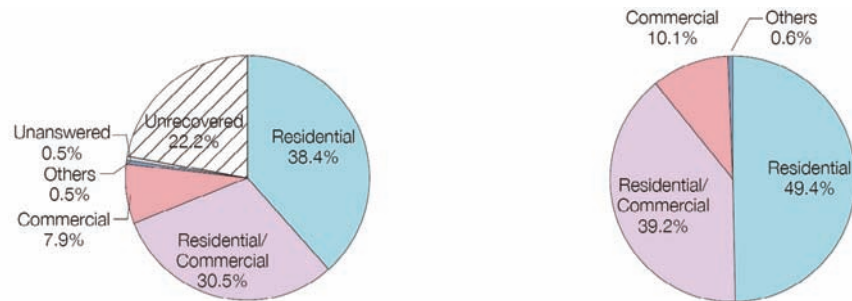


Fig. 3-42 Building use in research area, *Kebele 11*, Gondar, 2011

With regard to building use, the change was apparent. In 2002/2003, many buildings were of mixed residential and commercial use, but in 2011 many have become exclusively commercial (30%) in contrast with that of 2002 (10%). The newly opened shops were found behind the main axial road passing by *Fasil Ghebbi*, which had already attracted merchants since the 1960's. The intensification of commerce within the city due to the economic growth and tourism help grow the new shops into this area. The location of the area favored this kind of commercial intensification.

In the meantime, this area has been known as the warehouse zone for the circulation of merchandise since the end of the 19th century. Some of the old families living here are still engaged in such business and even the new rich people are also.



Fig. 3-43 Type of tenure in research area, Kebele 11, Gondar, 2011

c. Building Material and Structure (2011)

No specific change could be identified within the research area.

(2) Type of Tenure (2011)

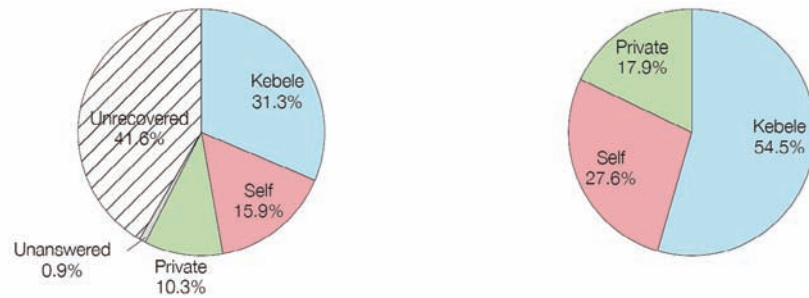


Fig. 3-44 Type of tenure in research area, *Kebele* 11, Gondar, 2011

Among 134 families that responded, more than half, 55%, rent their house from the *kebele*. 28% are self-owned and 18% are rented from private owners. Comparing the two different periods, the proportion of public housing (*kebele*), self-ownership, and rental housing did not change much. The high ratio of public housing (50-60%) means that private owners had constructed considerable number of surplus housing units for rental and that the “heritage” was left unmaintained after the expropriation by the government. These low quality buildings have caused specific housing problems within central Gondar. Some *kebele* housing units were retained by original owners or third persons.



Fig. 3-45 Age of head of household in research area, Kebele 11, Gondar, 2011

(3) Nature of Inhabitants

Three maps showing the distribution of the attributes of the inhabitants (gender, religion, ethnic group) reveal the patterns specific to this site in the following way.

a. Attributes of Inhabitants

(age/gender/religion/ethnic group of the head of household)

a-1. Age of Head of Household (2011)

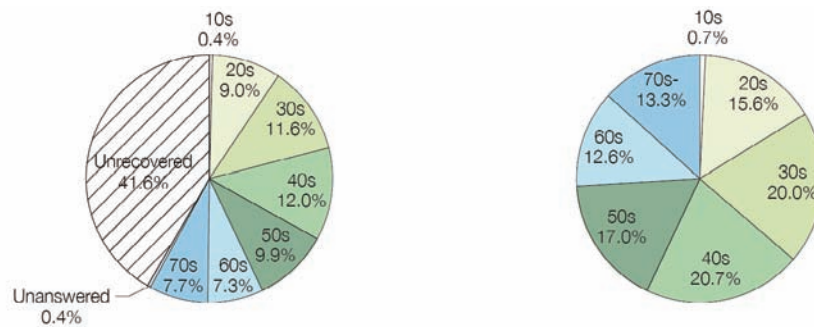


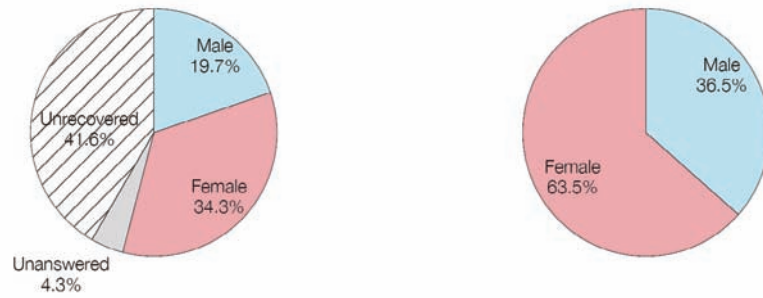
Fig. 3-46 Age of head of household in research area, *Kebele* 11, Gondar, 2011

The heads of households have naturally changed during last 9 years since the first survey of 2002. Some are the same, but nearly half of them have been replaced by the residents of new generation. Those under 39 years old account for 36% vis-à-vis 33% in 2002. The average age of the heads of households is 47.2 years old, compared to 46.1 years old in 2002. There is a slight increase of age because of the increase of those over 70 years old; but the distribution of age seems more stable than 9 years ago.



Fig. 3-47 Gender of head of household in research area, Kebele 11, Gondar, 2011

a-2. Gender of Head of Household (2011)

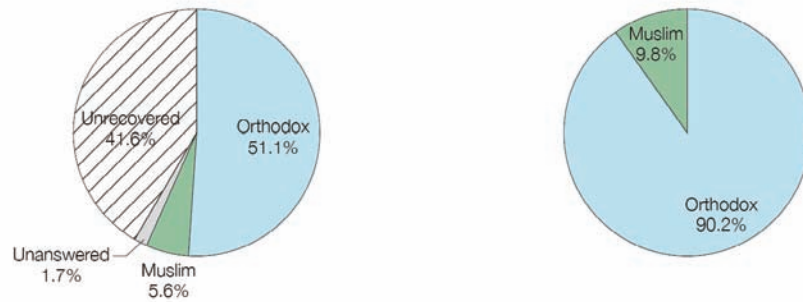
Fig. 3-48 Gender of head of household in research area, *Kebele* 11, Gondar, 2011

In terms of the gender of the head of household, among 126 responses, 36.5% are male and 63.5% are female. This means the dominance of female heads of household is outstanding in this area. This figure (63.5%) in 2011 is lower than that of 2002 (70%), but still the tendency of female dominance is very strong.



Fig. 3-49 Religion of head of household in research area, Kebele 11, Gondar, 2011

a-3. Religion of Head of Household (2011)

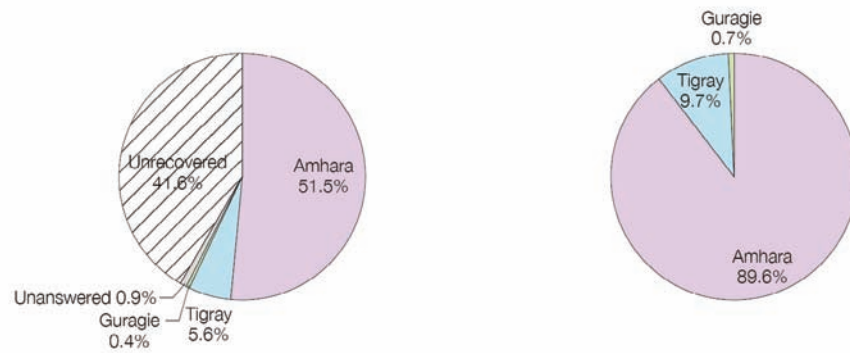
Fig. 3-50 Religion of head of household in research area, *Kebele 11*, Gondar, 2011

As far as religion is concerned, among 132 responses, 90% were Orthodox in contrast with 10% Muslim. The vast majority of the residents are Orthodox Christian but there are comparatively more Muslim than in Mekelle, most being related to business around this area. Unfortunately no data about the religious distribution in 2002 exists.



Fig. 3-51 Ethnic of head of household in research area, *Kebele 11, Gondar, 2011*

a-4. Ethnic Group of Head of Household (2011)

Fig. 3-52 Ethnic Group of head of household in research area, *Kebele 11, Gondar, 2011*

The majority of the residents are Amhara, but 10% are Tigray. One Guragie family was identified. No data exists about the ethnic group in 2002.



Fig. 3-53 Household size in research area, Kebele 11, Gondar, 2011

b. Household Size (2011)

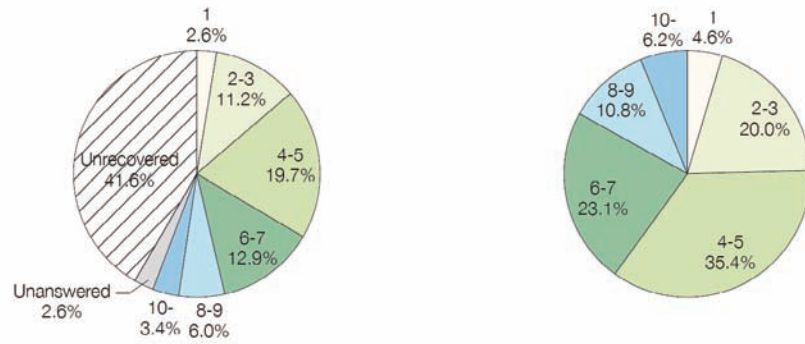


Fig. 3-54 Household size in research area, Kebele 11, Gondar, 2011

The size of the household is 5.2 people on average. Compared with 4.4 people in 2002, it has increased to a certain extent. Still this number is much less than that of the average of Gondar City as a whole.



Fig. 3-55 Period of residence in research area, Kebele 11, Gondar, 2011

c. Period of Residence (2011)

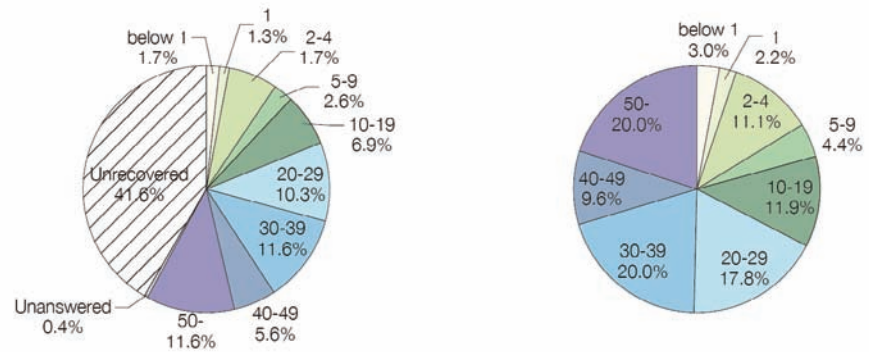


Fig. 3-56 Period of residence in research area, Kebele 11, Gondar, 2011

Compared to other cities, period of residence in this area is much longer. Those who have lived here for more than 50 years reach 20% or 27 families. Considering the interval of 9 years, this figure must correspond to the number of families (22) who had lived here for more than 40 years on the occasion of the first survey in 2002. The difference in the number must have been generated by the comparatively low recovery percentage (58.4%), but no extreme difference is recognized.

The proportional composition of each period group suggests that the residence composition of 9 years before rose in the same proportion as before. This could be also explained from the average period of residence, which is 29.3 years. As the average of 2002 was 21.5 years, the inhabitants tend to live long in this district without immigrating to other places. Ageing is therefore another aspect of this area. Those who have lived here less than 10 years account for 18%. This figure is much less than that of 2002 (33%). Those who are engaged in food selling are typical informal street sellers. The percentage of newcomers is much smaller than before. The tendency of long-term settlement has become more apparent in comparison with the situation of 9 years ago.



Fig. 3-57 Occupation of head of household in research area, Kebele 11, Gondar, 2011

(4) Social Factors - Occupation and Income

a. Occupation of Head of Household (2011)



Fig. 3-58 Occupation of head of household in research area, Kebele 11, Gondar, 2011

With regard to the occupation of residents, one third of the residents are engaged in trading and commerce (33%). The proportion of those who are working in bars and restaurants is comparatively large (18%). This figure shows the character of this district as a dining and drinking area. Unemployment (14%) is better than in the average for city areas of the whole of Ethiopia (19%) in 2011. Because of the good location of this area within the city, the residents must have enjoyed a better situation for finding jobs, whether it is formal or informal. 6 families (5%) run their real estate businesses by renting their houses.



Fig. 3-59 Income in research area, Kebele 11, Gondar, 2011



b. Income (2011)

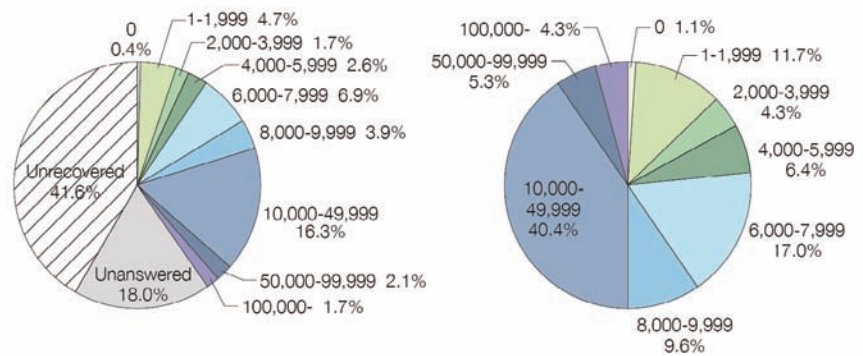


Fig. 3-60 Income in research area, Kebele 11, Gondar, 2011

The average income is 16,344.5 ETB (960.9 USD) in 2011.¹⁸ Nominally it is five times more than that of 2002 (3,074.9 ETB = 358.8 USD) in USD and 2.68 times in ETB. The inflation rate (consumer price) of this country during the past 9 years is 3.98, hence the present income increase was only 33.5%.¹⁹ The increase of inflation rate is rapid for the majority and it is difficult to catch up with their income. The figure is slightly higher than the average in Ethiopia: approximately 14,368 ETB (800 USD) in 2012/2013.²⁰

The distribution of income groups is not well balanced. Polarization between the poor and the rich is distinct. Comparison between the distribution of income groups in 2002 and 2011 implies the consideration of inflation. Those who earn less than 8,000 ETB is 40.0%. This level of income may correspond to those who earned less than 2,000 ETB in 2002. If so, the proportion of people with an extremely low-income has slightly diminished but it is still a large number. However, the proportion of “middle class” who earn 10,000 - 50,000 ETB is large (41%). These people are the main force for raising the income standard to a comparatively high level. 10% of the residents earn an income of more than 50,000 ETB. They are mainly house owners, business men who run shops and restaurants and owners of an agricultural farms.

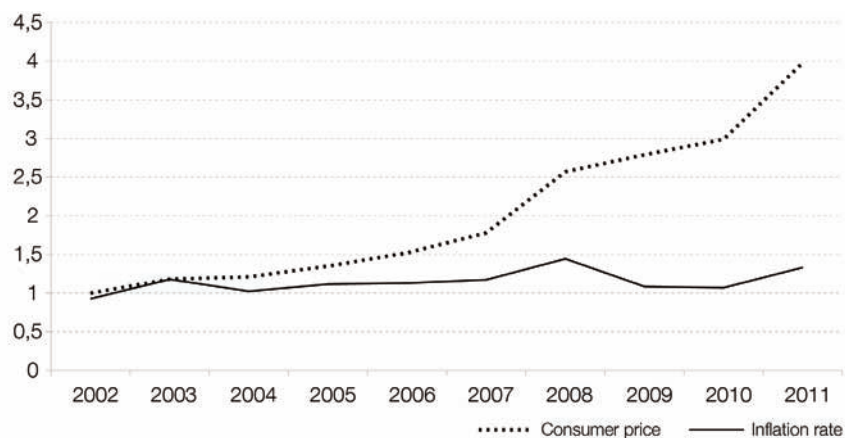


Fig. 3-61 Graph of consumer price (2002 as 1) and inflation rate

¹⁸ The exchange rate of 1 U.S. dollar (USD) to Ethiopian birr (ETB) was 17.01 in August 2011. It was 8.57 in December 2002.

¹⁹ The inflation rate was quoted from CIA World Fact Book, 2011.

²⁰ For reference, average salary survey 2014/2015: <http://www.averagesalariesurvey.com/article/average-salary-in-ethiopia/29074114.aspx>

4-4. Characteristics of Research Area as New Findings

The two full-scale surveys carried out in 2002/2003 and 2011 respectively have resulted in a series of new findings related to the situation of the target area. After the fall of the *Derg* Government, Ethiopia has experienced considerable changes in terms of land policy; urban planning, housing policy, and accordingly building activities have been accelerated since the end of the 1990's. The situation of central Gondar is very controversial as it is designated UNESCO World Heritage. However, due to the strict building codes imposed by the upgraded master plan, its urban landscape has been maintained. Our analytical approach to the urban issues raised several points. Here are new findings abstracted from two full-scale surveys, classified into four main categories: building, tenure, inhabitants, and daily life.

4-4-1. Building Conditions

The research area reveals clearly the gradual transformation of the old urban fabric to the new one. Until the implementation of the master plan in 1967, central Gondar took the shape of a densely urbanized settlement that arose from a dispersed and organic pattern. Traces of such old urban fabric were anywhere. The old buildings, such as the circular buildings, were, in fact, laid along an old serpentine path connecting the north and *Arada* (market). Four circular houses were identified in the target area; two of them had been expropriated by the *Derg* government and redistributed to the poor. Existence of a former brothel explains the nature of this area as a disreputable zone from older times. The pattern follows a grid or a block and street pattern that was introduced by the new master plan of 1967. Most of the street-side buildings were erected or even reconstructed after this period. Inner side of the block is occupied by low quality detached houses of *chikka* structure.

Between the two surveys done in 2002/2003 and in 2011 respectively, there was no extensive change in its urban fabric. Most of the houses are the same as before although construction of higher concrete buildings has been started in the neighboring districts, especially in the Post Office area. The implementation of the revised master plan in 2004, prescribing restrictions against the modification of old buildings as well as the introduction of height control, was another factor to maintain the status quo. On the other hand, it maintains its image as a warehouse district for merchandise. Several buildings are still used for warehouse and livestock huts. Caravans to/from *Arada* are still using the old path that extends into the middle of the existing block.

Building type varies according to the age and location as well as to the nature of inhabitants. The oldest layer is that of circular houses, then some Italian colonial buildings, and then row houses delimiting each block. Slum-like row houses are also present, especially inside the blocks. The area clearly represents the temporal accumulation of different layers.

4-4-2. Tenure

The radical change of tenure happened during the *Derg* regime. The fact that the ratio of *kebele* housing is more than 50% in this area means that there used to be large numbers of surplus housing units in these quarters, used for rental purposes. A limited number of families (37 families, or 28%) possess their own house and others depend on rental housing, either public or private. Before the *Derg* revolution, a few landlords, including the descendants of Emperor Tewodros (*Dejazmach* Kass Meshasha), used to possess a wider portion of land and houses in this area. The expropriation of these housing units by the *Derg* was favorably received by the poor. The attitude of the residents in the research area was divided into two groups in terms of this expropriation: one pro expropriation, the other contra, depending on their tenure situation.

The present government maintains the land policy of state ownership and deliberately introduced a lease holding system instead. The descendants of old landlords are recovering their old property, but in the research area no conflicts on the ownership of the land have occurred. *Kebele* office, on the contrary, has been eager to carefully administer their property so as at least to get income to cover various expenses.²¹ Still the maintenance of this public housing by *kebele* is problematic. The residents have no intention of spending money for the amelioration of housing conditions nor do they have the financial capacity to do so. In spite of its bad quality, residents favor this *kebele* housing, first because of its extremely cheap for rent and, second, because of its good location in the central zone of the city, enabling easy access wherever they want to go. Currently no large investors are interested in constructing large housing complexes or industries because of the strict restriction against “harmful buildings against the World Heritage”.

4-4-3. Inhabitants

The stability of the settlement is getting higher in these years. The existence of dozens of old families, who have resided in this area since the beginning of the 20th century, or even since the 19th century, characterizes the nature of this central district. It seems difficult to find these families, but daily contacts with the locals may certainly lead to an understanding of the deep accumulation of historical layers. Not only circular houses built by the nobles but also old ordinary houses suggest the history of the district. Descendants of old aristocrats and warriors, old traders, nuns, and even traditional street performers and musicians are living there. This place could be characterized by certain elements such as easy access to the castle and the churches, the caravan route to *Arada* and even by concentration of bars, so that the mixture of different types of people from nobles and clergy to performers and prostitutes has created the atmosphere of this area both in a positive and negative way.

Present residents are aware of the sense of the place by recollecting old memories. An old female informant belonging to the poorer side told about the merciless treatment of an old

²¹ *Kebele* administration has a capacity of enlarging its business as it is in charge of public housing, management of shops, sales of trees and grass on their own territory and so on. *Kebele* 11 is in possession of 1000 houses actually. Yuko Otsubo, Riichi Miyake, Tomohiro Shitara, Kyoko Homma, “Study on the Housing Policy in Gondar, Ethiopia, and its Reality” in *Bulletin of Architectural Institute of Japan*, F-2, 2004, pp.259- 260 (in Japanese)

landlord who had been abused and raped when she was young in the 1960's.²² On the other hand, other informants talked about respectful landlords who took care of the district and even protected the inhabitants from Italian exploitation.

4-4-4. Socio-Economic Aspects

The improvement of economic conditions in Gondar has contributed much to ameliorating the situation even in the center of Gondar. Although this area looks like a slum quarter due to its badly maintained *chikka* houses, the average income of this area was not so low. It has been better than the average of Gondar as a whole. Both surveys in 2002/2003 and 2011 have suggested that the income distribution is not even. Poor people who earn less than 300-400 USD per year make up 30-40% of the population, while 10-20% of the residents are very rich due to running their own business in real estate, trading and restaurants. The tendency of polarization, that is either very rich or very poor, has been apparent, but during the last decade, the average income has been increased due to the shift upward among the "middle class" residents. The percentage of those who work in the informal sector has apparently diminished in comparison with the 1990's and the beginning of the 2000's.

The occupation of the residents varies. The old families have recovered their old status as house owners in the new regime although it keeps the policy of state land ownership. A certain number of business people moved to this area as newcomers because of its promising location. The number of shops has increased thanks to the commerce and tourism. Workshops are also important here mainly for furniture production. Old type of occupations such as traders and livestock farmers are still active in this area.

²² The informant, female, born around 1945, who resides in the research area and run an injera shop told the story of her landlord who owned this house. The landlord abused his authority to collecting money and even forced her sexual relation in case her family was not able to pay for it.

5. Central Gondar as Historical Quarter

5-1. Basic Viewpoint for Historical Complex in Gondar

Gondar is known as the see of the imperial court between the 17th and the 19th centuries. Emperors of Gondarine Dynasty resided in a vast palace compound and constructed new palace buildings one by one. This is a very simple historical fact played a decisive role on the occasion of the appraisal for UNESCO World Heritage. All the protective measures taken afterward have been conceived to maintain the value of the imperial see. The palace complex is separated from the exterior world by stone surrounding walls. Therefore, surrounding areas were beyond this consideration of irreplaceable cultural and historical heritage and treated only as a buffer zone to support and protect the “authentic” historical monuments. It is true that a total and integrated view about the complexity of imperial capital has not been achieved in Gondar. The old palace complex and the surrounding downtown are extremely different in its atmosphere. Moreover, these two places are under different jurisdictional authority. The state, or ARCCH (Authority for Research and Conservation of Cultural Heritage) is in charge of the palace complex while the municipality is in charge of the city planning and other administrative services.²³ ARCCH did not intervene the municipal affairs on urban planning and, in the same way, the municipality did not touch the cultural and restoration issues on *Fasil Ghebbi*. The revision of the Master Plan, executed in 2004, introduced strict height control in this area for the sake of cultural landscapes, but left it as a “mixed commerce and trade zone”, which is fundamentally the continuation of *Arada* (market) district.²⁴ Life and human activity are basic components of this area, separating itself from the petrified cultural property conception.

It is often proposed by the experts that central Gondar should stand as an outstanding tourist spot with the presence of the UNESCO World Heritage, but such discussion does not always reflect upon the ideas of the local people who have resided here for centuries. There is a clear schism between the expected notions for cultural property and the reality of human life. It is better to avoid dichotomy between authentic and genuine cultural heritage and the subordinate and secondary zone. The townscape of central Gondar was generated from a long history of interactions between the castle compound and the surrounding town. If the traces of such interactions still exist in the neighboring town, it is better to incorporate them within the total town complex as an integrated heritage where human activities are well assured.

So far the urban history of Ethiopian cities has not been well studied due to the lack of expertise and experience. Therefore, the methodology has not yet been established to fully conceptualize such an integrated town complex as a historical entity. The aim of this paper is to establish such methodology on the basis of a profound understanding of present sites and buildings as well as human beings. Therefore, readings of the various historical

²³ The administrative body for historical monuments and archaeological sites in Ethiopia dates back to the establishment of the Institute of Archaeology in collaboration with French Archaeological mission in 1952. In 1966, it was reorganized into Ethiopian Antiquities Administration, which became one department of the Ministry of Culture. In 1976, Center for Research and Conservation of Cultural Heritage (CRCCH) was created from this department. After the collapse of the *Derg* government, it became autonomous institution directly accountable to the Ministry of Culture. In 2000, the center was upgraded to ARCCH, which is under six departments of the state.

²⁴ Abraham Workneh, Tomohiro Shitara, “Report on the Structure Plan of Gondar”, second edition, 2008, Municipality of Gondar

layers is necessary, followed by the analysis of archaeological and architectural details. The interaction between human beings, for example residents and users, and the physical environment is very important. In the previous sections, dwelling typology, monographs of residents and status quo of the life in central Gondar were carefully examined. The definition of heritage in the Gondarine style is needed. Although a few papers have been published to explain the urban and architectural history of this imperial city by several scholars from Japan, UK, France and Portugal, the conception of heritage is still very vague. The author proposes to categorize the urban and heritage situation in central Gondar and to redefine the nature of such a historical city. It should be very different from that of “advanced” countries.

Before entering the overall discussion on Ethiopian historical cities in Chapter IV, the author will discuss the Gondarine issues through the findings obtained in the previous section. These findings obtained through field surveys will be processed and interpreted in its own context. The basic points will be three: first on the uniqueness of the transformation process of the historical remains, secondly, the question about the heredity of the space and properties and, thirdly, the types of residents and their character.

5-2. Sustainability and Vulnerability

5-2-1. Fragmentation of Historical District

(1) Planning Determinant for Urban Transformation

The urban history of Gondar does not exhibit a continuous evolution although it has maintained the site of imperial see for more than two centuries. Once it flourished, but a cycle of decay and reconstruction followed. Its population went up and down depending on the political and diplomatic situation. In spite of origins dating back to the 17th century, the formation of the present townscape is astonishingly quite recent. It was only in the 1960's when the first master plan was implemented by the initiative of the Haile Selassie I Government.

The construction of the palace and another detached palace by Emperor Fasilidas was a large event, but after that no strong concern about Gondar city planning. It was after the middle of the 20th century that the municipality launched a bold urban planning scheme and implemented it. In fact, as long as Gondar is concerned, strong planning ambition has been seen at least twice, both in the modern age. Italians did not touch the old quarters due to their being "indigenous districts", but the implementation of master plans since the 1960's led to a radical transformation of the urban fabric. First, by the master plan conceived by Studio BDS in 1967 and implemented in the following years, then by the revision of the master plan in 2004, conceived by AAU and Keio University's team. The 1967 planning was intended to introduce the grid pattern road network system over the existing urban tissue and to transform it in a geometrical way. New construction was forced to observe the alignment defined by the new street pattern. The plan in 2004, on the contrary, was strict restriction against high and extensive construction. Clearance of the northern part of the built-up area was strongly intended.

These planning determinants are invisible, but valid when a new action is intended. Various types of prescription, sometimes in the form of restrictions, are to be imposed on these actions. Disappearance of old monuments and other constructions is caused by such administrative processes. Until the investigation of the AAU and Keio University's team done in the early 2000's, no action for the protection of vernacular historical quarters that was comprised of old circular houses, had been taken. Therefore the pace of the demolition was accelerated in accordance with the coming of the building boom.

The idea of the 1967 master plan is based on the modern town planning policy. European experts, who had manipulated urban planning and new developments in various European cities were invited in order to give orientations for the future development of Ethiopian cities. Gondar was a good example of such interventions. The plan of Studio BDS was successful enough to change the urban structure and at least give orderly appearance to the hectic urban situation, but the consideration of daily and ordinary life was not well thought out. No precise investigation on urban and architectural heritages was carried out except for the famous *Fasil Ghebbi* and its dependencies. Old families were obliged to obey the new master plan imposed by the emperor and reluctantly demolish their old circular houses so as to replace them by new constructions. The interviews with old families in the research

area has proven such a process when numerous old buildings were forced to be demolished. In this respect, the master planning of 1967 left a large number of negative results. The historical quarter was fragmented and lost its integrity by way of such a process.

(2) Fragmented Heritage

The implementation of new master plans since the 1960's has completely destroyed the old organic urban fabric. It forced several important nobles' buildings to be demolished and be replaced by new buildings in accordance with the newly designated alignment. The enlargement of the main road (north-south) annihilated the function of bridges between the palace complex to the subjects' zone that was once surrounded by walls. Remaining bridges, gates, circular houses, steps, and walls were only fragmented parts of the old historical complex. The conservation policy of the palace complex was to maintain its original feature as an entity of old imperial buildings while relating to neighboring *Kebele* 11. No conservation policy was taken even though there was an explicit planning policy. Fragmented heritages were all that remained of old buildings and constructions.

However, this concept of fragmentation is important. A majority of Ethiopian cities are suffering from the loss of old "ordinary" heritage. What exists is fragmented remains within the urban fabric. If the density and the connection of these fragments become higher and closer, they would generate new potential for reconstituting their historical identity. The investigation done by the author has proved that in *Kebele* 11, a number of fragmented remains are still left and dispersed. Key factors are paths (old foot path), walls (border of territory), bridge (connection with the palace), buildings (nobles' house and others, sometimes in ruin), trees and other small items. Many of them have been transformed and incorporated with new structures, but it is worth redefining them as the fragments of the old heritage [Fig. 3-62].

Reconstruction is useful to understand the past, but once the old structures come to be fragmented, they have reached a different level of heritage. Mixture with new construction and materials is necessarily required in order to maintain social activities. History is not the object of preservation, but it is the target of integration and activation. This is the difference between *Fasil Ghebbi* and its surrounded quarters. Fragments will be integrated in order to activate the urban situation.

(3) Existing Caravan Route

Old footpaths are still used by locals. The most outstanding is the one that passes through the target area and goes to *Arada* (market). Everyday, herds of donkeys carrying goods pass by this route. It is strange that they do not use the ordinary paved streets, but always take this hidden caravan route. Guards say that they use this only because they have been using this for a long time. Many old buildings are allocated along this serpentine route. This suggests that this must have been one of the main roads going to *Arada*. Houses were concentrated along this route. At the crossing in the target area, there is still a cowshed. Every morning and evening, the cattlemen take care of the herd of cows, where they stay in the pasture during the day. It is obvious that the old pattern was formed before the master plan of 1967 and still dominates the spatial recognition of the locals in this area.

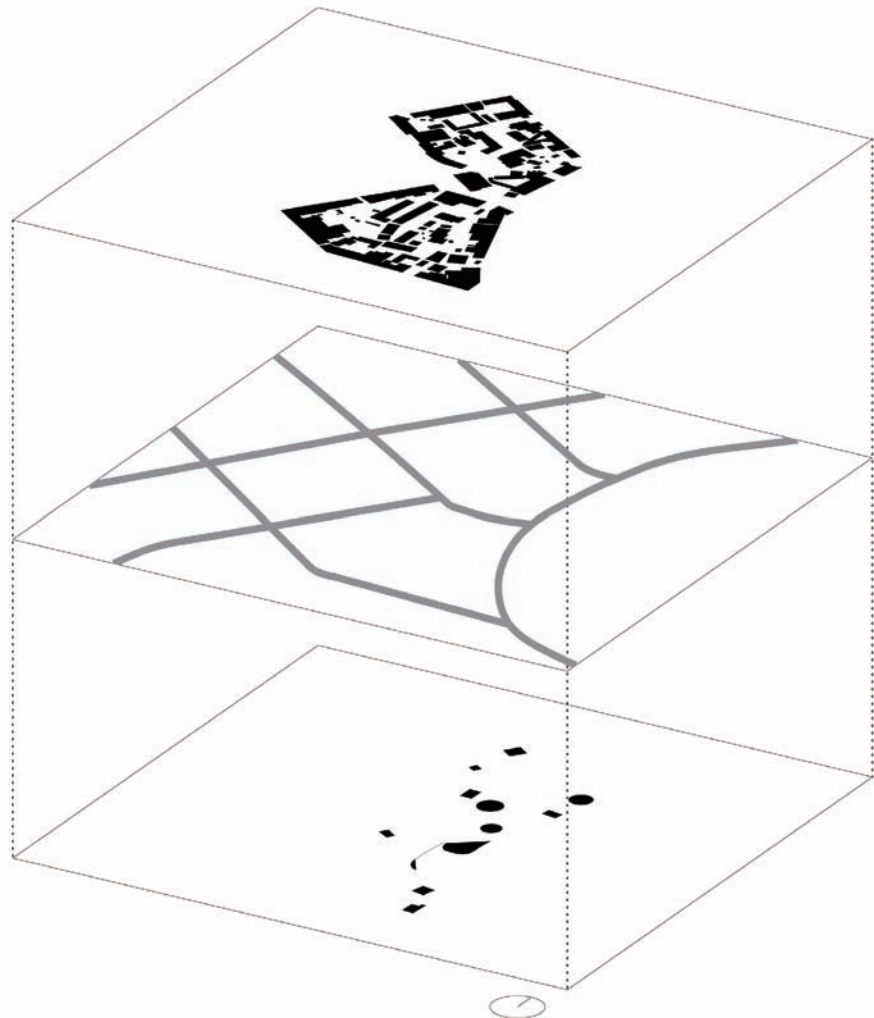


Fig. 3-62 Fragmented heritage by layer (monuments, streets, and blocks)

To understand the fragmented heritage, the relation between the physical remains and the psychological attitude of the residents is important. Despite recent economic growth, daily life still seems to keep the old and slow pace in Ethiopia. *Kebele* 11 typically represents this kind of atmosphere as seen in the mixture of pastoral and urban lives.

5-2-2. Take-Over of Historical Property as Public Housing

(1) Historical Monument as Low Cost Public Housing

Another aspect that should be underlined is the expropriation of old houses by the socialist government and its turnover to public housing during the reign of the *Derg*. This policy itself is very understandable as socialized redistribution of properties. But considering the reality, this housing policy does not reflect the heritage conservation, or even heritage activation.

The 2003 research by Yuko Otsubo proved that the number of *kebele* housing units all

over Gondar was 6,643 out of the total number of housing units, 24,454 (27%). *Kebele* 11 held around 1,000 *kebele* housing units.²⁵ This means more than 15% of all the *kebele* housing units in Gondar were concentrated in this small *kebele*. On the contrary, privately owned housing units were only about 300 in *Kebele* 11. The majority (75%) of its housing stock is *kebele*-owned public housing.²⁶ The concentration of *kebele* housing units has two reasons. One is the large number of surplus buildings once possessed by rich families. Another is the immigration of the poor who were dependent on informal business. The convenient location of this *kebele* as the city center attracted many people, who settled in rapidly constructed low quality houses before they were expropriated in 1975. After the implementation of the master plan, construction activities in this area was enormous. Taking into consideration the fact that expropriated 1,000 housing units existed before 1975, central Gondar must have experienced a building boom around 1970.

The number of historically evaluated buildings among these expropriated houses was small. In the research area, the number of *kebele*-owned buildings constructed before 1940 is 4, but divided into 8 housing units. Two circular houses were also included in this number. Another building is owned by RHAA, national housing agency.²⁷ Among 11 buildings constructed before 1940, comprising 15 housing units, half were expropriated as public housing. Despite its small number, the presence of these historical buildings is conspicuous as they are considerably outstanding in form and volume.

(2) Deterioration

Kebele administration has been suffering from the lack of funds to maintain their buildings. Rent was very cheap, approximately 4% of the income of the occupant. In 2003, the average was 10.8 ETB (1.3 USD) against the average income of 267 ETB (31.2 USD). The annual income of *Kebele* 11 as an administrative body in 2002-2003 was 59,280 ETB (6,917 USD) while its expenditure was 33,800 ETB (3,944 USD). 2/3 of the income comes from the rent of *kebele* housing while other 1/3 comes from *kebele*-owned shops. Comparatively, the quality of *kebele* houses in *Kebele* 11 was lower than other *kebeles*, the rent itself is lower than others. The expenditure for maintenance and repair of *kebele* housing was approximately 5,500 ETB (642 USD) in the same year. Considering the number of *kebele* housing units in *Kebele* 11, this amount is nothing. New construction of *kebele* housing is around 100 units per year for the whole of Gondar, but in the central area, few units could be constructed due to the lack of space and funds. In the case of *Kebele* 11, only two units were constructed in 2002/2003.²⁸

These figures reveal the reality of the *kebele* administration. They could not even afford repair the existing units. Even though they are trying to increase their income by other means, the number of housing units does not allow careful treatment of their property. This

²⁵ According to the Housing Census of 1994, the total number of housing units in 1994 was 20,535. Therefore, the increase of housing units was 19% in 10 years. 5926 units (28.9%) were rented from *kebeles*. The increase of *kebele* housing units was 12%. 60-70 housing units were newly constructed every year

²⁶ Yuko Otsubo, Riichi Miyake, Tomohiro Shitara, Kyoko Homma, "Study on the Housing Policy in Gondar, Ethiopia, and its Reality" in *Bulletin of Architectural Institute of Japan*, F-2, 2004, pp.259- 260 (in Japanese). Detail of the result of the survey is described in her master thesis presented to Keio University in February 2004

²⁷ RHAA (Rental Housing Administration Agency) was established in 1974 as national agency for housing. This organization was in charge of public housing with the rent over 100 ETB per month while *kebele* was responsible for public housing with the rent less than 100 ETB.

²⁸ Yuko Otsubo, Riichi Miyake, Tomohiro Shitara, Kyoko Homma, *op. cit.* p.259

is the reason why the *kebele* public housing has a very low standard of living conditions. There is no room for accepting the idea of cultural property or historical monuments. During the last decade, no drastic change happened in the field of public housing. The situation of *kebele*-owned property needs more discussion.

5-3. Characteristics of Heritage

5-3-1. Building Evaluation as Heritage

The photo taken by the Italians in the 1930's clearly shows that this area did not have street and block type form but rather had an organic pattern of street with circular houses surrounded by circular compounds.

In the past this area used to serve as residential quarters for aristocrats and had a physical connection to *Fasil Ghebbi*; there were bridges connecting the residential quarters directly to the palace compound. Currently this connection does not exist any more due to the fact that the bridges collapsed and that there is a road running around the palace compound completely separating the two sites. However, the research revealed that there are still traces of historical evidence in this site. Eight buildings can be mentioned to be historically important, out of them, four are circular type, which are now fragmented into the street and block type setting.

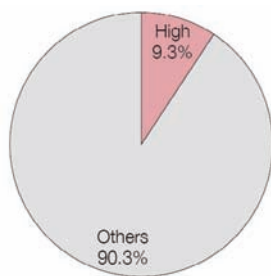


Fig. 3-63 Red shows the percentage of household residing in high evaluated buildings, *Kebele 11*, Gondar, 2011

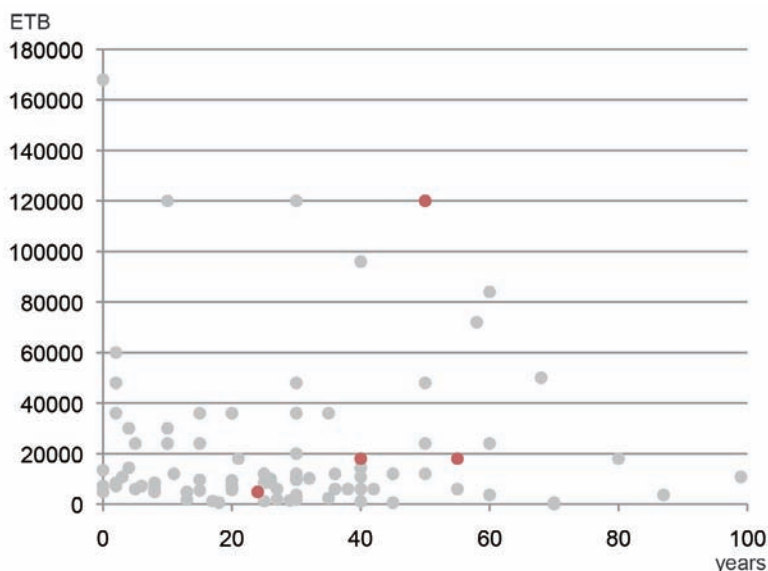


Fig. 3-64 Annual income and period of residence, red shows household residing in high evaluated buildings, *Kebele 11*, Gondar, 2011



5-3-2. Building Age and Residents

The condition of the houses varies according to the resident. For those who have been living there for generations, they tend to keep their house neat and tighty as they are very proud of their ancestors and the house that they inherited from them. However, people who lives in *kebele* owned heritage houses are not concerened about the historical value of the building that they live in. They come to this area to rent houses for low rent and to be located in a convenient place in the center of the city, mainly for business purposes.

5-4. Characteristics of Residents

5-4-1. New Risks Affecting Gondar Population

(1) Role of Old Families

Through the field survey, several important families were found in the research area. They are either the descendant of princely families or that of local traders. The aristocrats used to occupy the land that is very close to the palace complex. This place was guaranteed closure connected by bridges with the palace in Gondarine Dynasty period. These families have contributed enormously to formulate the quarter even though this area was known as a disreputable place.

Family stories are necessary to deepen our understanding of the history of the place. Such families, in the case of central Gondar, are always related to their own residences. The remaining numbers of circular houses is inversely proportional to the degree of urbanization. In some places they have been completely eradicated, but in *Kebele* 11 and adjacent *Kebele* 9 there is still a large number of circular houses. Their distribution constitutes a vast corridor, which may correspond to traces of old paths.²⁹ Those who have kept living in circular houses are generally of old wealthy families. In the research area, for instance, a family residing in such a house at the northeast corner of the area suggested their family history had close relations to the court. They were able to spend a comfortable life because of their family members who fled to the U.S. Their income is comparatively good even though they do not have permanent jobs. This house is one of the most well maintained and cared for dwellings among the historical houses in *Kebele* 11, although its exterior is very humble.

On the other hand, the descendent of Emperor Tewodros, or *Dejazmach* Kassa Meshasha, has been the most influential family who owned a large portion of land around here. However, the *dejzmach* decided to replace his old houses with new ones due to the introduction of the master plan. No remains are left.

(2) Mobility of Newcomers

The surveys of 2002/2003 and 2011 have clarified the mobility in the research area. In the course of the 1990's after the fall of the socialist government, immigration to these small blocks became very high due to moves from the countryside. The political change increased job opportunities. A central zone like *Kebele* 11 received these immigrants. However, after the mid 2000's the trend became more stable and the survey in 2011 revealed the comparatively higher age of heads of household. The average period of residence increased to 29.3 years from 21.5 years in 2002. Contrary to the general tendency, the symptom of ageing is therefore becoming apparent. The proportion of those who have lived here less than 10 years decreased to 18% from 33% of 2002. 20 years after the collapse of the *Derg* government, this area has become stabilized enough that the residents tend to stay and enjoy the life here.

²⁹ Tomohiro Shitara, Riichi Miyake, Yuko Otsubo, Kyoko Homma, "A Study on the Transformation of Urban Structure and Distribution of Historical Architecture in Gondar" in *Bulletin of Architectural Institute of Japan*, F-2, 2004, pp.257- 258 (in Japanese).

5-4-2. Extracted Resident Type

To understand the distribution of resident types in the research area, the author has tried to categorize the social and physical characters of the inhabitants in relation to their dwellings in central Gondar. The following 7 types are the most outstanding.

(1) Active and Relatively Wealthier Shop Owners

These people run shops along the streets. They have settled here since the implementation of the master plan of 1967 and constructed their shops or hotels (*bunnabet*), observing the new urban planning framework. Some of them are now enlarging their businesses as this location has high potential for future development related to tourism. Reinforced concrete constructions combined with shops are the major type. The heads of household are typically male.

(2) Old Landlords Possessing Old Houses

This group of old inhabitants have resided here for a long time, some for generations since the Gondarine Dynasty period. They own their residences (circular and other stone houses). Some family members have left for foreign countries, mainly for U.S., as Diaspora, whose money transfers support their comfortable life in the city center. The heads of household are generally female.

(3) Bar Keepers Running Night Business in their Own Houses

These people, mostly aged females, run their bar businesses by serving local beer (*tella*) and other alcohol drinks in their own houses. They have occupied this area for a long time, so that this quarter has become one of the most well-known night spots in Gondar. They are mainly rich, but considered to be in a disreputable business closely related with prostitution. Newcomers are coming into this business.

(4) Office Workers Living in Private Housing

As the private housing business has become active due to the introduction of the free market economy, a certain number of houses are used for this purpose. Those who are employed as secretaries or clerks form a new group of residents in this area, but the deteriorated housing condition of this area reduces the attraction of this area for the newcomers. The period of residence is very short.

(5) Small Shopkeepers and Workers

A certain number of the inhabitants, mostly females, run small business at home, either running a small shop (kiosk) or providing workshops. Their income is low, but thanks to the favorable location in the very center of the city, facing on the street, they are able to keep their businesses. They are thinking to enlarge their businesses if the economy of Gondar allows.

(6) Street Sellers Depending on Informal Sector

The largest part of the inhabitants in this area is the group of street sellers, mostly females. They reside in *kebele*-owned *chikka* housing units inside the blocks, mainly row houses with minimum floor space, and are obliged to find daily works on the street. Their income is extremely low. They prefer staying here because of job opportunities even though the municipality tries to persuade them to move to alternative houses in newly developed zones.

(7) Hard-working Single Mothers who Depending on Prostitution

A certain number of younger women residing in this area are obliged to earn their living by prostitution. They are either divorced or unmarried mother with children. The presence of bars and liquor shops facilitates their business. The average period of residence is short as this type of women come and go frequently. The youngest case here is a woman of 16 years old, who has to take care of her child and brothers and sisters.

Women play a leading role in society here. The low-income group, the bar keepers group and even the old landlord group are dominated by female heads of household. Only shop owners are occupied by male heads of household. Taking into consideration that the proportion of male/female in Gondar is 50.1/49.9 in 2005, the dominance of the female population in the city center is very exceptional. The peculiarity of this quarter as a traditional drinking spot and its convenience as an urban center are thought to be two main driving forces for this phenomenon. Each resident group has different interest and prospects for the future. As long as the *kebele*-owned housing comprises the majority, the administration holds the key for the coordination of these different groups.

Chapter IV

Mekelle

1. Selection of Research Area in Mekelle

1-1. Nature of Research Area

Mekelle is not a UNESCO World Heritage city, but it has a rich building culture with a sophisticated masonry tradition. In spite of its short history, its townscape has an appearance of a stable and solid stone city. As mentioned in Chapter I, the central district was generated in accordance with the construction of the palace initiated by Emperor Yohannes IV after 1872. The geometrical street pattern was introduced much earlier than the occupation by Italians, so that well-proportioned double-story mansions as well as smaller row houses stood alongside the streets. Despite such unfavorable features, the central district is now facing the problem of violent redevelopment with completely new structures. Year by year, the number of old masonry buildings demolished for such purposes increases. That is the reason why the author has set up a case study area in the central district of Mekelle in order to investigate the present state of the buildings in such a historical zone menaced by new development.

Mekelle became the capital of Ethiopia when Emperor Yohannes IV decided to construct his own palace and to gather his subject around this palace in the 1870's. Situated in eastern Tigray, the city has a different flavor from other Tigrayan cities such as Adigrat or Aksum. The decision of making a capital here offered a chance to the locals. People of Tembien, his father's territory, were unwilling to receive the court, but the acceptance by the locals of Enderta enabled the construction of a splendid palace. No preceding urban complex had existed here before this period, but several important towns such as Cherkot and Antalo in the south played the role of bases for Tigray princes. Therefore, this area was very influential in a political sense. Although Emperor Yohannes IV was killed in the battle against the Makhadists in 1889, the city kept growing and flourishing in the course of the 20th century.

To understand the quality of building culture and the urban fabric in the early stage of its history, careful selection of the research area is important. The author focused on the authenticity, first of all, and then the state of conservation for selecting the site. The surrounding area around Yohannes Palace was the most appropriate as it still maintained the appearance of old Mekelle. All the research, including the typological and monographic surveys and comprehensive one, took place in this old city. Above all, *Kebele 14* was judged as a place where old buildings were well preserved and still used.



0 1 km N

Fig. 4-1 Aerial photo of Mekelle, 2009: 1) Yohannes Palace, 2) Tekele Haymanot Church, 3) Kidane Mihrit Church, 4) Medhane Alem Church, 5) Enda Yesus Church, 6) Mekelle University, 7) Atse Yohannes High School, 8) Atse Yohannes Elementary School, 9) Abraha Castle, 10) Aba Selama Kessate Birhan College, 11) Enda Mikael, 12) Qedamay Woyane Market, 13) Enda Mariam Bugsa Church, red colored area shows the interview research area

1-2. Research Method

The author selected a case study area in the heart of Mekelle in order to deepen the understanding on the originality and the historical value of old Mekelle. The research pattern is nearly the same as that of Gondar, but the research on this city was done completely by the author's initiative. A series of field surveys were carried out by the author with assistance of the students of the Institute of Paleo-environment and Heritage Conservation at Mekelle University. The first phase survey took place in 2009. The preliminary survey was carried out in March 2009 in order to identify old masonry houses in *Kebele* 14. Then a full-scale survey was planned and carried out in June-July in 2009. A case study area was designated in *Kebele* 14 and investigated. The case study area consists of 4 blocks, comprising 121 buildings with 188 households. Interviews, questionnaire to the inhabitants, measurement of existing buildings as well as collecting old pictures and maps were carried out in situ and followed by the analysis of building types (typological observation), old families (monographic observation), and an integrated analysis of the quality of life in the targeted area (comprehensive observation). To achieve the last goal, overall surveys were carried out with respect to the nature of buildings (housing type, building material, building age, height), housing condition (tenure, infrastructure) and nature of inhabitants (age of the head of household, gender, religion, income, occupation, period of residence) in order to reach a comprehensive understanding related to the quality of life. All the data was carried back to Japan and processed in the following months.

The second phase survey took place in August 2011. The problem of *Kebele* 14 was that the municipality had already decided to do a partial clearance on the pretext of enlarging the streets in central Mekelle. In 2009, this operation was critically discussed and the author had a chance to interview all the residents of the target of the clearance. Due to this field survey, the status quo of all the buildings and inhabitants were well recorded and analyzed. In the summer of 2010 the municipality started the clearance operation. Many buildings were demolished and their residents were obliged to move elsewhere. The second phase survey, accordingly, was aimed to investigate of the result of the clearance operation and do a sampling survey of the same blocks as the first phase survey of 2009.



Fig. 4-2 Aerial photo of research area, *Kebele 14*, Mekelle, 2009, Google Earth



Fig. 4-3 Base map of research area, Kebele 14, Mekelle, 2009

2. Typological Observation on Traditional Building in Mekelle

2-1. Dwelling Typology in Mekelle

The variety of houses in the study area allows us to classify building types according to their space and construction system. It is clear that in the formation process of the urban blocks in the designated area, new types of houses were introduced for adjustment purposes. The report by the Swedish team based on their field survey in 1967 provides us with information on several interesting houses in the center of Mekelle, which have already disappeared.¹ The author will combine the result of the survey in 2009 and that of 1967 by the Swedish team in order to get as many examples as possible. The distribution of each type in the study area shows an interesting result. From the original tri-parted type house to the modernized version of a contemporary house, all the housing types coexist here, although the presence of old typologies is dominant.

2-1-1. Question about *Hidmo* and Its Derivatives

To understand the basic typology of eastern Tigray vernacular dwellings, it should be noted that the *hidmo* type plays a fundamental role. *Hidmo* signifies the main building in a rural compound for a farmer's house. Situated in the middle of a large compound, it has an attractive feature with a rectangular façade and a series of small windows. Flat roofing is another characteristic. A certain number of *hidmo* buildings in the rural area date back to the 19th century and its typological connotation has been well understood by local people. This type may have played the role of the archetype for urban versions of detached residential buildings. The building types found in the case study area can be interpreted as derivatives from this archetype. Therefore in this study, the existing building types are categorized as the following: *hidmo* and its derivatives, urbanized mansions, and row houses. This would explain the evolution of building types as the reception process of rural archetype by urban people.

¹ Per Carlsson, Bo Martensson, Rolf Sandstrom, Mats Astedt, "Housing in Makalle, Ethiopia", Svensk Byggtjänst, Stockholm, 1971

(1) Original *Hidmo* Type

This type originates from a rural vernacular house in eastern Tigray. *Hidmo* is situated in the middle of a large compound as described before. Its shape is simple with a rectangular plan divided into three parts. The central part is reserved as the main room while both sides are used for sleeping and storage purposes respectively. The storage side in general is double story or at least has a loft. The access to the upper level is done by a ladder, but sometimes with staircase attached to the sidewall. The Swedish team, invited to Mekelle to design collective housing for public officers in the 1960's, reported on the one found in Mekelle [Fig. 4-4]. According to this, the house also had a round shape *gojjo*, which was used as a latrine. The extension by *chikka* was connected to the main corps. In the study area, one remaining house was detected on the western side [Fig. 4-5]. Although it has been deformed due to the division of the house into three housing units, the general plan still maintains its original state. Its dimensions are nearly the same as the one in the Swedish report. Its north-south situation, which does not coincide to the alignment of the street, suggests that the house was constructed before the opening of the street in the early 20th century. Therefore this house is probably one of the oldest remains of early houses in the old town.

This type of *hidmo* is to be seen in the Enda Meskel area, which is the oldest village dating much earlier than the urban formation of Mekelle. During the field survey carried out in August 2010, the Keio University team found a *hidmo* house situated on the top of a hill. The interview with the residents of this house proved that it had been constructed around 1850, prior to the construction of the palace. This is the oldest building ever found in Mekelle. The spatial organization is the same as the previously mentioned one: tri-parted rectangular house. The family used to be a landlord of this area that includes the wide and oblong slope of the neighboring mountain, until the expropriation of their property by the *Derg* Government in the 1970's.



Fig. 4-5 Tri-parted type house found in research area, demolished in 2010, Kebele 14, Mekelle

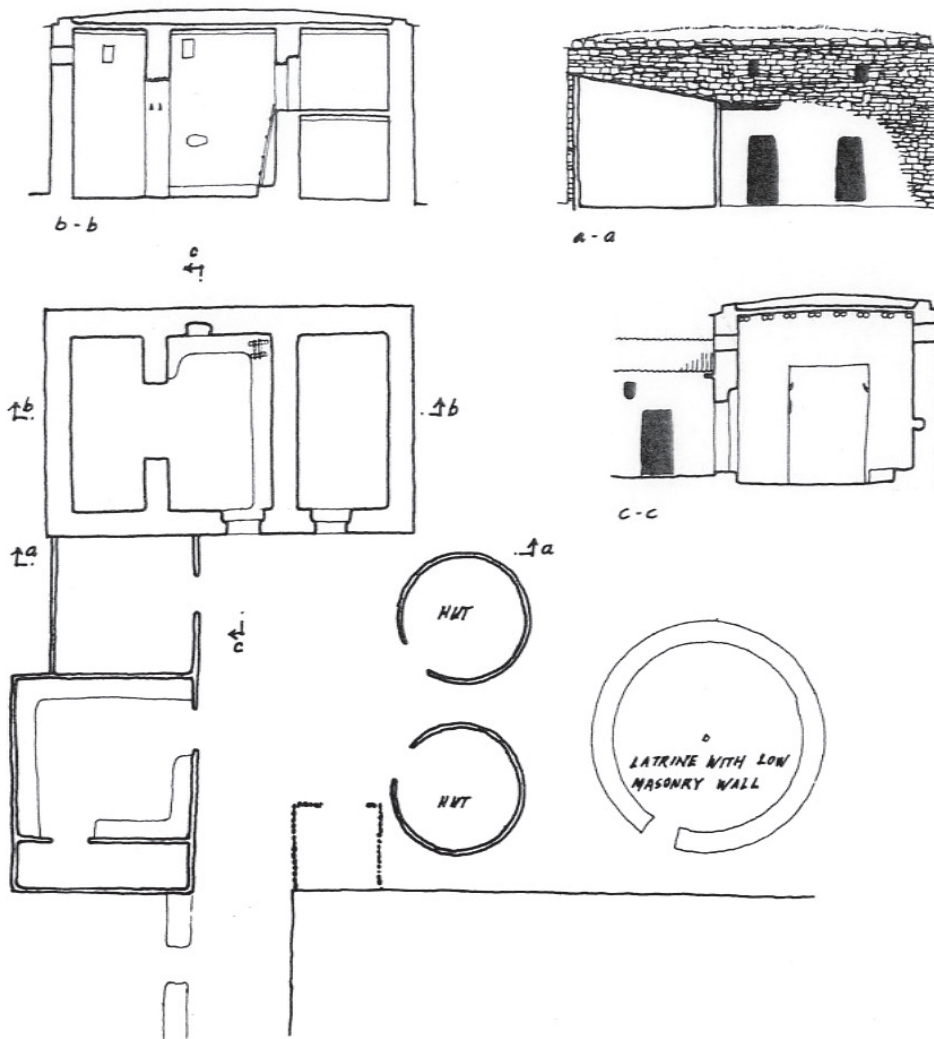


Fig. 4-4 Tri-parted House Type, Per Carlsson et al, "Housing in Makalle, Ethiopia", 1971

(2) Derivatives from *Hidmo* Type

Another version of the *hidmo* type house is the lumped type. This is also called *hidmo* because the spatial composition is nearly the same as the original *hidmo* type. Its basic plan is tri-parted, but the exterior differs due to its lumped roof. The difference from the original *hidmo* type is that the roof of the lower part of the house is used generally as a terrace, which is accessed either by an exterior staircase or through the upper floor. In the study area there are two houses of this type. The house introduced in the Swedish report [Fig. 4-4] shows that a second level was partly added. The house in the study area is a similar type of this house [Fig. 4-7]. While the former has the shape of an early stage type, judging from the shape of narrow windows, the latter seemed more urbanized with wider and systematic windows and doors, dating on the character of a row house along the street.



Fig. 4-7 Lumped Tri-parted House in study area

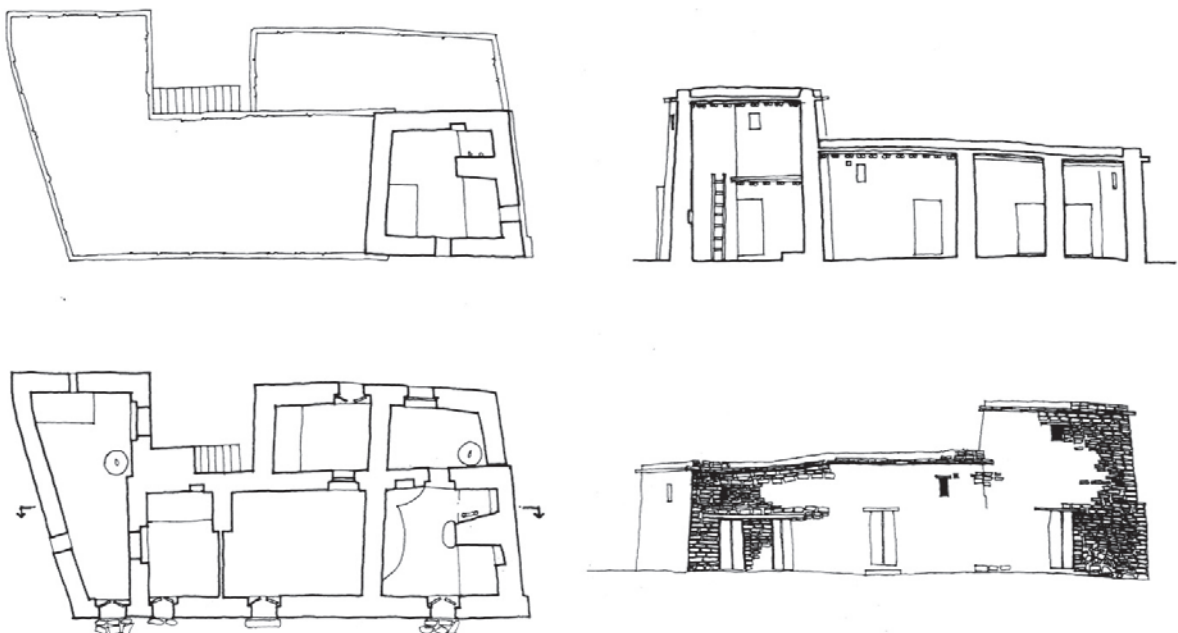


Fig. 4-6 Lumped Tri-parted House Type, Per Carlsson et al, "Housing in Makalle, Ethiopia", 1971

2-1-2. Urbanized Mansion

One can distinguish a double story residence as still another version of *hidmo*. As double story buildings are limited to the urban area, this type can be categorized, for example, as an urbanized version of a mansion. The planning is based on the tri-parted one. The difference from the original *hidmo* is that this version is a complete double story building and has access by exterior staircase. Two examples were found in the study area. Mansion Asmelash Gebru [Fig. 4-9] represents a good example of this type, constructed possibly at the beginning of the 20th century.

Mansion *Kegnasmach* Mekonen Tsegay is an integration of several building types, departing from lumped *hidmo* house, but well combined with the row house type. This house is the largest structure in the study area and represents the completion of an urbanized noble's house at the dawn of the Italian invasion [Fig. 4-9], [Fig. 4-10].

Another type of mansion is a much more luxurious type with double story. The difference from the vernacular *hidmo* house is that this type has a separate ground floor and the upper floor rather than a loft. It also has a symmetrical composition with an apparent European influence. The symmetrical façade, shape of the window frame, and balcony are typical. The balcony is placed in the middle of the upper floor. The roofing used to be flat as in the original *hidmo* type, but later it was replaced by a triangle iron sheet roof afterward. Two examples of this type were found in the study area: Mansion Assefa [Fig. 4-9], [Fig. 4-10], and House Tirhas Gebregzbher Gebre. The historical background of the latter has not yet been investigated.



Fig. 4-8 House Tirhas Gebregzbher Gebre (left)

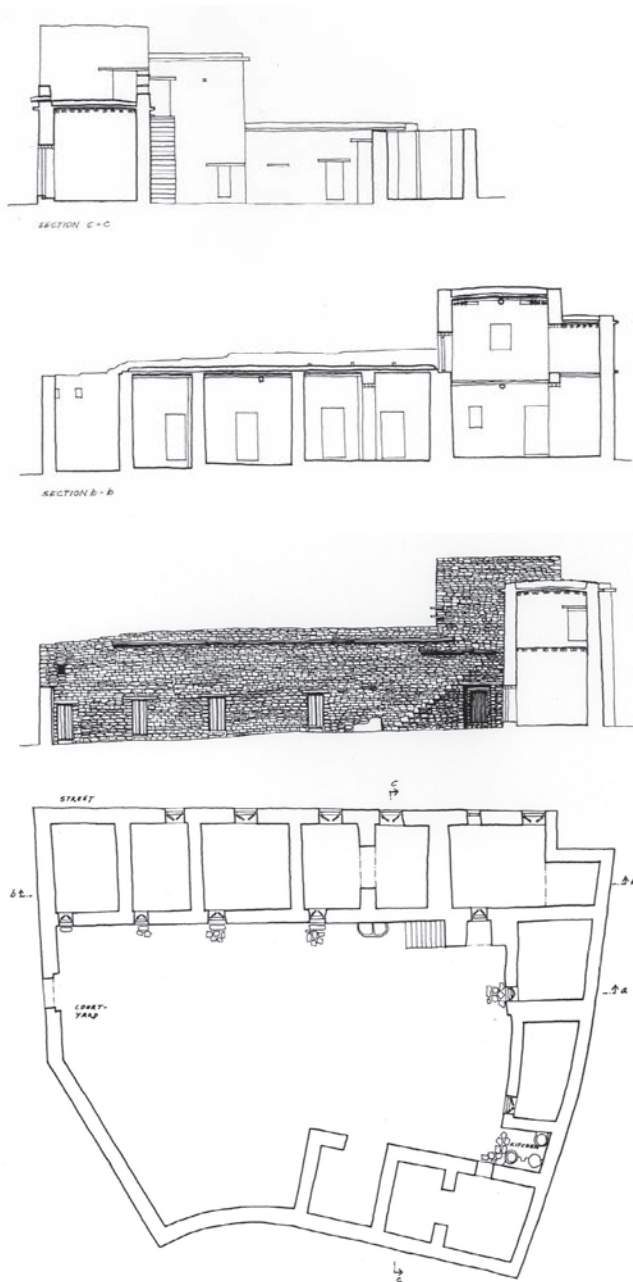


Fig. 4-9 Plan of House *Kegnazmach* Mekonen Tsegay, Per Carlsson et al, "Housing in Makalle, Ethiopia", 1971



Fig. 4-10 Photo of House *Kegnazmach* Mekonen Tsegay

2-1-3. Single Detached House

A detached house with smaller dimensions is also an outstanding type in the case study area. This type corresponds to the smaller size of *hidmo*, scattered around the old town of Mekelle. Apart from the mansions of the higher rank lords, the middle class warriors constructed their own residences in the form of smaller scale masonry buildings. In the study area several houses were identified as this type of housing. For instance, the House Kiros Girmay is typical of this. The width of the house corresponds to two bays, smaller than the tri-parted *hidmo*. In the 1960's the roofing was changed from the original flat roof to the present iron sheet while an extension was made behind the main building.

Several examples of this kind were found in the study area. The surface of these houses varies from 24 to 34m². The original type such as House Kiros is characterized by its tall proportion and limited openings with solid masonry walls.



Fig. 4-11 Detached house

2-1-4. Row House

(1) Single Story Row House Type

One or two generations after the construction of the old Mekelle by Emperor Yohannes IV, the city became more densely populated. The heirs of a large compound were obliged to divide the site into several pieces of land for succession. Besides, the densification of the urbanized area required more effective land use. Collective housing in the form of row house was a solution for this requirement. The land adjustment process for each compound, which became necessary in the early 20th century, resulted in the construction of this type of row house alongside a street. In the study area, streets for north-south and east-west were set up so that a series of row houses were built along them. Single story row houses consist of one-room units with a door and a window. Eventually there might be extension toward the courtyard. In several cases, there happened to be inner row houses with *chikka* construction. This solution, starting in the 1960's, corresponded to the requirement of making use of an open courtyard for renting purpose.



Fig. 4-12 Single story rowhouse



Fig. 4-13 Row house in front of Mansion *Kegnazmach* Mekonen Tsegay, constructed in post-Yohannes period

(2) Double Story Row House Type

This type of row house is considered to be the augmentation of the earlier one, with double story space for each housing unit. In the study area no such building was found, but the Swedish team reported a good example of this type [Fig. 4-14], [Fig. 4-15]. There are stairs on the exterior to access the rooftop.

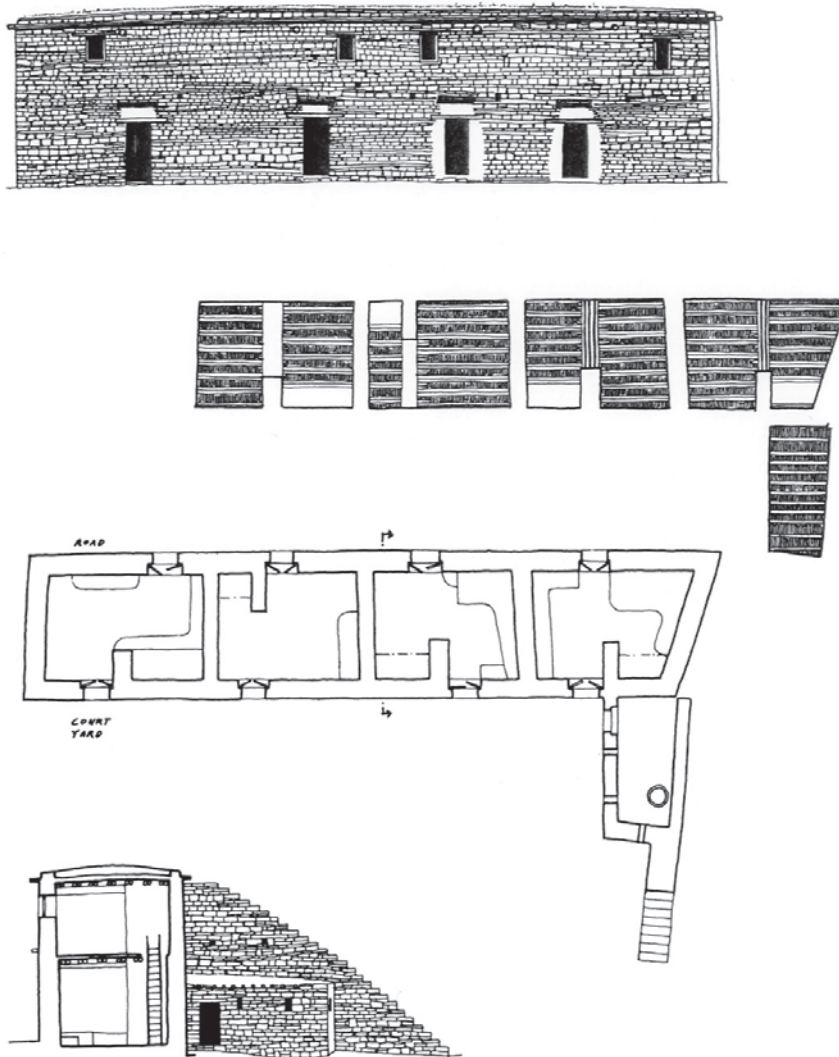


Fig. 4-14 Elevation, ceiling plan, 1F plan, and section of a double story rowhouse type building



Fig. 4-15 Photo of a double story rowhouse type building

2-1-5. Other Types

(1) Round House *Gojjo* Type

Round house type called *gojjo* was shared among the villagers in Tigray. This type does not exist in the central area any more but an aerial photo from around 1960 showed that this type was still in use at that time. An example is shown in the book by the Swedish team from the 1960's. In the center four wall-like columns support the ceiling. The composition with four columns (square) and surrounding wall (round) is the same as other round houses in Northern Ethiopia, but the roof was flat covered by earth.

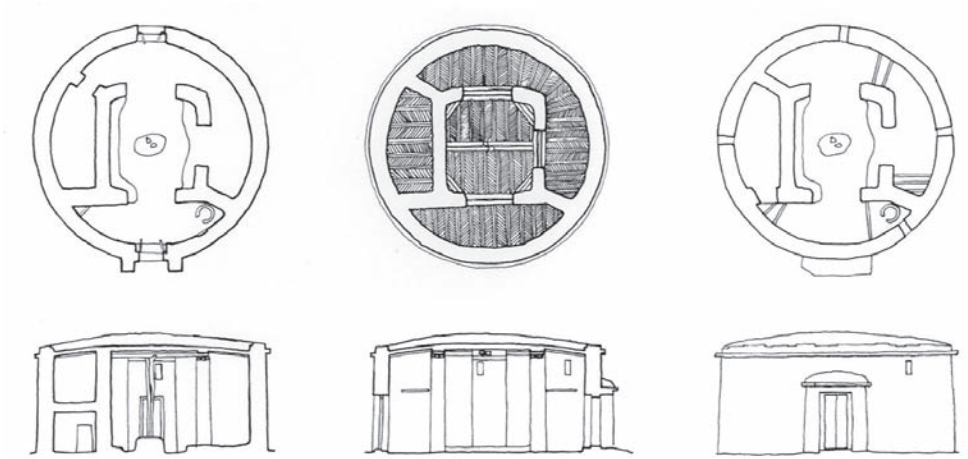


Fig. 4-16 Plan of a round house type building



Fig. 4-17 Round house type building in Enda Meskel area

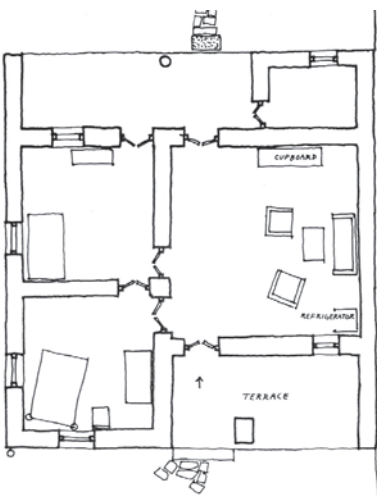
(2) Villa Type

The villa type house was promoted in Ethiopia by the Occupation government in the late 1930's. Based on a square plan, the house has a terrace. Tomohiro Shitara has examined this model in the case of Gondar. Generally the Italians adopted this housing type for their luxurious life in a compound filled with greenery. In Mekelle, a few examples were detected in the old town. The fact that this type could be found even inside the "indigenous" zone of the Ethiopians means that the building design as well as building technique was widely used by Ethiopians. Besides, Mekelle was the city ruled by *Ras Haile Selassie Gugsu*, who collaborated with the Italians during the Occupation Period, so it must have enjoyed the "friendly" communication with the Occupation government.

In the report of the Swedish team, a villa type house is shown as one of the richest house among the public employees. This house, of masonry construction with tin roofing, was inhabited by an agriculture extension supervisor, who received a high salary. Unfortunately the site of this villa is still unknown, but it is clear that this house follows the Italian model shown in Shitara's dissertation. The housing report by Venice University of Architecture also represents a villa type house in central Mekelle.

Here in the study area, two villas were found. One has been in the possession of Nigsti Desta, a descendant of *Ras Haile Mariam Gugsu*, nephew of Emperor Yohannes IV. The structure is not masonry, but *chikka*. It is strange to have this type of luxurious house made of such cheap and perishable materials. It is supposed that after the retreat of Italians, the owner (Nigsti's father) constructed this as their main residence, instead of using the old mansion. The economic situation of that epoch did not allow them to build this in masonry. The building condition of this villa house is miserable due to the deterioration of the materials. The owner constructed a new house in the 1990's and moved there while the villa was rented to the newcomer.

Another villa type house was constructed in reinforced concrete structure around 1985 and still is in good condition. It is interesting that these old Italian villa type are still being built even after half a century since the model has been exploited



4-18 Plan of villa type building, by Swedish team



Fig. 4-19 Villa type constructed in reinforced concrete

(3) *Chikka* House

Chikka is, generally speaking, the most diffused building method in Ethiopia. Here in Mekelle, since the majority of the built environment is masonry, *chikka* houses form its own typological category. In the study area, durability is around 20 years. Their plan is also quite simple (fig. 3-54). Most of the house owners utilize these *chikka* houses as house-for-rent, but in some cases, the owners have moved from their original house to the *chikka* house for rental purposes.



Fig. 4-20 *chikka* house

2-2. Typological Review

It is supposed that the transformation of traditional *hidmo* type dwelling occurred in a very short period of Tigrayan history, that is, from the second half of the 19th century to the middle of the 20th century. The original building types were *hidmo* and *gojja* in a large compound in a rural setting. The reception of the *hidmo* type in an urbanized area promoted the transformation process with such rapidity that European types of mansions and villas made their appearance. To systematize this transformation process, one can categorize several developmental flows: from *hidmo* to mansion (expansion), from *hidmo* to detached houses (shrinking), and the formation of row houses.

The case study area was rich in variations of these building types. The distribution of each building type in this area, thus, enables us to formulate a genealogy of housing types in Mekelle. The starting point is the rural *hidmo* type, tri-parted masonry houses both with flat and lumped roofs. Then these masonry buildings were urbanized responding to the requirement of concentration and convenience. For the high-ranking nobles double story mansions, for the lower warriors compact size detached houses appeared and spread within the old town. In accordance with the formation of the urban block, the row house type was born to create the alignment of buildings as well as to house the augmented population. Before the invasion of the Italians all these types were present and constituted the block-and-parcel type city. The Occupation government introduced European style mansions and villas as well as new building techniques. New typologies came on through this Europeanization process even after the withdrawal of Italians. Still the local people kept using the local building technique of masonry and, sometimes, *chikka*, to respond to the new requirements. *Kebele 14* is a rare place where all these building types still remain, expressing the urban history of Mekelle as a living architectural museum [Fig. 4-20].

3. Monographic Observation on Old Families in Central Mekelle

3-1. Heredity from Noble Families

Mekelle used to be the palace city of Emperor Yohannes IV. As mentioned in Chapter I, noble families related to the Emperor and princes resided around the palace. The townscape of Mekelle in the first stage is thought to be groups of compounds in which *hidmo* type buildings occupied the center. The present state of Chelekot and Antalo may represent the initial phase of this palace city. To analyze the heredity of these sites, interviews in situ took place in 2009. These interviews were carried out in June and July, 2009 by the author in *Kebele* 14, where old mansions and houses still remain and inhabited by certain number of hereditary families. Through the overall field survey on 155 households in the target area of *Kebele* 14, at least four families were detected as hereditary from the aristocratic origin table 1. A detail of their family tree is shown below.

The present situation of the houses in the study area has been, generally speaking, subject to alteration and extension in the course of time. To appraise their potential value as heritage, reconstruction work is required to reveal the original features of each building. Dating of building period and a typological analysis allow us to represent the transformation process of the building in relation to the social background of each period. In this section, four houses and mansions are discussed with respect to reconstructive methods.

3-2. History of Several Outstanding Houses and Mansions

(1) House Kiros Girmay

House Kiros Girmay (house 43-1) was proven to have been constructed in 1898 as the owner remember clearly the date of construction as “two years after the Battle of Adwa”, since her grandfather *Balambaras* Getahun Hailu was a well-known hero of this battle and honored by *Ras* Mangasha Yohannes, the son of Emperor Yohannes and the prince of Tigray at that moment. *Balambaras* is a title of Ethiopian nobles, meaning “commander of a fortress”.

The present owner, Kiros Girmay [Fig. 4-21], was born in 1945 as his granddaughter. When the Swedish team made a survey on the housing conditions of Mekelle in 1967, they interviewed her father, Girmay Getahun [Fig. 4-21], secretary, born around 1905. It was written in this report that two adults (probably father and mother), two children (Kiros and another) and a servant lived there. Now that the parents have passed away, Kiros and her grandson live together in this house. Her daughter has passed away several years ago. Consequently this house has a hereditary record of five generations already (Fig.3-15). She is proud of this house as a symbolic cultural spot of Tigray, but the municipality’s decision to demolish this house for the sake of widening the street disappointed her. To raise income, she divided the house into three parts for rent in 2006 and placed two shops within the compound.

The owner lived in the extension constructed in the 1960’s behind the main building, rented to Netsanet Tsegazeab and Amit Gebregiorgis. To sustain her life, the owner opened a small shop attached to the garden to sell miscellaneous goods. Several other buildings were also constructed [Fig. 4-25]. Coincidentally, this house was treated in the report published by the Swedish researcher team who conducted a housing survey in 1967 [Fig. 4-26].

Despite its long history the house was demolished in 2010 due to the execution of the new master plan prepared by the municipality in 2009.

(2) Mansion *Kagnazmach* Mekonen Tsegay

The largest among the old houses in the case study area is a mansion built in 1934 just one year before the Italian invasion. The interview with the present owner proved the year of the construction of this mansion. *Blata* Tsegay Seifu (-1936), the present owner’s father and judge in Mekelle, was the client for this splendid house. His son, *Kegnazmach* Mekonen Tsegay (1913-), is the present owner of this house, but lives in a new house on the eastern side of the Palace. He used to be active as a high-ranking noble during the imperial period and was appointed to be the administrator in Axum, Adwa, Shire, Enderta, Enda Mehoni successively. He remembers quite well the townscape of Mekelle of old days. His mansion is situated in a wonderful location to watch the Palace directly as well as the May Liham River. *Blata* Tsegay was an influential person and regularly gathered a group of people in front of his mansion. *Kegnazmach* Mekonen has a great grandson, so that his family has enjoyed already five generations of heredity since the construction of the mansion [Fig.



Fig. 4-21 Kiros Girmay's father Girmay Gatahun standing in front of the house compound in 1967



Fig. 4-22 Family Tree of Kiros Girmay's family, 2009



Fig. 4-23 Photo of House Kiros Girmay before demolition, 2009 (top)

Fig. 4-24 Photo of compound entrance of House Kiros Girmay before demolition, 2009 (bottom)

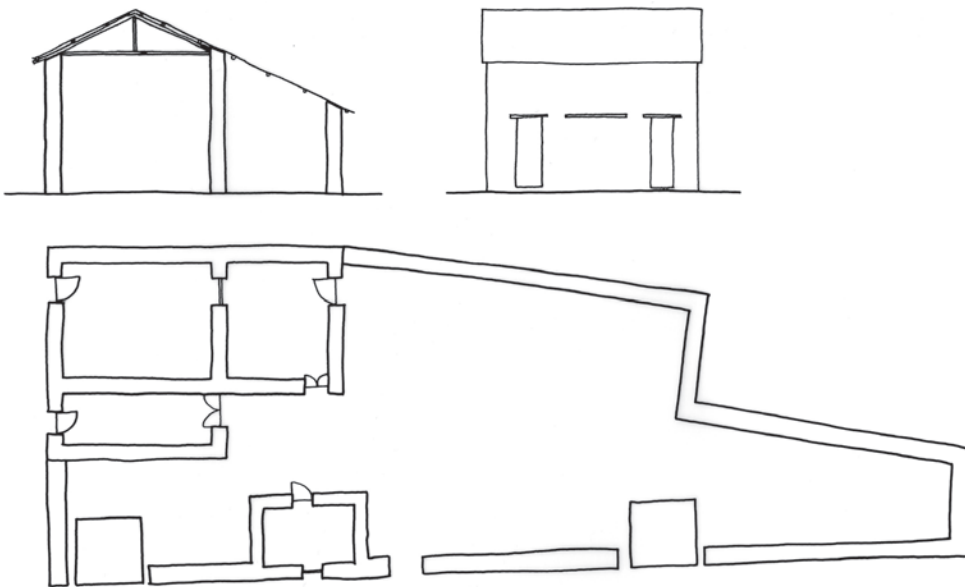


Fig. 4-25 House Kiros Girmay, section and plan, 2009

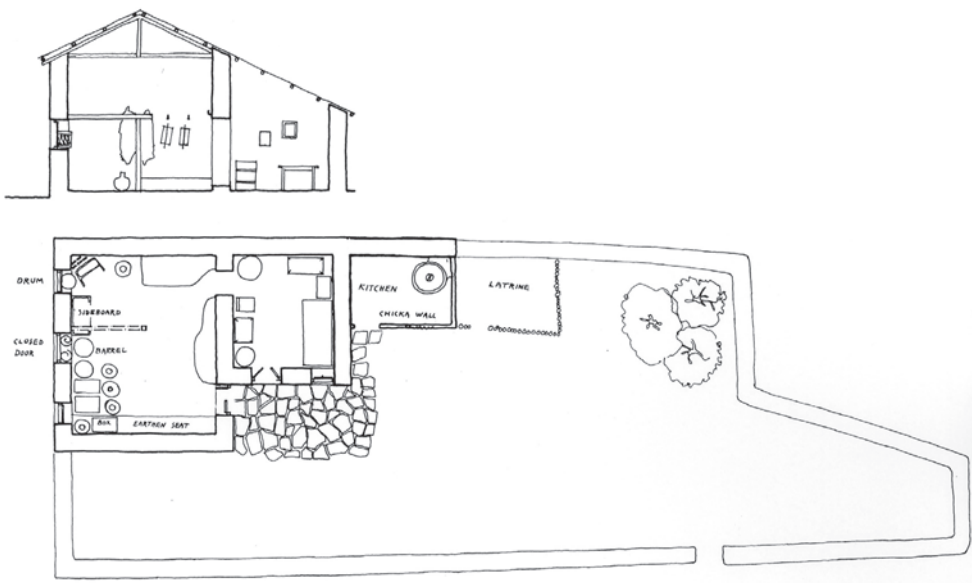


Fig. 4-26 Section and plan of House Kiros Girmay, 1967

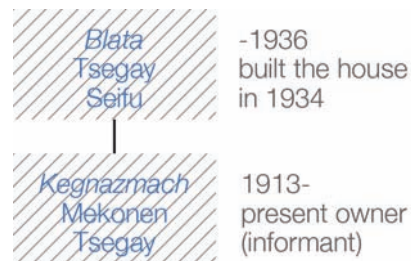
4-27].

This mansion attracted also the attention of the Swedish team in 1967 so that they measured it precisely. This mansion exhibits general characteristics of urban architecture. First of all, this was designed to house several households in the form of a row house although the inhabitants would be the owner's relatives or acquaintances. Second, this house is a double story building, not the type with a loft within the interior space. The southeast corner became a tower like two story structure with an L-plan. The upper story used to be the rooms for *Blata*. This makes the building conspicuous and attractive. Third, the roof is used as a terrace. The view from this terrace must have been important especially for high-ranking nobles in the princely court of Mekelle.



Fig. 4-27 Photo of Mansion *Kegnasmach* Mekonen Tsegay, 1967 (left)

Fig. 4-28 Photo of Mansion *Kegnasmach* Mekonen Tsegay, 2009 (right)



In this respect, the typology of this mansion is completely new and innovative. The

Fig. 4-29 Family Tree of *Kegnasmach* Mekonen Tsegay's family

original compound had been already divided into several parcels. For this mansion, the parcel suggests the inner court type land use. The main entrance to the parcel was changed from the south to the north probably due to the additional construction in the southern front.

(3) Former Mansion of *Blata* Assefa Abay

Former Mansion of *Blata* Assefa Abay was built by *Blata* Assefa Abay in 1935 and extended in 1940. The present owner of this house is his child (names are not yet known) who do not reside here (Fig.3-20). This house is a two story modernized masonry building, with symmetrical proportions, and well kept up. What makes them frustrated is that the current residents are very poor and two of the three households occupying this house make their sustenance by prostitution (Fig.3-21). This house belongs to the modernized two-story masonry building type, with symmetrical proportion. (Fig.3-22)

(4) Mansion Asmelash Gebru

Mansion Asmelash Gebru, on the contrary, is inhabited by its hereditary family [Fig. 4-36]. This house was constructed by *Grazmach* Gebru G. Mikael, one of the highest-ranking nobles in Mekelle, before the Italian invasion and extended in 1943, after the Italian retreat. The house was succeeded by his daughter, Almaz Gebru, but since she left the country, Asmelash Gebru, her brother and the son of *Grazmach* Gebru, received the ownership

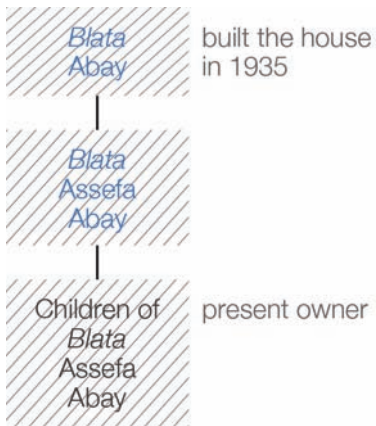


Fig. 4-33 Family tree of Blata Assefa Abay's family



Fig. 4-30 Elevation, section, and plan of former mansion of *Blata Assefa Abay*



Fig. 4-31 Photo of *Blata Assefa Abay* before demolition from the front, 2009 (left)



Fig. 4-32 Photo of *Blata Assefa Abay* before demolition from the back, 2009 (right)

of the house [Fig. 4-33]. He lives here at present, working as an office secretary. To raise income, additional buildings were built and rented to a policeman and a prostitute.

According to the report of the Swedish team published in 1971, several informants seemed to have noble origins judging from the richness of the house and the living conditions, but unfortunately their concern was rather with housing conditions and the human history was not described at all.

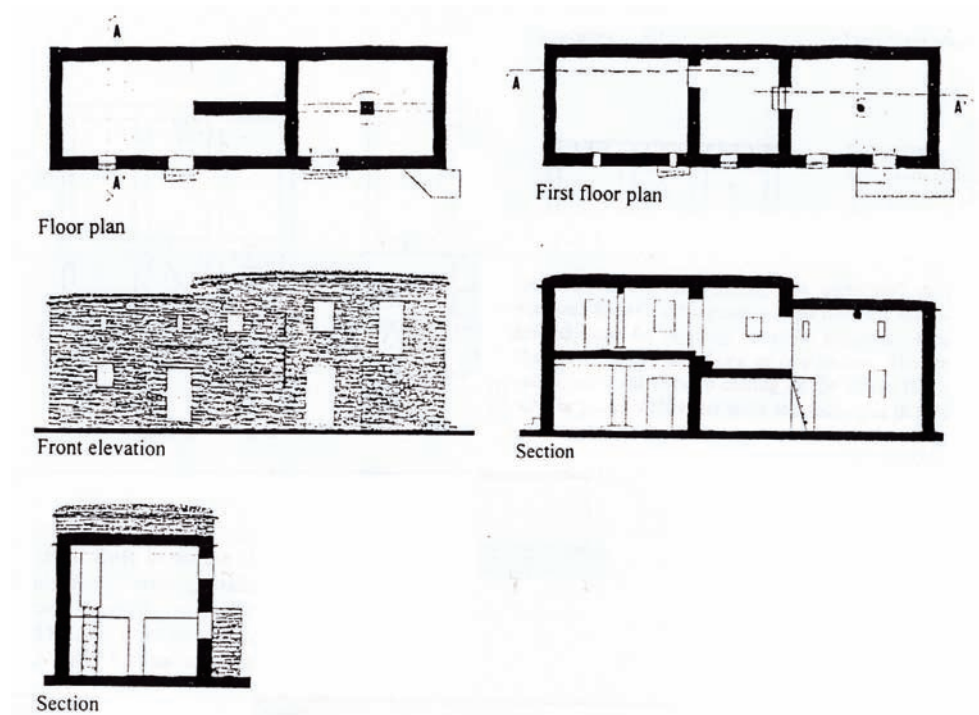


Fig. 4-34 Plan of Mansion Asmelash Gebru, by Italian team

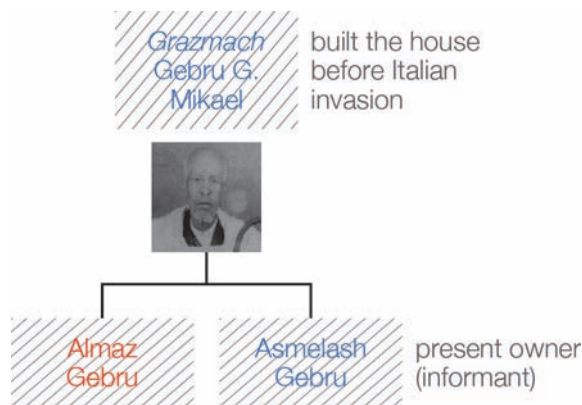


Fig. 4-35 Family tree of Asmelash Gebru's family, 2009

3-3. Leasehold in Old Compound

It is interesting to watch carefully how the descendants from the noble families manage to live in hereditary compounds in the midst of central Mekelle. Analysis on the transformation of the urban tissue revealed that the original compounds have changed, or rather, evolved from the rural type to a much more urbanized form, that is, a form of continuous block and parcel type. The original shape of the compound must not have been substantially different from the rural one with a *hidmo* house in the center, but in the course of the several decades until the Italian occupation period the town had become much denser and required more effective land use. From the viewpoint of landowners, they had to prepare for receiving their kin group within their own compound by erecting additional houses and attached buildings. The initial *hidmo*, which used to have either a single or two-story building model, but small in size, evolved to much larger scale as urban architecture. The mansion of *Blata* Tsegay Seifu, in fact, represented an example of this larger scale model that represented to the requirement of more effective and denser urban tissue.

The oldest house in the central districts of Mekelle is attributed to the barber's house according to local informants. This building was constructed around 1886, two years later than the completion of the Palace. It is supposed to have been a single story *hidmo* house situated in the middle of a compound, but due to subdivision and shrinking process, the compound lost its original dimension. Unfortunately the family residing in this house was reluctant to accept an interview so that the details of the family are still unknown.

It should be mentioned that the above-mentioned old houses line up along a street. They were erected in the post-Yohannes period (between the 1890's and 1930's). This means that the urbanization process of the compounds resulted in a row of buildings along the periphery of each compound. For instance, the house of *Balambaras* Getahun Hailu, built in 1898 as well as that of Mansion *Kegnazmach* Mekonen Tsegay, constructed in 1934, forms the borderline between a street and a compound. The notion of alignment is clearly expressed. Several other buildings along this strip were old enough to share the same origin as these houses of the descendants of nobles.

To show the transformation process of one compound, it is worth referring to a few cases within *Kebele* 14. The case of House Nigsti Desta, for instance, is outstanding. The owner of this house, Nigsti Desta, 70 years old woman, is a hereditary descendant of *Ras* Haile Mariam Gugsu, nephew of Emperor Yohannes IV. The house in the midst of the compound is apparently the work of the 1940's because it represents a strong influence of the Italian colonial villa despite its local *chikka* building technique. Certain local builders must have constructed this house according to the Italian model. The report of Venice University of Architecture published in 1996 also referred to the same type of a house without indicating where it was situated. The owner, Nigsti Desta, was driven off to another place during the *Derg* period, but once she returned back after the change of the regime, she decided to construct a new house in the backyard of the compound in the 1990's and moved there. Two other additional buildings for rent were constructed afterwards. The analysis of Nobuhiro Shimizu clarified the extension process of this compound. From the viewpoint of asset management, the attitude of the owner is understandable. Making use of the given property, the owner has been trying to ensure the income by rent. Leasehold is the main business in this area, although investors are not yet interested because of the unfavorable conditions of

the site.

Therefore, the management of building property has changed enormously from the initial stage. In the 1930's, which corresponds to the second generation period since Emperor Yohannes IV, the owners were obliged to think about the future increase of their kin group and prepared for a much larger building to hold future generations, but once the imperial prerogative disappeared, the owners faced completely different problems: how to maintain their own lives. They were forced to think about raising income through leasehold. The problem is that the rent is very low because of the poor conditions of the site. Accordingly, present residents are facing difficulty finding an appropriate way for raising income whatever their background is.



Fig. 4-37 Former residence of Nigsti Desta, Italian villa type house made of *chikka*

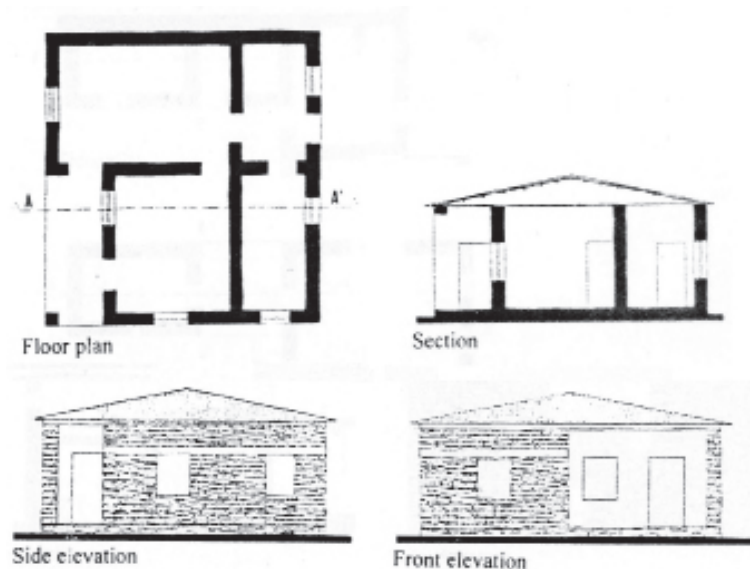


Fig. 4-36 Villa type residence, published in the report by the Venice team, 1996

4. Comprehensive Observation on Housing Conditions and Residents in Central Mekelle

4-1. Kebele 14 as Target Area

The central district of Mekelle was formulated toward the end of the 19th century and before the Italian occupation period. Preliminary interviews revealed that some of the existing houses and mansions were remains of the 19th century. If an inhabitant is a descendant of a first generation settler, it is not difficult to detect the building's age due to their genealogical relations. Such is the case for the house of *Balambaras* Getahun Hailu, proven to have been built in 1898 by the granddaughter of this military commander in the court of *Ras* Mangasha Yohannes. Taking into consideration the fact that those who were given the land around the palace were exclusively the nobles closely related to the court, the original houses (*hidmo*) were thought to have been their residence. However, through the radical land reform by the *Derg* government in the 1970's a certain number of descendants were obliged to leave from their hereditary land and many newcomers came into this area in turn. This makes the identification of the site very difficult.

The field research was done in *Kebele* 14, selecting 4 blocks within it. There were two phases of surveys, one in 2009 and another in 2011.

First Phase Survey	Preliminary Survey	March 2009
	Full-scale Survey	June- July 2009
Second Phase Survey	Full-scale Survey	August 2011

All the surveys were carried out by the author's with the assistance of students from Mekelle University. The data collected in the first phase survey was carried back to Japan and analyzed in the following months. The author has used this data for the master's thesis presented to Keio University in 2010. This chapter is an expanded version to this thesis with another survey in 2011. Although *Kebeke* 14 was a controversial area because of the municipality's decision for redevelopment, the author's intension of making a record of old buildings and historical quarters was achieved.

4-2. First Survey of Kebele 14 before Execution of New Master Plan (2009)

4-2-1. Process of First Survey

The author has tried to integrate the interesting with the present residents into the typological research in each parcel, so as to reconstruct the transformation and resettlement process of the central Mekelle. The transformation of urban organization, from the viewpoints of landownership and urban morphology would reveal the hidden mechanism of this area. The study area was chosen in *Kebele* 14. This area still has the original flavor of the 19th century where real historical images of Mekelle are alive. The study area includes four blocks, delimited by streets. 188 households live in total. The survey was carried out by the author with the assistance of an interpreter (Tigrinya to English) in June and July 2009. Of the 188 households, 145 households replied to the questionnaire (77.1% collected); the author also succeeded in measuring and recording all the buildings within this study area.

4-2-2. Outcome of First Survey

(1) Nature of Buildings

a. Building Age (2009)

Age of each building could be detected by way of interviews with local residents as well as by observation in situ of buildings. In order to verify the building situation, the *Piano Regolatore* by the Italians and aerial photos from around 1960 were useful because the former plotted the existing buildings around 1935-36 in their master plan, although their shape and the position were not accurate, and the latter showed the buildings that were present around 1960.

The result of this survey is very interesting. The number of existing post-Yohannes period (before the Italian occupation) buildings is comparatively large although those constructed before the end of the 19th century are scarce (probably 27 buildings). Among these, those forming the alignment of streets are worth noting while several buildings are also situated in the center of the parcels. Thus, two different tendencies can be seen among the oldest buildings in the study area: construction of row houses along streets and the presence of detached houses in the middle of compounds. Before the arrival of Italian force in 1935, the urban pattern of central Mekelle had already evolved from the former “associated *hidmo*” type to a more urbanized block-and-street type. The row house type buildings alongside the streets that clearly corresponded to the building distribution drawn in the *Piano Regolatore* of 1939 was the response to the requirement for street layouts. However, the eastern edge and southern edge streets were not represented in the Italian drawing. This means that in the eastern and the southern parts of this area, present streets were not yet formulated. Several old buildings, still existing, were smaller size detached houses for those who were depending on the superior lords. As a matter of fact, the house of Kiros Girmay in the south, a more compact type *hidmo* than an ordinary one, was a typical of this group. After the completion of the street during the Italian period, this house was merged with other detached houses. The parcel was also cut in a rectangular shape.



Fig. 4-38 Building age in research area, Kebele 14, Mekelle, 2009

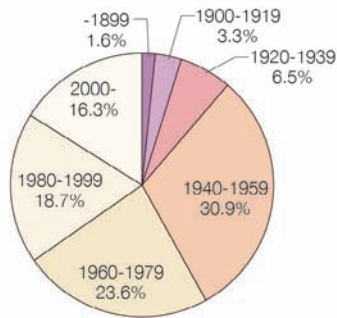


Fig. 4-39 Building age in research area, *Kebele 14*, Mekelle, 2009

During the Italian occupation and even later, building techniques were advanced by the introduction of new building tools brought from Europe. The difference of masonry techniques allows us to distinguish the new from the older one. Stones were more sharply cut and standardized after the introduction of European tools and methods. In the meantime, the occupation government promoted new housing models such as the villa type. Since the street system was enhanced, many row houses were constructed to make alignment along the street. Still the life style remained traditional due to the segregation policy. Even after the restoration of the governance by Ethiopians, the building culture seemed to stay at the same level as the late 1930's.

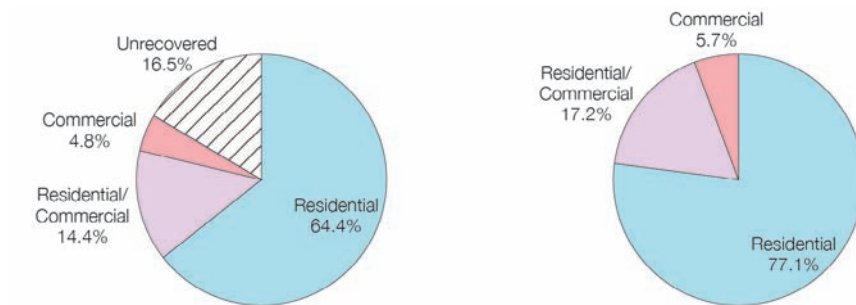
It was after 1960 that the expansion of the city started to virtually parallel the economic growth of Ethiopia. New construction even in these traditional quarters became active. 43.2% of the remaining buildings are the work of this period. Reinforced concrete structure as well as corrugated iron sheet roofing was introduced although conventional masonry was still commonly used. Responding to the rapid growth of the population, an easy type of housing was introduced: *chikka* houses. These were mainly constructed within the parcel. Both detached and row houses exist.

Buildings constructed in the last two decades number only 16.1%. After the recovery of the leasehold, the owners tried to obtain higher amenity for their houses making use of new materials. Shop owners seem to be more sensitive in this issue. After the urban morphological pattern was completed in the 1940's during and shortly after the occupation period, the later development resulted in the densification of the built-up zones. Conservation of old formal houses was already at the point of issue among the descendants of the nobles, but it was not yet carried out in a strategic way.



Fig. 4-40 Building use in research area, Kebele 14, Mekelle, 2009

b. Building Use (2009)

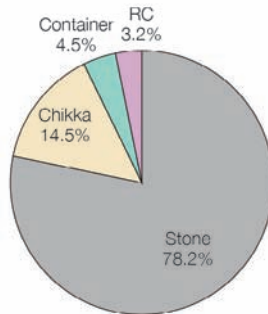
Fig. 4-41 Building use in research area, *Kebele* 14, Mekelle, 2009

The function of the buildings here is not complicated. In the study area, there are only three categories: residential, residential/ commercial (mixed use), and commercial. Neither educational nor administrative facilities exist in this area. However, there are several types of commercial activities found in this area such as hotels, hairdressers, bars, kiosks, and chat shops, types with various buildings. The commercial activity is well integrated into the residential area. Informal businesses such as prostitution is not marked in this category because the prostitutes make their business within their residence. Some bars and hotels (*bunnabet*) are related to this kind of gay trade.



Fig. 4-42 Building maerial in research area, Kebele 14, Mekelle, 2009

c. Building Material (2009)

Fig. 4-43 Building Material in research area, *Kebele* 14, Mekelle, 2009

In the target blocks, the majority of the building material is stone, regardless of their architectural styles and building age. Masonry tradition is apparent in this central quarter. It should be noted that the shaped stone type differs by age. Older buildings prior to the Italian Occupation, stone course shows comparatively rough with different shape of stone pieces, while more recent one after the 1940's suggests geometrically shaped stones. This implies the introduction of modern stonework tools such as hammers and chisels.

Some buildings are made of reinforced concrete. Among them one represents the villa type with outdoor veranda, but unlike the one made of stone or *chikka*, it has much modernized feature because of this material.

Chikka buildings are found within the courtyards, not looking on to the street. This explains that they are constructed as additional buildings for the purpose of speculation.



Fig. 4-44 Building height in research area, Kebele 14, Mekelle, 2009

d. Building Height (2009)

Fig. 4-45 Building Height in research area, *Kebele 14*, Mekelle, 2009

In terms of the building height, there is clear distinction between old double-story mansions and ordinary single-story houses. The former represents a group of mansions erected by high-class aristocrats with impressive and aesthetic physiognomy. In this area, the density of double-story buildings is much higher than other areas with historical buildings. Streetscape is, therefore, dominated by the presence of such outstanding historical buildings. Two reinforced buildings are exceptionally two-story buildings.



Fig. 4-46 Type of tenure in research area, Kebele 14, Mekelle, 2009

(2) Type of Tenure (2009)

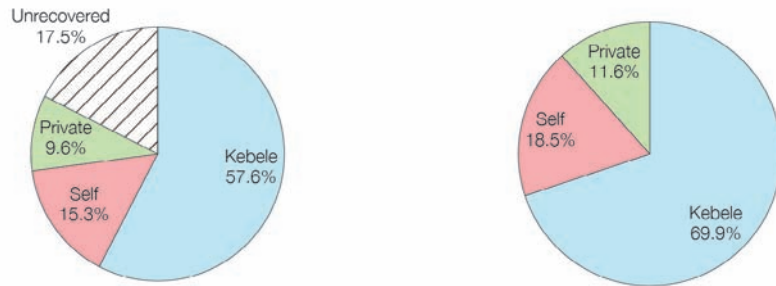


Fig. 4-47 Type of tenure in research area, Kebele 14, Mekelle, 2009

In the research area, among 155 households and commercial buildings, 27 live in a self owned building (17%) while 124 live in rented houses (80%). Since the 1990's, leasehold ensuring the lease of land for 99 years was introduced. The land was nationalized in 1975 by the previous regime and still in the possession of the state, however, free market economy of the leasehold was guaranteed by law. Many old landowners have recovered their right for their land in the form of leasehold. The presence of old owners, that is, old noble families, is still apparent. Although the landownership of the old families is invalid, these owners still have their right vis-à-vis the properties. The distribution of these descendant families still living in the study area while many other old owners live outside of this area, renting the houses and flats they own. Four major noble families were identified in this study area. Some of them still live in their original place like the case of Nigsti Desta descendant of *Ras Haile Mariam Gugsu* and the nephew of Emperor Yohannes IV. This parcel represents the form of the old compound. Referring to the Italian *Piano Regolatore*, their original house had occupied the center of this compound, but due to some reason, the Nigsti's father reconstructed a new villa type dwelling in the 1940's.



Fig. 4-48 Age of head of household in research area, Kebele 14, Mekelle, 2009

(3) Nature of Inhabitants

a. Attributes of Inhabitants

a-1. Age of Head of Household (2009)

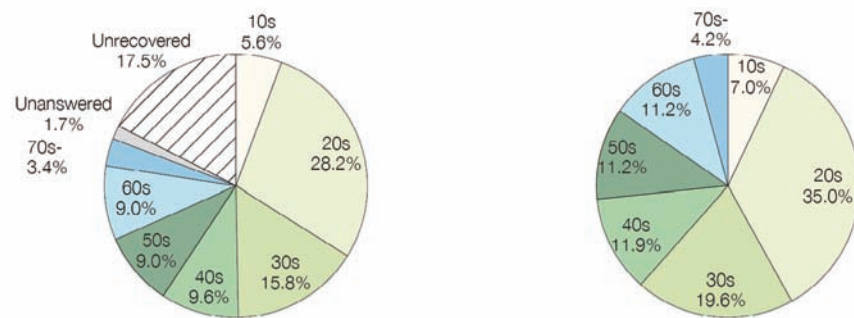


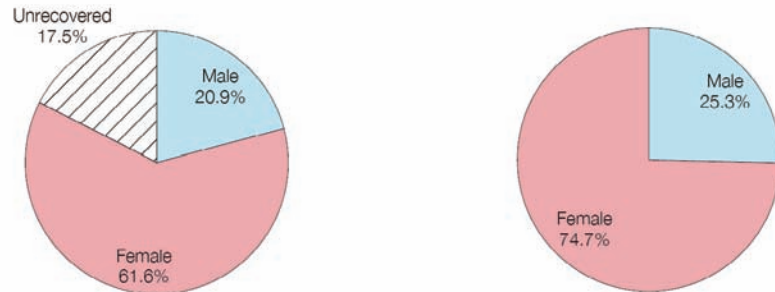
Fig. 4-49 Age of head of household in research area, *Kebele* 14, Mekelle, 2009

Age groups vary from 10's to 70's and above. Half of the household heads is of the younger groups (20's and 30's). The presence of the elder generation is quite conspicuous. Nearly one fourth of the household heads is more than 50 years old. In the whole of Mekelle, the age pyramid is typically that of a developing country. By age group- 10's and 20's are 38.8%, 30s and 40s are 18.4%, and over 70's 3.9%. This pyramid form could not be applied in the study area. The number of children were rather small according to the list of the numbers of the family members. In this area, although the age group of other family members is not investigated, it is certain that the age pyramid does not correspond to the general tendency of the whole city as the number of family members is much smaller than average.



Fig. 4-50 Gender of head of household in research area, Kebele 14, Mekelle, 2009

a-2. Gender of Head of Household (2009)

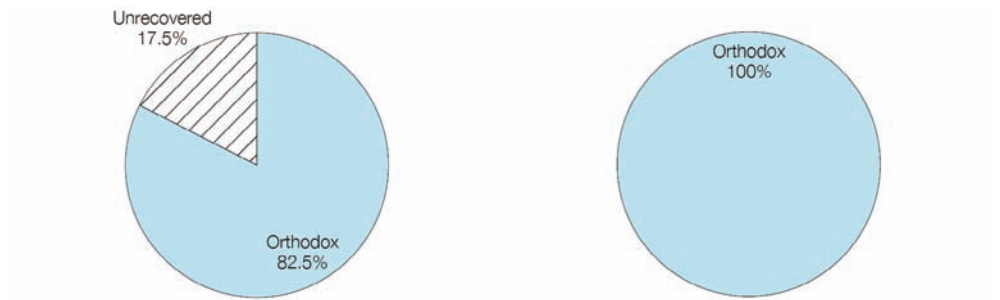
Fig. 4-51 Gender of head of household in research area, *Kebele* 14, Mekelle, 2009

It is surprising that 74.2% of the household heads are female. The youngest is 18 years old (prostitute) while the eldest is 86 (housewife and owner of several properties). Two tendencies should be pointed out. Widows constitute the elder age group. The younger age group is fatherless families. Comparing to the male-female ratio in Mekelle as a whole city, 50.8 to 49.2, the dominance of the female population in this area is noted. This is not the result of the departure of male population in search for job opportunities, but the fact that families without male members occupy this area results in this unbalance.



Fig. 4-52 Religion of head of household in research area, Kebele 14, Mekelle, 2009

a-3. Religion of Head of Household (2009)

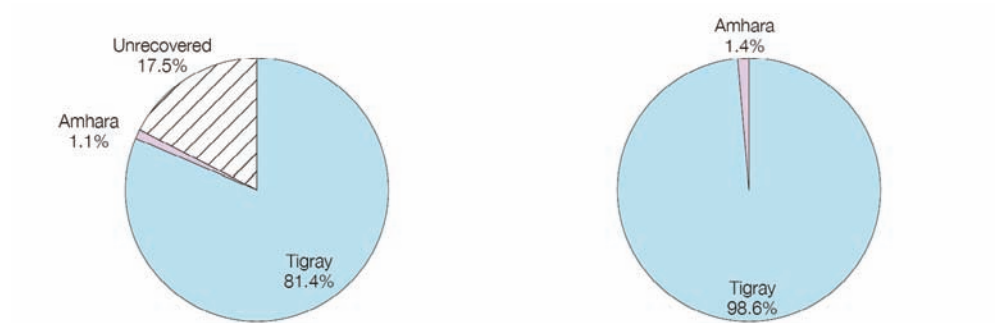
Fig. 4-53 Religion of head of household in research area, *Kebele* 14, Mekelle, 2009

This area is totally occupied by Ethiopian Orthodox, although two shops within this area are run by Muslim families who live in different areas. There are a certain number of returnees from Eritrea, mainly from Asmara. Surmised that more than 10% of the households living in this area. All of them are Tigrayan, but forced to migrate, driven by the Eritrean government because of the Ethiopian-Eritrean war that broke out in 1998.



Fig. 4-54 Ethnic of head of household in research area, *Kebele 14*, Mekelle, 2009

a-4. Ethnic Group of Head of Household (2009)

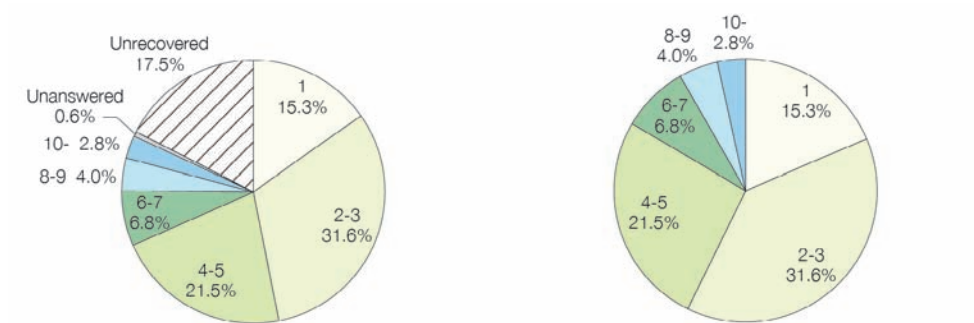
Fig. 4-55 Ethnic group of head of household in research area, *Kebele* 14, Mekelle, 2009

143 heads of households are Tigray among 145 households. The rest, 2 households, are Amhara.



Fig. 4-56 Household size in research area, Kebele 14, Mekelle, 2009

b. Household Size (2009)

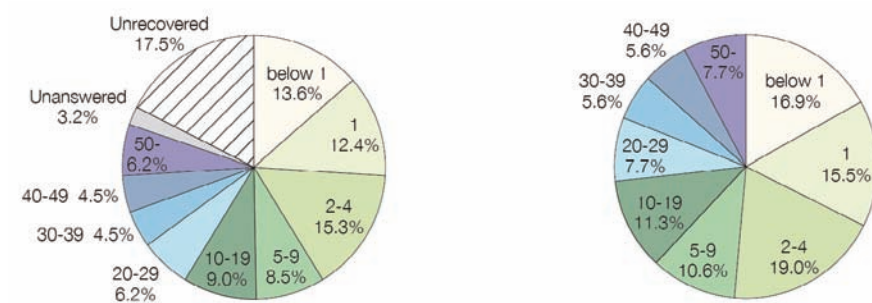
Fig. 4-57 Household size in research area, *Kebele* 14, Mekelle, 2009

The average household size is 3.7 persons. This figure is small compared with the average household size in Ethiopia. Single-family households are 15.4%, 2-3 family members 30.9%, and 4-5 family members 21.8%. The majority of single-family households consists of prostitutes and food sellers, both females. These people are newcomers, residing here for less than one year.



Fig. 4-58 Period of residence in research area, Kebele 14, Mekelle, 2009

c. Period of Residence (2009)

Fig. 4-59 Period of Residence in research area, *Kebele* 14, Mekelle, 2009

The distribution of the period of residence is divided into two extremes. One is very long (more than 20 years), the other is very short (less than 9 years). The former is 26.2% while the latter is 60%. As mentioned repeatedly, this area used to be a group of residences of old nobles in the imperial period, with a certain number of present residents considered to be their descendants. However, during the last three decades after the fall of the Imperial government, there must have been a large change of inhabitants. Newcomers set up their residences in the nationalized houses with cheap rent. Even after these houses were returned to the original owners, the tide of immigration did not stop. The original owners, who became poor, were obliged to lend away their own residence to the newcomers. This lend-away phenomenon is one of the characteristics of central Mekelle.

Resettlement of newcomers in this area was accelerated by the Ethio-Eritrean War of 1998. Many Tigrayan who lived in Eritrea, especially in Asmara, were evacuated from there. Mekelle was the only place where they could sustain their lives. More than 10% of the inhabitants are such returners from Eritrea, and many of them earn money by prostitution.

Within the newcomer group, the mobility of the inhabitants is very high. The residents move from one place to another after a very short period of stay (1-2 years). The reason why this area attracts these people is that the rent is comparatively low and it has excellent accessibility. The owner of the houses do not seem to care about the occupation of the tenants.

Occupation of Head of Households

- Prostitute
- Bar
- Housewife
- Food Seller
- Others
- Unrecovered

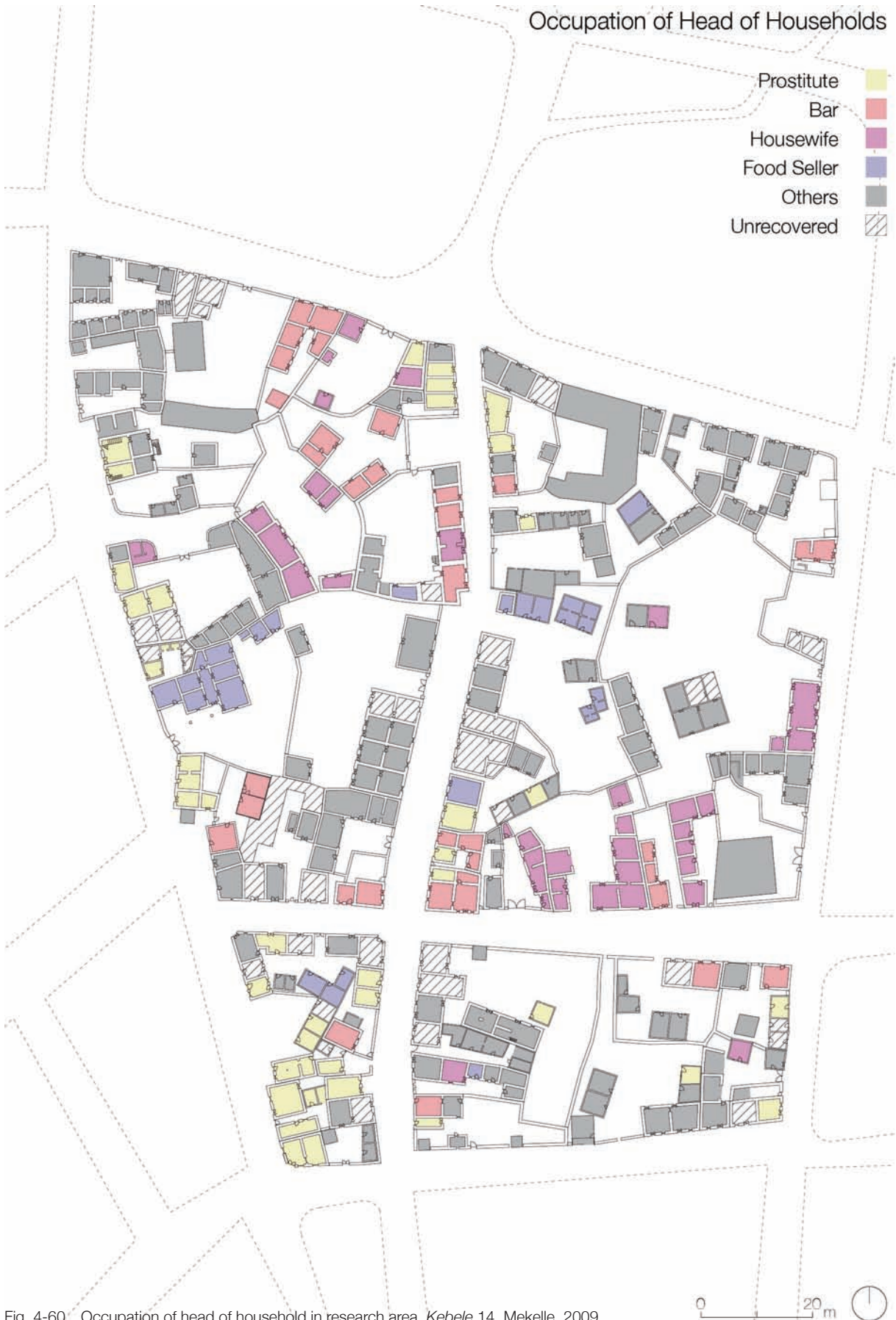


Fig. 4-60 Occupation of head of household in research area, Kebele 14, Mekelle, 2009

(4) Socio-Economic Aspects

a. Occupation of Head of Household (2009)

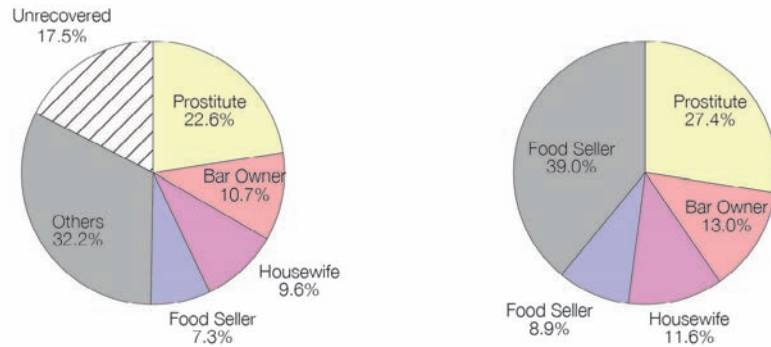


Fig. 4-61 Occupation of head of household in research area, Kebele 14, Mekelle, 2009

The inhabitants are mainly engaged in occupations of the tertiary sector from street sellers to shop owners. The following occupations were identified through interviews:

- house owner (real estate business)
- qualified professional (NGO worker, engineer, technician, trader)
- public service (policeman, bus station secretary)
- office worker (secretary, cashier)
- driver
- store keeper
- tailor
- hair dresser (barber, beauty salon)
- bar keeper (*tella* seller)
- prostitute
- food seller (injera seller ,vegetable seller, corn seller, etc.)
- waitress
- construction worker (including gardener)

The largest occupation group is the prostitutes, more than one fourth of the heads of households (27.6%). The second largest is barkeepers (14.5%). These two occupations are related to the gay trade and play a decisive role in characterizing the atmosphere of this district. Barkeeper is a synonym of “*tella* seller”. *Tella* is local beer in Ethiopia, favorite of Ethiopians. In many Ethiopian cities, *tella* sellers run their shops (bars) and provide drinking venue. This is considered to be a women’s work and in many cases, these bars are related to prostitution. But the *tella* sellers in the study area, mostly elder women, are different from such preoccupations, being simple drinking places. Prostitution is independently allocated mainly along streets, and, strangely enough, the southwest block of the study area is like a concentrated island of prostitution. Also, these prostitutes are occupying old traditional buildings, evaluated as important as heritage.

Third largest group is the house owners (11%), those who possess properties and rent them. They are not the type of modernized property owners who run real estate businesses, but their major income comes from house rent, which is not always high.



Fig. 4-62 Income in research area, Kebele 14, Mekelle, 2009

b. Income (2009)

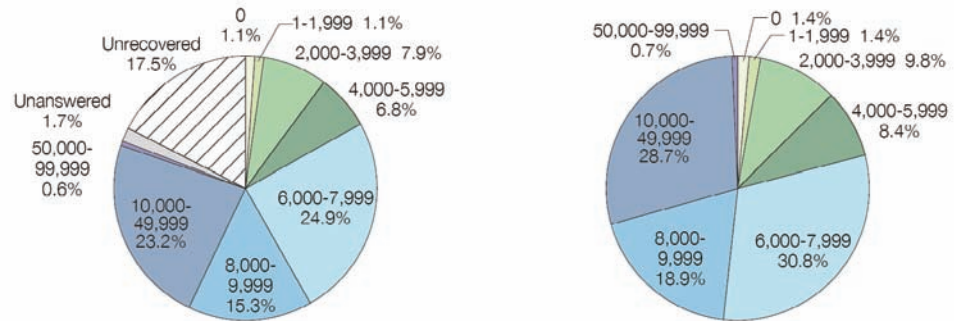


Fig. 4-63 Income in research area, Kebele 14, Mekelle, 2009

The monthly income varies from 100 ETB (injera seller) to 8,000 ETB (engineer). Six income groups are defined according to their income. The average of 145 households is 765 ETB (64.9 USD) per month, or 9,180 ETB (779.3 USD) per year.² Two aspects should be considered. First, Mekelle is a provincial capital that has benefitted by the concentrated investment of the central government. Comparison between Mekelle and Gondar shows this clearly. The survey on the living conditions of Gondar carried out by Yuko Otsubo in 2003 revealed that in one district of central Gondar, the average income was 996 ETB compared to the average income of Gondar as a whole 2,346 ETB.³ Taking into account the inflation ratio of last 6 years, 85.4%, these figures are equivalent of 1,847 ETB (154 ETB per month) and 4,349 ETB (362 ETB per month). Mekelle has been much more active economically thanks to the investment by the central government. Even in the deteriorated central area, inhabitants were able to earn much more than in Gondar.

Second, the central area (study area) is in the midst of a commercial zone so that there are many opportunities even for those who are not in a permanent professional position. As shown in the list of the informants, most are working in the informal sector. The convenient location in town helped the inhabitants to obtain more income even though it is informal.

The informal sector does not only include low-income people, but comparatively high-income people also belong to this group, namely prostitutes. There are 40 prostitutes residing in the study area (26% of the heads of household), and their monthly income varies from 300 to 1,500 ETB. The average is 720 ETB, which could be considered comparatively high among the inhabitants of Mekelle. Very high-income group (8%) consists of qualified professionals (engineer, technician), business people (trader, beauty salon) and real estate business (house rental) mainly. The higher income group, those who gain more than 700 ETB per month (49%) consists of shop owners, prostitutes, business people, professional and real estate business people, while the lower income group is made up of street sellers, prostitutes (again), *tella* sellers. Contrary to the exterior image of a deteriorated district, this area enjoys a comparatively moderate size of income.

² The exchange rate of U.S. dollar to Ethiopian birr in 2011 was 11.78.

³ Yuko Otsubo, Riichi Miyake, Tomohiro Shitara, Kyoko Homma "Study on the Housing Policy in Gondar, Ethiopia, and its Reality" in *Bulletin of Architectural Institute of Japan*, F-2, 2004, pp.259- 260 (in Japanese).

4-3. Second Survey in Kebele 14 after Execution of New Master Plan (2011)

4-3-1. Process of Second Survey

(1) Redevelopment Operation in the Target Area in 2009-2010

The municipality of Mekelle has been very concerned with the urban situation of the central district. Sanitary facilities, street conditions as well as the high density of living environment have made this area to be redeveloped in a modern urban planning manner. The most dramatic intervention in *Kebele* 14 was the operation of widening streets and construction of a square in the center. To accomplish this goal, many existing houses have been demolished since 2009. The proposal for the conservation by the author was too late to change the basic idea of the redevelopment. The new street plan was acknowledged by the municipality during the *Derg* period, but the operation was postponed until the municipality could afford the necessary financial measures in 2009. In relation with the target area, the main street, which delimits the area, was widened by demolishing the buildings that formed the edge of the blocks. Several important heritages mentioned in the previous chapters were unfortunately demolished.

Therefore, the second survey of the target area had to focus on the new situation created by this redevelopment. Where did the old residents who had lived in the demolished houses move? Is there any change of residents within this area? Who are the newcomers? Such questions were raised of the preparatory stage for the second survey. Appraisal of the redevelopment will be integrated in this survey. The number of building units decreased from 121 to 85 while the number of household has gone down from 188 to 125. However, commercial space has increased from 9 to 15.

(2) Objective of the Survey

The second phase survey was carried out in August 2011. Its target was affected housing units and newcomers so that the author visited all the remaining houses along the widened street on the west and on the south. In addition, other houses that were apparently renovated or renewed were surveyed. As a result, the number of interviewed households was 24 out of the households still residing in the same blocks as at the time of the previous survey. The questionnaire was the same as the previous one, but the main point to be analyzed was the change of inhabitants as well as their life style.

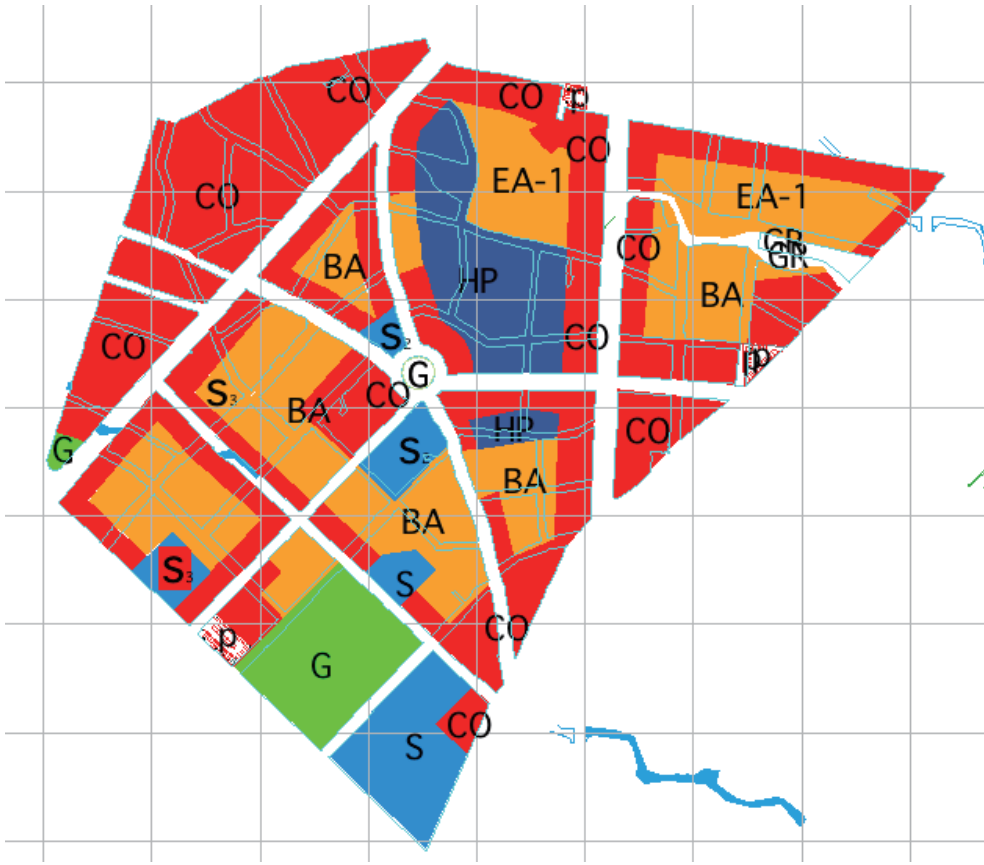


Fig. 4-65 New master plan of Kebele 14 (red: commercial, orange: residential/ commercial, navy: historical preservation, blue: public service, green: green area) 2009, Mekelle Municipality



Fig. 4-64 Kebele 14 after the demolition of houses



Fig. 4-67 Building demolition plan by Mekelle Municipality, 2009 (red: buildings to be demolished), map edited by author



Fig. 4-66 Aerial photo of the central district before the demolition of buildings, 2009



Fig. 4-69 Master plan by Mekelle Municipality, 2009



Fig. 4-68 Aerial photo of the central district after the demolition of buildings, 2010



Fig. 4-70 Aerial photo of research area, Kebele 14, Mekelle, 2011, Google Earth



Fig. 4-71 Base map of research area, Kebele 14, Mekelle, 2011



Fig. 4-72 Building age of research area, Kebele 14, Mekelle, 2011

4-3-2. Outcome of Second Survey

(1) Nature of Buildings (2011)

a. Building Age (2011)

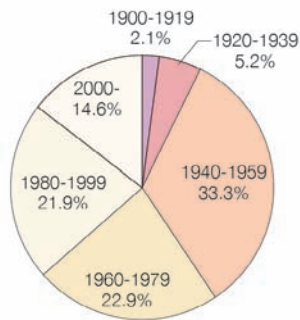


Fig. 4-73 Building age of research area, *Kebele 14*, Mekelle, 2011

The clearance operation done by the municipality has affected 58 housing units, among which 45 were totally lost, and 13 of which have been partially demolished. One block on the southwestern corner, as a matter of fact, has completely disappeared. This block was occupied with old residential buildings, and resided by prostitutes. As the aim of the municipality was to renovate this historical quarter by the clearance of a sensitive zone, their aim was accomplished in a sense. However, it is true that the demolished block was characterized by historical monuments. As a result, old building segments (buildings before 1959) have reduced to 40.6% from 42.3%. Two oldest houses in this quarter are supposed to have been constructed in the second half of the 19th century have gone to great regret.



Fig. 4-74 Building use of research area, Kebele 14, Mekelle, 2011

b. Building Use (2011)

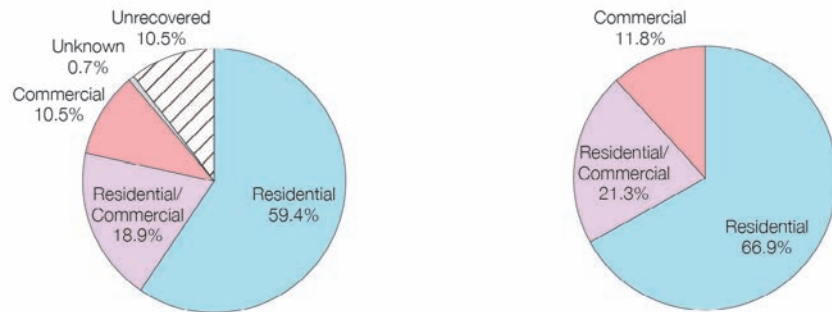


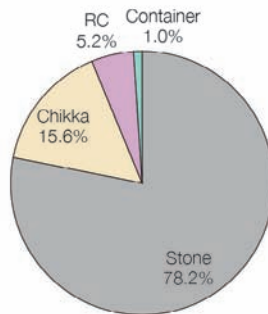
Fig. 4-75 Building use of research area, Kebele 14, Mekelle, 2011

The clearance operation was conceived to transform this area into proper and widely opened urban space, regardless of the treatment of former residents like prostitute. Streets were widened and a square was created by clearing a block where old mansions and houses with high density used to occupy. This operation was intended to “modernize” the central zone, giving this area more opportunities for commercial activities. Therefore, the number of shops has increased from 9 to 15 (4.8% to 10.5%). On the contrary, the number of housing units decreased from 121 to 85 (64.4% to 59.4%).



Fig. 4-76 Building material of research area, Kebele 14, Mekelle, 2011

c. Building Material (2011)

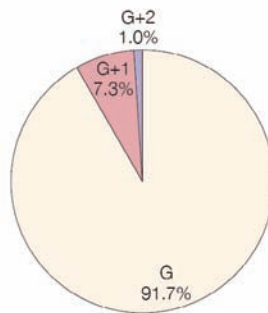
Fig. 4-77 Building material in research area, *Kebele* 14, Mekelle, 2011

No significant change has occurred in this area relating to the building materials even after the clearance operation. This operation was intended to reduce the number of the buildings. Structures were added to make use of the partially demolished buildings along the main street. One new house was built with reinforced concrete in the middle of the case study area replacing a *chikka* house. It has three stories and it is the highest building built in these blocks.



Fig. 4-78 Building height of research area, Kebele 14, Mekelle, 2011

d. Building Height (2011)

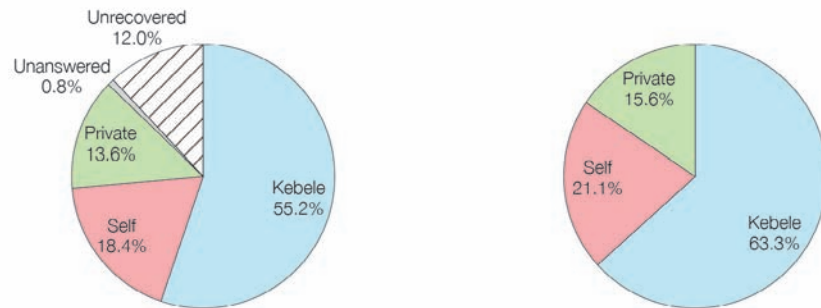
Fig. 4-79 Building height of research area, *Kebele* 14, Mekelle, 2011

The streets that delimit the western and the southern sides of the research area had been widened in the previous year. Due to this operation houses facing these two streets were either totally demolished or partially demolished. The “Prostitute Block” on the southwest corner was completely cleared. In the research area only one building was constructed with three stories: a new reinforced concrete building replaced a former *chikka* house. The owner decided to move here because of the renewal of this quarter. The husband is a contractor and the wife is planning to open a beauty salon on the ground floor.



Fig. 4-80 Type of tenure of research area, Kebele 14, Mekelle, 2011

(2) Type of Tenure (2011)

Fig. 4-81 Type of tenure in research area, *Kebele* 14, Mekelle, 2011

On the western and southern sides of the research area, all the housing units were rented from private owners, except for three buildings, still kept by the same owner as in the previous survey. A housing unit on the western side had been purchased by one diaspora family in the U.S. who started a real estate business. A tendency for speculation seems to have been started by the clearance operation of the municipality. The average rent among the interviewed 17 households was 873 ETB (51.0 USD) per month.⁴

The value of the houses previously hidden by the street front buildings has increased because of the demolition of these frontal buildings. This means that the business chances for such inner houses increased.

⁴ Exchange rate of U.S. dollar to Ethiopian birr in August 2011 was 17.01.

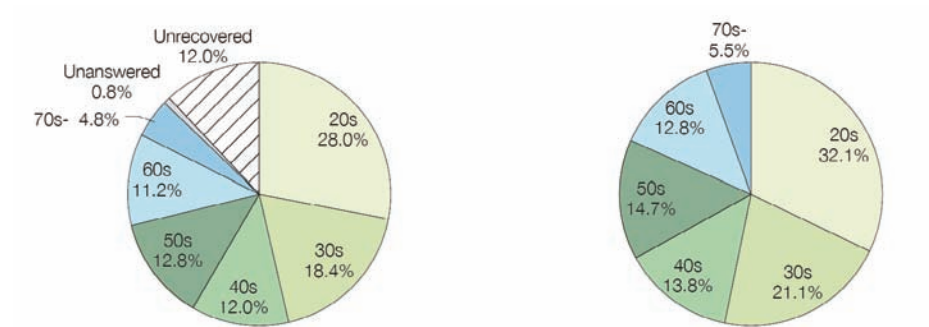


Fig. 4-82 Age of head of household in research area, Kebele 14, Mekelle, 2011

(3) Nature of Inhabitants

a. Attributes of Inhabitants

a-1. Age of Head of Household (2011)

Fig. 4-83 Age of head of household in research area, *Kebele* 14, Mekelle, 2011

Total number of household in the researched area has been reduced from 188 to 125, meaning nearly one thirds of the households were obliged to leave from this quarter due to the clearance operation. Younger heads of household below 29 years old has decreased. All the teenager heads of households on the occasion of 2009 survey have increased their age and entered into the age group of 20's.



Fig. 4-84 Gender of head of household in research area, Kebele 14, Mekelle, 2011

a-2. Gender of Head of Household (2011)

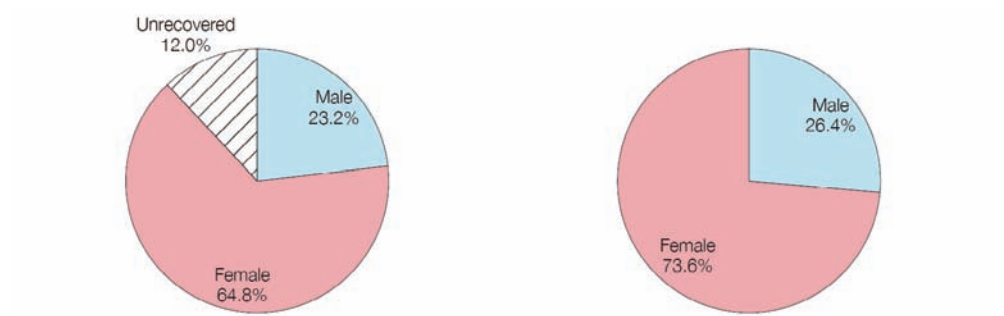


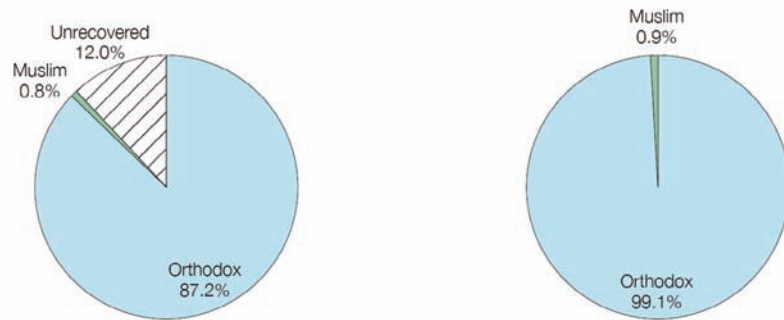
Fig. 4-85 Gender of head of household in research area, *Kebele* 14, Mekelle, 2011

The proportion of male and female has not changed much although the prostitute zone was the target of clearance. Both males and females seem to have been diminished in an equal way.



Fig. 4-86 Religion of head of household in research area, Kebele 14, Mekelle, 2011

a-3. Religion of Head of Household (2011)

Fig. 4-87 Religion of head of household in research area, *Kebele* 14, Mekelle, 2011

It is worth noting that Muslim population has entered into this area after the clearance operation although their household number is limited. In 2009, the area was exclusively occupied by Orthodox Christians, but after the renovation, Muslim merchants, mostly chat sellers, have installed their shops by transforming ordinary houses into commercial use.



Fig. 4-88 Religion of head of household in research area, Kebele 14, Mekelle, 2011

a-4. Ethnic Group of Head of Household (2011)

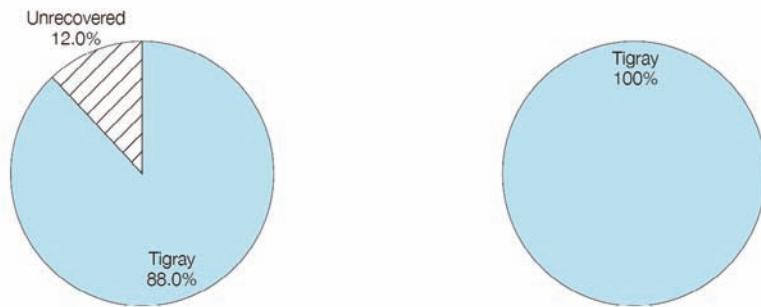


Fig. 4-89 Religion of head of household in research area, *Kebele* 14, Mekelle, 2011

Amhara households who were present in 2009 have disappeared in 2011 so that the area has been occupied exclusively by Tigrayan regardless of their religion.



Fig. 4-90 Household size in research area, Kebele 14, Mekelle, 2011

b. Household Size (2011)

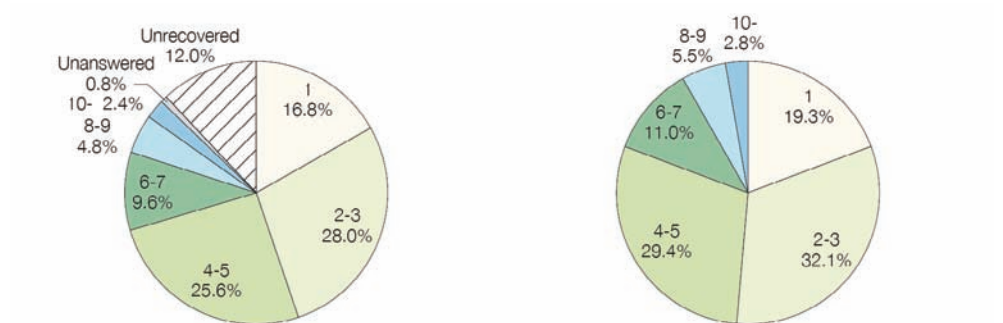


Fig. 4-91 Household size in research area, Kebele 14, Mekelle, 2011

The clearance operation widened the streets, giving opportunities for street side shopping. In fact, new shops have been inaugurated while a certain number of new residences have been constructed in this area. The number of single-family has increased to 19.3% from 15.3% while larger size household has come to this district at the same time.



Fig. 4-92 Period of residence in research area, Kebele 14, Mekelle, 2011

c. Period of Residence (2011)

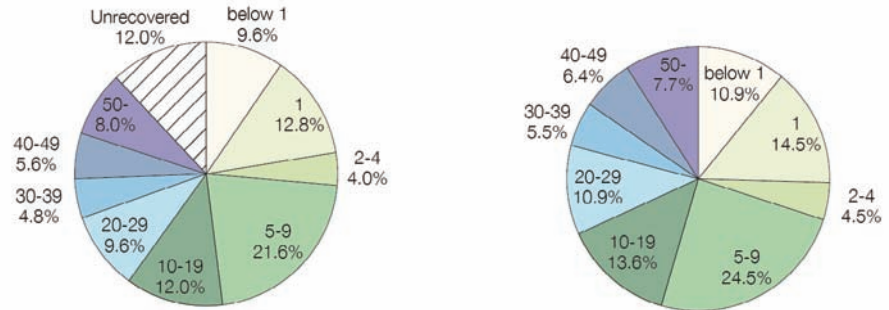


Fig. 4-93 Period of residence in research area, Kebele 14, Mekelle, 2011

All the newcomers to this area were Tigrayan. The survey revealed that several newcomers have settled in the newly exposed buildings to start new jobs. It should be noted that the balance of religious groups has changed slightly in the target area. They are mainly Muslim and engaged in chat sales. The image of the widened street has resulted in such change.



Fig. 4-94 Occupation of head of household in research area, Kebele 14, Mekelle, 2011

(4) Socio Economic Aspect

a. Occupation of Head of Household (2011)

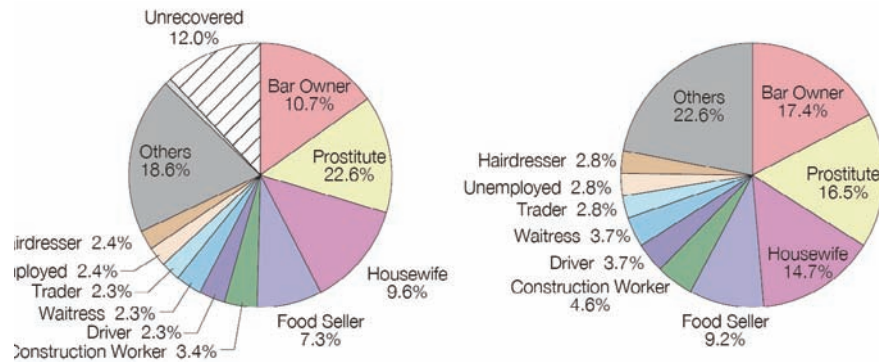


Fig. 4-95 Occupation of head of household in research area, Kebele 14, Mekelle, 2011

The drastic change of the occupation is the prostitute. This is understandable as the main task of the clearance operation was to refrain from prostitution. The percentage of the prostitute went down from 27.4% to 16.5%. Bar owners has kept the same standard although apparent number has increased due to the decrease of population parameter. Informal business such as food seller has been diminished a bit.



Fig. 4-96 Income in research area, Kebele 14, Mekelle, 2011

b. Income (2011)

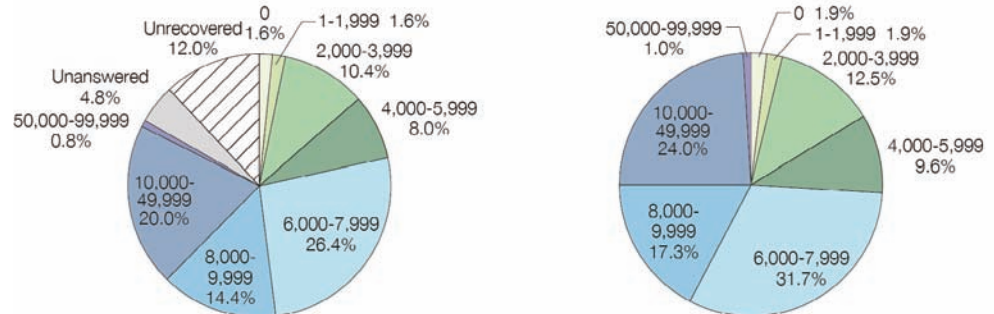


Fig. 4-97 Income in research area, Kebele 14, Mekelle, 2011

Due to the change of the inhabitants, the distribution of occupation has slightly changed. The most outstanding was the increase of chat seller. 3 chat sellers have settled in the frontal buildings on the west side. (5 in total together with original 2 sellers). Beauty salons were also another target for a new business. Two salons were opened on the southern side.

According to the municipality one of the aims of the clearance was to make the townscape comfortable and healthy. Prostitution was to be driven away. In this respect, the clearance of the “Prostitute Block” on the southwest corner was successful. It was completely erased. The number of customers has been diminished due to the widening of the main street, which may mean the loss of this shady atmosphere. Still prostitution is “preserved” in this area. Newcomer prostitutes have replaced those who are driven away. One is a prostitute of 38 years old, amazingly said to be Muslim.

4-4. Characteristics of Research Area as New Findings

4-4-1. Building Conditions

The study area is very old. Besides two houses constructed in the 19th century, buildings were considered to be constructed before the Italian occupation. The traditional construction method was masonry (77%). In addition, *chikka* buildings (16%) and reinforced concrete buildings (3%) co-existed at least before the renovation of this area in 2010. This means that until quite recently masonry used to be the fundamental building method. Although in Ethiopia in general, *chikka* is the most diffused material, but here in Mekelle, the building culture has been dominated by stonemasons.

The townscape has been tremendously changed by the operation of widening the streets. 58 housing unit were affected by the widening of the street in the research area. 45 units were lost totally by the demolition of street side buildings. Another 13 units were partially demolished but they are still inhabited by using the left part of the housing unit. The block situated on the southwest corner was purposefully erased as this was the place occupied by a number of prostitutes. The site has been renovated as a public square.

The average floor surface was 23m² before the renovation. The smallest size house is only 7.4m², inhabited by a prostitute. The largest one is 182.4m², inhabited by a house owner, who settled here 20 years ago. As mentioned before two tendencies are apparent: smaller size house and larger house. Some households show a dispersed way of living in different housing units. This way of life unfolds around a courtyard

4-4-2. Tenure

The result of the survey on the tenure finds that among 155 households, 27 live in their own house (17%) while 124 live in rentals (80%). Since the Proclamation No.80 of 1993, the leasehold of the land was introduced, ensuring the lease for 99 years. The land was nationalized in 1975 by the previous regime and still in the possession of the state, free market economy of the leasehold was guaranteed by law. Many old landowners have recovered their right in the form of leasehold. For example Nigsti Desta descendant of Ras Haile Mariam Gugsu, nephew of Emperor Yohannes IV still live in their original place. This parcel represents the form of the old compound. Referring to the Italian *Piano Regolatore*, their original house occupied in the center of this compound, but due to some reason, the Nigsti's father reconstructed a new villa type dwelling in 1940's.

It is interesting to see how the present owners live their lives. Many do not live in the original house. They rather prefer renting the original one, and live in a different house, or in the extension. Such is the case for Nigsti. She constructed a new house along the street and lives there. In Kiros Girmay's case, the owner lives in the extension, constructed behind the original house in 1960's, and lends the larger original house to the newcomer. The survey of the Swedish team in 1967 reported that Kiros and her father lived in the original one and the extension at that epoch. A maid lived in a different small hut. However, in the course of time, as his father and daughter passed away, she was obliged to divide the house for renting purpose and live in the extension (one room space) with her grandson. This

“lend-away” phenomenon is the result of the shrinking and deterioration process of this district.

The street side zones were completely renovated by the demolition operation of the municipality. The remaining housing units, partially untouched, were rented to newcomers. These units are not the property of *kebele*, but private owners are in possession of these units and operate real estate businesses, which seem to be successful.

4-4-3. Inhabitants

The central quarter of Mekelle is inhabited by groups of people with outstanding nature. The gay trade or red light zone is the most specific characteristic of this district. Before the renovation of 2010, as a matter of fact, the largest segment was occupied by prostitutes (27.4%). More than one fourth of the heads of household was of this occupation. Bar owners followed (13.0%). Still the ordinary life by ordinary families juxtaposed this occupation as the percentage of housewife occupied 11.6%. Three fourth of them are females meaning that this quarter suggest typical woman-headed community.

Two extremities of females reside side by side here: one represented by prostitute, another by descendants of aristocrats. The urban formation process since the second half of the 19th century may explain this fact. At the initial stage, this place was occupied by the subject of the emperor, high officials of the court and high rank warriors. They used to have large compounds, but was sub-divided in accordance with the densification of this area. Along the streets, buildings for commercial use as well as row houses were constructed for speculation purpose so that newcomers migrated to this area and occupied such small housing units. But radical transformation occurred after the revolution of 1974 when extra houses were nationalized to be conceded to *kebele* administration. The old owner of the old mansions divided them into small housing units for rent, which were later to be nationalized, but without adequate maintenance. Prostitutes have occupied these units since this period. The refugees caused by the Ethiopia-Eritrea War migrated to this area as well because of the high mobility of the occupants in this area. Informal business was and still is strong among the inhabitants of this area.

The clearance operation of 2010 targeted the prostitution as the municipality intended to wipe out the residences of such red light business people. Approximately 55 % of the prostitutes (22 persons) have gone, and those who came in as newcomer are merchants who profit the high convenience of this area. Muslim chat sellers are included among them.

4-5. Changes Between 2009 and 2011

Further detailed studies must be made in order to evaluate the consequence of this new master plan, but there are several remarkable social facts that can be pointed out from observations and data collected in the field survey carried out in 2011.

(1) Decrease in the Number of Prostitutes

One key objective for implementing the new master plan was to decrease prostitution in order to reduce the aspects of the red light district of this area. The municipality succeeded to some extent by demolishing the brothels. The road expansion has also made this district more open to the community that made prostitutes uncomfortable. However, the municipality did not succeed in solving the underlying problem since the prostitutes have moved to a nearby district and created a new red light district.

(2) Increase in the Number of Chat Sellers

Recent urbanization has not just brought new people to town, but also brought new culture. One example is the introduction of chat. Although chat is a widely known and accepted culture in the eastern part of Ethiopia, until recently it was an uncommon tradition in northern Ethiopia. In 2009 there were only two chat sellers in the case study area, but in 2011 there were five shops that were engaged in the chat business along the expanded road. For a long time chat selling was considered to be an underground, informal business in Tigray. However, the fieldwork clearly shows that the chat business has become accepted in society and has become a formal business in the area.

(3) Increase in the Number of Muslim Merchants

The initial aim of the road expansion was to increase economic activity. After the road expansion, the characteristic of the blocks adjacent to the expanded road changed dramatically. Rent prices also increased, forcing some residents to move out and enabled others to take advantage of the situation and move in. Most of the newcomers started new businesses along the main streets, including several Muslim merchants. In 2009, 100% of the households were Orthodox, but in 2011 there were four Muslim households who migrated to this area to start new businesses.

The implementation of the new master plan has generated economic activities and renewal of infrastructure, but the demolition of historical heritage has led to an irreplaceable loss. SIDA points out a relevant quote in a discussion paper of 1998: "Immediately after the Second World War a different approach was prevailing in Europe and North America. In a misguided attempt to modernize its cities, large areas of valuable building stock were demolished to give way to steel and concrete structures, uniformly built in the then fashionable international style. Developing countries can learn from the mistakes of the industrialized countries. Particularly now that globalization is threatening to promote a more uniform urban life style, it becomes even more important to maintain and develop what is specific and local."⁵

⁵ SIDA, "Urban Cultural Heritage and Development Co-operation", Discussion Paper, 1998

5. Nature of Historical District of Mekelle

5-1. Basic Viewpoint for Historical Complex in Mekelle

Mekelle is a comparatively new city. In Tigray where urban history started in ancient Aksum and its surroundings, a city that was intentionally constructed in the second half of the 19th century is exceptional. Many people in Mekelle think that this city is not worth the name “historical city” but rather is a commercial and political city. As the capital of Tigray, Mekelle, indeed, has been very influential in the political scenes in Ethiopia, but the heritage within and around Mekelle is rich and meaningful. The international community had not pay attention to the historical value of this area except for rock-hewn churches in Geralta. Attention should be paid to the urban environment of central Mekelle as a historical urban core.

Urban history of Mekelle has not yet been well studied. The lack of knowledge about the origin and transformative process of the urban complex has weakened the interest in conservation and preservation of old buildings and relics. The author has been working on the subject of urban history and community of Mekelle for more than a decade and trying to find its hidden values. The research presented here is one of the results of such academic activities. Apparently it is controversial as opinions vis-à-vis heritage have been divided into two groups. One is promoting the redevelopment of the central zone while another is for the idea of conservation. This dichotomy derives from the lack of a strong guideline in terms of Tigray’s cultural heritage. In Tigray, the only UNESCO World Heritage city is Aksum comprising the archaeological sites of Aksum Dynasty. Mekelle has been, thus, completely excluded from the criteria of World Heritage. However, careful examination of the actuality of masonry buildings convinces the superiority of Mekelle over other conventional cities. The reality of historical monuments should be well studied based on the criteria for the appraisal of Mekelle. After the analysis on the data collected in the last sections, the author raises the following points to understand the urban situation of Mekelle.

5-2. Sustainability and Vulnerability

5-2-1. Consolidated Urban Structures with Masonry Architectural Heritage

Contrary to Gondar, the urban structure of Mekelle is very solid. The masonry building culture must have exerted enormous influence on its historical orientation. One of the major goals of the field research in *Kebele* 14 was the appraisal of heritage both as buildings and urban fabrics. The value of the authenticity was also considered. By way of surveys, it was proved that Mekelle embraces a concentrated building history so that its central districts were well planned and utilized. The process of urbanization was spontaneous. Street and block pattern was introduced toward the turn of the century after the surrounding area of the palace was built up by the subject of Yohannes IV. Its commercial activities formulated the street pattern as shops had to be allocated along the streets. Before the coming of Italians, the city already had a townscape of a stone city.

The intervention of Italians was limited to outside of the existing town in the south. Separation policy was commonly applied by the Italians as the old city had to be segregated as an “indigenous quarter”. This policy favored Mekelle, by chance, in maintaining the old structure. Old and authentic houses were kept untouched and used carefully by the inhabitants. It is very rare to find a case like Mekelle in Ethiopia. In terms of the architectural style, it is also unique. *Hidmo* type houses have been dominating the townscape. Even now villages with *hidmos* are common in Enderta and its surroundings. The local building style of eastern Tigray has been well preserved and practiced. In central Mekelle, a few buildings show original and unique features. Mansion *Kagnazmach* Mekonen Tsegay and Mansion *Grazmach* Gebru G. Mikael should be noted with special remarks. They represent an irreplaceable value among Ethiopian domestic architecture.

Masonry technique in such buildings should be evaluated according to the quality of each building. Even in post-Yohannes period, careful and intensive execution ensured beautiful and well-designed works. At the same time, the use of timbers, especially for the ceilings, should be underlined. In some mansions and houses, the finishing of ceilings is specially focused upon.

If compared with Gondar, the present urban structure of central Mekelle is rather based on a consolidated model. Its urban history has not been in an erect-and-dismantle pattern, but accumulation of each solid layer. Its model can be seen in the case of Aynalem, a neighboring village now incorporated in Mekelle, where continuous construction by family members formulate a kind of stronghold of clan or large family. In Ethiopia, such a consolidation system can be seen exclusively in Tigray due to its long tradition of masonry building.

5-2-2. Deterioration

In spite of its strong building culture, central Mekelle is suffering from the decay and deterioration of its historical buildings. Its main reason is more sociological than technical. The residents are divided into two major groups. One is the old resident group who has

lived here since the imperial period. Many of them used to be landowners. Another is the newcomer group that is always changing and not so much concerned about their living environment. Generally speaking, the income of this area is not very low in comparison with the average of Mekelle inhabitants despite the presence of a poor income group within it.

The original buildings are divided into small living units. The expropriation by the *Derg* government decisively formed such small divisions, which looks democratic but extinguishes the inhabitants' interest in maintenance. The average area of the smaller house group is around 15m². This smallness attracts newcomers due to its much lower rent.

The occupations of the residents varies, but the most of the residents sustain their lives in the informal sector. Prostitution is the largest sector (26%) and is housed in old historical buildings. At the same time, the lend-away phenomenon is common among the house owners. They have moved to smaller houses and lend the old authentic buildings to newcomers in order to get income. That is one of the reasons why prostitutes live in historical buildings worthy of heritage. Dominance of female residents (74%) defines the character of this area.

5-3. Characteristics of Heritage

5-3-1. Building Evaluation as Heritage

The research area within *Kebele 14* has been known as one of the most historical places in Mekelle as it comprises a number of old mansions and houses and has played an important role for urban formation of central Mekelle around Yohannes Palace. Building age could be determined by way of interviews with the residents as well as precise on-site observation of its masonry nature and architectural details. Adding stylistic and unfavorable values besides their building age, the author has tried to evaluate the historical value of existing buildings as heritage. The criteria are mainly based on their building age and peculiar typology. In terms of the former, all the buildings constructed before 1960 are assigned points according to the age. As for the latter, if the building represents noteworthy typology by its building design and construction system, points are assigned. The result is shown in [Fig. 4-100]. Typical mansions and row houses are finally selected as important heritage buildings. 33 buildings or more than one fourths of the buildings (26.6%) are categorized as important heritage in 2009 [Fig. 4-98], but the clearance operation of 2010 demolished 10 heritage buildings. In short nearly one third of the heritage buildings, including typical mansions of early 1940's were lost because of this operation.

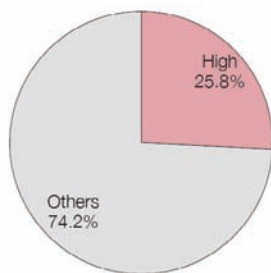


Fig. 4-98 Red shows the percentage of household residing in high evaluated buildings, *Kebele 14*, Mekelle, 2009

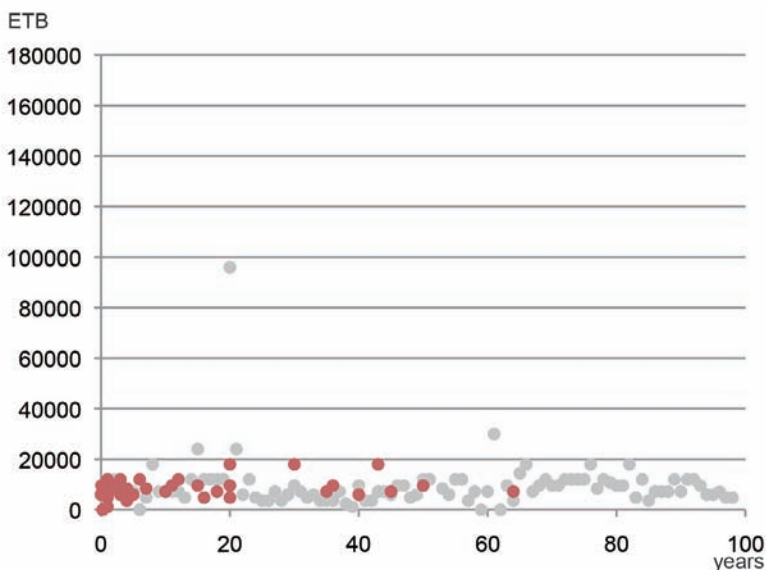


Fig. 4-99 Annual income and period of residence, red shows household residing in high evaluated buildings, *Kebele 14*, Mekelle, 2009



Fig. 4-100 Building evaluation in research area, Kebele 14, Mekelle, 2009

5-3-2. Building Age and Residents

The correlation between the building age and the nature of the residents is suggestive. To understand this correlation, the author has raised a question: what kind of residents reside within heritage houses? This question should be answered from the viewpoint of poverty as the maintenance ability of residents depend on their economic situation. The general tendency is that the residents here belong to low-income group within the city. Those who reside longer have a little more income than those who live shorter. A group of extremely low income with high mobility stand out.

5-4. Characteristics of Residents

5-4-1. New Risks Affecting Mekelle Population

(1) Woman-headed Household

It is surprising that nearly three fourth of the households in the research area are headed by females. According to sociological and anthropological researches, one can distinguish several types of woman-headed households. Households headed by absentee males should be distinguished from households headed by alone female. The former is the type of household caused by migrated labor force. Husbands working in other places who regularly send remittances is the most frequented pattern. However, the households in the central district of Mekelle include exclusively a female head of household. There are two tendencies. One is a household with a single mother without a husband or a father. Another is a household with an old lady whose spouse has already passed away. The former pattern is mainly occupied by prostitutes and *tella* sellers. They are the majority in this study area and run what we call “gay trade” based in their own houses. Food sellers, who are also by females, belong to the same pattern. The latter type is represented by house owners, who are comparatively wealthy and enjoy benefits from their property and, occasionally, from their family or kin outside of Ethiopia. This means that two extremities coexist in the same area and, curiously enough, live without interference to with one another.

In African countries, the male-female ratio in rural areas often arrives at unbalanced point because of the migration of males for job opportunities in urban areas. Several papers on this subject in Eastern Africa have pointed out this phenomenon.⁶ Such differences of economic potential has caused the same phenomenon even in urban areas. Mekelle used to be like that in 1960's. The Swedish team reported in their report of 1971 that the male and female ratio was 40.4% to 59.6%.⁷ In 1960's the economic potential of Mekelle was not very high in comparison with the present state. However, the present ratio is much more normalized: 50.8 to 49.2. The ratio has been reversed: male population is now slightly higher than the female. This means that Mekelle absorbs male workers from rural areas. Still, in the central district, the female proportion is much higher.

The question is whether the woman-headed household represented in this area has a really negative affect in relation to poverty. In slum quarters in the United States, for instance, the same tendency happens but with a negative reaction by city planners and managers. Such was the case in Eastern Africa, but the fundamentals seem to be very different. The data collected here signify that the income among such families is not so low because of the convenience of the place although the image of the quarter is bad. Aging among the house owners is another aspect, which is an inevitable result of aging process. However, it is interesting to point out that the female community resulted from the concentration of female headed households has given rise to a new tie among the residents: baby sitting, mutual assistance and even temporary loans for unexpected expenses. Since this social process has not yet been studied carefully, further investigation is necessary. In these areas of the world, the presence of woman headed households has not been rare, historically speaking; the role

⁶ Mari H. Clark, “Woman-Headed Households and Poverty: Insights from Kenya”, *Woman and Poverty* Vol 10. No. 2 (Winter 1984), pp. 338-354

⁷ Per Carlsson, Bo Martensson, Rolf Sandstrom, Mats Astedt, *op. cit.*, p.11

of this family type should be more illuminated.

(2) “Lend-away” by the House Owners

Another feature of the study area is the “lend-away” by the house owners. This is a phenomenon characterizing the shrinking process of the owner’s family and increasing demand for income. Before the *Derg* regime, old aristocrats enjoyed the possession of real estate (land and houses) in their inherited compounds. Interviews with the descendants of nobles revealed this fact. However, they are not protected by the old tenure system any more. In spite of the return of their former property, its value is not very high like in Europe or in Japan. Even though the houses are exposed to the free market policy, the rent is still low. Therefore, the owners decide to lend away the old houses in which they used to live and hand them over to newcomers as tenants. As long as the land is still owned by the state, it is not possible to divide the land into several pieces any more, as it happened in many places outside of Ethiopia. They have to hand over the old property as a vehicle of income. The old house is, in many times, a historical building with proper masonry construction. New constructions, to which the owners move, are much more humble, and sometimes built even in *chikka*. The reversal between the owner and tenant is strange, but this is the way the old residents survive as house owners.

Some anthropologists would explain this fact by citing the psychological mentality of Ethiopians, who prefer residing in the corner to occupying the center. Many new houses constructed by the owner are situated along the boundary of the compound or the parcel. However, the same phenomenon as this “lend-away” occurs in other countries.

Gentrification is the process where old deteriorated houses are purchased by new clients, say, of good taste and refurbished into well-sophisticated homes full of historical flavor. We can see so many cases of this gentrification in Asia, Europe and America, but in Ethiopia, the situation has not yet matured. It is difficult to find clients who can afford such a complicated operation. Local community is still suffering from the lack of proper facilities and public spaces. Tourism is the only reason why intervention with added historical and artistic value is allowed. *Kebele 14* has been the target of touristic attention by the tourism commission, but their approach is not at all strategic in terms of revitalization of historical value. Only a few buildings are designated “historical” within *Kebele 14* and the rest are completely neglected.

(3) Prostitute-in-Heritage

The “lend-away” phenomenon leads to the fact that in historical buildings lent by the owner are occupied by the new residents, that is, prostitutes. In brief, heritage is occupied by prostitute. If we call this phenomenon “prostitute-in-heritage”, it is a very peculiar feature in central Mekelle. Combination of prestigious architecture and vulgar occupation evokes a mismatched image of living historical monuments. Despite their historical value, mansions and houses are divided into small components and subject to let with very low rent. Prostitutes are attracted by this low rent and its convenience for their work. Still, their living conditions are very humane, devoid of violence and organized crime.

This kind of prostitute-in-heritage used to exist in central Barcelona. The famous *Bario*

Gotico (Gothic Quarter) is a medieval town with concentrated masonry buildings. As a historical quarter, this area attracted a considerable number of tourists from all over the world, but at the same time, many buildings turned out to be whorehouses with hundreds of prostitutes taken from other countries. A kind of syndicate ruled this area clandestinely so that opium and human trafficking were common aspects. Finally towards the end of the 20th century, the municipality has successfully launched a campaign of cleansing this area through intensive intervention to create new public spaces.

Is central Mekelle in a primordial stage to become a *Barrio Gotico*? This is a question raised in view of the present situation of central Mekelle. Outsiders, including city managers and experts, are concerned about enlargement of this phenomenon. However, physical similarity does not always signify the same outputs and social process. The social context should be carefully analyzed. The problem of woman-headed households does not always mean the predominance of prostitutes, though here it happens. What is peculiar is the parasitism of prostitutes in historical monuments, which would have attracted more tourists. Still, this area is safe regardless of its appearance. The key to understand this situation might be the tenure. In metropolises like Paris, Tokyo, and Los Angeles, the red-light zones have been a kind of abandoned district. The tenure, or the property rights, became vague and ambiguous. Sometimes, the real estate properties are subject to double or triple leasehold. Organized crime is based on such obscure areas that no one can discern the complicated tenure. Fortunately, Mekelle is too small and too naïve to be absorbed in such a vicious circle. Ownership is clear and owners are always taking care of their properties, with good and smooth relations with their tenants no matter what their occupations are. The prostitute-in-heritage in Mekelle is completely different from the Barcelona type.

(4) Forced Migrants and Poverty

Migrants from Eritrea stand out everywhere in Tigray. Approximately 95,000 Ethiopians, mostly Tigrays, are reported to have been deported from Eritrea because of the Ethio-Eritrean War. These migrants have moved to major cities to seek job opportunities. Deprived of their properties in Eritrea, they returned to Tigray without anything. A certain number has resettled in the heart of Mekelle, including *Kebele* 14. The present situation of these migrants in general is not yet well studied, but as long as their living condition in central Mekelle is concerned, their choice was simple: work in the informal sector and sustain their lives from hand to mouth.

A report on the situation of a poor district of Addis Ababa based on a field survey in early 2000's suggested that poor people in general distinguished themselves by two categories of poverty: poor and very poor. The former is the state where people are not able to attain their basic needs, but still able to live in a house and maintain their lives. The latter is the state deprived of the place to live and even of food: the basis for survival is threatened completely.⁸ The notion of absolute poverty according to the criteria of the World Bank is still mild in comparison with the very poor. The emerging new slum quarters in Addis Ababa are producing these people, absorbing refugees and migrants from rural areas. The same author went on to say in relation with the gender problem that women are more

⁸ Mulumebet Zemebe, "An Analysis of Household Poverty from Gender Perspective: A Study based on Two Kebeles in Addis Ababa", in Mehret Ayenew ed., 'Poverty and Poverty Policy', *Proceedings of the Workshop organized by Forum for Social Studies Addis Ababa*, Friday 8, March 2002, pp112-155

handicapped than men because they have to manage housework as well as external work. The job opportunities of females is much smaller than of males. Still in central Mekelle, women are tough and hard workers. It may be contradictory that a place with prostitution in Mekelle is much wealthier than the slum quarters in Addis Ababa, but the fact that they are living in a historical quarter functions as a buffer to decrease the extent of poverty. New occupants are only there to rent for a low price and live there.

Poverty is not too serious in central Mekelle in comparison with slum quarters in Addis Ababa. Returnees from Eritrea are accepted by the local communities and supported by their loose network. The role of *edir*, which is a kind of bond among resident for mutual assistance and cooperation for various rituals and events, including funerals, marriage and other important festivals, is very important. Further research is required to understand this question and clarify the mechanism of how newcomers are accepted and integrated into local communities.

Housing conditions differ according to the quality of buildings. *Chikka* constructions are considered to be for poorer residents because these building are quickly constructed without any skilled labor, devoid of durability and sophistication of building design. In fact, the result of the survey revealed that these constructions are occupied by low-income people, but, to repeated, they are not suffering so much from miserable living conditions.

(5) Rapid Replacements of Newcomers

According to the survey result of period of residence, 32% of the households have lived in this area for less than 1 year and 52% have resided for less than 4 year. Half of the population here are completely newcomers. The interviews with the residents revealed also the fact that a large number of newcomers would resettle to other places soon after they settle here. The ratio of replacement is very high.

There is a hypothesis for this high ratio of replacement. Most probable is that this place is functioning as asylum for newcomers such as returnees from Eritrea and migrants from rural areas. Lack of discrimination encourages them to live here for a while before finding a more fixed place, where they can formulate their own community. Most of the migrants from Eritrea have no relatives and acquaintances in Mekelle, but in the course of time they are able to find similar groups, with whom they tend to communicate and form their own community. *Kebele* 14 is a kind of a buffer zone for resettlement of new residents. This is a positive aspect. However, if we look at its negative side, the rapid replacement does not contribute to stabilization of this area, although one fourth of the population has resided here for more than 20 years. No data concerning schooling of children has been collected, so that the influence of the rapid replacement on children is still uncertain.

5-4-2. Extracted Resident Type

As seen from the results of the interviews, people living here are diverse. The different characteristics of residents make this area a very distinctive place. It is still possible to characterize the residents by dividing them into several typologies:

(1) Hard Working Mother in Prostitution

“Young”, “single mother”, “newcomer”, “high income” and “hardworking” are the five keywords that explain a typical image of a prostitute living in this area. It is not hard to imagine why they come to this area: to find customers and cheap rented housing. They live in old traditional houses with many friends from around the neighborhood. They enjoy chatting and helping each other looking after the kids. Their anxiety is HIV, of course, but they seem not to be too much occupied with this idea, probably because of a comparatively high income.

(2) Widow Barkeeper

They are *tella* sellers who open small bars within their residence. They like to talk with their customers and gossip about many things. Since their income is not so high, most of them cannot afford to live in a house with water, therefore one of their most important jobs is to purchase water from a nearby tank. *Tella* making also takes great effort since they make the *tella* from grain, and it takes a long process for preparation. Most of them are old widows and cannot run the bar themselves, but often times their daughters are there to help. Their main customers during the day are construction workers and people from all over the town come at night including businessman and students.

(3) Businessman with High Income and Status

They have one of the most admired jobs: engineer, trader, etc. They have a high income in the formal sector. They came to live in a decent new house, not in a historical house, with their family, as this area is convenient and accessible. They spend a typical modernized life with nice furniture together with TV and refrigerator. However, the kitchen is installed in a traditional way, that is, outside of the house. They are exclusively male and their spouses are housewives, only engaged in housework. Children enjoy benefits from schooling

(4) Descendants of Aristocrats Supported by Diasporas

There are descendants of aristocrats who owned here large compounds. Descendants from these noble families still occupy a part of this area and run rent-a-house businesses although the rent is low. Since their children went abroad, called the Diaspora, they have opportunities to live abroad as well, but prefer living in Mekelle because they love their neighborhood, friends, community (*edir*) and their old houses with memories of their ancestors.

(5) Poor Living in Public Housing

This group is represented by aged people without regular income, suffering from poverty. The only merit living in *kebele* housing, is the very low rent. The house is made of *chikka*, very small, and its condition is very poor without any maintenance by the *kebele*. As they receive support frequently from the neighbors, they feel comfortable living in this area.

Chapter V

Harar

1. Selection of Research Area in Harar *Jugol*

1-1. Nature of Research Area

Harar is situated on the eastern edge of the highlands, from which one has to descend towards the Red Sea. The city of Harar is the capital of Harar Region, but this region is exceptionally tiny as its area is only two thirds of the city of Addis Ababa. This means the population of Harari, the ethnic group, which constitutes this region, is exceptionally small and spreads over a limited boundary centering on the city of Harar. As a matter of fact, the number of Harari people in this region numbers 15,863 against 183,415 as total population.¹ Three quarters (11,757 persons) reside in Harar City that has nearly 100,000 as the total population. They are minority even in their own region. Comparing to other Ethnic groups such as Gurage (1,867,377 persons according to the Census of 2007) and Argobba (140,134), the reason why Harari are allowed to formulate their own Regional State is their historical background as a powerful emirate group and their current influence especially in the world of Ethiopian economy.

Muslim states that flourished in the city of Harar played the role of the Muslim counterpart of Christian Ethiopia. Adal Sultanate (1415-1577) and Harar Emirate (1647-1887), for instance, fought from time to time against Ethiopian rulers although they tried to keep a balance with the Christian Empire so that the trade routes through this city would produce income. It was only in 1887 that Harar was conquered and integrated into the Ethiopian Empire. Harar City is formulated by two sectors: a walled city called Harar *Jugol* and a new town planned by the Italians. The former was registered as UNESCO World Heritage in 2006 because maintained the ancient features of an old Muslim city.

Harar *Jugol* is an old urban complex dating from the medieval period. Some religious buildings are identified as works of the 10th century, worth describing as Muslim counterparts of medieval Christian monasteries in Ethiopia. Considering the fact that in Christian areas in other regions of Ethiopia, one can hardly find any houses constructed before Gondarine Period, Harar has exceptionally old traces of their ancestors. The urban morphology may not have changed extensively as densely concentrated townhouses have kept its nature since several hundred years ago. Apparently the architectural typology differs enormously from those of Gondar and Mekelle. One can hardly recognize the same type of urban morphology in lowland Muslim settlements on the way to Zeila or Assab, not this goes without saying in the Christian regions. Among the various types of world cities, the case of Harar is extremely special although it shares the same atmosphere of small concentrated houses and serpentine streets in an organic order with other typical Muslim cities in the Middle East. No other cities like this can be found on Ethiopian highlands. It has flourished independently thanks to its favorable location between the Red Sea maritime regions and the highland. It may require more time to find out how this city evolved from the medieval situation to its present state, but here the author tries to extract the nature of the city by analyzing remaining buildings and spatial characteristics. Moreover, the

¹ According to the Census of 2007, the population of Harar Region is 183,415. The population of Harar City is 99,368. This means that nearly the half of the population reside in the city. The majority is Oromo (103,468=56.4%), then Amhara (41,768=22.8%). Harari (15,863=8.6%) is third biggest ethnic group. Among them, 11,757 Harari live in Harar City. The total population of Harari in Ethiopia is 31,869 in 2007.



Fig. 5-101 Aerial map of research area, *Kebele 2, Harar Jugol*, 2007



Fig. 5-102 Base map of research area, Kebele 2, Harar Jugol, 2007



Fig. 5-1 Aerial photo of Harar, red boundary indicates the *Jugol* area



Fig. 5-2 Aerial photo of Harar *Jugol*, 2014, Google Earth

author is concerned about how the locals spend their lives in such old remaining structures. Consciousness among the locals vis-à-vis this physical environment is also analyzed in terms of historicity.

To do so, the author has selected a site within Harar *Jugol* as a case study area for understanding the land, buildings, people and their life style. This area is situated near the *Argob Bari* (Gate). It seems that this area has been maintaining its traditional houses despite partial changes within their living quarters. The methodology is the same as the cases of Gondar and Mekelle so as to complete a comparative study on these historical cities. Housing typology, monographic observation of residents and the residents' behaviors within their living compounds are to be analyzed, based on precise plans of the target area.

1-2. Research Method

The author has selected a case study area in the eastern district of Harar *Jugol* in order to deepen our understanding of the originality and the historical value of this old city as well as the behavior of the residents. The research pattern is nearly the same as those of Gondar and Mekelle. A series of field surveys were carried out on the author's initiative with the participation of the students of Keio University, Hosei University and Fuji Women's University respectively. Local assistants, both Harari and Amharic, graduates of the Institute of Paleo-environment and Heritage Conservation at Mekelle University, took part in these surveys and played the role of interpreters.

The research program targeted two case study areas, both in the walled city. The first area neighboring on *Argob Bari* in *Kebele 2* was selected among the typical traditional residential zones that are typical of the old historic quarter. The second area, on the contrary, was selected from the deteriorated zones on the southern slope near *Badri Bari* in *Kebele 5*. In terms of the research of *Argob Bari* area, surveys were carried out in two phases. The first phase survey took place in August 2007. The author as well as the students of Keio University spent two weeks in Harar and undertook a full-scale survey in the targeted area. This area comprised 3 blocks and 49 parcels. At the same time, the author's team has extracted important dwelling types within the whole Harar *Jugol*.² The second survey was carried out in March 2012 in the same case study area. The author stayed by herself, assisted by a local interpreter, for one week. This survey aimed at the clarification of the 5 years' change in the same case study area. In terms of the *Badri Bari* area, the survey was carried out in August 2012, over one week, with the participation of the students from Hosei University and Fuji Women's University. The case study area comprises a block with 13 parcels. Despite its small size, this block explains explicitly the process of how old mansions deteriorated. Measurement of all the buildings as well as interview with the residents were the main tasks for this survey.

The major part of this walled city has a consistent feature. Blocks are divided by organically formed parcels so that the serpentine narrow streets give the impression of a typical Muslim townscape. All the parcels are surrounded by high stonewalls and separated distinctly from the streets. The access from the street into the house is done by one single gate except a few cases in which the domestic parcel is only accessed through a neighboring private parcel. Traditionally there was no street-side housing unit as seen in the modern period. However, in the deteriorated area, the townscape differs so much as it used to be the location for thatched huts beyond the condensed urbanized zone.

All the collected data were well documented and analyzed as soon as the author returned to Japan (or to France). Although a base map was made by the French team, the author's team dared to detail another base map that corresponds to the purpose of the study. The analysis on the walled city of Harar by the French team was informative. Their research provided one of the bases for the author's team. They completed their survey soon after they withdrew from Harar.³

² Rumi Okazaki, Riichi Miyake, "A Study on the Actuality and the Local Empowerment in Ethiopian Historical Cities – Case Study in Harar", *Bulletin of Architectural Institute of Japan*, F-2, 2008, pp.137-138

³ Philippe Revault, Serge Santelli ed., "Harar: Une cité musulmane d'Ethiopie", Maisonneuve & Larose, Paris, 2004

2. Typological Observation on Traditional Buildings of Harar *Jugol*

2-1. Dwelling Typology in Harar *Jugol*

The townscape of Harar is unique as it is mentioned by UNESCO “an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement, representative of cultural interaction with the environment”.⁴ Blocks are divided by organically formed parcels so that the serpentine narrow streets give the impression of a typically Muslim townscape. All the parcels are surrounded by high stonewalls and separated distinctly from the streets. The access from the street into the house is done by one single gate except a few cases in which the domestic parcel is only accessed through a neighboring private parcel. Traditionally there was no street-side housing unit like in the modern period. The houses of the target area seem to be exceptionally old, compared with other Ethiopian historical cities. The interviews with the owners of such houses proved that some of them date back to the 16th to 17th century although they do not know exactly when and how their houses were constructed. Still most of the houses are properly used with adequate maintenance.

This kind of description on the walled city has been repeated in many articles and papers, but observing the old city carefully, the uniformity is disturbed to some extent by the mixture of different types of dwellings. The modernization period gave rise to new types of housing and the coalition with Ethiopia also introduced another type, especially along the main axis of the town. Migration of the Oromo ethnic group has also generated another housing type.

The previous research done by the French team presents a detailed analysis of the housing typology.⁵ They are concerned about the traditional types up to the beginning of the 20th century and their work is the first to determine the housing typology with architectural precision. Three building types were identified: Harari type, Indian type, mixed type, according to the evolution of houses from a native style to a “modernized” building. The author follows this terminology to explain the typology inside the walled city, but in order to get a total perspective of housing types, other building types are to be introduced based on her own field research.

The majority of the old houses are privately owned by native Harari families. Nearly half of the houses in the case study area were proved to be more than 200 years old. The buildings constructed during the 19th century also represent the same typology as the older ones. Only after the coalition with the Ethiopian Empire did the building activity change and new types of row houses appear. These row houses were arranged alongside the streets and have direct access from the street without a courtyard. As the east-west main axis from *Argob Bari* (Gate) stretches to the northern edge of the case study area, shops were also generated in the form of row houses. After the mid-20th century, the rental house business became common. Quite a few house owners have accepted tenants in the surplus houses built in the

⁴ “Evaluation des organisations consultatives”, UNESCO World Heritage Center, Harar *Jugol* (Ethiopia) No.1189”, 2006

⁵ Philippe Revault, Serge Santelli ed., “Harar – Une cite musulmane d’Ethiopie” Maisonneuve & Larose, 2004, pp. 185-237

compound. That is the reason why a certain number of single or small households reside in small housing units within the case study area.

The pictures taken by European missions in the second half of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century are useful enough to extract another housing type which does not exist within the walled city any more. It should be noted that the hut type dwelling may have served as dwelling for the poor. The southern slope was occupied with a massive group of such huts. This area has been built up by another type of cheap and simple structures and occupied by migrant ethnic groups like Oromo. This may suggest a different process of slum-like living quarter in the periphery of historical zones.

2-1-1. Harari Type House (*Ge Gar*)

Harari type houses have been well studied by the French researchers' team headed by Philippe Revault and Serge Santelli. The author has also carried out a detailed survey in the heart of the walled city so that now a few old authentic houses were identified.⁶

Harari type houses are based on the courtyard type with a living unit on the backside, called *ge gar* (principal house) in Harari terminology, which literally means "Harari townhouse". This main building is in many cases connected to the adjacent building called *tit gar* (dependent house) in which secondary rooms and the kitchen are placed. A spacious salon called *gidir gar* (entrance hall and seating spaces), meaning literally "large room", provides the most spectacular scene within the *ge gar*. A stepped platform (*nadaba*) is arranged behind the flat floor (*qeh afar*) just after a monumental scale entrance door. The layout of this platform is flexible and free, following the position of large columns and alcoves. Colorful objects such as plates and baskets are hung on the wall, which is hollowed for putting symbolic objects such as the Holy Quran. Stepped seats, with 4 to 5 steps (*nadaba*) and painted in red, correspond to the important names of the past generation; the most dignified one is specially reserved for the head of the family (*emir nadaba*). [Fig. 5-5]

It is natural that anyone who entered inside the *gidir gar* feels at once the sense of clear hierarchy and symbolism because of the existence of stepped space and shrine-like wall decoration, the coloring of the floor and steps and the unique circulation from the monumental door to each *nadaba* and side rooms. This is a kind of spatial connotation similar to *toko-no-ma* in Japanese traditional houses or even stepped *synthronon* in Byzantine churches. It is interesting to know that the decoration of the wall objects, such as baskets, plates and pots, is the work of the mistress of the family. This *gidir gar* is undoubtedly the central place of the house and expresses the status of the family in the neighborhood [Fig. 5-10]. It is now used for celebrating events and neighborhood meetings.

Traditionally speaking, gender is of high consideration in Muslim houses. In Harar's case, the spatial separation between male and the female is also distinct. Women's space is reserved on the left side of the *ge gar* described as *kirtat*, or *kirtat nadaba* (seating) as the wall side is stepped up with the form of alcove. This space is exclusively for women, who sleep, meet and chat there. In front of this *kirtat*, there is a tiny space called *dera*, which is used as storage. The upper level of these *kirtat* and *dera* is *quti qala*, an upper gallery. This

⁶ Rumi Okazaki, Riichi Miyake, "A Study on the Living Environment of Harar *Jugol*, Ethiopia", *Journal of Architecture and Planning*, Architectural Institute of Japan, Vol.77, No.674, April, 2012, pp.951-967

room is used to receive guests.

In the case study area, 21 houses within the 46 parcels are identified as this type. No such planning exists in other parts of Ethiopia nor in Somalia. Even in the outskirts of Harar, the farmers' villages have a completely different type of dwelling, probably due to the fact that most of the farmers are Oromo Muslims who immigrated after the coalition in the second half of the 19th century¹¹. In short, Harari type of housing is genuinely urban and unique in Harar *Jugol*. The fact that approximately 70% of the whole Harari population in Ethiopia resides in Harar *Jugol* supports this tendency.

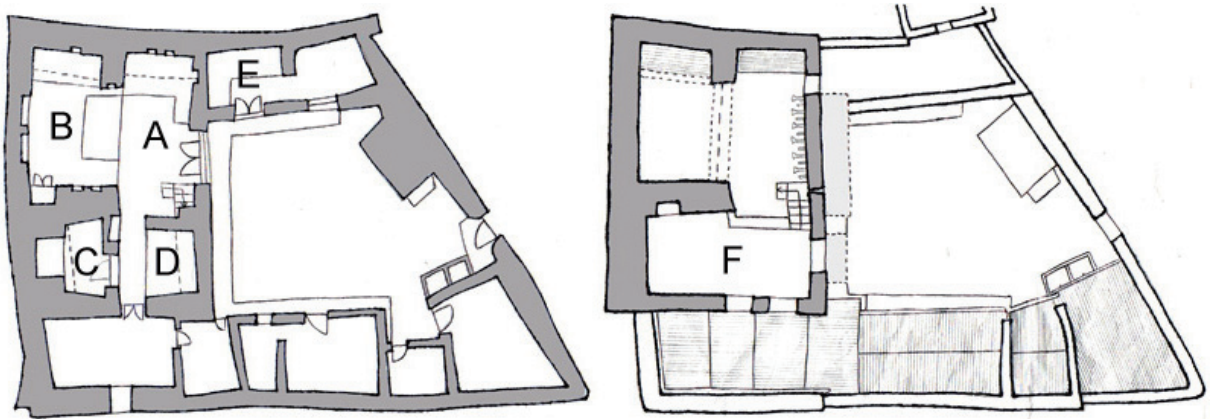


Fig. 5-3 Plan of Wober house: A) *Gidir gar*, B) *Nadaba*, C) *Dera*, D) *Kirtat*, E) *Tit gar*, F) *Quti qala*



Fig. 5-4 Façade of Wober house



Fig. 5-5 *Gidir gar* of Wober house

2-1-2. Double Story Type House

The second half of the 19th century is marked by turmoil and a radical transformation for Harari urban life. The invasion by the Egyptians in 1876 and the following coalition with the Ethiopian Empire in 1887 terminated the political supremacy of this city-state, which had continued from the ancient times. Due to its location between the Ethiopian highlands and the Red Sea, the relation with foreign countries accelerated in this period. Harar was regarded as the front line to advance to Shoa or its new capital Entoto and attracted foreign traders and merchants. Indians, Arabs, Turks Greeks, Armenians settled here. They lived within the old city, mainly used old houses, but soon after they constructed their own



Fig. 5-6 *Grazmach's palace*, private collection



Fig. 5-7 *Grazmach's palace*, private collection

houses serving as trading houses. Among them are Alfred Bardey French merchant, Arthur Rimbaud, a French poet who became Alfred's agent in Harar, some Piten British agents, Gaetano Sacconi, an Italian who engaged in wholesale trade⁷, Sarkis Terzian, a powerful Armenian trader and Jiwaji Nazarela, who was the leader of Indian community in Harar and Muhammad Aly from Pakistan. Muhammad Aly was known as a well-established Indian trader "who sell everything from soap and Japanese jewelry to motor-cars and insurance policies"⁸ and "does a thriving business in Japanese fabrics, in which nearly all the Harari women are dressed"⁹.

A new housing type can be found in this epoch, the double story mansion. The Egyptian general, Rauf Pasha, who led the Egyptian troops to conquer Harar, resided in such a mansion in front of *Faras Megala*, the main square neighboring the *emir's* palace. A picture taken in 1898 when this building was used as the residence of *Grazmach* would suggest the probable plan of this house although no graphic documents like plans and elevations are left. Its rectangular building shape suggests that rooms were lined up both on the ground and the first floors. Each window corresponds to one room while the access to each room was assured only through the exterior corridor on both levels. A staircase was placed on the exterior, connecting the arcade below and the terrace-like corridor of the first floor. This building was used as the head quarter of Bardey Trading after the Egyptians left, and Arthur Rimbaud was thought to have resided in a single-story house next to this building.¹⁰

This Rauf Mansion was demolished around 1915, but this type of large mansion was not rare in Harar at the turn of the century. The Muhammad Aly Residence on the southern side of the walled city serves as exiting reference to Rauf Pasha Mansion. Aly's house was recognized as a symbolic architecture of this epoch, with local appellation Muhammad Aly *Gar*. The planning of the latter is nearly the same as the former. Making use of the slope and splendid scenery from this point, the house was equipped with a balcony type corridor over the ground floor arcade on the eastern side of the building. Harari type symbolic rooms such as *gidir gar* no longer exist, probably because it is a residence for a foreigner, and an inorganic line of rooms dominates the building. However, the wooden decoration that covers the terrace has a delicate and sophisticated design. What is curious is that I-shaped steel beam was used to support the upper floor. Taking into consideration the transportation of such heavy materials, the construction must have taken place after the railway from Djibouti was completed in 1901.

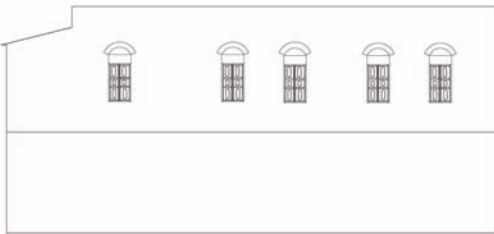
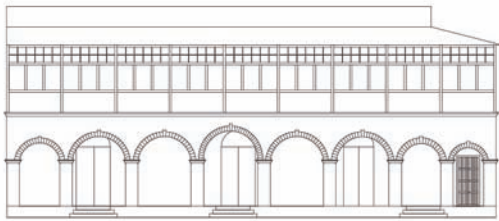
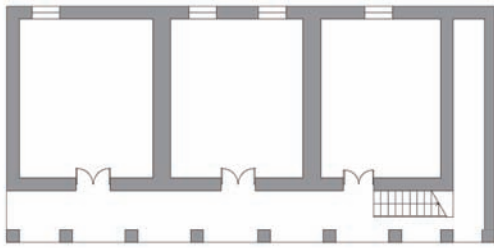
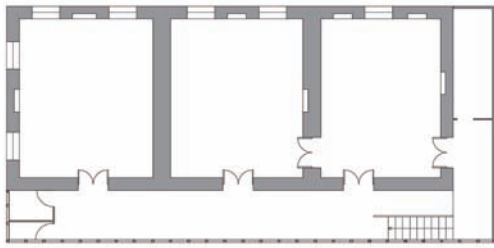
The presence of Turkish engineers is suggestive to explain the introduction of new building models. Rauf Pasha was accompanied by several military engineers, including Mohktar Effendi, who completed a map of Harar as soon as he entered the city. Although no documents were found in Harar, it is worth referring to the archives in Turkey and Egypt. The relation of these military engineers and the later constructions described as "Indian Style" architecture should be examined as well.

⁷ Abdulmalik Abubaker, "Trade for Peace not for Conflict: Harari Experience", *Law, Social Justice & Global Development Journal* (electronic journal), July 2013, pp.11

⁸ Geoffrey Harmsworth, "Abyssinian Adventure", Hutchinson & Co. London, 1935, p.154

⁹ *ibid.* p.179

¹⁰ Jean-Michel Cornu de Lenclos, "Le dernier refuge de Rimbaud en Ethiopie -L'emplacement de la Maison Rimbaudl localisé à Harar", IMG Lektii-écriture



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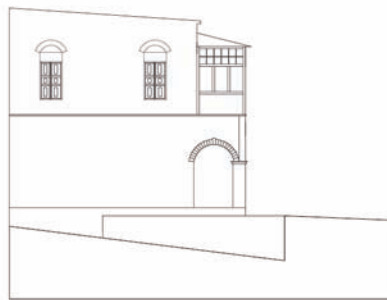


Fig. 5-8 Present plan of Muhammed Aly House (left page)

Fig. 5-9 Present state of Muhammed Aly House (right page)



2-1-3. Central Hall Type House (Indian Type House)

The construction of the railway from Djibouti accelerated the speed of “modernization” of Harar although the train could not go beyond the newly constructed city of Dire Dawa due to the topographic conditions. The transportation of new imported materials enabled a completely new design for the houses of dominant class people in Harar. The “Indian Type” houses were typical of this new tendency. It is natural to suppose that the construction of such Indian houses came into fashion after the completion of the railway from Djibouti to Dire Dawa in 1901. As Indian style buildings required quantities of imported materials such as iron sheets and glass, the logistic for the construction became possible only after the transportation of heavy materials was assured by the railway.

Two major buildings designed according to this new style were so-called Rimbaud House and *Ras Taferi Mansion*. The latter was constructed as a residence for *Ras Taferi*, son of *Ras Makonnen* and the future Emperor Haile Selassie I, was proved to have been constructed in 1911 according to the inscription of the front door.¹¹ On the other hand, so-



Fig. 5-10 Indian Type house on *Gidir Magala*, private collection

¹¹ Richard Punkhurst, “The Indian Door of Täfäri Mäkonnen’s House at Harar (Ethiopia)”, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Third Series, Vol. 1, No. 3, Nov., 1991, pp. 389-392

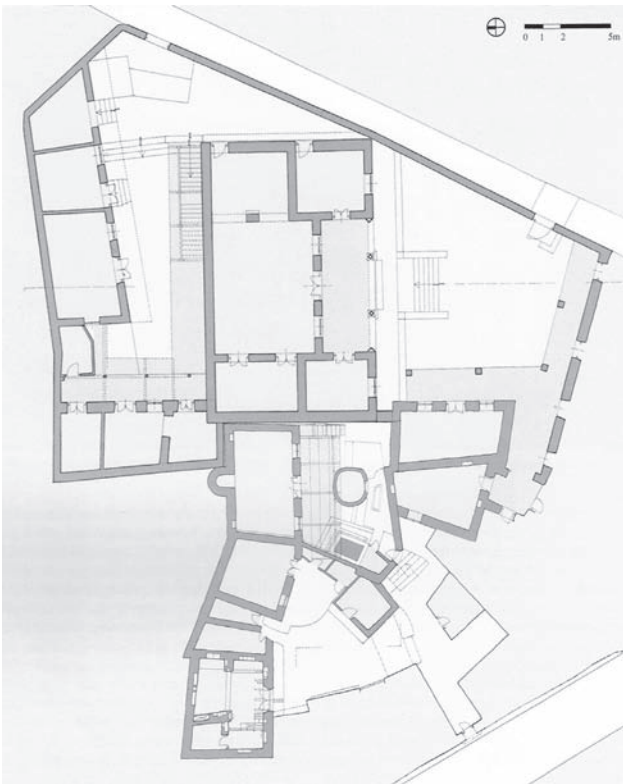
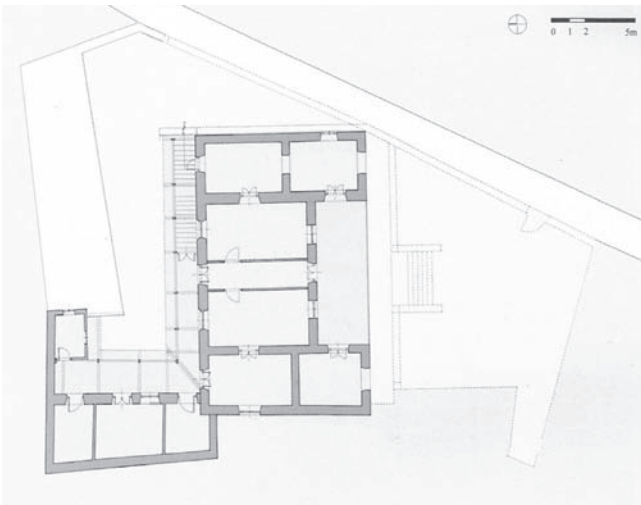


Fig. 5-11 Rimbaud House by French team

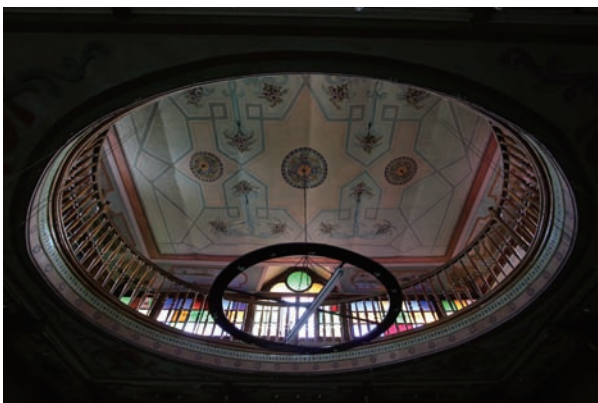


Fig. 5-12 Present state of Rimbaud House

called Rimbaud House was constructed for an Indian trader. For a long time this house has been evoking a legend as the residence of Arthur Rimbaud, but the construction period and the residence period of this French poet do not coincide. Recent investigation has revealed the process of the construction of this house. The French researchers attributed the client of this gorgeous mansion to Jiwaji Nazarela, the most influential Indian trader in Harar and the date of construction to around 1910.¹² It is known that by 1910, these Indian traders have established their branch in Addis Ababa, and the completion of the railway between Dire Dawa and Addis Ababa in 1917 completely changed the transportation system from the Red Sea. Harar was not favored by these traders because the railway bypassed Dire Dawa and did not reach there.¹³

The appellation of the Indian Style came from the local tradition. People attributed the origin of these houses to rich Indian traders such as Jivagee Nazarela and Muhammad Ali. The fact that such “modern” westernized residences have been described as “Indian” style has been always related with the commercial and trading activities of well-known Indian traders. According to the author’s criteria, Muhammad Aly’s house should be classified as a different housing type despite being an Indian house. This house should be categorized in a transitional style between a Harari traditional house and a modern westernized (or foreign) housing design. No data about its architect is left, but it is worth examining such foreign archives as the Turkish and Egyptian.

The characteristic of this Indian Style House, represented by the Rimbaud House or *Ras Taferi House* is a symmetrical composition, the presence of a central door (and a steps) as well as a central hall on the ground floor, balcony on the first floor that looks down on the courtyard, fine woodwork for the balcony and openings, and the presence of a light and colorful upper story hall with decorated ceiling design. This means the life style of the upper class changed to “westernized” table and chair style. Reception of guests became one of the most important events among these families.

A picture of an Indian Type house on *Gidir Magala*, taken in 1898, is helpful for understanding its woodworks [Fig. 5-12]. This house, still standing in its original location, is a three-story house. The ground floor is masonry construction while upper floors are wooden pillar-and-beam construction. All the wooden members are thin and slender with minimum bracing members, but the walls of the upper floors are filled in by stone and clay so that it can withstand strong horizontal stress. Even before the opening of the railway, this style was appreciated by the rich merchants in Harar.

¹² Philippe Revault, Serge Santelli ed. *op. cit.*

¹³ Peter Garretson, “A History of Addis Ababa from its Foundation in 1886 to 1910”, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden, 2000, p.128

2-1-4. Mixed Type House

As with the propagation of the Indian Style, Harari wealthy merchants conceived an integrated housing type between their own tradition and the new fashion. Such was the case in a three-story mansion constructed on the southern slope of the walled city: Haji Yunis Mansion. This mansion is included in the author's case study area with respect to the deterioration of old residential quarters.

Haji Yunis was a Harari trader whose origin was Arabic. The interview with his daughter, who is still alive at the age of about 90 years old and living in the neighboring quarter, has confirmed the process of the construction of this unique mansion.¹⁴ As the large lot around his house shows, he was successful in his trading business. He decided to construct his new house which, with a distinctive architectural style and a panoramic view. The ground floor followed the traditional manner of *ge gar* with the presence of *gidir gar* in the center. The first floor was also of masonry construction but equipped with a wooden balcony with two gables. The second story was of wooden construction equipped with an ambulatory-balcony. This means that the building is mixture of Harari Style in the lower part and Indian Style on the upper part. Its façade is symmetric although the plan of the ground and the first floors does not follow this rule. The top story consists of one large room with a folded-up ceiling on which an oval frame is painted with a geometrical pattern inside the oval. On the sideboards of the elevated ceiling, a series of mural paintings on the theme of the port/ship and the city/train are found. From these mural paintings, it can be concluded that the house was completed after the construction of the railway in 1901. As the corrugated iron sheets covering the roof could be judged original, these materials must have been transported by the railway from Djibouti.

An outstanding house situated near *Argob Bari* is the House of *Emir*, which also belongs to this typology. Reserved for the last emir who became a sufi practicer after he surrendered to the *Ras Makonnen's* troop. This house seems to have been constructed nearly the same period as Haji Yunis Mansion. Its basement is characterized by *gidir gar*, but with symmetrical layout, while the first floor is divided into three rooms with gables at each entrance. The French research team has accomplished the architecture survey of this building in the early 2000's.

¹⁴ The interview was done at the residence of Haio Yunis (daughter of Haji Yunis) on August 20, 2012. She is approximately 90 years, but does not remember her exact age. Haio stayed in this house in her childhood, but as soon as she married, she left home. Then returned back home with her husband. After the reign of Haile Selassie, she purchased new compound and moved there. The Haji Yunis Mansion was expropriated by the government during the *Derg* period, and no relatives live there anymore.

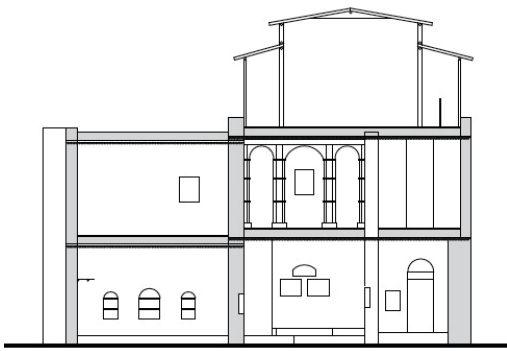


Fig. 5-13 Present section and plan of Haji Ynis House

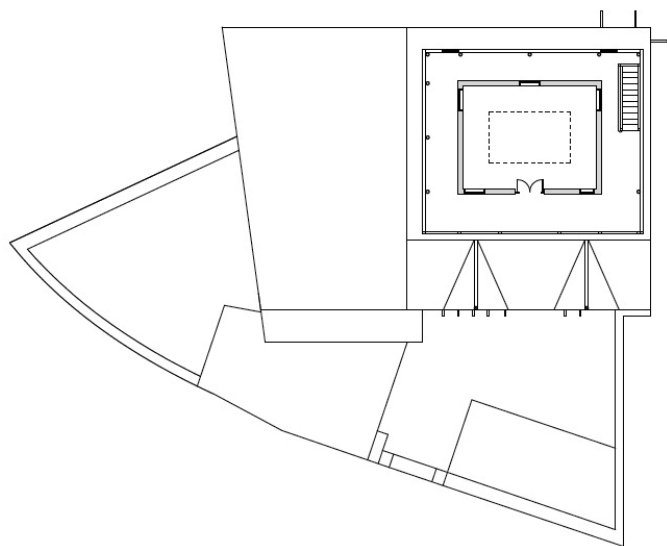
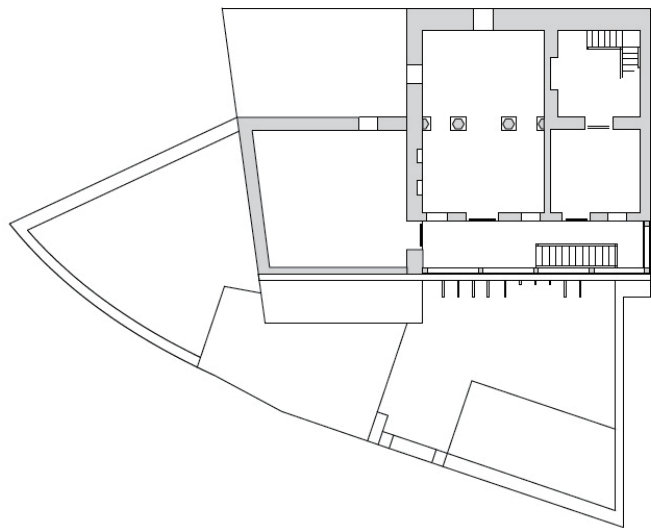
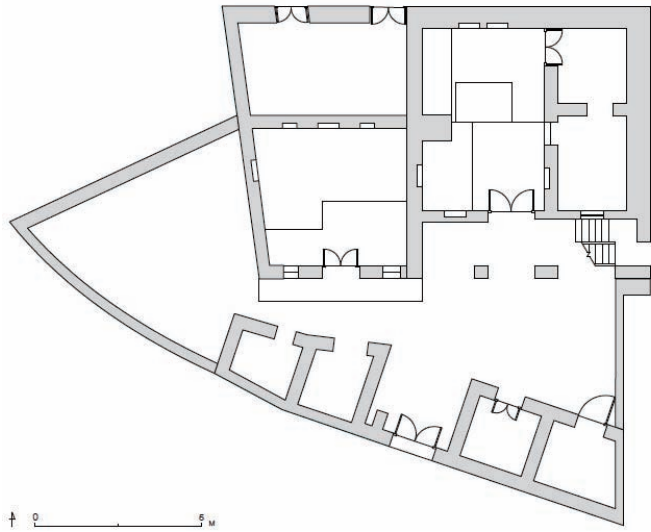




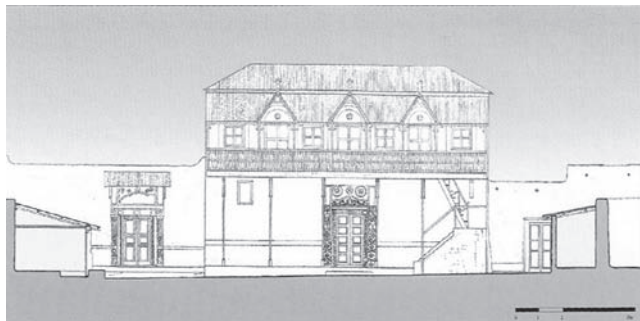
Fig. 5-14 Present state of Haji Ynis House



Fig. 5-15 House of Emir by French team



Fig. 5-16 Present plan of House of Emir by French team



2-1-5. Thatched Hut (*Gambisa*)

Old pictures taken around the turn of the century prove that the southern slope of this walled city was occupied by a large number of thatched huts [Fig. 5-19]. As Richard Burton described, the poorest class inhabit “*Gambisa*”, the thatched cottages of the hill-cultivators, and the southern slope was the living quarters of poor farmers, mainly of the Oromo ethnic group.¹⁵ These thatched houses were called *sa’ar gar*, in contrast to stone houses *darbi gar*.¹⁶ It is certain that until the middle of the 20th century, these *gambisa* existed on the southern slope resided by poor farmers.

In Ethiopia, this kind of thatched structure with circular plan is not rare even now. One can recognize them in any city or rural area. *Gambisa* is not the original type generated in Harar, but the migration of Oromo in the course of centuries resulted in this housing type, which was common among Oromo farmers.



Fig. 5-17 Townscape of Harar Jugol with *Gambisa*, end of 19th century, collection of Bnf



Fig. 5-18 *Gambisa* in front of Argob Bari, image from a postcard, 1890

Fig. 5-19 *Gambisa* found in Jugol

¹⁵ Richard F. Burton “First Footsteps in East Africa, or an Exploration of Harar”, Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, London, 1856, pp.322-323

¹⁶ *ibid.* p.554

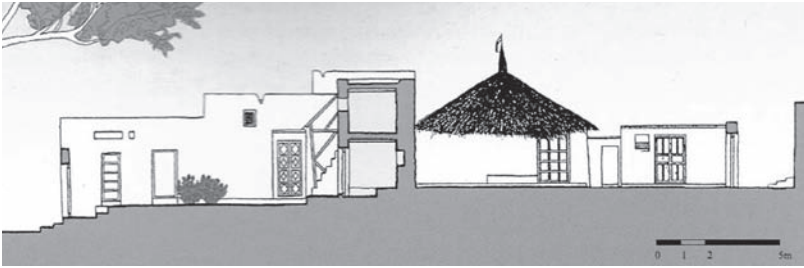


Fig. 5-21 *Gambisa* by French team



Fig. 5-20 *Gambisa* by French team

2-1-6. *Chikka* House

Contrary to the central district of the walled city, the southern slope is less populated with a smaller number of houses. A humble type of housing with *chikka* construction stands out on the lower part of the slope. *Chikka* is the most common building material for wattle and daub walls, with roof rafters of round tree lengths (usually Eucalyptus) covered with corrugated iron sheeting. A century ago, people here erected thatched cottages, and now they have been replaced with this kind of low cost building technique. In many cases, *chikka* houses were constructed in the form of a row house. *Chikka* itself is a widely spread common construction method all over Ethiopia, and does not represent any special feature or technique. In the case study area (deteriorated housing sector), *chikka* construction provides houses for low-income Oromo inhabitants.



Fig. 5-22 Chikka house



Fig. 5-23 Chikka house

2-2. Typological Review

The housing typology in Harar differs considerably from that of Christian Ethiopia. It has a long history as an independent sultanate and emirate until the end of the 19th century, and this gives strong consciousness about the identity of their houses and living environment to the natives of this city. The French research team showed that the majority of houses in the walled city are of the traditional type, that is, *ge gar*. The layout and composition of rooms within these *ge gar* are backed up by strong symbolism, which does not exist in other part of Ethiopia. Stepped platforms, shelves and a decorative back wall constitute a unique spatial hierarchy that dominates the order of the house. In a sense, the spatial recognition and the behavior within it are the most important part of Harari life. They share a coffee ceremony with other Ethiopians but the spatial order corresponds to the social hierarchy of guests and hosts, including the difference of gender. Curiously enough, chat is now becoming an important event in the afternoon.

This transformation started from the middle of the 19th century as Harar was exposed to foreign interest as a trading center. Hence, the balcony was introduced, most probably due to the influence of Red Sea architecture in many port cities such as Aden and Mocha. The Balcony allowed direct communication between the residents and the people outside as well providing a view towards the town and the natural scenery around it. After the Egyptians started building this type of mansion during the occupation, foreign traders came to erect them as well. Indian traders were the most active in this way so that their houses became the model for the new housing type. The ruling class adopted this idea, but with a much more westernized conception of space; that is, the introduction of the symmetrical composition, the main stairs and the central hall, decorated walls and ceilings, colored windows with glass and so on. Conventional simple line of the rooms was replaced by an organic and functional spatial planning. On the upper part of the city, wealthy merchants and rulers constructed this type, called "Indian Style". The completion of the railway from Djibouti to Dire Dawa contributed extensively for transporting bulky and heavy building materials from abroad. The Mixture of traditional *ge gar* and the new Indian (or Western) type is the final solution adopted by the local wealth merchants as represented by Haji Yunis Mansion.

The problem of deterioration existed before and still today. This has been caused by the migration of poor Oromo farmers into the city. In the 19th century, they occupied the southern slope and constructed cheap thatched huts called *gambisa* or *sa'ar gar* in an informal way. In the second half of the 20th century, these thatched cottages were replaced by *chikka* construction, which allowed more comfortable and durable shelter for low-income people. The expropriation by the *Derg* government caused the deterioration of existing houses, including traditional ones, due to the transfer of the property rights to the *kebeles*. Even if they obtain new houses newcomers tend to have *gidir gar* in order to be well integrated to Harari society.

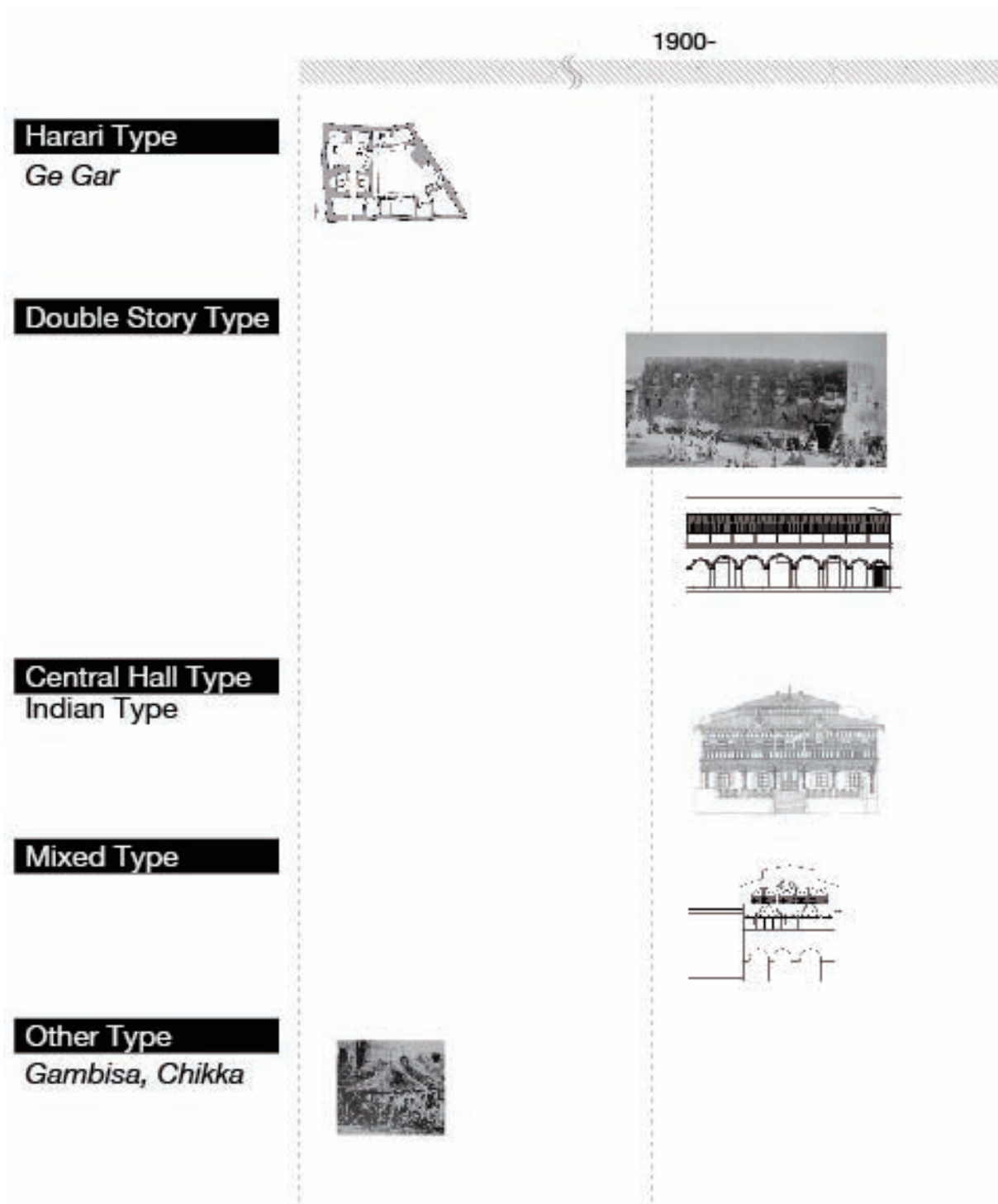


Fig. 5-24 Typology

3. Monographic Observation on Old Families in Harar *Jugol*

3-1. Hararis as Powerful Minority

As long as Harari people are deeply inclined to live in the old city, regarding it as their hometown, their family history and the history of the built environment of Harar *Jugol* is closely related. Hararis have maintained an exceptionally dense urban life since the medieval period and still keep it. What should be noted is their demographic is very different from the general trend in Ethiopia. Since the middle of the 19th century when Richard F. Burton estimated the rough number of Harari population as 8,000, the demographic curve has not changed much.¹⁷ In 1984 it was 7,947, and in 1994 it became 9,098. Then the population was slightly accelerated as the Census of 2007 indicates 11,757. The demographic report by Italian researchers provides the percentage of Harari population in the old city as 38%.¹⁸ Keeping this proportion and adding the estimation of the population in Harar *Jugol* as around 23,000¹⁹, the number of Hararis in the walled city would be around 8,700 in 2007. Another 3,000 are surmised to live outside of the city wall. Surprisingly, this minority group is still playing the role of decision makers for the future of this historical city.

To understand the sense of commitment to local society and the affection to their hometown, the author interviewed several persons in the old city. The interviews took place in the case study areas in August 2012. The targets are Harari families who have resided in the walled city for generations. Four individuals were selected: three from *Kebele 2* and one from *Kebele 5*. All of them are thought to represent a specific segment of Harari society. The data described below, including their ages, are as of the date of the interviews.

¹⁷ Richard F. Burton, *op. cit.* p.325

¹⁸ Kadigia A. Mohamud, Roberto Bianchini, Francesco Maimone, "Harar in Map: Atlas of the Ancient Walled City of Ethiopia", CIRPS and HPNRS, 2006

¹⁹ According to the Census of 2007, seven *kebeles* which constitute the old city count 24,590 persons. *Kebele 1* among them comprises extra muros area, corrected number would be around 23,000.

3-2. History of Several Outstanding Residents and Houses

(1) Chief of the Union of Affocha (House Abdulwasi Aiydarus)

The informant, Abdulwasi Aiydarus (male, Harari), is a chief of the union of 62 social well-being associations (*afocha*) in Harar, and is responsible for organizing these groups. He was born during the reign of Haile Selassie I and is currently 55 years old (in August 2012). He is the seventh generation from the founder of his family Yusef Sherif. The house was succeeded by his mother Zebede Alawi (as the sixth generation), who married Aiydarus from Harar, although she had two brothers and four sisters. He says that the bond of Harari people is so strong that they marry only Harari. Zewede is now 92 years old and still in good shape, residing in a wing house (*tit gar*) next to the main house (*ge gar*). His grandfather Alawi Muhammed was religious, kept working as farmer and did not serve as soldier during the reign of Haile Selassie I. That is why he was not sent to prison after the *Derg* took the power.

Abdulwasi has three sisters and four brothers on his father's side but he is the only child on his mother's side. This house was given to him by this reason. Abdulwasi has three sons, among whom the first son Alawi will be the legitimate successor of this house. Other two sons are expected to build their own houses outside of the old city [Fig. 5-27].

Abdulwasi is proud of his house, but he does not know how the house was built and how it was taken over by his family; apparently the house is very old [Fig. 5-28]. In fact, the house is one of the oldest in Harar. According to Abdulwasi, it was constructed approximately 500 years ago. Unfortunately no evidence relating to the construction period was found, other than the verbal explanation by the owner. The house consists of the main building (*ge gar*), a wing with the secondary room (*tit gar*) and another wing but with *ge gar* upstairs, all of which surround a small courtyard. This planning is typical of a traditional Harari type house. The main building with the main room (*gidir gar*) and stepped platforms (*nadaba*) is for the use of the head of the household and the southern wing (*tit gar*) for his mother, Zewede [Fig. 5-29]. The mother's wing (south) and another wing (north) are of double stories. In the main building, a loft (*quti qala*) is set up over a storage space (*kirtat*) and connected to the *gidir gar* by steps. Although the space is small, its basic composition follows the fundamentals of Harari tradition. The upper story seems to have been added over the old structure in a later period in order to compensate for the lack of space.

Abdulwasi is amateur Harari historian. Besides his family history, he is seeking the chance to discover the old memories of this town. He showed us an old Harari type house in *Kebele 4*, which, according to him, is the oldest house in this city, constructed 600 years ago [Fig. 5-30], [Fig. 5-31]. The plan and the volume of this house as well as details such as niches, spear hangers and *quti qala* are exactly the same as Abdulwasi's own house except that the latter is an independent structure without *tit gar* wing. This typological similarity could be the bases for the dating of Harari traditional houses.

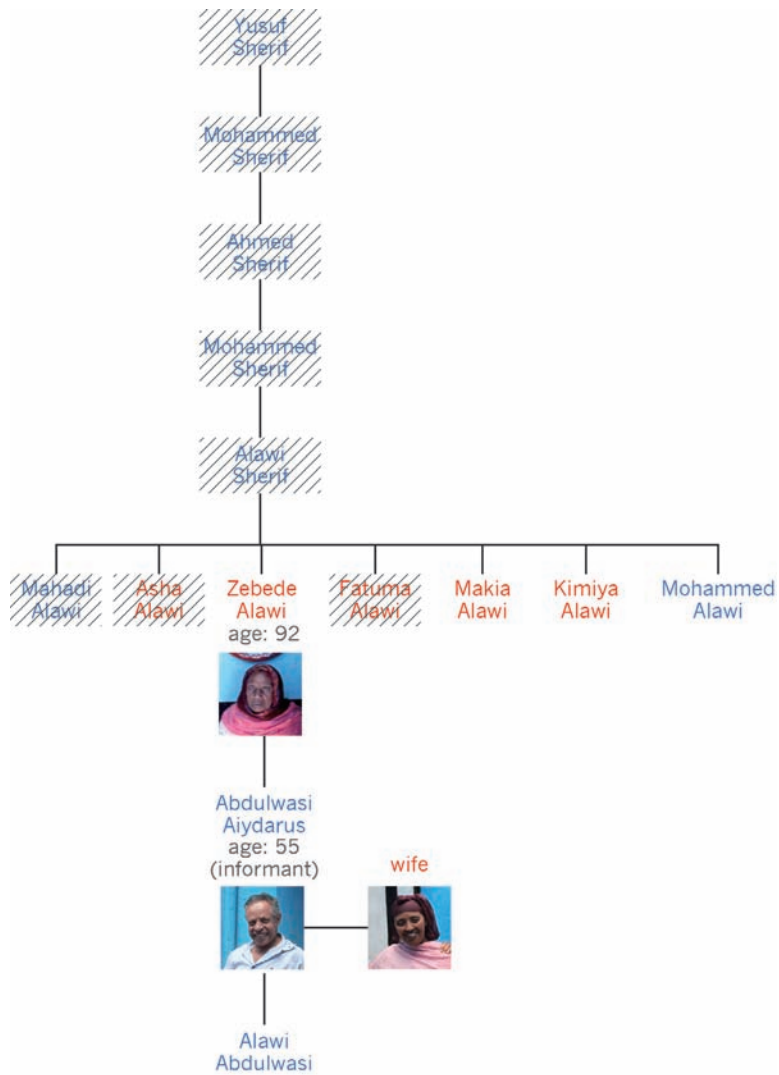


Fig. 5-25 Family Tree of Abdulwasi Aiydarus's Family



Fig. 5-26 Entrance of Abdulwasi Aiydarus' house (left)



Fig. 5-27 Interior view of Abdulwasi Aiydarus' house (right)



Fig. 5-28 Main façade of old Harari house built 600 years ago (left)



Fig. 5-29 Interior of old Harari house built 600 years ago (right)

(2) Old Harari Couple with Diaspora Sons (House Abdusamad Yusuf)

The informant, Abdusamad Yusuf is a 91 years old retired Harari man who lives with his wife (in August 2012). He is the fifth generation from the founder of his family Mohammed, who constructed this house 174 years ago. However, Abdusamad did not mention why this accurate figure (174 years) was correct. The probable construction period in the first half of the 19th century does not contradict the history of his family tree, but the heredity of this house does not follow the order of the family tree as it was sold and purchased two of three times by family members. He himself bought this house from his distant uncle whose name is Yusuf. He has two sons but they immigrated to Germany and the U.S. Communication with his sons is limited. Therefore, he is planning to give the house to his grandson because he does not have any son in Ethiopia.

Before the construction, the land was open. The compound used to be larger as he sold part of it to some other people, but the present compound is still comparatively large. Compared to the house of Abdulwasi, this house is simpler and less spacious, apparently a different taste derived from the old construction. Its main room (*gidir gar*) and stepped platform (*nadaba*) are humble and not heavily ornamented, probably because of their poor economic situation. Woodwork is more sophisticated than that of Abdulwasi as it is the work of the 19th century.

(3) Old Woman Living in *Tit Gar* (House Abdalah Ahmed)

The informant, Badriya Ahmed (female, Harari) is a 76 years old women (in August 2012). She has one brother, Abdalah Ahmed, who is the present head of the family, and two sisters, one of whom has already passed away. She is the fifth generation from the founder of the family Usman, who constructed this house. Although she did not mention the date of the construction, the house was probably erected in the 19th century, but, according to her, this house is one of the oldest in this *Argob Bari* neighborhood. From the typological point of view, this house resembles the House Abdusamad Yusuf which is thought to have been constructed in the first half of the 19th century.

Her family had kept farming ever since Usman, but the farmland outside of the city was taken by the Oromo people. Her father, Ahmed Mohammed, died during the Italian

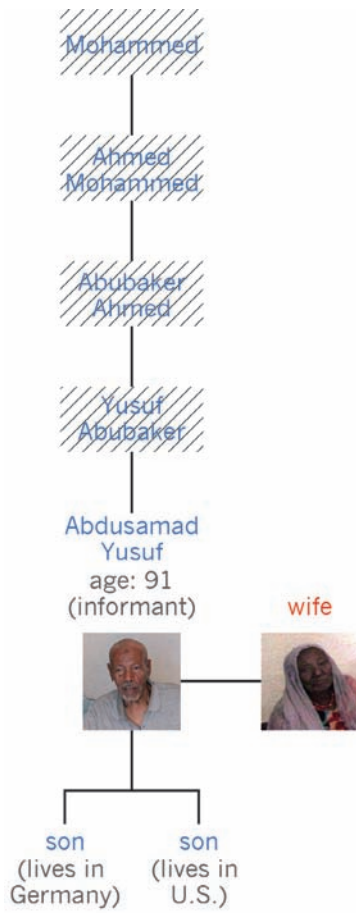


Fig. 5-32 Family Tree of Abdusamad Yusuf's Family



Fig. 5-30 Entrance of Abdusamad Yusuf's house (left)



Fig. 5-31 Interior view of Abdusamad Yusuf's house (right)

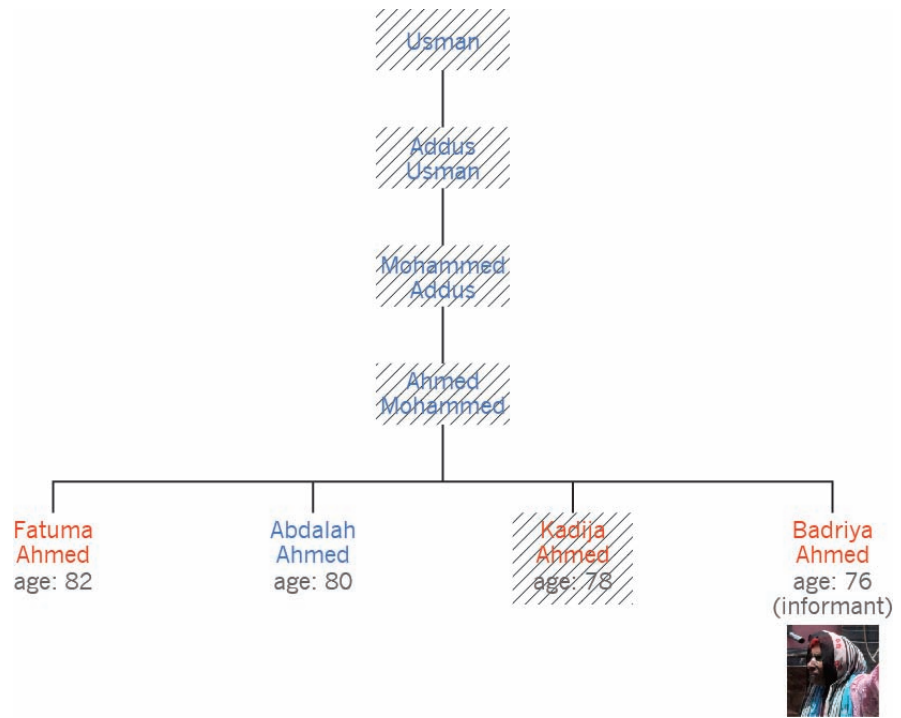


Fig. 5-33 Family Tree of Badriya Ahmed's Family



Fig. 5-34 Entrance of Badriya Ahmed's house (left)



Fig. 5-35 Interior view of Badriya Ahmed's house (right)

occupation soon after she was born. Her mother died 11 years ago at the age of 105. Her brother became the heir of this house. He ran a cinema in Addis Ababa, but now he is bankrupted.

The compound is situated in the depth of a cul-de-sac impasse and contains two households. Badriya's family occupies the larger one. This means another house was expropriated during the *Derg* reign and presently owned by *kebele*. The bigger complex, which is original from the 19th century consists of a main building (*ge gar*) and two side wings. Badriya herself lives alone in a southern side building (*tit gar*). The main building is for the family of head of the household, her brother Abdalah. Another side wing, in front of Badriya's wing, is now used as stable for a donkey. The planning and the composition of spaces follows the Harari tradition, but the layout of the room and the detail design is the same as House Abdusamad Yusuf, that is a building of the first half of the 19th century.

In many cases, *tit gar* is reserved for aged women, mainly widows. This room is a simpler version of *ge gar*. The space is smaller, but equipped with stepped platforms *nadaba*, so that the woman can spend her own private life by herself as if it were the place for solitude. Like *ge gar*, *tit gar* has no window.

(4) Descendant of Wealthy Merchant (House Haio Yunis)

The informant Uma Haio Yunis is a woman of approximately 90 years old. Because of her age, she does not remember exactly, but her memory about the Italian Occupation during her childhood supports this. Haio is the daughter of Haji Yunis, a famous trader around the turn of the century. Haio does not remember the genealogy of her family unfortunately [Fig. 5-38]. Haji Yunis is Arabic origin and in the course of the 19th century his ancestor settled in Harar. He was a religious person and went on a pilgrimage to Mecca so that he received the title of Haji.

Haio owns the present compound where she lives in *Kebele 5*. This area used to be occupied by poor thatched huts called *gambisa*. The percentage of Oromo residents is high even now. She used to live in Haji Yunis Mansion, one of the most impressive modernized houses in Harar, but after she married, she left her father's mansion. Returning back to the mansion in Haile Selassie's period, and as soon as the *Derg* government started, that is in the 1970's she purchased the present compound and built a house wider than the mansion. The mansion was expropriated as surplus housing and divided into many units owned by *kebele*. The present house is of modern masonry construction with 5 rooms [Fig. 5-39]. Haio's room is specially furnished in a manner of *gidir gar* and *nadaba* [Fig. 5-40]. She has a daughter Kamia, who lives in a different place, but her granddaughter lives in this compound with her.

Unfortunately, the interview with Haio Yunis was not successful in getting information about her family. Peter Garrestson pointed out that there were four Arabic traders in Ethiopia besides Indian, Armenia, French, Greek and Jewish traders at the turn of the century, but it is not certain whether Haji Yunis is included within this group.²⁰ Further study is needed to unveil the role of Haji Yunis family.

²⁰ Peter Garrestson, "A History of Addis Ababa from its Foundation in 1886 to 1910", Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden, 2000, p.128



Fig. 5-36 Family Tree of Haio Ynis' Family



Fig. 5-37 Entrance of Haio Yunis' house (left)



Fig. 5-38 Interior view of Haio Yunis' house (right)

3-3. Findings through the Interview

(1) Pride of Place

Hararis are proud of their hometown and their traditional life style. Their sense of space has been represented by the unique residential architecture called *ge gar*. The main building has a vast room with stepped platforms (*gidir gar, nadaba*) that refer the symbolic value of their social life. Most of Hararis who reside in the walled city have this type of residence no matter how old the building. No such example exists outside of this city. *Ge gar*, which literally means “our house”, is the essence of their life and family members are required to furnish it with round plates, colorful dishes, emblems, and even with the Holy Quran. Guests are invited to this main room and assigned sitting places according to their social rank.

An old *ge gar* is highly esteemed by its historical value. It was proved that a certain number of existing houses date back hundreds years. No literature is conserved, but the owners try to associate the story of construction with their family histories. Typologically one can abstract the characteristics by construction period. Older ones have more precise detail and ornaments. In this sense, Hararis are traditionalists and invest a considerable amount of money for their housing. This point is unusual compared to the general tendency vis-à-vis historical houses in Ethiopia.

Mixed type of *ge gar* and Indian Style is the creation of Harais at the turn of the century. Foreigners such as Armenians, French and Indians were not aware of the local housing tradition so that they tried to introduce Western Style, but local wealthy merchants achieved a sophisticated mixture of both styles.



Fig. 5-39 Exterior view of *ge gar* in Kebele 2 (left)



Fig. 5-40 Interior view of *ge gar* in Kebele 2 (right)

2) Expropriation by the *Derg* government

Harar was not the exceptional from the radical housing reform of the *Derg* government in the middle of the 1970's. Surplus houses were expropriated by the government and redistributed to those who did not have their own living place. The heredity system loosened this change because Hararis tend to group family members in their inherited compound. Besides *ge gar* and its complex, additional buildings and rooms have been erected within the same compound. This makes the compound narrow and condensed, but helps to strengthen their kinship and bond. The number of expropriated houses was smaller in the central part of the walled city, but still it happened.

More problematic was the modernized buildings. Because of the shift of trading center from Harar to Dire Dawa and to Addis Ababa, quite a few traders moved there after the 1910's. During the Italian occupation, many mansions were reported to be vacant or sold to others. The housing reform of the *Derg* government affected them decisively. These mansions were regarded as surplus property and expropriated by force. These buildings are not used anymore in the former way by their descendants and owned by the *kebele*. Deterioration is hence the key aspect of such old mansions. Famous Muhammad Aly *Gar* is now slum-like building with minimum care by the occupants. Haji Yunis *Gar* followed the same destiny although its residents are comparatively less poor than those living in Muhammad Aly *Gar*. [Fig. 5-43] Residents are not willing to pay for maintenance and repair costs as the ownership belongs to *kebele*. Some mixed type mansions are have been proven to be used as brothels in the Christian residential quarters on the west side of the walled city. [Fig. 5-44] This is the same feature as the “prostitute in heritage” phenomenon, which is occurring in Gondar and Mekelle.



Fig. 5-41 Exterior view of Haji Yunis house (left)



Fig. 5-42 Old mansion converted into a brothel (*Bunnabet*) in *Kebele* 7 (left)

(3) Diaspora and High Mobility

Another aspect is the high mobility of Harari people. This seems to be contradictory to their conservative attitude towards housing. According to the Census of 1994, Harari inhabitants in Harar City was counted 9,098 (9,374 in Harar Region) while total Harari population in Ethiopia was 21,757. In 2007, Harari population went up to 11,757 (15,863 in Harar region) while the total population of Harari became 31,869. Half of them were supposed to live in Addis Ababa and Dire Dawa. It is understandable because Hararis have been depending on commerce and trading so that many of them moved to these new commercial centers in the course of the 20th century. The network went beyond the border. Much more Hararis are living outside of Ethiopia, mainly in United States. It is said that the total number of Harari is between 75,000 and 12,000 in the whole world. Therefore, diaspora is not astonishing and many times encouraged among Harari even though they are strongly tied with the old city of Harar.

Compared with the population of 2007, the population growth of the last decade is considerable as the previous Censuses provide the number respectively: 7,947 (1984), 9,098 (1994) and 11,757 (2007) in Harar City [Fig. 5-45]. But it should be noted that many of those who went outside of Ethiopia as diaspora after the 1960's, making use of their oversea network, have returned back as soon as the political situation was settled. Still going-out is higher than going-back. It is reported that during the period 1960-1992, thousands of Hararis were forced to flee their home to escape oppression of the past regimes seeking asylums abroad. Even after the collapse of the *Derg* government, Hararis continued leaving their country, but with more economic motives, the desire for better life and opportunities.²¹ The same report says that 70% of the families in Harar have at least one member living outside Ethiopia. Problem of heredity, accordingly, is now getting more and more serious than before.

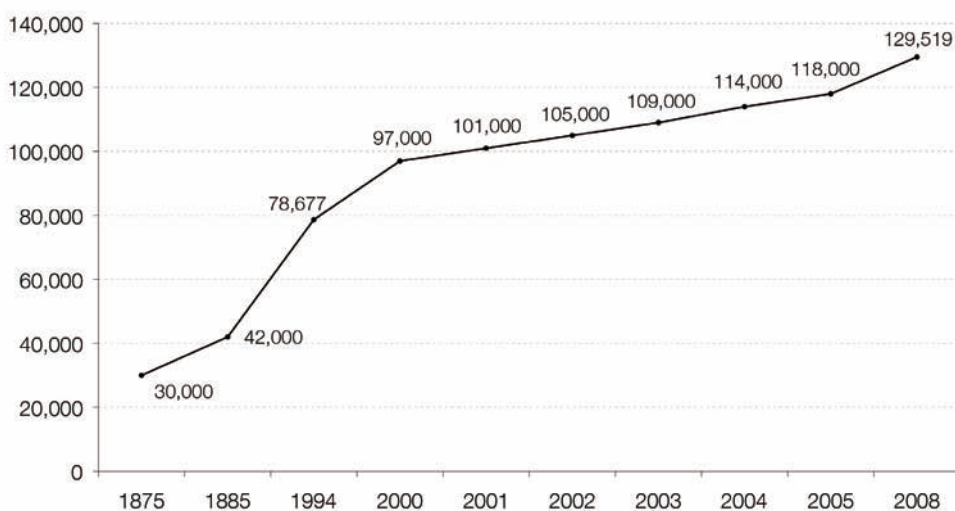


Fig. 5-43 Population of Harar

²¹ unknown author, "A Research Report of Demographic Feature of Harari Society", November 2011

(4) Aged Female

The characteristic of the population pyramid of the Hararis is longevity and low fertility. In the central district of the walled city the solitude of old women is growing more serious. As a matter of fact, the ratio of male-female among Hararis is such: 7,731 (male) vs. 8,132 (female) in Harar Region, and 5,660 (male) vs. 6,097 (female) in Harar City. Females are a few percent higher than the males. The urban area has an even higher ratio. Among the major ethnic groups, which constitute Harari population, only Amharic and Harari are marked with this tendency. Other ethnic groups such as Oromo and Somali are much more male oriented.

The male-female ration by *kebele* proves that in the area where Harari are the majority tend to have the same phenomenon. The most unusual is *Kebele 4* (female 53.4%). Then *Kebele 2* (52.6%) and *Kebele 3* (52.0%) follow. Outside of the walled city (few Hararis) is male dominant.

These statistic data reveal that Harari women are endowed with longevity, but their fertility is much lower than other ethnic groups. The total fertility rate of a Harari woman in an urban area is only 1.56 (in 2007), which is extremely low and on the same level as some advanced countries such as Canada (1.57) and Switzerland (1.45).²² The average total fertility rate in Ethiopia is 4.16 (whole nation) and 2.22 (urban) in 2007.²³ Ageing is now a fundamental and serious problem for the urban life of Hararis in Harar *Jugol*.



Fig. 5-44 Harari women at a wedding ceremony, 2007

²² *ibid.*

²³ Fanaye Tadesse, Derek Headey, "Urbanization and Fertility Rates in Ethiopia", International Food Policy Research Institute, January 2012

4. Comprehensive Observation on Housing Conditions and Residents in Harar *Jugol*

4-1. Kebele 2 and Kebele 5 as Target Areas

Harar *Jugol* is the walled city still keeping the appearance of medieval period. It looks like one entity of an old Harari settlement, but in reality its population consists of many ethnic groups, although Hararis are the majority. In spite of the existence of old Harari type residences (*ge gar*), different types of houses co-exist. Housing conditions differ by quarters. Especially the southern slope seems to have deteriorated slum-like housing units. Traditionally the walled city, Harar *Jugol*, has been divided into five districts corresponding to five city gates. However, during the *Derg* government period a new administration system, *kebele* (neighborhood scale administration unit) was introduced and the walled city is currently administrated by 7 *kebeles*. Among them *Kebele 6* extends outside of the wall.

In order to measure the intensity of Harari life within the walled city and to know the differentiation of the housing conditions, the author chose two different case study areas from two *kebeles* in this walled city: one near *Argob Bari* (gate) in *Kebele 2*, another near *Badri Bari* in *Kebele 5*. The author undertook a series of field surveys targeting these two sites since August. The type and the phase of the surveys are as follows.

Case Study Area in Kebele 2

First Survey	Full-scale survey	August 2007
Second Survey	Full-scale survey	March 2012

Case Study Area in Kebele 5

Survey	Full-scale survey	August 2012
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The first case study area was designated near *Argob Bari* (gate) in *Kebele 2* within this walled city, comprising 3 blocks, which are divided into 49 parcels. Its area is 1.02ha (gross). This is regarded as the place where the ratio of Harari population among various ethnic groups is highest.²⁴ Here, surveys were carried out in two phases. The first phase survey took place in August 2007. The author along with students of Keio University spent 2 weeks in Harar, staying in an old *ge gar*, and made a full-scale survey in the targeted area. The second survey was carried out in March 2012 in the same case study area. The author stayed by herself, assisted by a local interpreter, for one week. This survey aimed at the clarification of the 5 years' change in the same case study area.

The second case study area, on the other hand, was conducted near *Badri Bari* on the southern slope of the walled city. This area is clearly deteriorated and conveys the image of a slum-like built-up zone. Still it has typical Harari houses and "Indian" type mansions. This survey was carried out in August 2012, spending one week, with the assistance of students

²⁴ CIRPS, University of Rome <La Sapienza>, Harari People National Regional State "Harar in Map – Atlas of the Ancient Walled City of Ethiopia" CIRPS, HPNRS, Rome, 2006, Map 3

from Hosei University and Fuji Women's University as well as a local interpreter. The case study area comprises a block with 13 parcels. In spite of its small size, this block explains explicitly the process how an old mansion for a wealth merchant decayed and deteriorated. Measurement of all the buildings as well as interview with the residents were the main tasks for this survey.

All the collected data were systematically documented and analyzed as soon as the author returned to Japan and France. Although a base map was made by the French architectural school team, the author's team worked out another base maps which corresponds to the purpose of the study. The analysis on the walled city of Harar by the French team was very instructive, but their methodology seems to be based on the analysis of different types of houses from the architectural point of view so that it lacks human and social aspects of those who reside inside these houses.²⁵ Owing much to the French team, the author has accordingly made efforts to understand the status quo of the families who live within this historical quarters as well as the interface between the residents and their living places. The results of the analysis were published several times in the form of academic papers.²⁶

²⁵ Philippe Revault, Serge Santelli ed., "Harar: Une cité musulmane d'Ethiopie", Maisonneuve & Larose, Paris, 2004

²⁶ Rumi Okazaki, Riichi Miyake, "A Study on the Actuality and the Local Empowerment in Ethiopian Historical Cities – Case Study in Harar", *Bulletin of Architectural Institute of Japan*, F-2, 2008, pp.137-138, Rumi Okazaki, "A Study on the Living Environment of Harar *Jugol*, Ethiopia", *Journal of Architecture and Planning*, Vol. 77, No. 674, 2012, pp.951-957

4-2. First Survey in Kebele 2 (2007)

4-2-1. Process of First Survey

The field survey targeting the case study area in *Kebele 2* was carried out in August 2007. The target area was deliberately chosen to focus on the site that seems to be the most representative of the Harari life. The site, neighboring to *Argob Bari* in the east of the walled city, has an area of 1.02ha, delimited by an east-west axial street in the north. It has the very old flavor of a Muslim medieval city, comprising 3 blocks and 49 parcels. Narrow serpentine streets and impasses are common features in each block.

The construction process of each building is complicated as wings and stories have been adopted when necessary. To avoid confusion, the author has distinguished the following terms in order to explain the buildings and houses:

1. Building unit:
entity of a building, including additional parts. Sometimes comprising several housing or commercial units within it.
2. Housing unit and commercial unit:
unit for the life of each household, or unit for commercial activity (shop). In the targeted area, independent warehouses are present. They are counted on the same way as housing and commercial units.

The total number of building units within these blocks reaches 68, including 2 mosques. Within these 68 building units, there are 99 housing and commercial units as well as independent warehouses. The 2 mosques are counted as 2 housing units because guardians keep their living spaces within them. Nine commercial units without dwelling function (shops and restaurants) are set up in 6 building units. Eight warehouse and vacant shops are included in 7 building units. Accordingly, the housing units here number 82, excluding single commercial facilities. The total number of the households in this area is also 82, but the number of the households which answered to the questionnaire was 72. In the meantime, the population is 296. Provided that the uninvestigated 10 households keep the same household size proportion, the estimated population density becomes 331 person/ha, which is slightly less than the average of 350 persons/ha in whole Harar *Jugol*.

The base map was made from the aerial photo by the author, then corrected by the measurement in situ. The author's team visited most of the households and made interview, using a questionnaire, which contains questions in three categories: nature of buildings (construction type, building material, building age, height), housing conditions (type of tenure, infrastructure) and the nature of inhabitants (age/gender/religion ethnic group, and of the head of household, size of household, period of residence, occupation, income, home economy). Measurement of all the houses in the targeted area (3 blocks) was carried out at the same time. Three undergraduate students from Keio University and a local interpreter assisted the author both for measurements and interviews.

Among the 82 households in the targeted area, 72 answered the questionnaire (recovery rate: 87.8%). Two of these are those of guardians who reside in housing units in the mosques. The interviews were carried out one by one. Most of the residents were welcoming. Many of them enjoyed chatting in the afternoon so that the interviews in the afternoon became very smoothly.

All the figures described in the results of the survey, such as age and income, are those in the year of the survey and not those of present date.



Fig. 5-45 Building age in research area, Kebele 2, Harar *Jugol*, 2007

4-2-2. Outcome of First Survey

(1) Nature of Buildings

a. Building Age (2007)

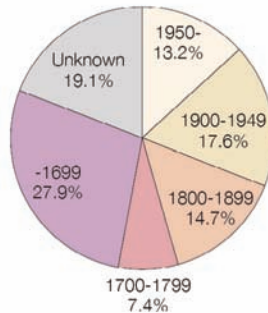


Fig. 5-46 Building age in research area, *Kebele 2, Harar Jugol, 2007*

The buildings of the target area seem to be exceptionally old compared to other Ethiopian historical cities. The interview with the owners of these buildings proved that 31 housing units (31.3%) in the research area were built before the 18th century, although some did not know exactly when and how their houses were constructed. The illustration of the cityscape in the middle of the 19th century, shown in the publication by Richard Burton, suggests explicitly that *Harar Jugol* was already urbanized and densely built up.²⁷ The cityscape does not differ much from the present one. This is the main point that differentiates this city from other Christian cities in Ethiopia. The impression of streets and houses seems to be less dramatic until the first half of the 20th century, because the stone materials were exposed without any plaster finishing as seen in the pictures taken by Europeans around the turn of the century.

The urban fabric has continuously evolved from the ancient times. Most of the houses here have traces of additions and alterations so as to make a housing complex with various additional parts. The most authentic and original part is the central room of the building, that is, a large reception hall made of *gidir gar* and *ge gar*. Additional wings may have been constructed far after the main buildings. Some houses have added a first floor. To simplify the dating of the building, the building age was extracted from the most original part of the building no matter how other parts were erected or added in later period.

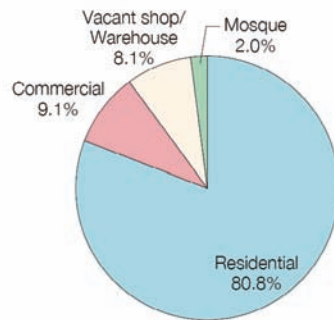
Three fourths of the buildings were built before the 20th century, provided that one building complex is counted as one building no matter how many housing units it is divided into. They represent typical *ge gar*, based on the traditional typology. Some date back to even more than 300 years ago. This means that Hararis started their own way of urban life, living in a *ge gar* type house, in a very old time, possibly in the medieval period, and kept the same life style. Only 27 housing units were built after the 19th century. Most houses are properly used with adequate maintenance.

²⁷ Richard F. Burton, *op. cit.* front page



Fig. 5-47 Building use in research area, Kebele 2, Harar Jugol, 2007

b. Building Use (2007)

Fig. 5-48 Building use in research area, *Kebele 2, Harar Jugol, 2007*

The case study area represents a typical residential zone character. Among 99 housing and commercial units, non-residential units are only 17. Since 2 mosques have their residential units for guardians, 80 building units (80.9%) are for genuine residential purpose. Others (17.2%) are for commercial purpose and warehouse. Commercial units can be found mainly around the main axial road. They count 9 units (9.1%).

Shops are used during daytime only. Unlike the other two cities where many people live and work in the same place, here living and working spaces are separated.

The location of the two mosques is different. One occupies a whole compound while another is found within a residential compound.



Fig. 5-49 Building material in research area, Kebele 2, Harar Jugol, 2007

c. Building Material (2007)

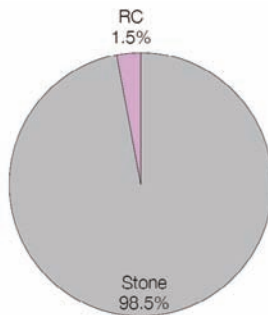


Fig. 5-50 Building material in research area, *Kebele 2, Harar Jugol, 2007*

Among 68 building units, only two buildings are made of reinforced concrete. Others (97.1%, or 66 units) are of traditional masonry construction. Some old *ge gar* buildings make use of decorated wooden doors for their main entrance while others use prototyped iron doors which may have been replaced recently. Some shops seem to have been quickly made by attaching kiosks to the walls of the residential compounds. Timber and corrugated iron sheets are used to make such an extension of a main building.



Fig. 5-51 Building height in research area, Kebele 2; Harar Jugol, 2007

d. Building Height (2007)

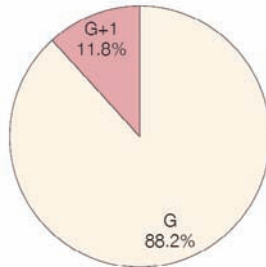


Fig. 5-52 Building height in research area, Kebele 2, Harar Jugol, 2007

Among 68 building units, 8 units (11.8%) are found to be two-story edifices. Most of them represent the double layered type which has *ge gar* on the ground floor and a line of rooms on the first floor. A wooden terrace which is connected to the ground floor by a steep staircase is the specific feature of this type. Although the French researchers termed them “Indian style”, they are very different from the typical Indian type with a central hall. Others (88.2%) are of single story in spite of different heights between the main building and additional parts.



Fig. 5-53 Type of tenure in research area, Kebele 2, Harar Jugol, 2007

(2) Type of Tenure (2007)

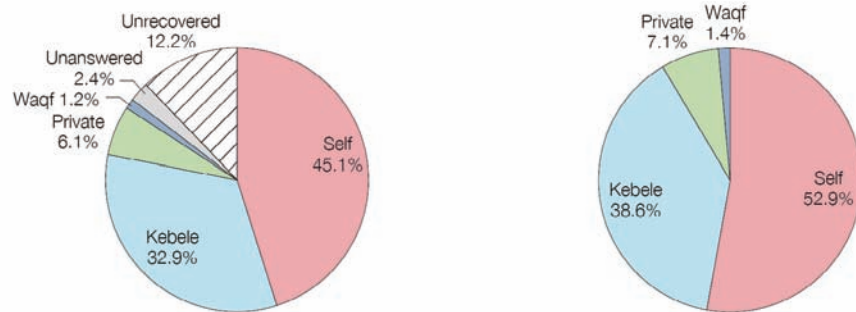


Fig. 5-54 Type of tenure in research area, *Kebele 2*, Harar *Jugol*, 2007

According to the interviews, 37 housing units are proved self-owned (52.9%), 3 of which are possessed by Christians, while 27 belong to *kebele* public housing (38.6%). It should be noted that more than a half of the *kebele* housing consists of old buildings with an age of more than 200 years. 6 among them are of *ge gar* type. This means that at least 1/4 of old traditional houses were handed over to *kebele* during the *Derg* period. The inhabitants claim that they are suffering from a lack of maintenance and repair. Evidently owners live in their houses much longer than tenants of *kebele* housing. These families have maintained their residences as landlords for generations, although female heads of households, so far as Harari owners are concerned, answered that they started living there due to marriage. Still, their consciousness of belonging is very strong as they are well integrated into neighborhood associations called *afocha*.



Fig. 5-55 Age of head of household in research area, *Kebele 2, Harar Jugol, 2007*

(1) Nature of Inhabitants

a. Attributes of Inhabitants

a-1. Age of Head of Household (2007)

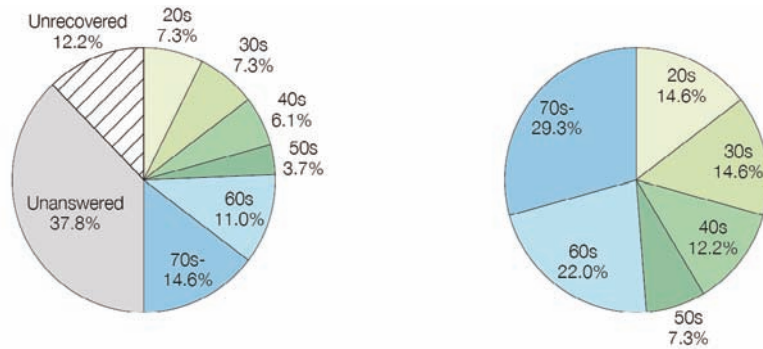


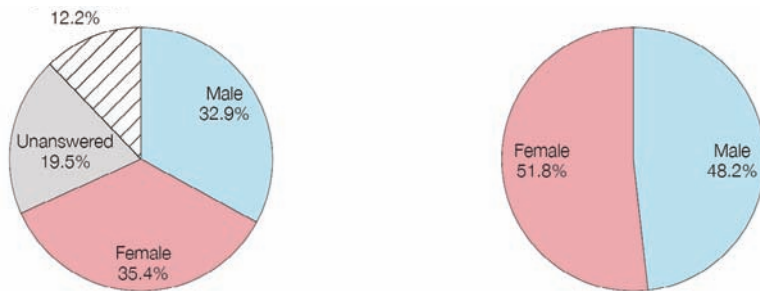
Fig. 5-56 Age of head of household in research area, Kebele 2, Harar Jugol, 2007

Among 72 households that were interviewed, 41 answered this question. The average age of heads of household is 55.2 years old. The average of the females is 61.5 years. Females over 60 years old occupy more than half (51.3%). In contrast, that of male heads of household is 47.1 years old. This figure is much younger than that of females. No specific tendency was detected among male-headed households due to the various types of households. In a Muslim society where a male is considered to represent household, this phenomenon is quite natural.



Fig. 5-57 Gender of head of household in research area, *Kebele 2, Harar Jugol, 2007*

a-2. Gender of Head of Household (2007)

Fig. 5-58 Gender of head of household in research area, *Kebele 2, Harar Jigol, 2007*

Among 72 households, 56 answered this question. The division of gender among the heads of household is nearly equal: male 27 and female 29. However, most of the females, who are 61 years old in average, are aged widows. 1/4 of them are wealthy, belonging to the top income group, while the other 3/4 is poor. Among the younger heads of household under 40 years old, males comprise 3/4.



Fig. 5-59 Religion of head of household in research area, *Kebele 2, Harar Jugol, 2007*

a-3. Religion of Head of Household (2007)



Fig. 5-60 Religion of head of household in research area, *Kebele 2, Harar Jugol, 2007*

Among 72 households, 71 answered to this question. Apparently this area in the heart of the walled city is a Muslim-oriented zone. The author's concern was rather to what extent a non-Muslim population has penetrated into this area. The survey shows that although the Muslims maintain the majority (91.5%=65 households), Orthodox Christians occupy 8.5% (6 households). They are of the Amhara and Oromo ethnic groups. As for these Christian families, half of them have lived there for more than 60 years. Three Christian families are in possession of real estate property with comparatively higher income. Their houses are not of the traditional Harari type, annex buildings in old compounds. Except for one family, their houses are humble and without *nadaba* (steps).

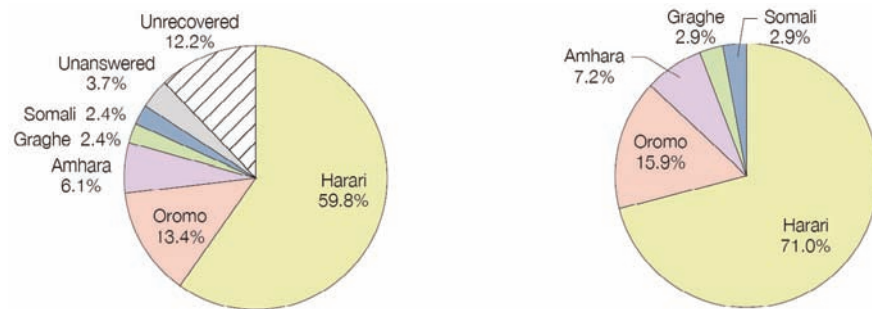
Ethnic Group (Head of Household)

- Harari
- Oromo
- Amhara
- Graghe
- Somali
- Unrecovered
- Unrecovered



Fig. 5-61 Ethnic group of head of household in research area, *Kebele 2, Harar Jugol, 2007*

a-4. Ethnic Group of Head of Household (2007)

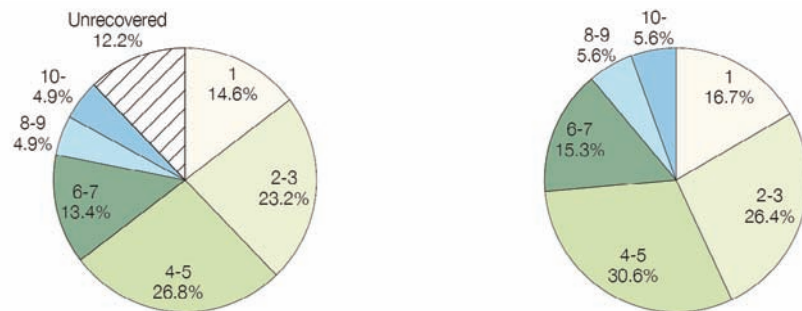
Fig. 5-62 Ethnic group of head of household in research area, *Kebele 2, Harar Jugol, 2007*

The collected data on the distribution of ethnicity and religion does not exceed what was expected from the physical aspects of the town. Among the 72 households interviewed, 69 answered. 49 households (68%) are Harari while other 23 (28%) represent other ethnic groups such as Oromo, Amhara, Gurage and Somali. Most of these non-Harari ethnic groups occupy annex houses, which are smaller and humbler. Most shops are run by Harari owners. 2 Somali families reside in very old traditional houses, one has inherited the house from their parents. In this respect, the legacy of Harari traditional houses is still well maintained despite the gradual occupation by other ethnic groups.



Fig. 5-63 Size of household in research area, Kebele 2, Harar Jugol, 2007

b. Size of Household (2007)

Fig. 5-64 Size of household in research area, *Kebele 2, Harar Jugol, 2007*

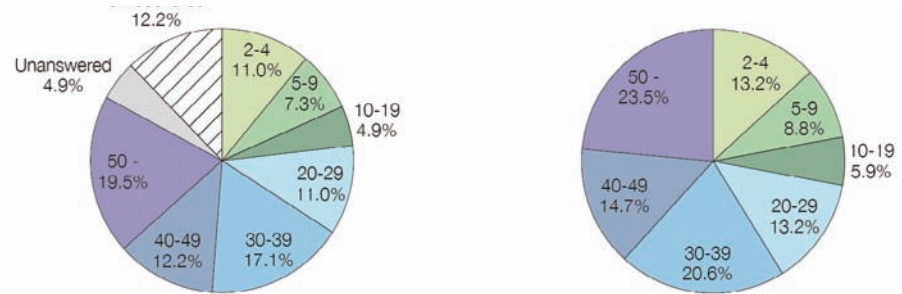
All the interviewed households answered to this question. The size of household is proved to be 4.1 persons in average, much bigger than the average of Harar City (3.4 in 2007). Among these Harari households average 3.8 persons while Oromo has 5.4. The proportion of single-family and widow-headed families is small in comparison with the whole city. 10 single households were detected. They suffer from very low income, except for one female who shares a house and has income. Taking into consideration that the average household size of a Harari household is only 3.7 persons, other ethnic groups have much larger household size, sometimes comprised of more than 10 family members.

To have servants is common in Harar *Jugol*. Here, as a matter of fact, 6 Harari families employ female servants, who are young girls in their early teens. Their salaries are very low and even 2 households residing in *kebele* housing, but still belonging to the top income group, manage to have servants.



Fig. 5-65 Period of Residence in research area, Kebele 2, Harar Jugol, 2007

c. Period of Residence (2007)

Fig. 5-66 Period of Residence in research area, *Kebele 2, Harar Jugol, 2007*

Those who have lived here for more than 50 years total nearly 1/4 of the households. The average period of residence is 34.6 years. This figure is very long in comparison with the central districts of Gondar (21.5 years) and Mekelle (13.1 years). Unlike Gondar and Mekelle that are distinguished by either very long or very short periods of residence, Harar has the specific tendency of long-term residence. Informants explained that many of them have lived there for generations. Since the case study area includes in the district where the density of Hararis is the highest, this phenomenon is amplified. Residents live in old houses that were constructed several hundred years ago.



Fig. 5-67 Income in research area, Kebele 2, Harar Jugol, 2007

(4) Socio-Economic Factors

a. Income (2007)

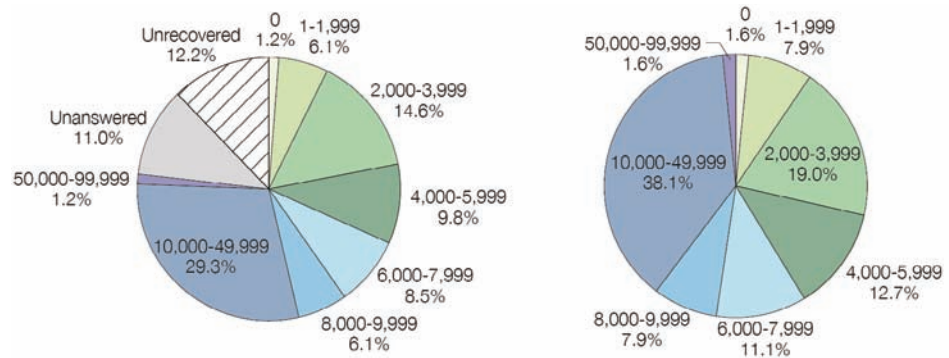


Fig. 5-68 Income in research area, Kebele 2, Harar Jugol, 2007

Income distribution requires detailed analysis because the tendency here seems very different from other Ethiopian cities. First of all, income here is comparatively higher than other parts of Ethiopia, except for Addis Ababa and Mekelle. The ratio of absolute poverty, that is, those who spend less than 1 USD for their daily life, is around 11%. This figure is much smaller than that of the central district of Gondar. The average of annual income is 11,471 ETB (1,277 USD) in the designated area. Considering that the field survey carried out by the authors' team in 2003 on the central district of Gondar, another World Heritage city, obtained the figure of 3,287 ETB (382 USD) as the average of annual income of the researched area, or 2,346 ETB (272 USD) as the average of the whole of Gondar in 2003, that of Harar is exceptionally high, even if the increase of the consumer price index in Ethiopia between 2003 and 2007 (152%) is added to these figures.²⁸

As for the house owners, their average income is 12,606 ETB (1,342 USD), which could be considered sufficiently high according to Ethiopian standards, but what is interesting is the fact that the average annual income of the households residing in *kebele* housing goes up to 10,387 ETB (1,157 USD). This seems to be the opposite to the common idea of poor inhabitants residing in *kebele* housing. However, careful examination of this average figure reveals that the inhabitants are clearly divided into two income groups: very low and very high. The former represents 3/4 of the *kebele* residing households and what constitutes this group is the mixture of such ethnic groups as Oromo, Amhara, Gurage, Somali and Harari. The latter, comprising 1/4, is exclusively Harari. The former's average income is 2,463 ETB (274 USD) and the latter is 26,811 ETB (2,986 USD). The difference is astonishingly large: 11 times. In short, *kebele* housing is still occupied by the poor majority with the mixture of different ethnic groups, including a few poor Harari, but a certain number of rich Harari people also tend to live in *kebele* housing if the conditions are good. In fact, these *kebele*-owned houses are well-maintained and well-furnished thanks to the investment by such wealthy tenants.

Harari are generally known as a highly commerce-oriented people. Their presence in Ethiopia is very strong although the total population is only 31,000. They have their own

²⁸ The exchange rate of Ethiopia Birr (ETB) to U.S. Dollar is 8.57 (December 2003) and 8.91 (August 2007) while the consumer price index augment by 52% in these 4 years.

community in the central market (*mercato*) and other commercial quarters of Addis Ababa, totaling around 6,000 people. Their network is very tight even outside of Ethiopia. The tradition of commercial activities since the medieval period is said to have formulated their temper and mode of business activities. The high income of the residents of Harar *Jugol* clearly corresponds to such a business background of established Harari merchants. In fact, 21% of the total households of the target area comprise a very high-income group which earns more than 15,000 ETB (1,670 USD) per year. Most of them are former landlords with Harari ethnicity. The most successful business figure is an old farm owner of 84 years, Haya Saie, who runs a mango plantation business outside of the city as well as a retail clock shop, earning 72,000 ETB (8,018 USD) per year. His family with 5 members lives in a two-story house, say, of an Indian type. Other figures among this income group are an old widow of 95 years old, living in a double-story house, who depends on money transfers from her relative in the USA, and a male accountant of around 35 year old, who owns a very old house of traditional Harari type.

However, homeowners with other ethnicities have different tendencies. An extreme case is an Oromo family with 6 members headed by a woman, who has resided in a very old house, surprisingly without roofing, although it is her own property. The 27-year-old female head of this household, claims that she earns only 3,600 ETB (401 USD) annually and other family members have no permanent job.

In terms of *kebele* housing, on the contrary, two tendencies are distinguished among the tenants. Half of the tenants have lived there since the beginning of *kebele* housing, that is, since the 1970's, or they have inherited resident rights from their parents who used to reside there as tenants. 3 of them, all females, said they earn more than 10,000 ETB (1,114 USD), which is considered rather high income, equal to the owners' group. Another half of the tenants show much shorter period of residence, but with higher income. Those who reside in new type of rental houses tend to rotate with a shorter cycle of 2-7 years, except for one female Oromo who claimed to have lived there for 30 years.

From gender point of view, it should be noted that among the female heads of household, 1/4 among them is wealthy, belonging to the top income group, while other 3/4 is poor. Again, the difference of the wealthy and the poor is outstanding. Half of them are obliged to live with an annual income of less than 6,000 ETB (668 USD) regardless of house ownership. This group consists of different ethnicities. They manage to spend their life working in the informal sector, that is, by selling daily items on the streets. It is not only *kebele* residents, but a certain number of house owners who are suffering from the poverty.

4-3. Second Survey in Kebele 2 (2012)

4-3-1. Process of Second Survey

The second survey targeting the same case study area in *Kebele 2* took place in March 2012. The author's concern resided in the transformation of the same area after the interval of 5 years from the previous survey of 2007. This time the fieldwork was carried out by the author herself with the assistance of local interpreter who was a graduate of the Institute of Paleo-environment and Heritage Conservation at Mekelle University. It took 5 days to finish this survey as the process was much simpler than the previous one. Most of the houses had the same residents and as long as the author had already established friendly tie with them, the interview was much smoother than before.

Curiously enough, the number of housing and commercial units increased in 5 years to some extent although no additional construction was found. The number of building units is the same as before: 64. Lastly, 106 housing and commercial units including independent warehouse were confirmed as the total number. Its detail was like this. Commercial units (shops) counted 9 as one of the former shops had been divided into two. Only one warehouse was still used as such, but other 8 former warehouses, which used to be left vacant, were transformed into housing units. In addition, former 6 housing units were divided into two units respectively. Therefore, the total number of housing units was 96 against 82 in 2007.

Among 96 housing units, 83 answered to the questionnaire (recovery ratio: 86.5%). The population increased to 278 within 80 households who answered to this question. Provided that the missing 16 households share the same tendency, the estimated population in this area is 334 person or 327 person/ha. Comparing to the data of 2007 (337 persons or 331 person/ha), the population trend suggests slight decrease after 5 years despite the increase of the household.

Again the figures used in the following outcome of the second survey, such as age and income, is those of the year of the fieldwork, that is, in 2012. As the fall of Ethiopian Birr (ETB) versus U.S. Dollar from 2007 to 2012 is enormous (-48%), the amount of the income should be corrected following the inflation tendency of Ethiopian currency. The increase of the consumer price index between 2007 and 2012 is 278%²⁹.

²⁹ The rate of ETB (Ethiopian Birr) versus U.S. Dollar 8.91 in August 2007 and 17.22 in March 2012. The consumer price index in 2007 is 131.67 in case that of 2005 is fixed as 100. That of 2012 is 366.67 according to the World Bank.



Fig. 5-69 Building age in research area, Kebele 2, Harar Jugol, 2012

4-3-2. Outcome of Second Survey

(1) Nature of Buildings

a. Building Age (2012)

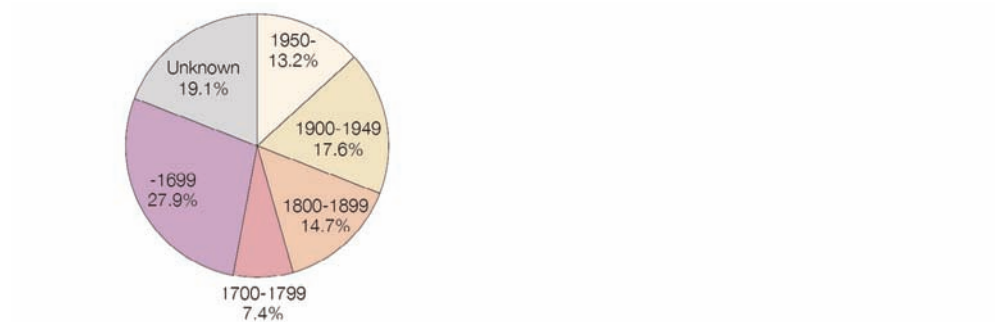


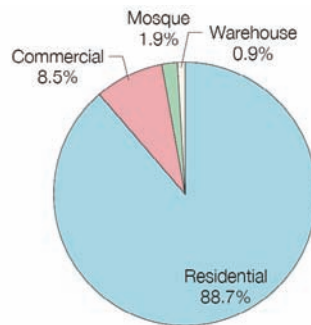
Fig. 5-70 Building age in research area, Kebele 2, Harar Jugol, 2012

The situation of the buildings as a whole was the same as the previous survey in 2007. The number of building compounds, which is 64, is the same as before. Still a few housing units were added within these compounds by renovating old buildings. No building was demolished. Therefore the distribution of building age is simply “plus 5 years” to the result of the previous survey.



Fig. 5-71 Building use in research area, Kebele 2, Harar *Jugol*, 2012

b. Building Use (2012)

Fig. 5-72 Building use in research area, *Kebele 2, Harar Jugol, 2012*

The number of housing unit has increased since the previous field survey. It is now 96 in comparison with 82 in the year 2007. Commercial unit has also increased from 8 to 9. 2 mosques stay as it used to be. It is interesting that despite this increase of housing and commercial units the total population has slightly decreased. Aging tendency among the residents may have caused this phenomenon.



Fig. 5-73 Building material in research area, Kebele 2, Harar Jugol, 2012

c. Building Material (2012)

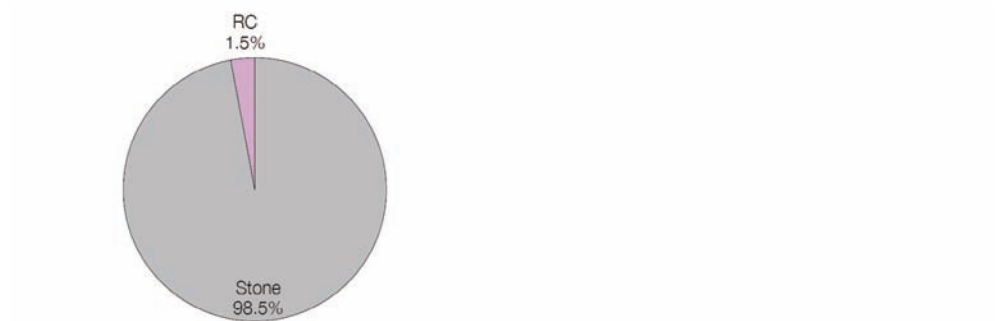


Fig. 5-74 Building material in research area, *Kebele 2, Harar Jugol, 2012*

No major change has been detected in terms of the building materials. The change of plaster painting on the exterior walls stands out. Some wealthy families have renovated their houses. The unroofed building owned by an Oromo family has become roofed and furnished inside the house.



Fig. 5-75 Building height in research area, Kebele 2; Harar Jugol, 2012

d. Building Height (2012)



Fig. 5-76 Building height in research area, *Kebele 2, Harar Jugol*, 2012

No major change has been detected in terms of the building height. Only two building units among 64 are of two stories. Others are of single story.



Fig. 5-77 Type of tenure in research area, Kebele 2, Harar Jugol, 2012

(2) Type of Tenure (2012)

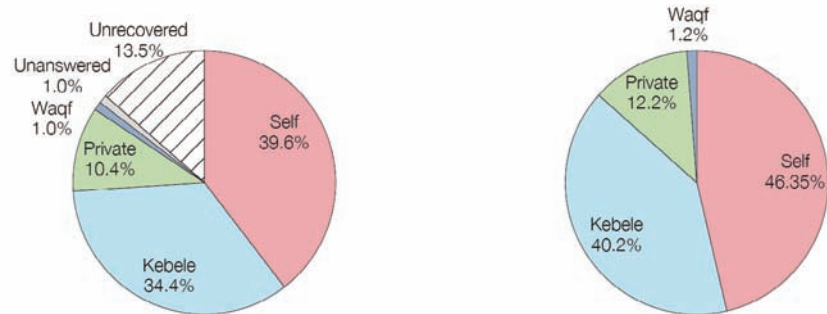


Fig. 5-78 Type of tenure in research area, Kebele 2, Harar Jugol, 2012

Among 83 interviewed households, 82 answered to this question. The increase of the housing units in 5 years (82 to 96 units) affected to some extent. The proportion between private ownership and public housing is 48:33 (58.5%:41.5%). It has slightly shifted to the private ownership, compared with the previous proportion: 42:27 (61%:39%) as all the additional housing units have been initiated by private investment. Among 48 privately owned properties, 10 are rented to newcomers while 38 are the households staying in their own houses. The number of privately rented housing units has doubled in 5 years as only 5 housing units were rented in 2007. 29 households are overlapping for both 2007 and 2012. Private sector is becoming more active. It seems that the private owners tend to rent their extra houses in order to get profit after they have recovered their old property right and get it returned or, simply, purchased new one.

As for *kebele* housing, the survey shows that its number has increased from 27 (2007) to 33 (2012). Generally speaking the ownership of *kebele* does not change easily as it requires complicated administrative procedure. In addition, *Kebeles* are not rich enough to purchase new properties. Examination of the additional 6 housing units has revealed that they correspond to those who were not interviewed 5 years before. The general tendency, therefore, is judged the same as it used to be in 2007.

Another specific aspect is *waqf*. *Waqf* means ownership by religious order by way of donation in Muslim countries. Harar keeps this tradition as Muslim society. In the case study area, the northeast corner in front of *Argob Bari* is occupied by this religious ownership right belonging to a mosque called Shulum Ahmad Mosque. The L-shaped land at the corner neighboring to the mosque was divided into 7 units, which were used for commercial purpose and warehouse. In 2007, 3 of 7 units were vacant, but after 5 years all the units were used as shops in a proper way. In addition, one unit was divided into two, so that the actual number of commercial units is 8. As these shop are exclude from the housing statistics. Shulum Ahamd Mosque is in possession of another housing unit as *waqf* ownership on the opposite side from this L-shaped commercial complex.



Fig. 5-79 Age of head of household in research area, *Kebele 2, Harar Jugol, 2012*

(1) Nature of Inhabitants

a. Attributes of Inhabitants

a-1. Age of Head of Household (2012)

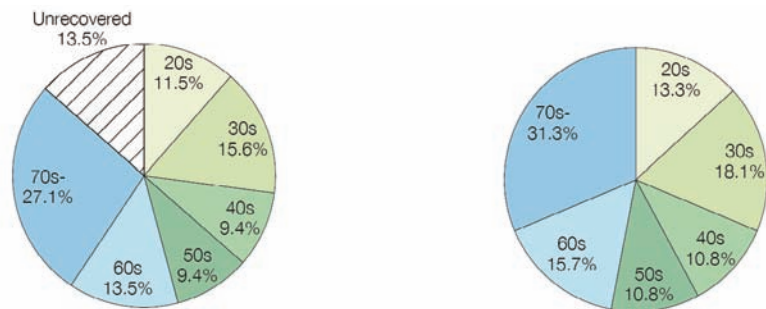


Fig. 5-80 Age of head of household in research area, Kebele 2, Harar Jugol, 2012

Among 83 households who were interviewed, all of them answered to this question. The eldest is a Harari widow at the age of 102 years old, residing in her own house. She claimed her age as 95 during the survey of 2007, but difference of a few years is still within an allowance as many aged Hararis have vague notion of his/her own age. The youngest is 21 years old Harari man residing in *kebele* housing. The average age is 54.7 years old. In relation to tenure, there is clear distinction between self-owner group and tenant (public housing) group as the former are rather elderly self-owners with 59.4 years old as average and the latter is 50.0 years old.

56 housing units within 83 visited units are the same as those investigated in 2007. Among them, 28 heads of household, including the above-mentioned old widow, are exactly the same persons as before. 16 live in their own houses while other 12 live in public housing. The average age of these common persons is comparatively high: 63.8 years old. Self-owners are more aged (64.7 years old as average) than tenants (62.7). Another half are new persons, either by succeeding the position of his/her predecessors or simply by moving in when the unit had become vacant. Among these heads of household, the average age is much lower: self-owners (56.0 years old as average) and tenants (45.9 years old). In case of the public housing, these young heads of households represent the mobility within the public housing. As for the self-owned houses, mostly *ge gar* type, this figure could be interpreted as the result of generation change.



Fig. 5-81 Gender of head of household in research area, *Kebele 2, Harar Jugol, 2012*

a-2. Gender of Head of Household (2012)



Fig. 5-82 Gender of head of household in research area, *Kebele 2, Harar Jugol, 2012*

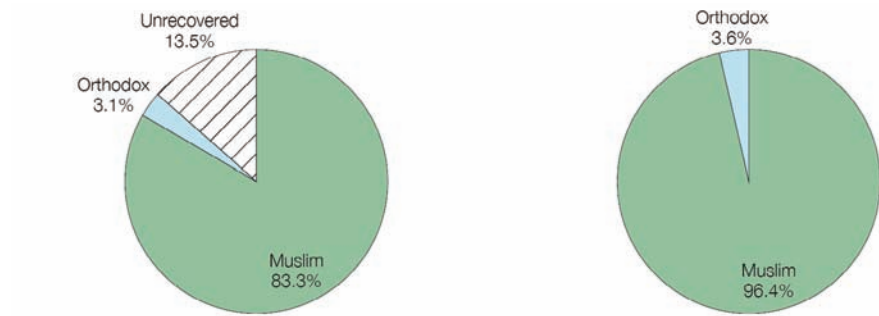
Among 83 interviewed, all of them answered to this question. The proportion of male-female head of household is 36:47 (43.4%:56.3%). Comparing with the result of 2007, in which the proportion was nearly equal, it has a tendency towards woman-headed household. The average age of male is 46.2 years old while that of female is 61.1. Females have apparently benefits from longevity. Although the average age for both 2007 and 2012 is the same (55 years old), the result of 2012 reveals that the male has become younger and the female elder. Symptoms of female ageing society are becoming outstanding. Only a few young women head the household as a matter of fact.

Within the presence of retired elderly persons, which started from the age of 58, females are outstanding. The number of retired persons is 16.13 are females and 3 are males. Widows of 70's and 80's are still conspicuous.



Fig. 5-83 Religion of head of household in research area, *Kebele 2, Harar Jugol, 2012*

a-3. Religion of Head of Household (2012)

Fig. 5-84 Religion of head of household in research area, *Kebele 2, Harar Jugol, 2012*

Among 83 interviewed, all of the answered to this question. 80 households are Muslim while the rest (3 households) are Orthodox Christian. The latter represents the same households with the ethnicity of Amhara and Oromo as 2007. Their living places are not main *ge gar*, but additional buildings constructed recently.



Fig. 5-85 Ethnic group of head of household in research area, *Kebele 2, Harar Jugol, 2012*

a-4. Ethnic Group of Head of Household (2012)

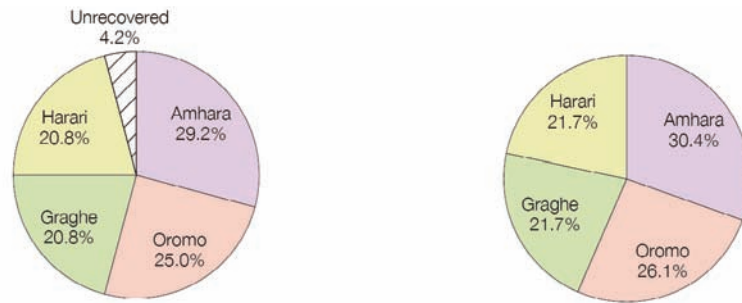


Fig. 5-86 Ethnic group of head of household in research area, Kebele 2, Harar Jugol, 2012

All the 83 interviewed answered to this question. The distribution of ethnic groups is: 61 Harari (73.5%), 17 Oromo (20.5%), 3 Amhara (3.6%), and 1 Guraghe (1.2%) and 1 Argoba (1.2%). Both Harari and Oromo have increased their household number, but their population has decreased. On the contrary, Somali families who used to reside here in 2007 have moved out while an Amhara (Muslim) and an Argoba family moved in respectively.



Fig. 5-87 Household size in research area, Kebele 2, Harar Jugol, 2012

b. Household Size (2012)

Fig. 5-88 Household size in research area, *Kebele 2, Harar Jugol, 2012*

80 among 83 interviewed households answered to this question. The average size is 3.5 person/household in the case study area. This figure is much smaller than the previous one (4.1 person/household) extracted in 2007. One of the main reasons is the decrease of Oromo population: from 59 persons (2007) to 49 (2012). At the same time, increase of single households matters. They count 16 (20%), much more than 2007, then counting 12 (17%). These single households are more male oriented (10 men among 16) and more public housing oriented (11 in *kebele*-owned housing). In addition, younger male-headed households have tendency to have smaller size as that under 40 years old indicates 2.7. The fact that woman headed household with not more than 2 family members has average age of 67.2 means that there are scarcely any young female-headed family like in Gondar and Mekelle.

In terms of ethnic group, the average size of Harari household is 3.6 persons while Oromo (3.1) and Amhara (2.0) have smaller households. Harari household size has slightly increased from 2007 (3.5 persons) contrary to the general tendency in the targeted area. In terms of family size, they maintain their priority than those who have immigrated into this area.

As long as income and tenure is concerned, wealthy residents with their own house enjoy a larger household size: self-owners (3.9) vs. tenants in *kebele*-owned housing (3.0). The high-income group with more than 10,000 ETB/ year shows 3.6 while the low-income group with less than 4,000 ETB/ year is 3.3.



Fig. 5-89 Period of Residence in research area, Kebele 2, Harar Jugol, 2012

c. Period of Residence (2012)

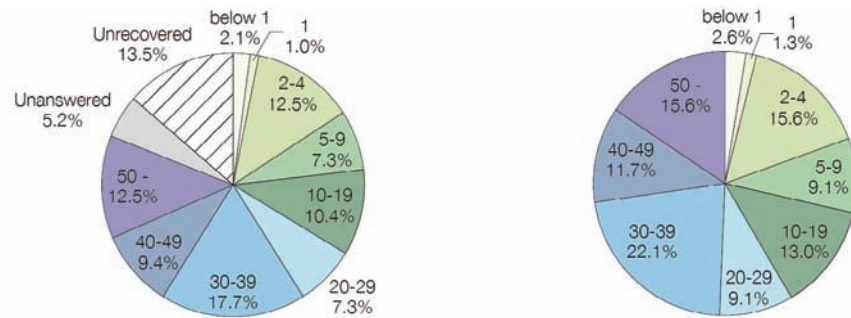


Fig. 5-90 Period of Residence in research area, Kebele 2, Harar Jugol, 2012

Among 83 interviewed, 77 answered to this question. The average period of residence is 26.1 years. This figure is much smaller than that of 2007 (34.6 years). Still this is much longer than Gondar and Mekelle. Those who have lived here for more than 50 years is 15.6 % of the total households while those more than 30 years 49.4 %. Although old Hararis keep living here with their neighbors and relatives, the percentage of newcomers is comparatively bigger than before. Hararis have lived here for 26.9 years as average while other have spent 23.8 years.

3 elderly women more than 60 years old explained as informants that they had lived in the same housing units since they were born, but most of the women moved to the present house when they were married. All of them married, but there was no further information whether they started their married life here or they left from here for a while and then they returned back after they succeeded the property right.



Fig. 5-91 Occupation of head of household in research area, Kebele 2, Harar *Jugol*, 2012

(4) Socio-Economic Factors

a. Occupation of Head of Household (2012)

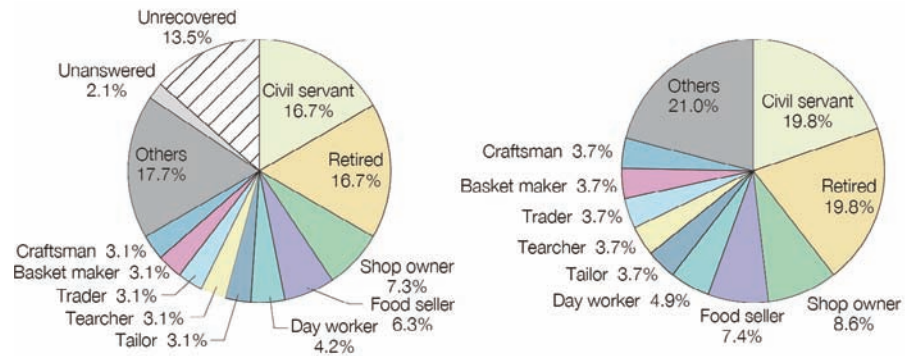


Fig. 5-92 Occupation of head of household in research area, Kebele 2, Harar Jugol, 2012

Among 83 interviewed, 81 answered to this question. The type of occupation varies. Civil servant (16 persons = 19.8%), retired (16 = 19.8%), shop keeper (7 = 8.6%), food seller (6 = 7.5%), day worker (4 = 4.9%), tailor (3), teacher (3), trader (3), basket maker (3), craftsman (3), driver, farmer, association worker, clothes washer, construction worker, guard, hotel manager, janitor, lawyer, restaurant, and volunteer. Although no information about the occupation was obtained in the survey of 2007, this result is not beyond the expectation and understandable.

The most favored is a young Harari restaurant owner (25 years old) who earns 6,000 ETB (339 USD) /month. High-income group includes shop owner, civil servant, NPO volunteer, farmer, and construction worker. Civil servant, for instance, has stable income (2,000- 4,000 ETB/month depending his/her age). Low-income group consists of food seller, day worker and basket maker. This low-income group, except basket maker, depends on informal sector. Food seller earns 150-2,000 ETB (8-119 USD) /month.

In Harar, the tradition of craftsmanship has been succeeded by generations. It took a form of in-house side job. Basket weaving is the most typical of this kind of job. Traditionally Harari women have been trained to weave basket from the childhood in order to furnish the room and eventually to sell them as trading goods. In case her husband passes away, the widow may earn money by making baskets, but the payment is limited to support the family. Some Oromo women are also trained to make baskets.

Most of the retired persons are females, heading households in most cases. The eldest is 102 years old, living in her own house together with her family.



Fig. 5-93 Income in research area, Kebele 2, Harar Jugol, 2012

b. Income (2012)

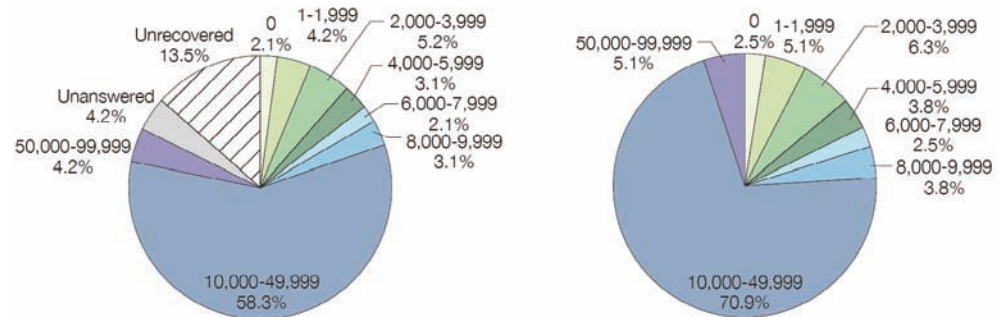


Fig. 5-94 Income in research area, Kebele 2, Harar Jugol, 2012

Among 83 interviewed, 79 answered to this question. To make analysis on the income distribution, it is necessary to take the enormous ratio of inflation from 2007 into consideration. If the value of Ethiopian Birr (ETB) on the basis of U.S. Dollar is 1.00 in 2007, it went down to 0.50 in five years. On the basis of the consumer price index published by the World Bank, it descended to 0.34. Here, in order to contrast the real values of Ethiopian currency to the result of the previous survey of 2007, the author uses the value converted into U.S. Dollar.

The average annual income of the case study area as a whole is 19,681 ETB (1,111 USD), which is slightly lower than that of 2007 (11,471 ETB =1,277 USD). This figure is anyway much higher than the average of Ethiopia, which explains the economically favored situation of this city. Among the owners of housing units, the average augments: 21,123 ETB (1,192 USD) and, among those who reside in *kebele* public housing, it becomes 16,235 ETB (916 USD). These figures are also lower than those of 2007: 1,342 USD for house owners and 1,142 USD for *kebele* house tenants. It is evident that all the residents are suffering from the rapid inflation that has been attacking Ethiopia during the last decade. Contrary to other cities, *kebele* housing residents, in the case of Harar, are not always poor. Some are very active for developing their business activities. Such was the case in 2007 and even 2012. The residents of *kebele* housing could be divided into two groups: high income and low-income groups. Following the same standard as 2007, the author applied the amount of 1,670 USD or 29,500 ETB as income separation line to divide these two groups. The high-income group among *kebele* housing residents counts 1/4 of total residents and earns 41,166 ETB (2,323 USD) as average annual income. They are exclusively Harari. The low-income group represents 3/4 and earns 10,482 ETB (591 USD). This group consists of Oromo, Amhara, Guraghe, Argoba, and Harari as ethnic group. The existence of two groups is the same as 2007, but the lower group has bottomed up its income twice more. The gap between the rich and the poor has been reduced to a great extent.

In terms of gender, the presence of female heads of household is getting more and more important. However, in relation to the income distribution, it seems to be shrinking. Again the female income group could be divided into two by using the income line of 29,000 ETB. The upper income group, 20%, earns 42,600 ETB (2,404 USD) while the lower income group, 80%, earns 9,428 ETB (532 USD). These figures are nearly the same as that of *kebele* housing resident group. The reason for the shrinking of the upper income group may have been caused by ageing of female heads of households. Many of them are now

spending the life of retirement.

Unlike the survey of 2007, no heroic character was found in terms of income producing. The upper income group has continuously kept their business by running shops and restaurants. Some of them have their own farmland outside the wall, but detail was still vague. Those who are depending on the money transfer from their family members who moved to other country as diaspora are also apparent. An informant, a young male, 32 years old, who is working in volunteer service, said that he receives 300 USD every month from U.S.. Another male head of household, 91 years old, complained that his two sons who are in Germany does not send money regularly so that he has to spend his life with 9,000 ETB (508 USD) annually. Widows are, in many cases, suffering from the loss of main income resource. There are 3 basket makers among them. As Harari women, they were well trained to weave baskets from their childhood. They make baskets for tourist attraction, but the income is extremely low, ranging from 2,500 to 4,000 ETB (141-226 USD) as an annual income. Harar is famous for its traditional craftsmanship, but it is still depending on such extremely low wage labor.

4-4. Characteristics of Research Area as New Findings

4-4-1. Building Conditions

The general impression of the residential quarters in Harar *Jugol* is that the residents keep exceptionally good housing conditions, regardless of their income situation, comparing to other historical cities in Ethiopia, especially in the quarters where Harais occupy the majority. The townscape look homogeneous in a positive sense and lively with whitewashed exterior color and charming serpentine streets and impasses. Traditional houses have been succeeded by generation and the possession of such a traditional house is the evidence of a real Harari family within their community. Pride of place preoccupies their mind. Religious issues matter strongly but it does not generate fanatic action against Christians. It works as an internal bond for tying the neighbors. Hararis seem to have strong concern for maintaining their living conditions: plastering the exterior walls periodically, keeping the interior decoration on a white plastered walls, taking care of the carpets, and keeping clean in the courtyard. The exterior colors of *ge gar* often change due to the re-plastering of the walls and give attractions to visitors.

It is interesting to know that the proportion of ethnic groups is reversed in the walled city vis-à-vis the general trend of the total city area. Oromo and Amhara occupy 69% of the total population in Harar City and Harari is only 12%, but in *Jugol*, the last occupies the majority (38%).³⁰ Especially the eastern part of the walled city has peculiar characteristics of Harari townscape because of the concentration of Harari. The surveys of 2007 and 2012 have clearly shown this tendency.

However, watching the urban life carefully within their community, diversity by quarter and by ethnic group is not negligible. Life style differs according to the ethnic groups. *Ge gar* traditional houses are fundamental for Hararis who have to master how to form and furnish the interior spaces of their own houses according to their strict rules, but other ethnic groups are not interested to have this type of housing. Once this type of a house is handed over from Harari to another ethnic household, it is not certain whether the latter is interested in keeping it or not. Several negative examples were detected from the case study area as a matter of fact. Another negative factor is the tenure. The degree of maintenance depends on the type of tenure: self-owned or rented by *kebele*. The latter caused indifference to the state of maintenance and, accordingly, deterioration of living environment, which used to be properly designed wealthy housing.

Water access is still a problem in Harar. Those who have the benefit from the water supply reach 74% in 2012, but one third of them are obliged to use common faucet. Those who does not have water supply have to go to the communal water tanks, allocated in many places inside the walled city. Fetching water is the task of women.

³⁰ According to the Census of 2007, the population of Amhara in Harar City is reported 40,292, Oromo 27,962 and Harari 11,757 against the total population of the city 99,368.

4-4-2. Tenure

The present distribution of tenure derived from the radical land reform and property reform of the *Derg* government, which forced expropriation of surplus houses to the wealthy Harari residents. Since the nationalization of land, the division of property has been depending on the idea of housing units, not building units, so that the articulation of property right does not follow the parcels, or compounds, but it is subject to the distribution of housing units. It is natural, therefore, to have several owners within one compound. The shift of tenure occurring after 2007 had only a minor change, but gradual transformation of real estate business, which is still strictly controlled by national land and real estate policy.

The old residents in central Harar maintain their own house, but, due to the new legislation for tenure, they are allowed to recover their old property, provided that the reconciliation process with the present owner of the confiscated houses goes well. For the most of Harari residents who spend their lives with limited resources, it is impossible. On the other hand, the influence of the recent rise of economic situation in Ethiopia has reached here. Some wealth business oriented persons try to invest on the real estate even in Harar *Jugol*. Those who have their investable assets tend to make profit from it. In the case study area, this trend has become stronger if compared with the situation of 5 years before. Some of the privately owned housing units were to be rented to newcomers. This tendency is one of the reasons that rejuvenates the residents in this area.

What differs from the situation of Gondar and Mekelle is that the residents of *kebele* public housing does not always belong to the low-income group. They profit from living in such low-rent housing, and some of them are very aggressive to develop their own business such as shops and restaurants. The income distribution reveals the presence of such people within the *kebele* public housing group.

4-4-3. Inhabitants

The case study area is located in the midst of Harari dominating district within the walled city. Despite the infiltration of other ethnic groups, the behavior of Hararis is still a decisive factor to foresee the trend of central Harar. The percentage of Harari is 68% (2007) and 73% (2012) against the average of Harari in Harar *Jugol* 38% (2007) as a whole. In spite of the coming-in and coming-out of other ethnic groups within this area, the Harari households maintain stable position and observe the traditional way of succession to their descendants..

On the contrary, the households of other ethnic groups are rather instable in comparison with Harari population. Most of them live in *kebele* public housing, and suffering from low income. Oromo occupies the biggest part among them, following the old relation with Harari people. They used to have large families with 10 people, for instance, in 2007, but these families have move out recently and the newcomers are very modest in household size.

The male-female proportion is changing rapidly. In comparison with the balanced situation in 2007, the survey in 2012 shows shift towards woman-headed household (male 43% vs. female 57 %). Hararis have been the most urbanized people among many ethnic groups in Ethiopia. In spite of the Muslim atmosphere filled in all the corners of the streets, the life of women seems to be much more relaxed. In fact, “the Harari women were never veiled, although perhaps the *fota*, headscarf, indicates some sort of veil, as might the *gufta*, the hairnet, with which the married women were supposed to cover their hair. A Harari girl is supposed to get married at fairly an early age - in the 1920s it was about at the age of 13 - and does so. Divorces were and are rare, average Harari having one wife only”³¹. The role of females is considered very important in terms of domestic affairs and maintenance of the house. The longevity of females is another factor to push forward this phenomenon. It is true that Harari society is suffering from the low fertility rate as it is reported 1.56 (TFR in 2007). Contrary to the presence of retired widows heading households, one can scarcely recognize the presence of young female heads of households, which is conspicuous in Gondar and Mekelle. The female heads of households could be divided into two groups: rich and poor.

Ageing of female population is another aspect of Harari families. The average age of the heads of households. In contrast to the average age of total population (55.2 years old in 2007 and 54.7 in 2012) the female counts 61.5 years old (2007) and 61.1 (2012) as average age. Harari women have high reputation of longevity, but still they are facing the risk of being poor within ageing society. *Tit gar*, a wing attached to *ge gar* which was initially designated for the first son is now working as the asylum for the aged widow in each household.

4-4-4. Socio-Economic Aspects

The case study area could be considered one of the most stable and sustainable residential areas within the walled city. It has a character of *Argob Bari* district, which is strongly Harari, mostly Muslim, full of traditional *ge gar* and endowed with picturesque urban settings. As a case study, the tendency of this area would suggest the overall orientation Harari population of this city. Although Hararis are known as tactical merchants and traders, the distribution of occupation indicated that those who are involved in such business as shop owner and trader is limited to 1/6 of total Harari households. Other are engaged in civil service, education, crafts and even in informal sector. However, it is important to know that they are not segmented by this kind of occupation. Several scholars have pointed out the role of social association among Harari people, called *afocha*. Sidney Waldron underwent comprehensive study on the social structure of Harari community and presented different levels of *ahli* (family network), *marinyet* (friendship), *afocha* (community association) and *toia* (neighborhood) in the 1970's.³² Sense of belonging has been highly underlined in Harari society and occupation is not the engine to gather the initiative. It may be the idea of preindustrial age, but *afocha* is the most effective system to organize the social tie among the inhabitants of Harar as it can gather whatever occupation as long as he/she is Harari. In

³¹ Elizabeth-Dorothea Hecht, “Harar and Lamu –A Comparison of Two East African Muslim Societies”, *Transafrican Journal of History* (Kenya), vol.16, #1, 1987, p.11

³² Sidney R. Waldron, “Harar: the Muslim City in Ethiopia”, *The Proceedings of the Fifth International Conference on Ethiopian Studies*, Section B, April 13-16 1978 / Chicago, 1978

the author's survey, questions about *afocha* were not included in the questionnaire, but it is interesting to integrate the result of the investigation on the premises of such associative structure.

Hararis used to have wide agricultural land outside of the walled city until the 1970's. This happened to have been accelerated by the prosperity of trade and commerce after the conquest by Ethiopian Empire ironically. The agricultural land that Harari had cultivated by them selves were confiscated by the new ruler so that they were obliged to concentrate in commercial activities. The success of Harari traders in early 20th century provided fortune, which they invested to new agricultural land outside of the city. Unfortunately, these lands were again expropriated and redistributed to Oromo farmers by the *Derg* government in the 1970's. In the targeted area, only two farmers were recognized. He maintains his farmland and cultivate it by himself. The loss of agricultural lands deflated the economic power of Hararis so much that many tried to go out of the country as diaspora. This affected the commercial activity in Harar, but in recent years, backed up by the rise of Ethiopian economy, new business tendency has been implemented. The change of real estate business is related to this trend of whole nation.

The informal sector is not notable as in Gondar or Mekelle. The percentage of those who work in the informal sector, including basket maker is quite limited: only 13.1% of whole Harari population within the targeted area. The ratio of other ethnic groups is much higher as counted 21.7%. Still, thanks to the economic boom, the gap between the rich and the poor has been reduced. The comparison of two surveys in 2007 and 2012 has proved that low-income group came to have doubled their income in five years. It is true that gradual infiltration of other ethnic groups will have the risk of destroying this exceptionally unique associative system, as these ethnic groups are not concerned with the tradition of Hararis.

4-5. Survey in Deteriorated Area in Harar Jugol (2012)

4-5-1. Process of Survey

Following the survey in *Kebele 2*, another case study area was chosen in *Kebele 5* to make a comparative study. Although the old walled city is only 1.5 km in diameter, the social characteristics and residential environment differ from one part to another. The result of the survey in *Kebele 2* revealed the fact that the majority of the households in the targeted area are rich Hararis residing in relatively well-conditioned traditional *ge gar* houses. However, when one walks several blocks south away from the area, one could soon realize that that is not the only aspect of *Jugol*. The northeastern part of the walled city is, then, the most condensed zone in terms of ethnicity and tradition. However, different tendencies have prevailed in other districts of *Jugol*. Even a century ago, the southern slope was recognized poor as many thatched huts, called *gambisa*, occupied the major part.

Therefore to understand the difference of the living situations within *Jugol*, a third research survey was programmed additionally and carried out in August 2012. The research area was then chosen in the southern slope in *Kebele 5*. The site is comparatively small. It consists of 1 block, divided into 10 parcels occupied by 24 households. There is a public bathroom for the surrounding community. The peculiarity of this area is that the block comprises a mixed type of mansion constructed in the early 20th century: former house of Haji Yunis who was a successful merchant with an Arabic origin. The detail of this merchant is still vague although the author has successfully interviewed his daughter who resided in the same block. Due to her age (90 years old), her memory is very obscure and unstable. The target block is located on a slope with a difference of 34 meters down from *Faras Megala*, the central square at the top of the hill. The former house of Haji Yunis dominates the highest point within the targeted block and overlooks the whole downtown.

The survey was carried out by the author with the assistance of a student of Hosei University and two students from Fuji Women's University as well as a local interpreter. It took three days, both for measuring buildings and making interviews. Haji Yunis House was measured in detail in order to clarify its architectural and structural characteristics. 23 households among 24 (95.8%) responded to the interview.

Again, the figures shown below, such as age and income, are data from August 2012 when the survey was made. The exchange rate of Ethiopian Birr (ETB) slightly change from the previous survey in March 2012.³³

³³ Exchange rate of Ethiopia Birr (ETB) to U.S. Dollar (USD) is 17.22 (March 2012) and 17.72 (August 2012).



Fig. 5-95 Aerial photo of research area, *Kebele 5, Harar Jugol*, 2012, Bing

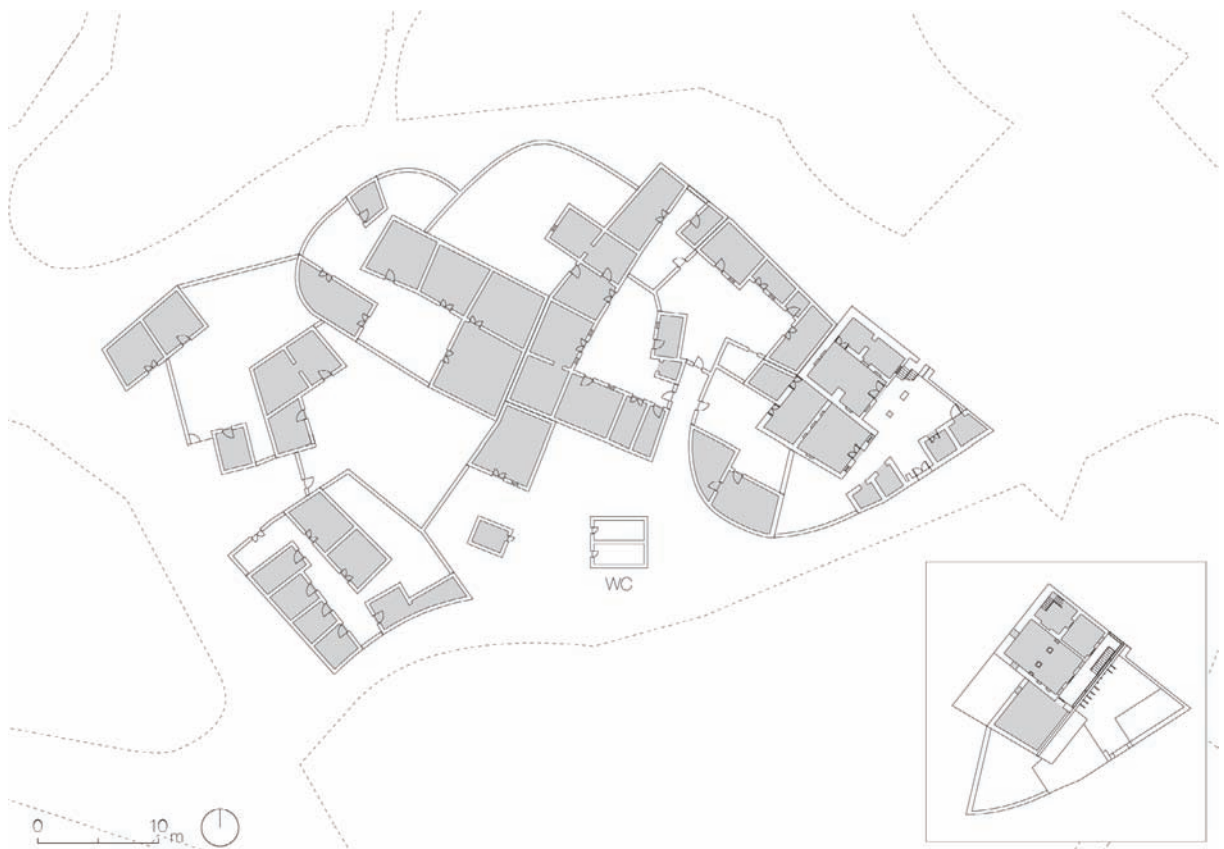


Fig. 5-96 Base map of research area, *Kebele 5, Harar Jugol*, 2012



Fig. 5-97 Building age by household in research area, *Kebele 5, Harar Jugol, 2012*

4-5-2. Outcome of Survey

(1) Nature of Buildings

a. Building Age (2012)

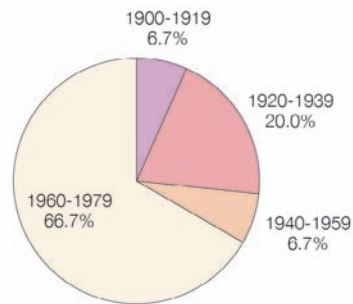


Fig. 5-98 Building age by household in research area, *Kebele 5, Harar Jugol, 2012*

It is surprising that most of the residents, except one old lady, do not know the period of construction of their houses. Two households, including that of Haio Yunis, daughter of Haji Yunis who kept living there for over 50 years, but others came to settle here after the housing units were confiscated in the 1970's. A series of aerial photos taken by the Italians around 1940 show the walled city from a distance. Although the images are vague, the block of Haji Yunis House is recognizable. Besides this three-story mansion, L-shaped row houses were already standing. If Haji Yunis House was constructed around 1910, these row houses must have been erected later than this and prior to the Italian occupation. It is most probable that these row houses were constructed for rent in the 1920's or early 1930's by the same family. The present housing compound of Haio Yunis was constructed after the retreat of the Italians as it is not confirmed in the aerial photos. The southern part of the block was filled with thatched huts (*gambisa*) around 1940. They may have been replaced by present rectangular houses before the *Derg* reign because they were also expropriated.

The oldest building is Haji Yunis House, constructed around 1910. The original building is a three-story mansion. Up to the first floor, it is made of masonry construction while the last floor is of wood construction. This mansion has an additional part to the south that has two stories. The second oldest is the L-shaped row houses that may have been added for rental purpose by the family of Haji Yunis. Beyond the western wall of this row houses this family constructed a new house, to which their family members, including Haio Yunis, moved. This new house is judged to be their main house from the fact that, during the *Derg* regime, the original mansion was confiscated as surplus housing units.

The starting period of settlement into the walled city by Oromo and Amhara is different. As Oromo were engaged in agricultural works outside the city wall in the 19th century, some of them started moving inside the wall in the second half of the 19th century. Their thatched huts were scattering in the pictures taken in the late 19th century to 20th century. On the contrary Amhara start settling here after the conquest of 1887. *Badro Bari* area has been known as the place where poor Amhara people have infiltrated and established their humble houses with "rectangular cottages with corrugated iron sheet roofs, wattle and daub walls covered with mud and some white-wash", thus giving *Badro Bari* an architectural character quite different from other quarters.



Fig. 5-99 Building use in research area, *Kebele 5, Harar Jugol, 2012*



Fig. 5-100 Building material in research area, *Kebele 5, Harar Jugol, 2012*

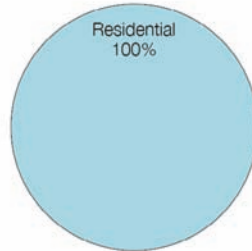
b. Building Use (2012)

Fig. 5-101 Building use in research area, *Kebele 5, Harar Jugol, 2012*

All 24 housing units were for residential purpose although the building types are so much diversified. No other building use was introduced except one public toilet.

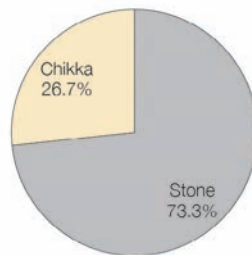
c. Building Material (2012)

Fig. 5-102 Building material in research area, *Kebele 5, Harar Jugol, 2012*

Reflecting upon the nature of the buildings, building materials differ so much. The most original building, Haji Yunis House, is a mixed structure with masonry and wood constructions with skilled labor. Surrounding buildings, except new ones, are of masonry construction. The row houses for rent are with lower quality. The houses for newcomers are of *chikka* (timber and mud) construction.

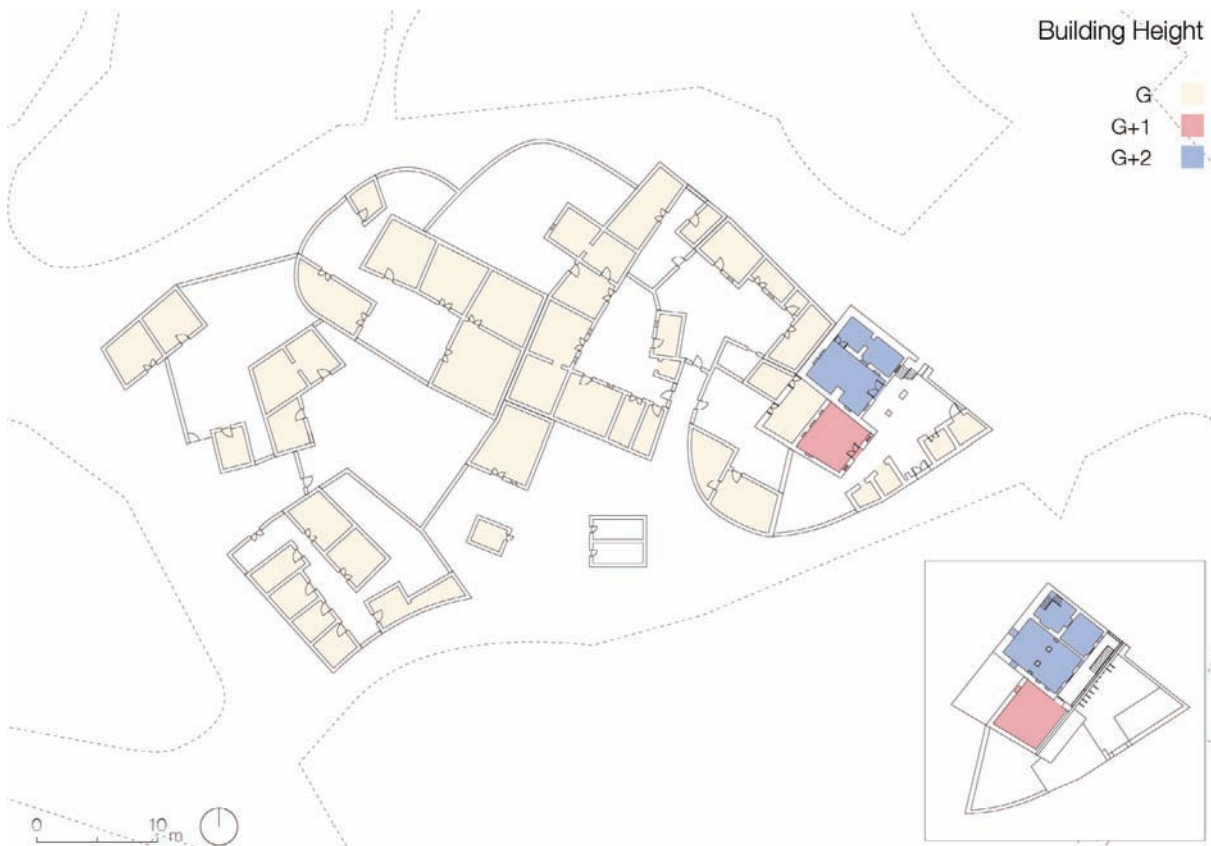
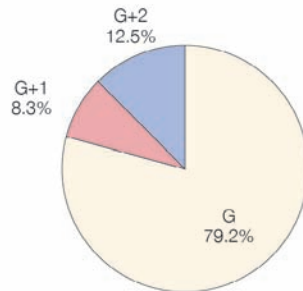


Fig. 5-104 Building height in research area, *Kebele 5, Harar Jugol, 2012*



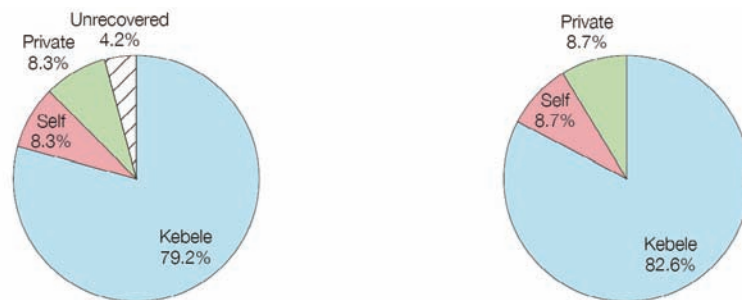
Fig. 5-103 Type of tenure in research area, *Kebele 5, Harar Jugol, 2012*

d. Building Height (2012)

Fig. 5-105 Building height in research area, *Kebele 5, Harar Jugol, 2012*

The only multi-story building is Haji Yunis House, the three-story house with a double roofing system. Additional part has two stories. Others are single-story buildings.

(2) Type of Tenure (2012)

Fig. 5-106 Type of tenure in research area, *Kebele 5, Harar Jugol, 2012*

The block was formulated as the development from Haji Yunis House during the 20th century. Although no picture focusing on this block does not exist, it is not so difficult to imagine that this area used to be a loosely built up zone in comparison with the central zone of the walled city. It is said that Haji Yunis used to possess vast land in this area, but no trace is left. The daughter of Haji Yunis lives in this block but not in the original mansion any more. The property right of former Haji Yunis House is now divided into 5 small pieces (3 housing units in the original mansion and 2 housing units in the additional part of the mansion). Among the 23 interviewed housing units, majority is owned by *kebele*: 19 units (82.6%). Other 4 are owned by private persons. Only 2 housing units (8.6%) are lived-in by the owners, including Haio Yunis. Other 2 units (8.6%) are rented to tenants by the owners. This explains that the majority of housing units were expropriated by the government during the *Derg* period. It is most probable that the properties shared by the descendant of Haji Yunis were expropriated by force as surplus houses and redistributed again to those who did not own their houses. Judging from the layout of compounds, the oldest compound is that of Haji Yunis House, then the neighboring compound was formulated with the construction of row houses before the arrival of Italians. After the retreat of Italians, the present residence of Haio Yunis was constructed to house the family of Haji Yunis and his descendants in the middle of the terrace. The houses on the lowest part of this block were erected during the second reign of Haile Selassie and housed Oromo and Amharic tenants. Other humble houses on the southwest corner must have been added or replaced to former thatched houses (*gambisa*) that may have been scattered loosely on the slope.



Fig. 5-107 Age of head of household in research area, Kebele 5, Harar Jugol, 2012

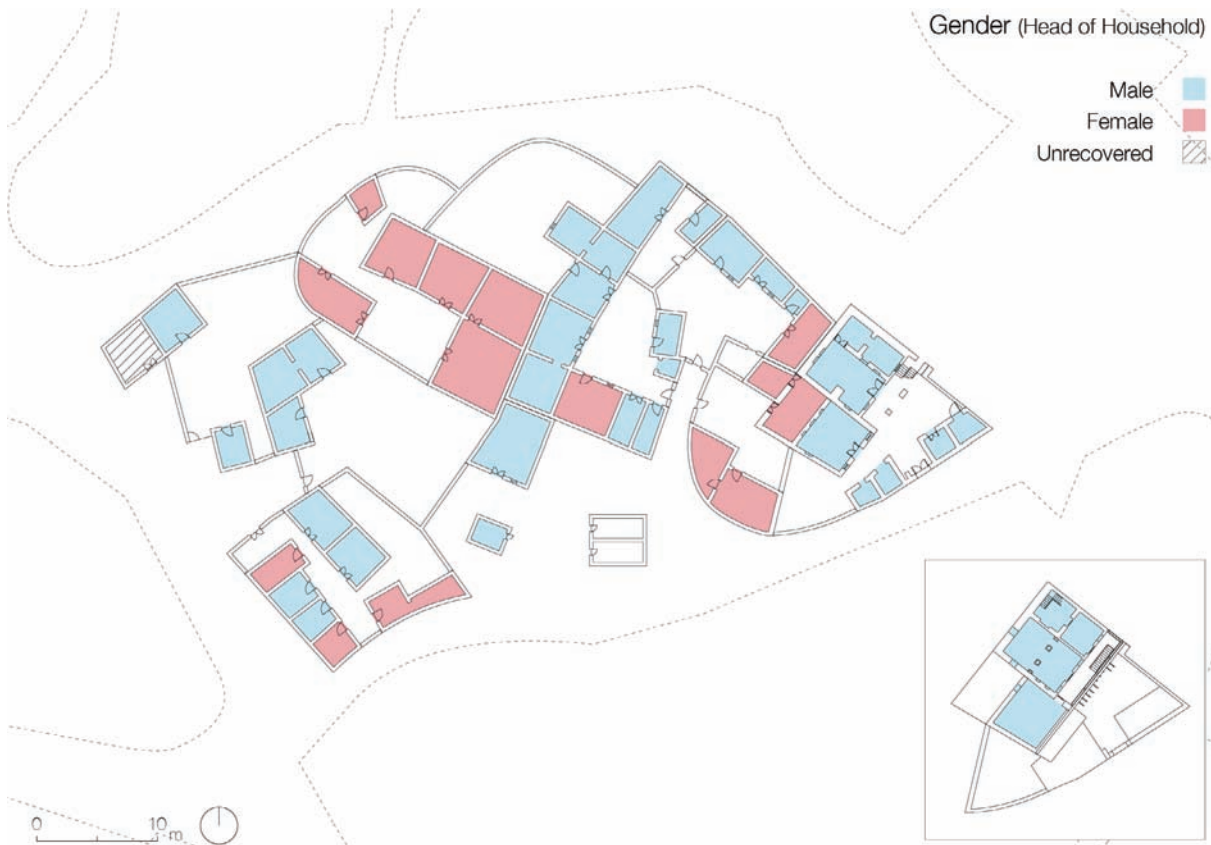


Fig. 5-108 Gender of head of household in research area, Kebele 5, Harar Jugol, 2012

(1) Nature of Inhabitants

a. Attributes of Inhabitants

a-1. Age of Head of Household (2012)

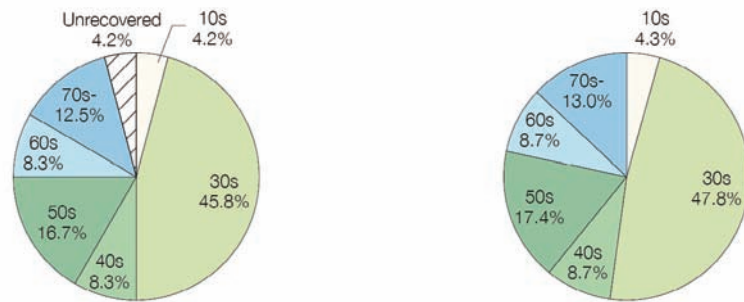


Fig. 5-109 Age of head of household in research area, *Kebele 5, Harar Jugol, 2012*

Among 23 interviewed, all have answered to this question. Average age is 45.8 years old. The eldest is Haio Yunis, daughter of Haji Yunis, who is now 90 years old. Her memory is obscure and fragmented, but her memory about the Italian occupation corresponds to this age at the approximate. The youngest is a 19 years old male teacher, living in a *kebele*-owned housing unit since he was born.

The average age of male residents is 44.9 year old while that of female is 48.3 years. The average age of self-owner is 62.5 year old, apart from that there are only two self-owners. That of *kebele* housing residents is 45.3.

a-2. Gender of Head of Household (2012)

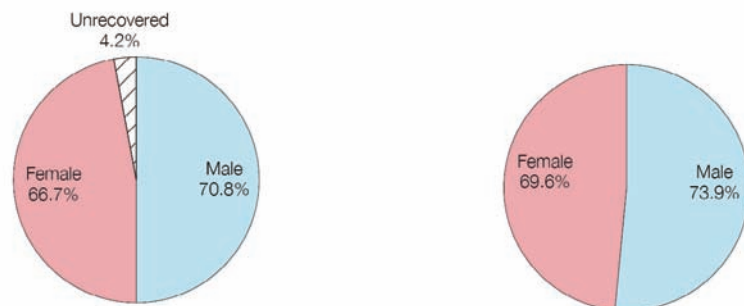


Fig. 5-110 Gender of head of household in research area, *Kebele 5, Harar Jugol, 2012*

All 23 interviewed answered to this question. Another unvisited head of household is proved to be female, so that the author was able to get all the data relating to this question. The male-female proportion shows a male dominating pattern: male 17 (70.8%) vs. female 7 (29.2%). The self-owners of their own housing units are female, Among the *kebele*-owned households, gender distribution is: 15 men (73.7%) and 5 women (26.3%).



Fig. 5-111 Religion of head of household in research area, Harar Kebele 5, 2012



Fig. 5-112 Ethnic group of head of household in research area, Kebele 5, Harar Jugol, 2012

a-3. Religion (2012)

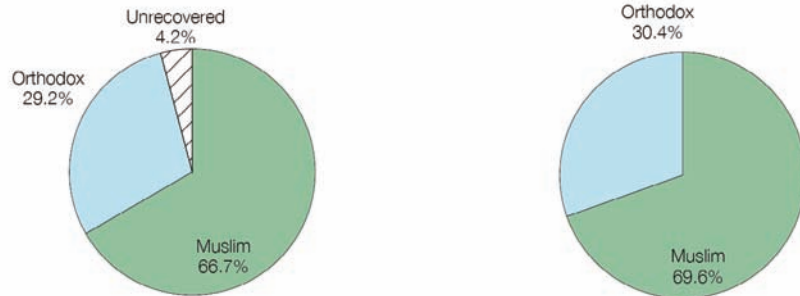


Fig. 5-113 Religion of head of household in research area, *Kebele 5, Harar Jugol, 2012*

Among 23 interviewed, all answered to this question. The result is that Muslim counts 16 heads of household (69.6%) while Orthodox Christian is 7 (30.4%). Muslim is still the majority, but the percentage of Christians is much higher than *Kebele 2*. As for self-owners, Muslim and Christian are balanced: 1:1.

a-4. Ethnic Group (2012)

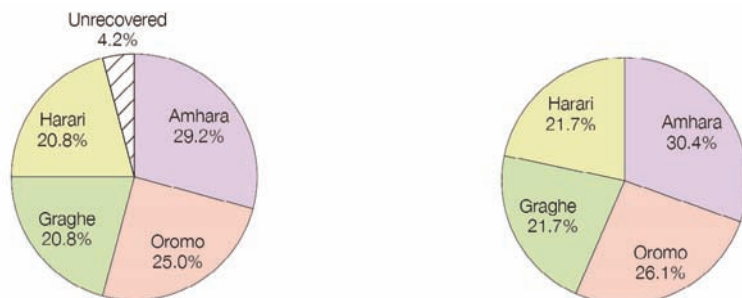


Fig. 5-114 Ethnic group of head of household in research area, *Kebele 5, Harar Jugol, 2012*

Among 23 interviewed, all have answered to this question. It is interesting to know that Hararis are minority in this area. The ethnic distribution is as follows:

- Amhara 7 households (30.4%)
- Oromo 6 households (26.0%)
- Harari 5 households (21.7%)
- Graghe 5 households (21.7%)



Fig. 5-115 Household size in research area, *Kebele 5, Harar Jugol, 2012*



Fig. 5-116 Period of residence in research area, *Kebele 5, Harar Jugol, 2012*

b. Household Size (2012)

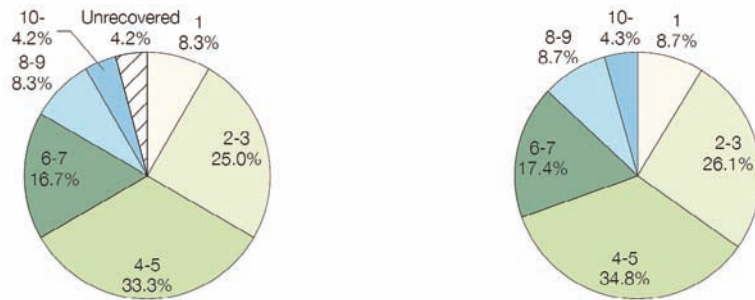


Fig. 5-117 Household size in research area, Kebele 5, Harar Jugol, 2012

Average household size in the research area is 4.5 persons / household where minimum to maximum ranging from 1 to 10. Taking into concern the fact that the average household size in the urban area of Harar is 3.9 / household, this area has a relatively large number of people in their family. In the previous case study area in Kebele 2, it is 3.5 persons / household (2012). The presence of non-Harari ethnic group contributes to this result.

c. Period of Residence (2012)

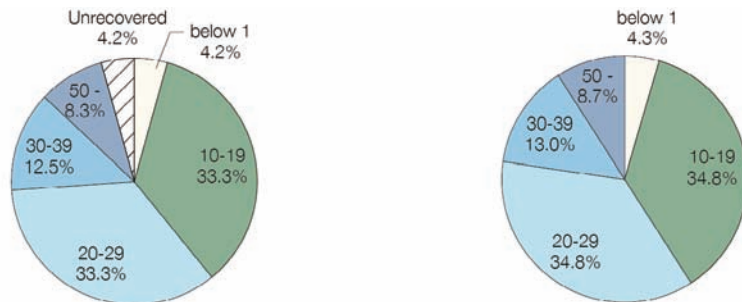


Fig. 5-118 Period of residence in research area, Kebele 5, Harar Jugol, 2012

Among 23 interviewed, 23 answered to this question. The average period of residence is 19.7 years. This figure is much smaller than the result seen in the other case study area, which is 26.1 years. The longest is the family of Haio Yunis, daughter of Haji Yunis and legitimate successor of his property. She spent her childhood in Haji Yunis Mansion, then after marriage she moved to another place, but returned back as soon as the present house was completed. Another informant, Negash Yohannes, 73 years old Christian Amhara resident in kebele-owned housing unit, told that he has been living here for more than 50 years. He seems to be the initiator of this rented house replacing the old thatched huts. The mobility of this block is considered much higher than the central area of Jugol, It is on the same level as the central district of Gondar and Mekelle. Those who have lived here for less than 10 years are proved to be only 2.



Fig. 5-119 Occupation of head of household in research area, *Kebele 5, Harar Jugol, 2012*



Fig. 5-120 Income of household in research area, *Kebele 5, Harar Jugol, 2012*

(4) Socio-Economic Factors

a. Occupation (2012)

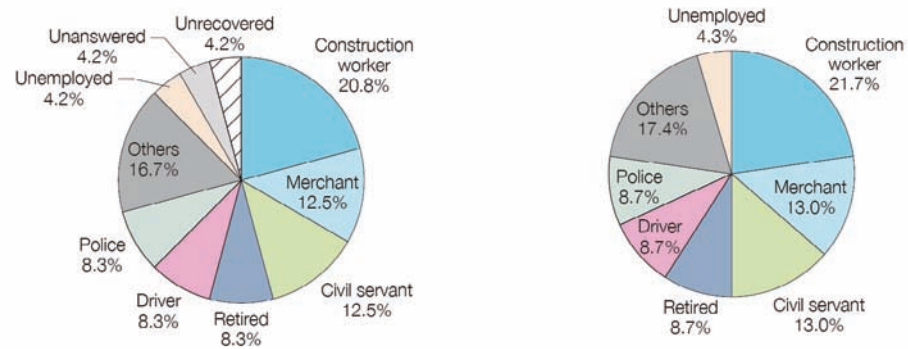


Fig. 5-121 Occupation of head of household in research area, Kebele 5, Harar Jugol, 2012

Among 23 interviewed, 22 answered to this question. The occupation of the residents varies. Civil service employee (5 persons, 21.7%), including two police officers, and construction worker (5, 21.7%) share the highest. Then, merchant (3, 13.0%) and driver (2, 8.6%) follow. Among others, teacher, tailor, beauty salon employee, and unemployed are found. There are 2 retired persons. One is a 90 years old Harari elderly woman, and another is an 85 years old Oromo elderly man.

b. Income (2012)

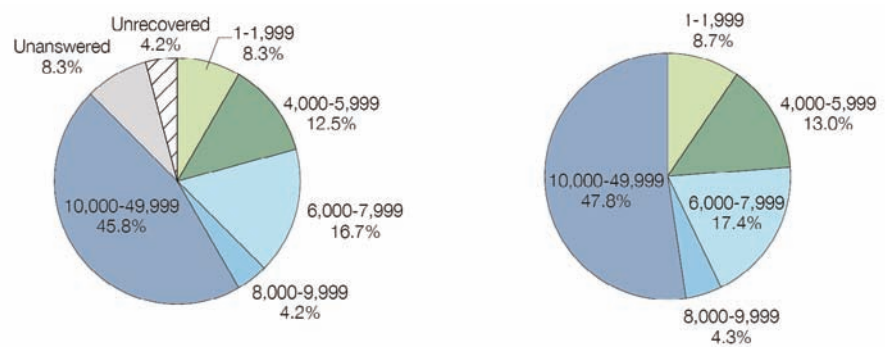


Fig. 5-122 Income of household in research area, Kebele 5, Harar Jugol, 2012

Among 23 interviewed, 21 answered to this question. The average annual income is 17,525 ETB (989 USD). However, since one of the informants had an exceptionally high income of 120,000 ETB (6,772 USD) / year, it is more reasonable to exclude the data of this informant making the annual average 12,396 ETB (700 USD). This figure is much smaller than that of the Harari-dominating study area (19,681 ETB = 1,111 USD in 2012). This may explain the economic situation of non-Harari ethnic groups in the deteriorated district of the walled city.

5. Harar *Jugol* as Historical Quarter

5-1. Basic Viewpoint for Historical Complex in Harar

Harar *Jugol* is a unique and incomparable urban complex in the world history as it has been registered in the UNESCO World Heritage List, but its urban history is not so well studied and analyzed with the exception of few contributions by European and Japanese scholars. Systematic researches have just started a decade ago and still now in progress. Since the goal of this paper is to integrate the typological, monographic and comprehensive studies on the walled city and to extract hypothetical idea for the basis of urban revitalization by way of heritage, one has to focus the interface between the built environment and the residents who live within it as the crucial point. The typological study has presented several important types of dwelling in a historical sense. The fact that 1/4 of the central zone of the walled city is occupied by the building made more than three hundred years ago should be all the more underlined.

Harar has been categorized within “Muslim” cities. Its physical appearance both for architecture and urban spaces reminds the North African and Middle East urban complex as a matter of fact, but what should be more studied is the behavior and the attitude of residents, both institutional and customary, vis-à-vis this physical settings. Some researchers have pointed out the unique system of Hararis to sustain its identity as their own city. As Sidney Waldron suggest four decades ago, “Harari ethnic identity was preserved, by limiting residence in the city to members of the Harari ethnic group in earlier times and, most importantly, by stringently limiting the conditions under which a Harari might marry a non-Harari. This meant that Harar developed a social system excluding the constant immigration from outlying villages and from Bedouin lineages characterizing many ‘typical’ Muslim cities.”³⁴ The exclusivity and the introversion represented in Harari society have successfully sustained its own community up to now. The segregation, or rather diversity, between between Harari and non-Harari populations could be attested in many scenes of present town life both physically and mentally, as represented in many figures extracted from the field surveys.

However, the situation has considerably changed since the 1970’s when many social anthropologists tried to identify Harari indigenous culture. The most decisive was the implementation of radical land and property reform by the *Derg* government that confiscated the majority of “surplus” property of Harari citizens. Their affection to their own traditional houses were distorted due to the loss of their rich fortune. In spite of strong sense of pride of place among old Harari citizens, their attitude toward their houses is now to be questioned if they are not in possession of such houses notwithstanding their ethnic continuity from the past. They are happy for arranging the furnishing and interior decoration of their houses, but several social factors seem to be disturbing their efforts to maintain their culture. Ageing and low fertility are the most serious problems as represented in the various aspects of the survey. This concern is a question inward, but another concern outward is the prevailing multi-ethnic society. One has to think about the way of comprehension on the present situation of multi-ethnicity that is now pressuring the Harari society. The density of

³⁴ Sidney R. Waldron, “Harar: the Muslim City in Ethiopia”, *The Proceedings of the Fifth International Conference on Ethiopian Studies*, Section B, April 13-16 1978 / Chicago, 1978

Harari population within the city is colored light and shade. In a sense it is good that Hararis do not touch the Amharic society outside of their community and vice versa. This mutual non-interference has been the wisdom for satisfying the two different communities, but the present social transformation does not allow them to be in such passive attitude. Taking into account variety of factors, one has to explore more positive approach toward more dynamic society within Harar.

Historicity is important. Although the consciousness towards the heritage varies according to the ethnicity and economic situation of the residents, it is crucial to categorize the historical notion and the heritage of Harari culture from wider point of view. The followings are the main points to overview the situation of Harar from the viewpoint of sustainability and vulnerability as well as the social stratification in a broader sense.

5-2. Sustainability and Vulnerability

5-2-1. High Sustainability with Stringent Traditional System

Harar is an extremely old historic city, but it is important to know that the present image of the charming whitewashed townscape with richly decorated interior of *ge gar* and other depending buildings has been formulated after the end of the 19th century. Harar used to be a Muslim city but with less elegant appearance made of “rough stones, the granites and sandstones of the hills, cemented, like the ancient Galla cities, with clay” as the first European traveler to this city described.³⁵ The pictures taken in the late 19th century and the early 20th century represent such townscape of the walled city. The picturesque townscape of today has been cherished gradually after the Italian Occupation in relation with the economic development by trade and commerce.

The explanation of E-D. Hecht about the rise of rich craftsmanship in Harar is worth citing.³⁶ In the 19th century, Hararis owned less land outside of the wall than the later period, and cultivated by themselves. After the Amharic conquest of 1887, they were more dependent on commerce and trade bringing fortune to them. The craftsmanship was cherished during this period both for exportation and domestic use. The furnishing of Harari house was intensified in the first half of the 20th century. They invested this fortune to the farmland outside of the wall, hiring Oromo peasants. Even during the Italian occupation, they profited from the pro-Islamic policy of the Occupation government. Their attention towards cultural heritage was thus cultivated from such a process. The prosperity of Harar from the end of the 20th century is the pushing force for their strong identity. Heritage means not only architectural but also their value generating sense of identity allowing them to reproduce their one and only behavior and product for their future generation. The field researches by the author have extracted a kind of homogeneity shared among Harari population supported by strong sense of self-identity. This aspect is very different from other historical cities in Ethiopia.

The crucial point that emphasize the standing position of Harar is that it is a commercial city, and not a political city any more. The source of historicity comes from the old emirate tradition, but after the absorption into Ethiopian Empire, Harar has been placed on a marginal point. It is not related to the imperial tradition like Gondar or Mekelle, apart from the fact that Haile Selassie passed his younger period in Harar. Its position could be compared to Tabriz in Iran or Zabid in Yemen, both important trading cities registered currently in the UNESCO World Heritage List. They once became the capital but was later marginalized by the new regime. These cities still have great potential because of their basis as a trading center. Economically they still enjoy priority over other provincial cities in their own countries. Such economic situation favors for the recovery of their image of a once flourished trading city.

Harar's case could be interpreted in this context. Harar keeps economic priority over other provincial cities in Ethiopia evidently. Ethiopian historical cities have been considered as low potential cities in terms of future development due to the concentration of informal and

³⁵ Richard F. Burton, *op. cit.* p. 322

³⁶ Elizabeth-Dorothea Hecht, “Basketwork of Harar”, *African Study Monograph*, Suppl. 18, October 1992, pp.8

socially weak class. However, the field surveys in Harar have proved that it is not always the case. In fact, income in Harar is outstandingly higher than other parts of Ethiopia except Addis Ababa. The gap between the rich and the poor exists, but the ratio of absolute poverty, that is, those who spend their daily life with less than 1 USD, is around 11% in Harar in 2007. This figure is much smaller than the central district of Gondar. In addition, the average of annual income has been keeping the line of 1,100 to 1,300 USD after 2005. If it is exclusively Harari, they earn 30% more than this figure. These figures are very positive for the future reproduction of cultural value of this city. Sustainability in Harari case may contain this aspect.

5-2-2. Deterioration in *Kebele* Housing

The land reform undertaken by the *Derg* government in the 1970's exerted a decisive influence in terms of tenure of the real estate property. To direct the real estate policy towards the socialist goals, all the urban land was nationalized. In addition, one household was allowed to possess only one single housing unit. The surplus was expropriated by the government and redistributed to newly created *kebele* administrations. Thus, *kebele* started running public housing business with extremely low rent in order to house those who had been excluded from house ownership. Even after the fall of the *Derg* regime in 1991, this *kebele* public housing was kept and functioning for assuring minimum living space for the poor. Such was the case in Harar.

In other cities, *kebele* housing is a synonym of low quality *chikka* (mud and timber) house as this type of construction is cheap, quick, and very humble, often regarded as a slum. In other words, physical conditions follow the nature of tenure. However, in Harar it is difficult to distinguish at first glance a self-owned "wealthy" house and a rented house for the poor, because the latter was generated artificially and politically by expropriating the same type of old buildings only 40 years ago and does not mean slum-like cheap housing, but those who occupy this must have been very different from old landlords. Therefore, it should be questioned "what is the result of the shift of housing policy during the last three decades and who actually live in and use these buildings?".

The worst case is the old mansions constructed by wealthy merchants around the turn of the century. These houses were conceived as the headquarter of such merchants from India, Armenia and other countries, but due to the shift of the trading system, especially by the construction of the railway from Djibouti to Addis Ababa via Dire Dawa, the function of trading center moved to these new cities. The traders dared to move there, and abandoned their houses in Harar. The double story houses like Muhammad Aly Mansion did not attract attention of Hararis because it lacked in the traditional manner of interior composition. They were divided into small housing units, one room for one household in most cases, and used for rent. These surplus units were expropriated by the government during the *Derg* period. As long as it belongs to the public sector, the residents are not willing to pay money for maintenance. Haji Yunis House has followed the same process and is now facing the serious problem of deterioration. Besides, wooden parts such as terrace and staircases are subject to natural deterioration and would require more care for repair than stone parts.

5-3. Characteristics of Heritage

5-3-1. Building Evaluation

Unlike the western part, the eastern part of Harar *Jugol* still keeps Harar’s old characteristics, as the majority of the residents are old Harari families without strong alteration by the intervention of Amhara political power. Therefore, the research area in *Kebele 2* seems to be a compact place to understand the historicity of this walled city. The appraisal of old buildings as architectural heritage makes sense in such situation. The author tried to evaluate its buildings by taking the building age and the typological peculiarity as criteria like in the cases of previous two Ethiopian capital cities. Of course, in comparison with these “*habesha*” cities, Harar has experienced different process of urban formation starting from the capital of Muslim emirate and sultanate. The building age here is much older than others, better to be compared with that of Yemenite towns. This evaluation process by correlating two parameters naturally extract typical Harari buildings such as *ge gar* and Indian or mixed type of mansions. Surprisingly, more than 40% of existing building complex are of such types and judged to be heritage with high value. This explains the high concentration of historical heritage in this quarter giving a strong impression of historicity to the visitors. Except the southern slope suffering from deterioration, other areas within the walled city, gives the same impression so that it has a kind of entity like a medieval city.

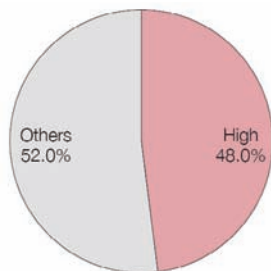


Fig. 5-123 Red shows the percentage of household residing in high evaluated buildings, *Kebele 2*, Harar, 2012

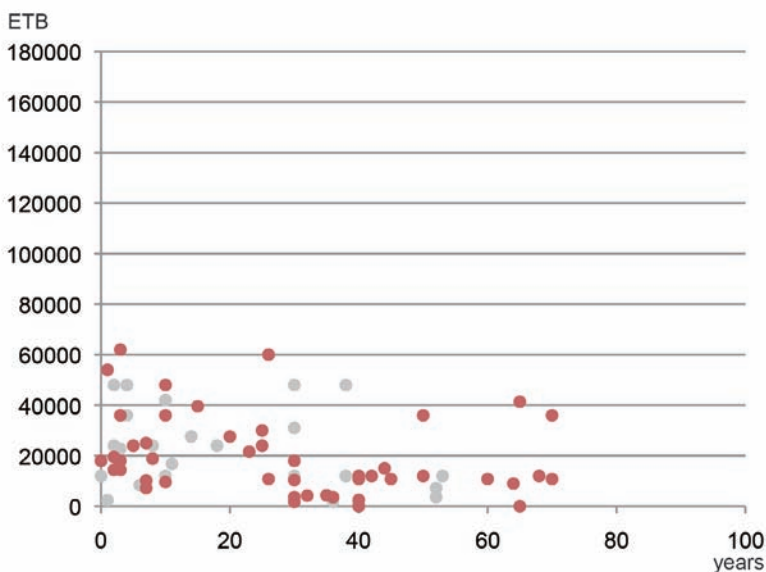


Fig. 5-124 Annual income and period of residence, red shows household residing in high evaluated buildings, *Kebele 2*, Harar, 2012



Fig. 5-125 Building evaluation of research area, Kebele 2, Harar *Jugol*, 2012

5-4. Characteristics of Residents

5-4-1. New Risks Affecting Harari Population

(1) Ageing among Hararis

Present Harari community is facing a serious problem of ageing. This sounds contradictory in such a country as Ethiopia where population growth shows high index, but as minority in this country Hararis have been excluded from this major trend. Their nature as urban population is also one of the main reasons for suppressing the population growth. After the census of 1994, Ethiopian and Italian researchers have done overall analysis on all of the ethnic groups and shown several crucial points about Harari.³⁷ Harari has been marked with urban characteristics as 81% of them in cities. 29% of them receive higher education. Their professional structure is strongly centered in the tertiary sector: trade and services (25%), agriculture (29%). In terms of the family structure, they have the minimum spread of nuclear households (45%), accompanied by the maximum spread of extended families (29%) and of non-nuclear units (25%). Another specific feature is the maximum presence of non-relatives, who were recorded in 34.4% of the households. Fertility is the minimum observed in all the ethnic groups. Age at marriage is very high, exceeding the national average by around 10 years for men and 7 years for women. This tendency has been amplified during the last decade. The result of the surveys coincides to this phrase. The percentage of elderly people is very high in each compound. If the present TFR of Harari, that is, 1.56, continues, Harari have to face serious problem of downsizing the population.

In addition, ageing of females is getting to be more serious. Harari women are endowed with longevity. Their life expectancy is the longest among all the major ethnic groups in Ethiopia. Harari traditional house is suitable to house all the members of the household, and even non-relative guest according to their customary tradition. Elderly women have their own space such as *tit gar* for spending alone. Apart from housing condition, the infrastructure for female employment is not well arranged. Females have to depend on the informal sector, such as food seller and day works, much more than male population. As the World Bank Report mentioned, elderly women and widows heading households or living alone face a particularly high risk of being poor.³⁸

(2) Mixture with Other Ethnic Groups with Different Housing Typology

It has been said that the migration of non-Harari population inside the walled city have caused serious problems in terms of the identity and the evaluation of the historical heritage, but it is important to know that this kind of co-habitation started long time ago. Even in the 19th century Oromo were present inside the city as Richard Burton mentioned in his book.³⁹ The economic prosperity in the first half of the 20th century accelerated the immigration of

37 Patrizia Farina, Eshetu Gurmu, Abdulahi Hasen, Dionisia Maffioli, "Fertility and Family Change in Ethiopia", In-depth Studies from the 1994 Population and Housing Census in Ethiopia, Italian Multi-Bi Research Project ETH/92/P01, Central Statistical Authority (CSA), Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, Institute for Population Research - National Research Council (Irp-Cnr), Roma, Italy, Addis Ababa, Roma, October 2001, p.95

38 World Bank World Bank, Oxford University Press, "Engendering Development - Through Gender Equality in Rights, Resources, and Voice. Gender and Development Group", PREM and the Economic Research Group in DEC, 2001

39 Richard F. Burton, *op. cit.* p.312

Oromo, Amhara and other minor ethnic groups. Generosity was the key to understand the ethnicity policy in Ethiopia. Starting periods of the migration of each ethnic group has time lag. Oromo was considered to be part of the emirate and provided farmers, domestics and soldiers. The southern slope, or *Badro Bari* District, was occupied by many Oromo houses, most of which were thatched huts called *gambisa*. Amhara people, on the other hand, started migration because of the conquest of 1887 and the establishment of strong Makonnen-Tafari regime over this region. Amhara, who are Orthodox Christian and the dominant class, have not been well integrated within Hararis society unlike Oromo. They are the rival of Hararis in many senses. Their living quarters were situated around the main axis of Harar on the western side of the walled city. Besides these ruling class people, a large number of poor Amharic people migrated in Harar. Some of them moved to *Badro Bari* area and set up their own habitation.

Life style of non-Harari ethnic groups is different from indigenous Hararis. The case study area in *Kebele 5 (Badro Bari District)*, for instance, reveals a typical example to show how Harari traditional houses were transformed by other ethnic residents. Most of them are not concerned with *ge gar* type of living space although that exist in the old buildings. This block became mixture of an old mansion divided into many small pieces and row houses for rent, again divided into several parcels, but without sufficient care and maintenance. Not only physical deterioration but also confusion of life style is appearing in this area. Seemingly it is slum, but as long as their income and occupation are concerned, their professional position is not so bad as they are working as civil servants and shop workers. Still, they are not interested in such heritage, as they happened to be here and to reside in such “surplus” housing units. No specific style for these people has not yet been established.

5-4-2. Extracted Resident Type

The analysis of the collected data has led to the understanding of the reality of the inhabitants in Harar *Jugol*. The traditional lifestyle is still kept in their traditional living spaces like *ge gar* despite certain influence of modernization. Immigration of other ethnic groups exerted more influence and transformed the uniformity of one single people into multi-ethnic society. So far, four types of the inhabitants have been extracted, divided into four groups with nearly the same number of households.

(1) Wealthy Hararis Living in Traditional Houses by Generation

The first group of the residents is formed by sufficiently wealthy Harari people who are engaged in the business of commerce, retail sale, and plantation. Most of them are proud of possessing traditional *ge gar* type residences as Harari, but some live in *kebele*-owned housing, still with *ge gar*. Running houses for rent is another business among this group. They enjoy traditional lifestyle and keep the identity of Harari urban culture. E.W. Hecht explains this type of Hararis as “a group of citizens, distinguished by their long residence, often with a long genealogy, property of a town house within the city for generations, refined manners and behavior, certain types of garments, and above all knowledge of religious writings and secular poetry in Arabic as well as in the local language, have formed a fairly exclusive group within their community”.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ E. D. Hecht, Institute of African Studies, University of Nairobi, “Harar and Lamu –A Comparison of Two East African Muslim Societies”, *Transafrican Journal of History (Kenya)*, vol.16, #1, 1987, p.11

As Muslim community, Harar was dominated by masculine attitude within their society, but as urban dwellers, their attitude was modest and well disciplined. They esteem human relations within their ethnic group and have established unique commercial manner as merchant and trader. Tie among Harari families is so strong that they assist each other from time to time. The key to understand this tie is *afocha*, neighborhood association integrating 50-60 families. All the Harari families are organized within the network of *afocha*. This association promotes savings for funerals and weddings, or health care service for members. The banqueting and meeting of this *afocha* generally takes place in *gidir gar*, central salon regarded as the symbolic center of the house. In the target area of *Kebele 2*, there exist only one *afocha*, but actively functioning.

The gender ratio is more female oriented. As represented in the number of female heads of household, feminization has been gradually prevailed in this group. Some are depending of the money transfer from their relatives in foreign countries, especially in USA.

(2) Poor Hararis living in Kebele Housing, working in domestic services

As for the second group of the residents, with Harari ethnicity, they are employed mainly for housekeeping or guarding, if not for informal business. Their income is very low. Their number is much bigger than the first wealthy group. Although many of them are descendant of old families residing in Harar *Jugol*, they have lost the way for appropriate income by various reasons. Widows, who receive pension yearly, form another sub-group.

(3) Poor Non-Harari People Depending on Informal Sector

The third group of residents consists of non-Harari people. Most of them have settled here from rural areas in the last decades. They find their houses in some depending houses of old housing complex. Some are in possession of their houses exceptionally, but the housing condition is very bad. Oromo is the majority among them. They suffer from poverty because of unemployment, obliged to depend on informal sector to maintain their lives. Even the old mansion, once used by rich traders at the turn of the century are facing this type of deterioration. Prostitution making use of an old mansion is found in non-Muslim sector.

(4) Newcomers with Comparatively Convenient Housing Conditions

The last group is newcomers with different ethnicities. Many of them reside in privately owned houses, with more spaces but comparatively higher rent, facing upon the streets. They are working as public officer or secretary in offices.

Part Three

Problematic of Historical
Quarter

Chapter VI

Categorization of Ethiopian Historical Urban Heritage

1. Historical Districts as a Place of Human Interaction

1-1. Social Transformation and Heritage Impact

1-1-1. Modernization as Crucial Issue

Over viewing the historical process in Ethiopia in relation to historical heritage and relics, the crucial point is the transition from the pre-modern to the modern periods. The definition of the modernity is not the same as in the developed countries, say, in Europe. The social structure of this country was completely different from Europe, but slightly overlapping with the Far East in that the feudal system was firmly maintained until the middle of the 19th or even to the 20th century. The radical social change of Ethiopia is thought to have started during the reign of Menelik II, that is, from the end of the 19th and to the early 20th centuries, which is nearly the same period as in Japan and in other far eastern countries, which opened their doors to foreign countries and began to introduce new systems. The reigns by Yohannes IV, Menelik II and Haile Selassie I mean the establishment of a strong centralized Ethiopian Empire and the evolution of new and “modernized” social systems by way of direct contacts with foreign powers that did not disclose their interest in the Red Sea Area. However, this change is limited to the upper class of the social pyramid, and did not affect other components of Ethiopian society. It is better to say that the radical transformation took place in the period of the socialist government in the 1970’s and 1980’s as the *Derg* government implemented a revolutionary land policy: the nationalization of land. Up to this period, the land tenure was the continuation of old feudal system ruled by a small portion of aristocrats and court people.

So far as the built environment is concerned, Ethiopia is fairly endowed with old relics even from the Axumite Kingdom in the ancient period. Medieval Christian monasteries are also good examples of such built environments that have been well maintained up to these days. These religious complexes keep the medieval physiognomy within the monastic life of the monks, but, from the viewpoint of the today’s world, they are not the places where people unfold their daily lives. They may be said to be the places sealed in history. Cities such as Gondar and Harar have been, on the contrary, real stages of human activities for hundreds years. People who inherit their ancestors’ properties live in and use them. The series of observations and discussions in the previous chapters have proved that a considerable number of old buildings remain and are used in their historical quarters. The typological analysis has resulted in a systematic understanding of the evolution of the built environment, especially housing, of each city. What seem to be problematic is the transfer of property rights as well as the alteration of form and the purpose of the original buildings. Such a transformative process reflects upon the economic development and the social transformation. Modernization is the key word to understand this process, which exerted a tremendous impact on heritage.

Modernization is a crucial issue to accelerate the process of rapid urbanization in many countries. In the case of Ethiopia, one has to be careful how to use this terminology. In Africa, modernization theory has been generally applied to development after the Second World War, but since the 19th century a country like Ethiopia which, did not experience

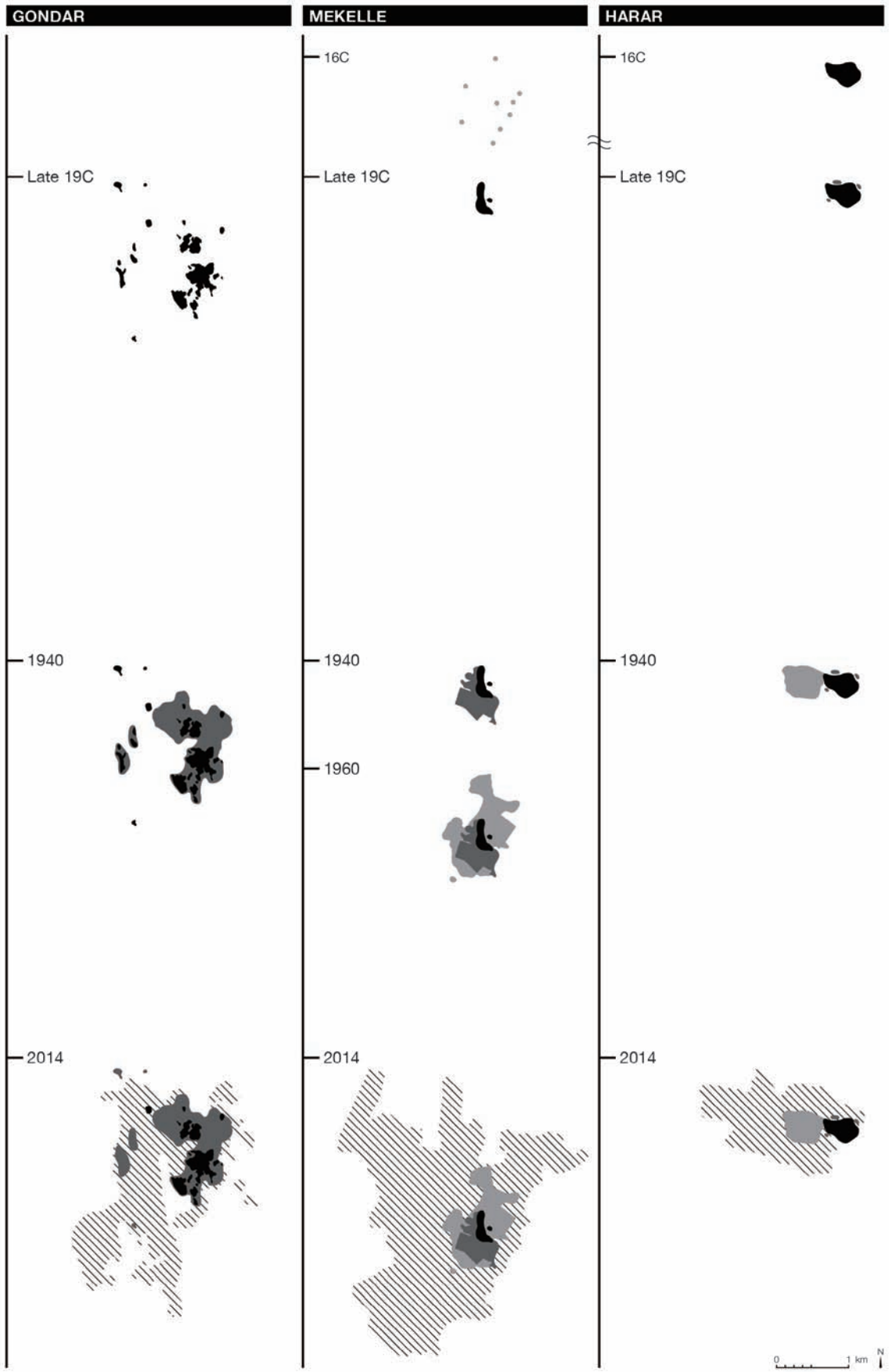


Fig. 6-1 Urban development of Gondar, Mekelle, and Harar

colonization and proceeded with its own way of social development, must have different process of development. Ethiopian rulers of the second half of the 19th century noticed the political balance among the great foreign powers and took up the policy of militarization and centralization. Purchase of industrial products including weapons as well as the construction of infrastructure such as the railway and other necessary facilities became urgent issues. The victory over the Italian troops on the occasion of the First Italo-Ethiopian War (1895-96) attracted international attention and favored for foreign investment to this country. These events coincide to the modernization process of Japan in the same period, but what are lacking in Ethiopia is the process of industrialization and the growth of middle class citizens.¹

Until the second half of the 20th century Ethiopia was still dominated by a small number of aristocrats and the court. The transformation of the country was led by the absolute minority who occupied the top of the hierarchy and monopolized the majority of the fortune in this country.² The sources of numerous social contradictions are thought to have derived from this point.³ Modernization in Ethiopia is, therefore, limited to a small number of privileged cities that had direct contact with the ruling class of the country. Starting from the implementation of new European systems in the second half of the 19th century, the urban development seems to follow a certain hypothetical process of concentration, foreign occupation, adoption of a new spatial system and massive migration. Historical centers have been exposed to this radical change so as to generate a completely new amalgam of human, physical and spatial factors as represented in the previous chapters.

Urbanization is another aspect of modernization. Although this actually happened, limited to an extremely small number of cities such as Mekelle, Addis Ababa, Dire Dawa, and Gondar. The dominant national ideology was still based on agrarianism that matched the reality of the Ethiopian rural community. Churches played the role of the patron for peasants, as they possessed vast lands in such rural zones. The idea of the first stage urbanization is rather a fixation of an encampment of military units. High-ranking officials such as *Ras* or *Dejazmach* used to set up their camps around the moving “court” of the emperor, who moved around the country. Such was the case in the construction of Gondar by Fasilidas in the 17th century. The origin of Mekelle as well as Addis Ababa in the second half of the 19th century followed the same model. The compounds laid out by these high officials were scattered according to the topographical conditions. The notion of streets did not exist at the beginning, but soon after as the process of intensification of the “residential” quarters advanced, these quarters were arranged in the form of blocks-and-streets. In the case of Mekelle it took several decades for the urbanized zones to take blocks-and-streets shape. On the contrary, Gondar at the beginning of the 20th century showed a state of random concentration of each compound around *Fasil Ghebbi* and had not yet attained the blocks-and-streets pattern.

¹ The similarity between Ethiopia and Japan has been discussed by several scholars and journalists, referring to ‘spiritual affinity between Japan and Abyssinia’, for instance. See: Bahru Zewde, “A History of Modern Ethiopia 1855-1991”, Ohio University Press, Athens OH, Second Edition, 2002

² The failure of the reign of Haile Selassie has been discussed in many ways. The main problem was that the emperor used the feudal system for controlling power, which finally led to the tension and conflict of 1974. See: Patrick Gilkes, “The Dying Lion: Feudalism and Modernization in Ethiopia”, Palgrave Macmillan, London, 1975

³ The evaluation on the process of social development in Ethiopia varies. Apart from some nationalist discourse on its modern history, scholars tend to critically analyze its “wrong” direction led by the leading class of the country, saying that Ethiopia was driven into a wrong track through various historical detours, delays, indecisions, and uprootedness. See: Messaye Kebede, “Survival and Modernization, Ethiopia’s Enigmatic Present: A Philosophical Discourse”, Red Sea Press, Addis Ababa, 1998

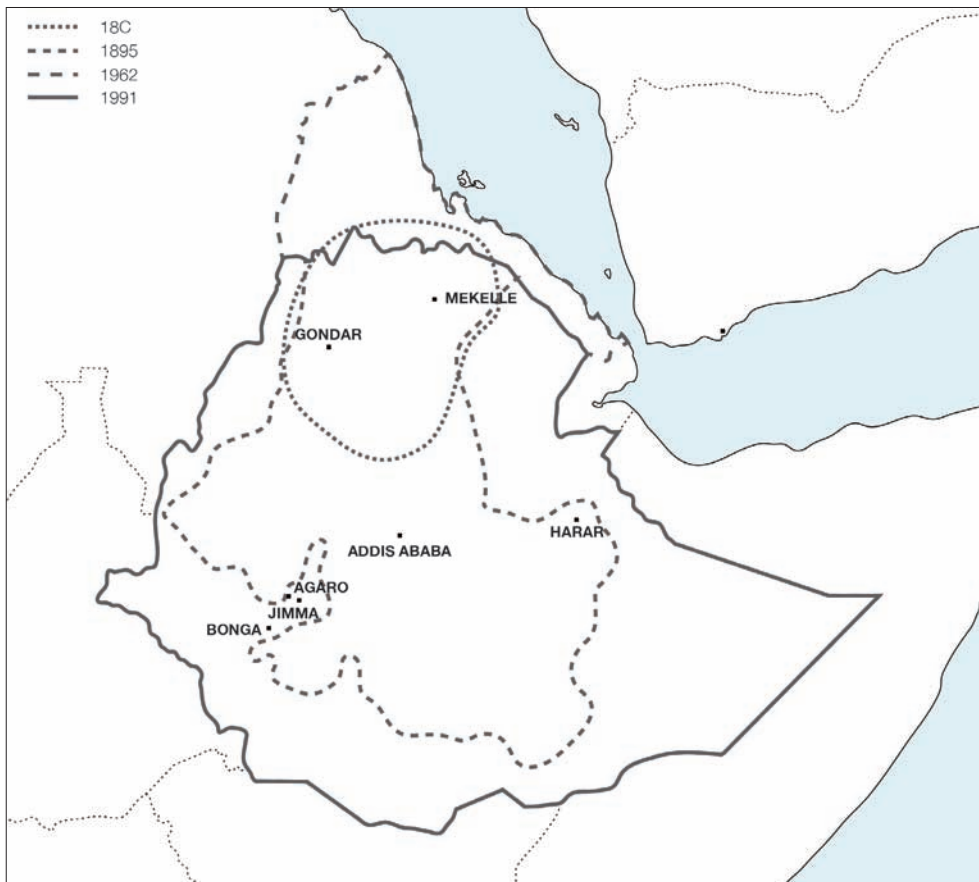


Fig. 6-1 Evolution of Ethiopian country borders

Contrary to these “Christian” cities, Harar has a long tradition of urbanization. By the middle of the 16th century, it had already acquired the present silhouette of a walled city as *Emir* Nur ibn Mujahid constructed the surrounding wall during his reign.⁴ The chronicle of Harar attests that urban life dates back three centuries prior to this period.⁵ Narrow streets and impasses give the impression of a typical Muslim urban morphology. Still, this tradition was broken up by the Ethiopian conquest and resulted in overlaying different urban fabrics. With the introduction of new housing models with a westernized wood construction system like the “Indian type” of “mixed type”, the urban morphology of this city was transformed to a great extent. Its development in the course of the 20th century follows the same process as other major cities, but the loss of its superiority as commercial and trading post after the completion of the railway between Djibouti and Addis Ababa reduced the city’s potential and caused the deterioration of the historical quarters. On the contrary, the new route of railway gave rise to many small settlements around the stations, which grew into a new type of trading centers in connection with railway transportation.⁶

4 Enrico Cerulli, “Documenti arabi per la storia dell’Ethiopia”, Memoria della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Vol. 4, No. 2, Rome, 1931

5 Since the arrival of Sheik Abadir Umar Ar-Rida at Harar in the 13th century, the original settlement started urbanization. Its legendary accounts about how the saint established his rule there was written in the book of history of Harar. See: Ewald Wagner ed., “Legende und Geschichte: Der Fath Madinat Harar von Yahya Nasrallah”, Franz Steiner, Wiesbaden, 1978.

6 Yonas Tefera has treated on a case of a railway-linked town near Addis Ababa. See: Yonas Tefera, “Urbanization in Ethiopia: A Historical Perspective, the Case of Debre Zeit (Bishoftu) Town”, LPA, Sarrbrücken, 2011

1-1-2. Three Stages of Heritage Threatening Process in Ethiopia

If heritage concerns the inheritance of the ancestors' property by their successors, it may happen that heritage is degraded or distorted by external forces and loses its original value. Modernization has sometimes caused this kind of negative effect on the succession of original heritage. Negation and destruction of old religious properties on the occasion of revolution, for instance, is typical of this diversion. This happened in Ethiopia as well. To indicate the degree and the nature of transformation of heritage, the author applies the term "heritage threat". This term means the negative transformative process of heritage by certain external force other than natural deterioration over the years. The most primitive type is the simple alteration of a building, the renovation of a masonry princely mansion in Mekelle for instance. Such a heritage threatening process occurred due to economic growth and social transformation in the early 20th century. However, if the volume of inputs becomes considerable, the original heritage would be exposed to a much greater threat like a clearance or redevelopment. The modernization process in Ethiopia, in fact, has shown a very specific social evolution and has faced heavy pressure from the transformation of its built environment.

From a broader point of view, following three factors should be noticed as the historical step-up in the modernization process during the last 150 years. These step-ups were the results of tangled politico-economic conflicts and upheavals that could be simultaneously interpreted as heritage threatening. These factors have, accordingly, defined decisively the character of present Ethiopian cities and their historical environment.

- a. Expansion of the empire in the second half of the 19th century and the first "modernization"
- b. Italian occupation and the abrupt introduction of the Italian colonial system and its setback
- c. Nationalization of land as the implementation of the socialist land policy after the revolution of 1974

This process is unique to this country, but not exclusive. Countries that had started the modernization late around 1900 and experienced foreign invasion and, later, socialist revolution must have passed through the same process of social development and heritage impacts. China and Vietnam in the Far East, Tanzania and Mozambique in Africa are typical examples for such a process in the course of the late 19th and the 20th centuries.

(1) Modernization following the Expansion of the Empire in the Second Half of the 19th Century

As referred in Chapter I, Ethiopia experienced rapid expansion of its territory and introduction of new European systems from the end of the 19th century. From the viewpoint of heritage, the most controversial point is the notion of "Ethiopia-ness" in the expanded empire. With highland Christian kingdom as its origin, Ethiopia found its position advantageous due to its topographic and geographic conditions as well as to the presence of a powerful centralized regime of an emperor despite continuous conflict with

neighboring countries such as Adal Sultanate. The “Great Conquest” toward the south in the second half of the 19th century as well as the annexation of Harar Emirate came to decide definitively the present realm of “great” Ethiopia and its cultural complexity. This historical event has raised a fundamental question as to whether this expansion of Ethiopia should be interpreted as a subjugation of alien peoples or an in gathering of peoples with deep historical affinities.⁷

All the neighboring states and regions were annexed into the great empire. In old days, small kingdoms in the south such as Gomma and Kaffa used to enjoy their own prosperity thanks to the inland trade and gave birth to cities like Agaro and Bonga, and needless to say of Jimma, former capital of Oromo Kingdom. Even after the annexation these cities kept a different physiognomy from northern Christians cities such as Aksum, Gondar, and Mekelle, which are considered most original Ethiopian historical cities. Harar should be regarded in the same group as Jimma that has the same scale of population and the historical background and has been known as a trading center of coffee. Although the author does not treat Jimma in this paper, the group of latecomers should have their own standpoint, which differs, from the old cities of Christian Ethiopia. Different regions and cultures were united in one political regime under the emperor. Supremacy of existing Amhara aristocracy disturbed the sane development of each local culture independently of the central government. Acceleration of migration from one place to another was a great issue after this period.

From this respect, the original Christian cities in Tigay and Amhara would be categorized with the first group of heritage cities. Their growth from the second half of the 19th century to the early 20th century could be described as the result of a strong concern of the ruler and his subjects about urbanity. Mekelle represented the emerging power and formulated the stronghold of political power when Yohannes IV decided to construct his new capital while Gondar in the same period was losing its power because of the departure of Tewodros II and the attacks by external forces. It took a while until Gondar recovered its potential to become a provincial commercial center. Therefore, Mekelle was characterized more by heritage generating factors toward the end of the 19th century, but Gondar suffered opposite due to heritage threatening factors such as successive vandalism by the emperor’s troops and by fanatic Mahdist Muslims.

In the second half of the 19th century, it is certain that Mekelle was the most powerful city in Ethiopia as the capital of Yohannes’s reign. The construction of the ruler’s palace was accompanied by a construction boom. A more regulated urban formation system soon evolved, say, the preceding spontaneous urban expansion with chaotic construction evolved towards the block-and-street pattern as described precisely in Chapter I. This could be referred to as the rise of urban planning although there were no written regulations. In line with the appearance of a regulated urban pattern, construction of conspicuous mansions and opening of shops along the streets gave the city more sophisticated townscape than before. The hierarchy formed by the presence of palaces (castles), churches, aristocrats’ mansions and row houses formulated a typical urban structure of a castle city. Before the arrival of Italians, these cities achieved a high standard of urbanity. Unlike Gondar, Mekelle was not threatened by serious heritage impacts as it is still on the emerging process

⁷ Donald N. Levine, “Greater Ethiopia: The Evolution of a Multiethnic Society”, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Second Edition, 2002

However, cities like Harar and Jimma, which form the second group as latecomers to the scene of heritage cities, had to face the radical transformation of their inherited urban structure because of the annexation of their countries by Ethiopia. The switch of their governing systems required a change of spatial layout and purpose. Establishment of new administrative quarters and construction of imposing churches in the center forced the urban structure to be completely transformed for the sake of the new ruler. Migration of other ethnic groups was accelerated so that old houses were lent away to the newcomers. Old buildings were transformed in various ways in order to house these people. The heritage threat in the second group is much stronger than the first one because historical buildings were facing the risk of demolition or confiscation by the new dominant class. Mixture of different ethnic groups caused different levels of housing problems. Slum-like settlements were thus generated by the penetration of overwhelmingly poor outsiders.

(2) Italian Occupation and the Abrupt Introduction of Italian Colonial System

Italians invaded Ethiopia in 1935 when this urbanization process had not yet reached the final stage. The occupation period lasted only for 5 years, but the impact was extremely strong. They set up urban planning as the main axis of their colonization policy. In a short period the colonial government launched *Piano Regolatore* (master plan) in major cities and implemented it. Its basic idea resides in the construction of a new town neighboring to the living quarters of native Ethiopians to receive Italian colons who would make new business. They were not interested in remodeling the old Ethiopian quarters, termed indigenous village or *villaggio indigeno*. The planning policy and idea were quite the same all over Ethiopia, but the implementation differed by city. Focusing on the targeted three historical cities, Italians were, curiously enough, concerned about the heritage conservation and made a preservation plan for historical monuments (Gondar Castle, Yohannes Palace and Harar *Jugol*). The presence of old historical monuments attracted their attention in such a way that they mobilized restoration experts from Italy, who were put in charge of the conservation of these historically evaluated buildings. Gondar Castle compound (*Fasil Ghebbi*) and the old city wall of Harar *Jugol* were thus restored. The planning ideas were backed up by Italian modernists' or rationalists' theory, with the combination of new and historical quarters. Both Gondar and Harar cases were well documented and studied by several architectural historians, who concluded that the attitude of such Italian architects and planners were well trained to make adequate scale city by using their topographic conditions and that the historical sites were especially "respected" so as to prevent unnecessary development.

The dualism of the old indigenous and the new colonial building is a specific feature promoted by the colonial government, which insisted the superiority of new "civilized" houses over poor indigenous houses with *chikka* and tin roof structure.⁸ Still, Harar benefitted from their Muslim-oriented policy while Mekelle obtained privilege due to the collaboration of the Prince of Tigray with Italians. In Gondar's case, because it had strategic importance as the capital of Amhara Province, groups of public facilities as well as military ones formed the central zone, which was well balanced with the existing royal complex of *Fasil Ghebbi*. The master plan tried to combine the merits of the old Ethiopian heritage without considering the people who needed and used such symbolic structures.

⁸ Angelo Piccioli ed., "La Costruzione dell'Impero: l'Opera dell'Italia in A.O.I. dopo la Conquista dell'Etiopia", *Gli Annali dell'Africa Italiana*, Roma, 1939, p.366

How Italian planners and architects were engaged in the design of the new Italian colonial towns and even the restoration projects has been studied, but little is known about the activities of Ethiopians. With our field surveys, certain aspects of Ethiopian constructors during this period have been clarified. In Mekelle the masons who had been building stone mansions in the downtown were asked to design new types of mansions for wealthy people. They kept the building tradition of *hidmo*, rectangular stone house, and developed its method in a much larger and sophisticated manner to reach symmetrical well-proportioned mansions. In this city, which lost its superior position as capital of Tigray and became one of the ordinary regional cities in expanded Eritrea Province, Italian intervention was quite limited. Most of the construction work was accomplished by local masons, who had obtained new building tools from Italy. Innovation of stereotypy in masonry construction took place, inspired by European building technique. In most cities, Ethiopian masons were mobilized to work for the construction of Italian towns, which gave them a chance to be acquainted with new architecture and building technology like reinforced concrete and glass. After the withdrawal of the Italians, these new techniques were left well implanted into the soil of Ethiopia. It is important to know that the new techniques introduced from Europe played a role in the expulsion of traditional building techniques. Especially in Gondar, traditional circular houses were no longer constructed, as people preferred new ones in reinforced concrete. Tomohiro Shitara has proved through his fieldwork in Gondar that before the middle of the 1950's, the masons abandoned the idea of constructing circular houses.⁹ The Italian occupation, therefore, exerted an indirect effect on the building system among the Ethiopians in ways other than the construction of new types of public facilities and collective housing.

Segregation was the main concept for the colonial government. In this sense, the dualism of the indigenous and the colonial was consistent in any city implementing the new town planning, but its nuance was different by region and town. The case of Harar, for example, seems to have had different planning policy from Amhara and Tigray towns. The Italian new towns were articulated by block-and-street urban pattern, with the reference to European new planning idea. To connect this new town for colons and the indigenous quarters, the main axis played the decisive role. In Gondar, the axis was set up as a street running along the wall of *Fasil Ghebbi* down to the *Arada* (market) area. In Harar's case, it was the ridge line which Amhara conquerors had already remodeled as the main axis from the newly built Orthodox Church in the center of *Jugol*, replaced the one from the old mosque, up to the Duke's Palace outside of the wall.

The idea of connecting the two is, in this respect, very logical since this followed the preceding planning policy of *Ras Tafari*. As a result, this gave the city a triplex urban structure: indigenous Muslim Hararis who were concentrated in the eastern part of *Jugol*, Orthodox Amhara elite who occupied the ridge line, and Catholic Italians who settled in the new town. The nature of heritage was transformed according to the situation of these players. Muslim heritage had been threatened by Amhara conquerors, which Italian colons menaced with the implementation of completely new town planning. This chain of threats is paradoxical because the recognition of heritage was different by each player of the town management. A new Orthodox church replaced the old mosque. Old mansions such as

⁹ Tomohiro Shitara, "A Study on the Formation of Traditional Living Space and its Transformation by Modernization in Gondar", doctoral thesis presented to Keio University, Fujisawa, 2008

Muhammad Aly's one were abandoned and occupied by newcomers. Even *Ras Tafari's* mansion was abandoned because of the asylum of the emperor. The Italian occupation was so short that they were not able to make use of the new facilities, although, the building technique and the buildings they left served as a new paradigm for the future expansion of the city.

(3) Nationalization of Land after the Revolution of 1974

The revolution of 1974 drastically changed the social system of this country. The revolutionary government, the *Derg*, launched a series of land reform programs. Following the proclamation of the nationalization of rural land, another proclamation of 1975 relating to the nationalization of land was published, announcing the nationalization of all the urban land and extra houses without any compensation. In rural areas, each household was to be provided 500 m² of land to construct a dwelling. The sale, mortgage, lease, and inheritance of urban land were prohibited. Renewal of expropriated houses was also banned. However, the government did not have a program for slum upgrading and renewal. All the expropriated housing units were left without care, which accelerated the deterioration of these nationalized small houses. The government was lacking in the funds and know-how for running a public housing business. Inner city problems thus became much more serious. Contemporary planners were claiming that since they had only nominal property taxes and no policy for renewal and upgrading, the construction work in the expansion area only exacerbated the problem by creating a massive demand for infrastructure.¹⁰ In this sense, no real estate developers were created to develop land for residence, for industry and services. As no effective measures were taken to supply new housing to receive the increasing population, the central districts became more densely populated. The housing shortage became much more serious in the 1980's.¹¹

The *Derg* government did not have any conception of heritage in relation with the housing stock in historical cities like Gondar and Mekelle. All the housing units, including both old historical houses and slum-like huts, were treated equally. Houses were even subdivided into several units to house different households. No special measure was taken for what could be considered cultural property. Due to the lack of housing, old buildings were not demolished, but left without care, sometimes ruined but still inhabited. Degradation of such houses is the result of typical heritage threatening process that has been menacing Ethiopia. In Gondar, no one was aware of circular houses as the original heritage until the research team of Keio University proposed the protection and the reuse for the revision of master planning in the early 2000's. The post-*Derg* process was much faster. In Mekelle, many masonry mansions were demolished after the widening of streets was decided and realized around 2010.

¹⁰ Abuye Aneley, "Synoptic Reflection on Urban Land Administration Issues Ethiopia" ITC, United Nation University, Polytechnic of Namibia, Land Administration Decisions Makers Meeting, 2006

¹¹ Eskedar Birhan Endashaw, "Urban Land Policy and Housing for Poor and Women in Amhara Region: The Case Study of Bahar Dar City" FIG Working Week 2012, Knowledge to Manage the Territory, Protect the Environment, Wvaluate the Cultural Heritage, Rome, 6-10 May 2012, p.8/23

Table 6-1 Heritage generating and threatening factor

	Time Period	Heritage Generating Factor	Heritage Threatening Factor	
Gondar	Previous	Fasil Ghebbi		
		Circular house		
		Church		
	Around 1900s			Destruction by attack
				Closure
	Around 1940s	Restoration		Piano regolatore
		Italian Town		Segregation
	Around 1970s			Master plan
				Nationalization
				Expropriation
				Lend-away
				Sub-division
Mekelle	Previous	Yohannes Palace		
		Hidmo		
		Church		
	Around 1900s	Mansion		
		Block-and-street		
	Around 1940s	Mansion		Piano regolatore
		Italian Town		Segregation
	Around 1970s			Master plan
				Nationalization
				Expropriation
				Lend-away
				Sub-division
Harar	Previous	Jugol wall		
		Gambisa		
		Ge gar		
		Mosque		
	Around 1900s	Indian type house		Destruction by Amhara
	Around 1940s	Restoration		Piano regolatore
		Italian Town		Segregation
	Around 1970s			Master plan
				Nationalization
				Expropriation
				Lend-away
				Sub-division

1-2. “Lived-in Historical Environment” in Ethiopia

1-2-1. What is Lived-in Heritage in Ethiopia?

Ethiopia is endowed with rich historical monuments and sites. When one has to refer to the history of this country, it is not only the palace compounds of Gondar and Mekelle or medieval monastic buildings in Tigray and Amhara Regions but also archaeological discoveries of ancient relics and objects all over the country. We are obliged to take into account an extremely long time span from the ancient Kingdom to the 20th century society over more than two millennia. However, related to the environment where people unfold their lives, what matters in the name of historicity is the nature of the built environment, which comprises buildings, streets, squares and other types of spaces as well as natural landscape. If these physical settings are old enough to convey the values of the past, they are thought to be “historical”. The classical notion of heritage starts from this point.

However, interactions between built environment and human beings are very important and decisive. Looking at the built environment marked by the accumulation of time, people raise questions as follows: What kind of buildings and spaces has contributed to formulating this kind of built environment? How do people react in front of these existing old buildings? How do they live within historical houses and make use of them? Are they satisfied with such a historical environment? Which do they prefer, old historical houses or new modernized houses? Though stereotyped, such questions are still valid vis-à-vis what we call the “lived-in” historical environment.¹² In short, the recognition and the evaluation of historical environment vary according to the relation between the physical environment and human beings.

To judge the value of this lived-in historical environment, the interrelation among physical settings (architecture), people and communities is important. Who has been living in houses erected in the past days and how do these people feel vis-à-vis these houses and the neighborhood? The preceding chapters have revealed that lived-in historical sites in major historical cities date back to the period of the Gondarine Dynasty and even to the following period up to the middle of the 20th century. Medieval churches and monasteries are beyond this category, as they did not contribute to urban formation. Therefore, the accumulation of four centuries since the beginning of Gondarine Dynasty forms the present lived-in environment of Ethiopian historical cities. The unique features of Ethiopian cities come from these thick strata of historical multi-layers. For our analysis, typological consideration has clarified the genealogy of the built environment while monographic observation has revealed the presence of old families. By way of comprehensive surveys on the historical cores of target cities, the reality of people’s lives has been thus disclosed.

The term “historical environment” signifies a specific genre of environments given to the value of historicity. People have come to be conscious of such environment because they are menaced by the force of modernization. The reality of modernizing the urban life style

¹² Several scholars have raised the question about “lived space” or “lived environment” as a category for inquiring into the ways we experience spatial dimensions of our day-to-day existence based on phenomenological argument. Here the author applied this term in much simpler sense, giving the dimension of human interface between the subject (human beings) and built environment, including architecture, space, landscape and other physical settings.

and accompanying new construction of “international” style makes aware of the past when people used to live in ease. In order to appraise the value of the historical environment from the viewpoint of human life, it should be lived in and become the very place of human activities. Therefore, the preceding chapters in Part Two have shown the process of analyzing the “lived-in” historical environment of each city.

Before people were aware of the modernization of the society, they were not forced to change their life style. They sustained their traditional life. Techniques for constructing the man-made environment did not change. However, the interaction with Europe in the course of the 19th century obliged the country to be oriented towards modernization and to become more powerful. Architectural styles evolved by way of the introduction of Western technology. Quite a few European engineers were hired so as to realize new types of buildings, infrastructure, communication and weapons. Mekelle represents this radical transformation process. Addis Ababa, the new capital planned by Emperor Menelik II, followed Mekelle. At the initial stage, it was high-ranking aristocrats who “urbanized” the surrounding zone of the palace, and then their subjects gathered around these compounds with the introduction of commerce and trade. Some cities such as Mekelle and Gondar had achieved the appearance of an urban entity before the invasion of the Italians in 1935. This kind of urbanization mobilized conventional building technique so that these cities came to have traditional appearance. From the viewpoint of Europeans, such a traditional townscape should be categorized as indigenous, as the Italians did on the occasion of the city planning in the late 1930’s.

From the viewpoint of heritage and historical relics, the historical evolution should be visualized and materialized by way of physical and spatial settings. The term cultural property includes such relics regardless of how they were made and who made them. However, focusing on the urban environment, the situation is a bit different as the spaces and buildings still have their own imprint such as tenure and ownership. Such “lived-in” heritage is the stage where the relation between those who live in and use them and the buildings is always plain to see. Urbanity, in fact, has been always related to this type of materialized environment. If a city has a long history, its urban life takes place on the accumulated piles of the historical traces such as walls, castles, streets, squares, markets religious facilities, houses and so on. The three case study cities focused on in this paper are certainly rich in this respect since they maintain old traces of their past and people are still using them.

1-2-2. Historical Quarters as Lived-in Heritage

The preceding assessment has shown that the cities entered into a radical transformation process at the end of the 19th century and achieved serial step-ups in last 150 years, which may be categorized roughly as the “modernization period”. This tendency is not limited in this country, but in many areas of the world, including the Far East and the Middle East, radical urban transformation has occurred. Taking into account the comparatively short interval of construction and demolition, houses constructed in this period play a decisive role in formulating the present historical environment. As the lived-in environment reflects the locality and peculiarity of those who have been living there, the outcome differs by region and by city. The biggest difference is that the heritage of the Christian kingdom

and that of the Muslim emirate are substantially different, but that after the annexation of Muslim regions to Ethiopian Empire in the second half of the 19th century, the mixture of different religious and ethnic communities accelerated rapidly. Besides the authentic old culture, it is necessary to consider the new type of mixed culture and mixed urban complex.

The point at issue is the historical quarter, which is an old district formulated over its long history. Conventional understanding of the historical quarter is the continuation of a historical “site” or “ensemble” in which there are groups of old monuments and relics. This concerns the density of monuments and relics. However, according to the above-mentioned discussion what should be underlined is the interface of human beings and the built environment. One has to keep a certain distance from the conventional idea based on the cultural property concept and redefine the historical quarter as an inhabited place in which history of site and people are imprinted, or “*locus et populus historia imprimitur*”. With the intercourse of people and the site as its essence, a historical quarter should be interpreted by both the physical environment (built environment) and the residents (people who live in and use this environment). The author has thus applied this methodology for the analysis of the targeted historical cores in three cities. The value of such places is produced from the way people live, behave, and act within this built environment.

Historical centers of old cities in many developing countries are menaced by the degradation of housing conditions. In Ethiopia in spite of unique and incomparable heritage within the center, cities are suffering from pauperization caused by two extremities between the monopoly by a limited social elite and the radical nationalization- and-redistribution policy. From the housing side, this kind of poor and informal city center is the target of slum clearance, though one cannot ignore the value of history. Many discoveries in terms of the history of the place and people were confirmed after a series of fieldworks. These items should be well considered for the next phase of the planning in order to establish the identity of the place.

In fact, the author has discovered various types of old houses which are worth being categorized as incomparable cultural heritages. Residents are aware that these houses are very old and valuable and that they sometimes convey the memory of their ancestors. However, due to the forced redistribution system imposed by the socialist government, the relation of the residents and the housing unit is lacking since the majority of houses belong to *kebele* public housing. The residents of *kebele* housing were assigned to live in the unit only because the unit was available by chance due to the expropriation by the government. On one side this system contributed by giving shelter to those who had been excluded from the social benefit of housing, but, on another hand, excessive constraints without any merit closed the way to the improvement of housing conditions. Enforcement without merit leads to collapse sooner or later. It seems that the evolution of last 50 years in major historical cities in Ethiopia has caused a considerable amount of heritage deterioration. The author tries to show the mechanism of heritage risks in the coming chapter.

2. Characteristics of Historical Districts in Ethiopia

2-1. Characteristics of Urban Formation in Ethiopia

Urbanization started very late in highland Ethiopia, comparing to other civilizations in the world, though the building culture of this country itself dates back to the ancient Axumite Kingdom. With the exception of the Muslim Harar region, old Ethiopia did not need urban agglomeration until the construction of its first fixed capital Gondar. To understand the medieval building culture, prior to the construction of capital, political and ecclesiastic leaders were obsessed with the legacy of Axumite Kingdom and Debra Damo, which exerted tremendous influence on monastic organization and architecture. The political system was then theocratic as in the cases of Zagwe monk-kings like Imrahana Kristos and Lalibela. They had a strong notion of authentic architecture, but their idea about settlement was nothing more than the monastic community. Urbanity was beyond their conception. One has to wait for the secularization of the once-theocratic court. To the contrary, neighboring Muslim society achieved mature urban complex already in the late medieval period as represented in the case of Harar. Christian Ethiopia in Amhara and Tigray were then much behind in terms of urbanization. Christian Ethiopia had rural communities which were dispersed in the agrarian landscape.

The discussion in Part 2 concerns the identification of the period when urban formation started in each city. This means the period when people started building concentrated environments with the establishment of political, economic and administrative systems. Cases differ by city, but it was Gondar which built a political center to house permanently the emperor and his family. Gondar is the first example of forming a “castle city” providing a permanent quarter for the imperial family, that had kept moving the court. The emperor took the initiative for constructing a castle, *Fasil Ghebbi*, and in the surrounding quarters his subject warriors established their own encampment. This pattern had been inherited from their ancestors, but the most crucial point was the construction of a permanent castle, following the Portuguese-Indian model of a sovereign state. Mekelle followed this procedure although it was constructed much later.

To understand the peculiarity of Ethiopia cities, it is worth pointing out their relation with the surrounding nature, especially the topography. In the village below, churches are always located on the top of hills while surrounding village lies and is generally surrounded by forest. Urban structure follows the same discipline. Presence of natural elements such as rivers, hills, ridges, forests are fundamental to formulate Ethiopian cities and towns. Without understanding the role of such natural factors within a city, one may fail to grasp the reality of the residents as well as the layout of settlements in accordance with such surrounding conditions. The followings are the types of urban formation based on the natural and topographic conditions and the planning of the residents or rulers.

2-2. Urban Formation Type and Historical Quarters

2-2-1. Different Urban Formation Types

(1) Dispersed System corresponding to Topography

Villages in Tigray and Amhara are, generally speaking, dispersed in accordance with the surrounding topography. The initial stage of Gondar had been like this before it took the form of an urbanized entity. It started its urban history with the emergence of three small settlements, two of which were on the top of hills, one of which was down by the riverside. Then new settlements were generated one by one, but were still dispersed topographically. Tomohiro Shitara defined this type of urban formation as “dispersed type”.¹³ The nature of initial three settlements was different respectively: two for Christian villagers and one down on the riverside for Muslim merchants. The difference of levels is also important. In the case of Mekelle, began with nine settlements: five up high, four on the lowland. Villages on the higher level and those on the lower level were to be complemented each other. The distribution of these villages is so well balanced that residents of each village can recognize and communicate by voice. Visual and phonetic relations define this “dispersed-ness”. Prior to the beginning of modernization, urbanity depended on such a loose layout of a certain number of settlements. Topography, accordingly, played the key role to the general layout of the primordial town. Examining carefully the origin of cities, we may sense the presence of several dispersed settlements, which have grown up gradually and merged together in the modernization period.

This kind of urban pattern is neither common in Europe nor in Asia, but it may be the most peculiar urban type in this country. Curiously enough, the presence of valleys and cliffs does not disturb the life of Ethiopians, who are known as well-trained highlanders. The same type of urban or rural formation can be seen in Latin America, but is very limited.¹⁴ The rapid growth of contemporary society reduces the meaning of such urban formations, but for planning purposes, this kind of dispersed mode suggests several hints as to a new category of human settlement. Its spatial structure alludes the garden city on the outskirts of a large city, which was proposed and practiced around the turn of the century, but the role of topography is much greater in this case.

(2) Encampment as Military System

The military connotation in urban formation is another aspect of major old cities of Ethiopia. Referring to other countries' examples, in Japan and Manchuria for instance, the military system became the basis for social organization and urban planning from the end of the 16th century, defining the urban pattern in major cities until the end of the 19th century. The land use was designated preliminarily by the location of a castle in the middle and residential zones for subjects surrounding the castle. Such was the case in Ethiopia. The power holders, that is, the feudal lords, tried to set up their own strongholds and gather their subjects around them. The subject nobles and warriors developed their own encampments

¹³ Tomohiro Shitara, *op. cit.*

¹⁴ The morphology of vernacular villages and settlements was well studied by the team of the University of Tokyo, led by Hiroshi Hara. See: Hiroshi Hara, “Learning from Settlements, 100 Lessons”, Shokokusha, Tokyo, 1998 (in Japanese)

around the castle corresponding to the topographic conditions. *Ras* Woldiselassie, in fact, designated his residence in Chelkot in the second half of the 18th century while Adigrat was developed as the fort of *Ras* Sabagadis in the first half of the 19th century. Ankobar, occupied by Menelik before he set up Entoto is much more outstanding because of its mountain-like silhouette. The case of Dessie was the same as it was the stronghold of *Ras* Mikael Ali in the first half of the 20th century.

The most typical case of urban formation by a series of encampments is Addis Ababa. Menelik II, who was crowned emperor after the tragic death of Emperor Yohannes IV in 1889, decided to develop Addis Ababa as the new capital of his empire. Encampment of powerful lords spread widely in the current zone of Addis Ababa. The present impression of the city as patchwork derives from this origin. From the viewpoint of land management, the growth of Addis Ababa was characterized by the shift of the land management system within the former encampment. At the initial stage, it was just the placement of military corps under a high-ranking lord like *Ras* or *Dejazmach*, and then it evolved to become groups of warriors' settlement. From this point, urban development shifted to more speculative land management. Mekelle preceded Addis Ababa as the military camp of Yohannes IV, but the transfer of the capital to Addis Ababa interrupted the high growth rate of the city.

(3) Trading Stations and Posts

Muslims took the initiative of commerce and trade. This tendency is the same even now. Muslim merchants used to have their own community and settled outside of the Christian communities, because since 1668, the population of the capital had been segregated according to religious groups by royal decree. Muslims, Catholics, and *Falashas* (Jews) were not allowed to live among Orthodox Christians.¹⁵ In the 17th and the 18th centuries, Orthodox Ethiopians' attitude towards Muslim was not favorable because of the fierce experience by the invasion of Ahmad Gran, based in Harar, in the late 16th century, but Muslims were tolerated at Gondar where they played an intermediary role between the Red Coast and highlands.¹⁶ In old Gondar, they formed their own settlement called *Islambet* in a quarter along the river from the very beginning of the royal city. The European travelers who visited Gondar from the end of the 17th to the middle of the 18th centuries mentioned that their population was 1/4 to 1/3 of the city, which may remind us of the important role of Muslims for commerce and trading activities.¹⁷ Alongside trading routes from the Red Sea, one can trace the lines of settlements of Muslim commerce centers. According to Richard Pankhurst, Christian Ethiopians monopolized political power, while Muslims controlled commerce and much of mercantile wealth.¹⁸

Harar has been known as one of the most important commercial towns in Ethiopia, but its origin was rather a religious city with Muslim saints. It used to be and currently is one of the most appreciated pilgrimage stations in the Muslim world as UNESCO mentioned that it is "the fourth holiest city of Islam, with 82 mosques, three of which date from the

¹⁵ Richard Pankhurst, "The Ethiopians: History", Wiley-Blackwell, Hoboken NJ, 2001, pp.117-119

¹⁶ Jacques-Charles Poncet, "Relation de mon voyage d'Éthiopie, 1698-1701", Éditions la Lanterne magique, Paris, 2010, pp.124-25

¹⁷ James Bruce, "Travel to Discover the Source of Nile, In the Years 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772 and 1773", Five Volumes, G.G.J. and J. Robinson, London, 1790, p. 568

¹⁸ Richard Pankhurst, *op. cit.* p.115

10th century, and 102 shrines¹⁹. Islamic teaching and Sufism were practiced there. Hararis are proud of their Islamic tradition, their incomparable town and their unique houses with colorful decoration, and make every effort to maintain and awaken their identity by recalling their history, learning the Arabic language, promoting Quran education and so on.

On the other hand, the trading tradition of Harar lies in the specific facilities and spaces for receiving caravans and merchandise. A sort of caravanserai did not exist, but two large squares and gates worked to receive these. In addition next to *Argob Bari* in the east and *Asum Bari* in the north, large yards were reserved for caravans. In the 19th century the scale of the caravans was enormous as it was reported to number 3000 camels and mules sometimes. Markets were also important. A market opened regularly at each gate besides the central market, namely *Gidir Magala*. In 1855, Richard F. Burton related, “Harar is essentially a commercial town”²⁰. At the beginning of the 20th century, Harar was “a town built with large stones blocks and houses with stories” where “the shops and stores are stuffed with various types of goods imported from abroad”²¹. Except for Harar no such city existed in Ethiopia in that period. Besides coffee, ivory and hides, slaves were also an important trading article. Harar was considered to be a collecting place for slavery as it was “still the great ‘half way house’ for slaves from Zangaro, Gurague and the Galla tibes”²². To house this living article, houses nears the markets were specially used for “stock”. Wealthy households had a certain number of slaves for domestic service.

(4) Overlay of Different Groups

The urbanization process of Gondar during the Gondarine Dynasty is a slow and hesitating movement and it took some time until the built up areas were combined. It cannot be compared with the post Gondarine period when the growth pace is much higher than before the participation of private investors for lucrative land management purposes. Despite its position as the imperial capital of Gondar, its development was not linear since it experienced various kinds of conflicts which obliged detours and declines. The biggest “confrontation” was that of Orthodox Christians and Muslims. In the case of Gondar, this confrontation was settled by a segregation urban policy, but after the Great Conquest period in the second half of the 19th century, the confrontation resulted in the occupation by the dominant ruling class over the conquered people. Harar and Jimma were two typical cities which used to be capitals of different Muslim states. In the case of Harar, the occupation troupe changed the land use considerably by adding new facilities. Replacement of the mosque by a monumental church was the most symbolic operation ever done in this city. The silhouette of Harar was altered by this huge construction on the central part of the axial ridge. What is important is that this “redevelopment” did not result in the total clearance of the old Muslim facilities, but was rather an expropriation of the dominant buildings by the new ruling class, who assigned these structures to the nobles and the warriors. Differences of life style and building culture gave these buildings different uses. The loss of *ge gar* traditional rooms among the newcomers is typical of such behaviors. It is true that the change of the ruling class promoted new activities within the urban fabric of Harar, such as

¹⁹ From the home page of UNESCO World Heritage Center

²⁰ Richard F. Burton, “First Footsteps in East Africa, or an Exploration of Harar”, Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, London, 1856, p.337

²¹ From the memory of an Ethiopian, Fitawrari Tackle Hawaiyat. Quotaed from: Abdulmalik Abubaker, “Trade for Peace not for Conflict: Harari Experience”, Law Social Justiceand Global Development Journal, July 2013

²² Richard F. Burton, *op.cit*, p.338-339

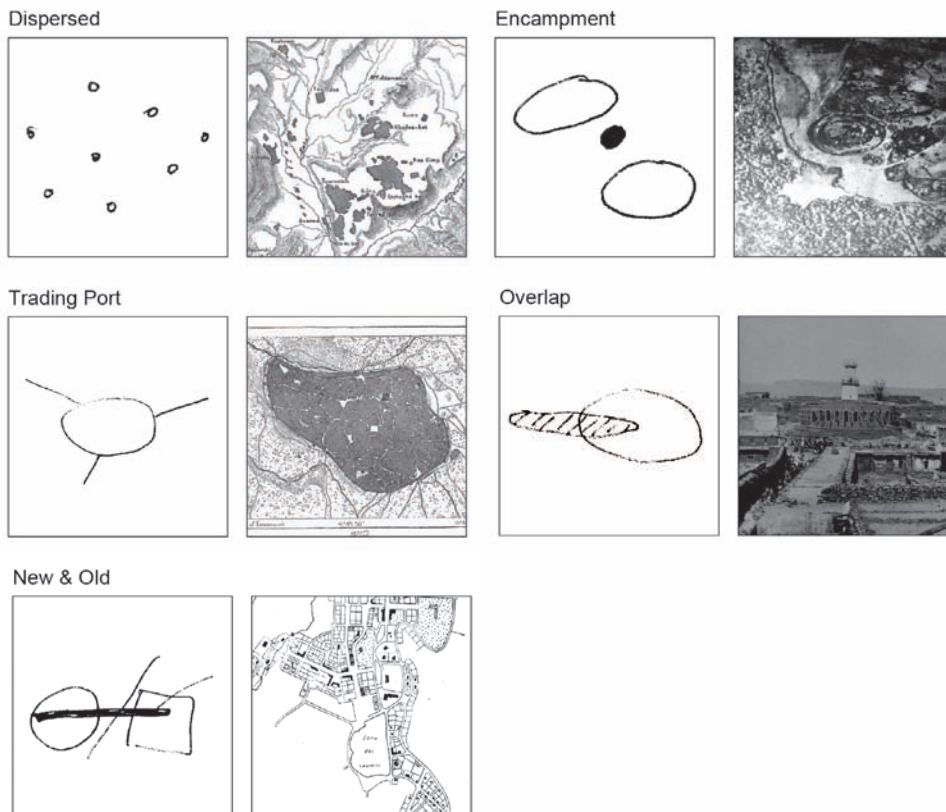


Fig. 6-1 Urban formation types in Ethiopia

the construction of westernized mansions for foreign traders. The episode that the last *emir* was allowed to live within *Jugol* after he was involved in religious activities as Sufi, staying at a new residence, called *emir gar*, represents the mosaic of the new and the old over the existing context.

(5) Separation of Old Town and New Town

Italians introduced European city planning concepts as soon as they established the colonial government in 1936. The procedure was systematic in such a way that each province was obliged to create a master plan, namely, *piano regolatore*, which required a series of necessary planning documents such as land use, infrastructure, size of population, housing plan and so on. It was elaborated so quickly that at the initial stage the architects had to work without the fundamental information like topography, but soon after they obtained the necessary data for the making plans. The master plan was characterized by a distinct idea of colonial urban planning policy based on segregation. Colonial planning outside of the home country was done in many countries such as the Frenchmen in North Africa and West Africa, Japanese in Manchuria and Americans in the Philippines, but the Italian master planning is comparable to French in North Africa because it made clear distinction between the new and the old towns. Construction of a new town is the essence for receiving the colons from Europe.

Still, the difference that distinguishes the Italian from the French is the notion of segregation. The French system had a more flexible conception regarding to use the

two different spaces. The intervention of the government was on two tracks: one the construction of a new town, another conservation of the old town. This idea came from the ruling experiences in several countries.²³ The colonial government knew the difficulty of ruling the indigenous and dared to apply as much traditional governing system as possible. It is rather indirect governing system. In terms of the intervention into the indigenous old town, conservation was fundamental vis-à-vis the historical remains. On the contrary, the Italians were more concerned with direct governance, but without a special policy toward the Ethiopians, other than confining them within a designated area by force. The new town was reserved only for receiving Italian colons. In spite of the mobilization of some conservation architects for the preservation of historical monuments, their attitude was rather rigid and rooted in a strong racial discrimination.

2-2-2. Evaluation of Historical Quarter as Heritage

Taking into consideration the above-mentioned urban typology, the basic question would be raised whether such historical districts are worth to be preserved. Is there any fundamental value in such historical environment? The typological review in previous chapters has certainly suggested the uniqueness of urban morphology of each historical city in Ethiopia. Physically decayed, it keeps its cultural value which has been accumulated in the course of long history. Although the religion and the ethnic group are not the only factors to define such urban typology, there seems to be a distinction between the dispersed urban type found in the old Christian kingdom with Amhara and Tigray population and the concentrated old trading town type with Muslim population as majority. The former corresponds to the urban pattern of Gondar and Mekelle while the latter is for Harar. If one compare the state of urban morphology just before the Italian occupation, this distinction would be still valid, but the recent history from the second half of the 19th century up to the end of the 20th century has radically transformed such old pattern of urban typology. Overlapping of the different living quarters as well as the construction of new zones has accelerated the mixture of different components of old quarters. It is only in the city center where one can recognize the original pattern of the city with its old mansions and houses dating back to more than 100 years ago.

What should be protected and conserved in such historical districts? Currently no regulation about the ensemble of historical monuments or historical districts exists in Ethiopia. In Europe and Japan, preservation law in terms of the historical districts came to be effectuated in the 1960's and 1970's. The deterioration of such districts was found very serious and, to resist against the renovation or redevelopment works, various types of initiatives were set up by local associations and governments. To do so, what is needed is the maturity of the society backed up by certain measures for funding. However, in Ethiopia one cannot expect that the locals would support the conservation in such a context although the previous chapters have revealed that the community bond is still very strong within the historical quarters., where the on-site surveys by the author have proved the existence of old heritage buildings. The designation of such historical quarters as "historical ensemble" is highly needed so as to introduce the overall method for the conservation of groups of

²³ The ruling system elaborated by French Governor Lyautey was based on the idea that the French administrators' intervention should be limited to make use of the traditional Moroccan governing system within the existing city. See: Kosuke Matsubara, "The Evolution of Rehabilitation Policies for the Medina of Fez, Morocco: Spatial re-formation with policies for heritage to live in", *Keio SFC Journal*, vol. 3. No.1, 2004, pp.34-67

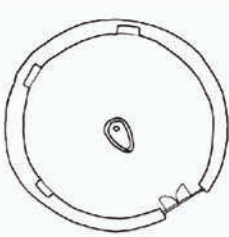
buildings and urban spaces by way of the intervention of the public sector. The basis for this historical ensemble is not only its physical conditions, but also its socio-communal tie. Whether the inhabitants have a communal will to maintain their traditional houses and spaces is the key to establish a strategy to sustain its lived-in heritage. The detail will be discussed in the next chapter.

2-3. Typological Consistency for Housing

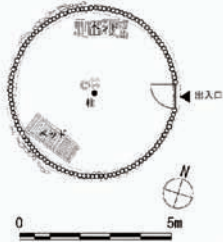
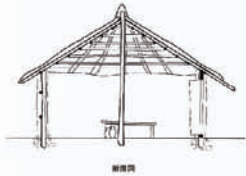
2-3-1. Typological Considerations for Housing in Historical Districts

The lived-in environment questions how people unfold their life within the built environment. To evaluate the situation, one has to take into account the interaction between the living space and the people who live there. A house is the very place where the inhabitants pass daily life. Living in a historical site, then, means that the inhabitants share the value created by the accumulation of time or history. A house is not any more a mere “shelter” which protects human life within it, but it acquires the nature of heritage which conveys the values from the ancestors. Before entering into the details of the life within the historical environment, extracted from the field surveys, the author would like to discuss on the value and the uniqueness of the houses within historical districts from the viewpoint of value creating property. Typological understanding is useful as these houses are anonymous without the names of the persons who created these buildings. The living environment made by these houses has kept transforming itself in accordance with the change of social and customary factors. Housing types correspond to respective social groups which formulate their own way of living, space character and architectural styles. A series of field surveys in three major historical cities, the author detected different housing types which define the quality and nature of the district, relating to its historicity, hidden customs, social status and psychological connotations. Architectural styles vary between Orthodox Christian and Muslim areas, but the annexation of non-Christian regions after the middle of the 19th century encouraged mutual influences and mixtures so that a different eclectic style was born. The author has identified following types as unique and decisive in the historical sense.

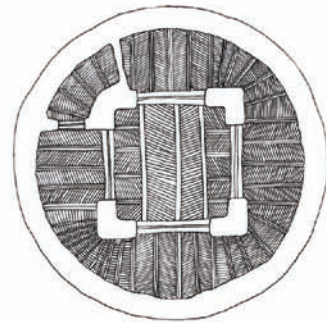
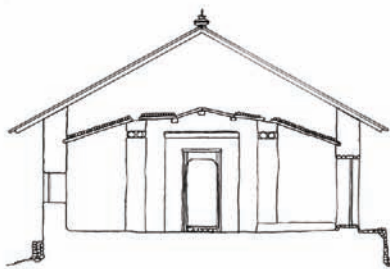
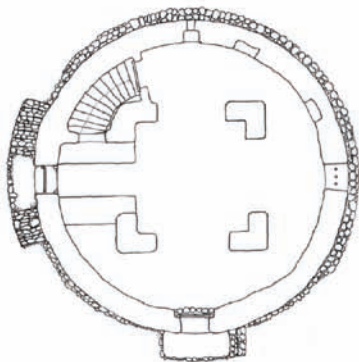
Harar



Gondar



Gondar



Mekelle

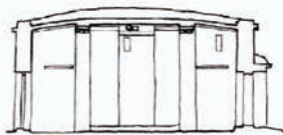
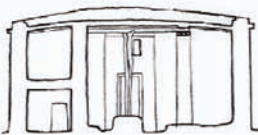
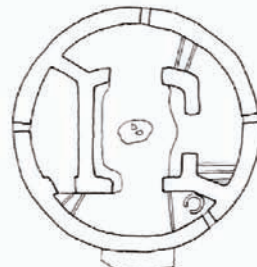
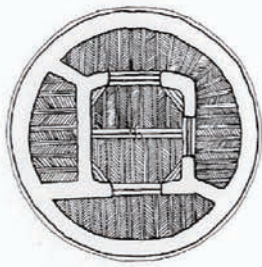
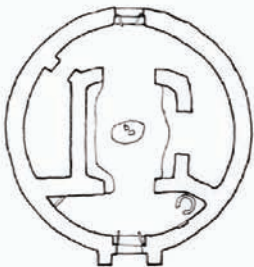


Fig. 6-2 Circular houses found in Gondar, Mekelle, and Harar, comparison in same scale

2-4. Housing Type as Heritage Building

2-4-1. Specific Housing Type

(1) Circular House

a. Circular House in Gondarine Tradition: *Echage Bet* and *Qubi Bet*

The surrounding areas of Fasil Ghebbi in Gondar were formed as encampments of feudal lords and high-rank officials, who set up their compounds surrounded by stonewalls. These compounds are connected with *Fasil Ghebbi* by stone bridges. Their houses were of circular type, which stood in the midst of large compounds. Its construction system is quite simple. A circular masonry wall surrounds the inner rectangular space framed by four stone pillars which support conic roofing. Its diameter varies from 8 to 10 meters. This type of circular house has been called by the locals *echage bet*, literally meaning bishop's house. This system has not changed since the 17th century. A French doctor, Jacques-Charles Poncet, discussed the situation of Gondar around 1700 when he was dispatched by Louis XIV to the court of Emperor Iyasu. The city had many "circular native dwellings with their thatched conical roofs", among which "houses 'built after the European fashion' by previous Portuguese residents or Jesuit priests" stood. But unfavorably speaking, Gondar "has not the beauty of our cities; nor can have".²⁴ He believed that the castle buildings had been constructed by European, contrary to the interpretation by today's scholars that these epoch-making buildings were initiated by Portuguese and Indians, but soon after Ethiopian mason-masters took over their role.²⁵

A circular house is a general housing type in eastern and northeastern Africa, called *tukul*. Its etymological source is unknown, but this appellation is widely used. It is a traditional thatched roof hut found in rural areas. It basically has a circular floor and wall, and conical shaped roof. "Any type of available wood, eucalyptus planks, is commonly used for the wall construction and roof support. The wall is reinforced with crop stocks, mainly maize and sorghum, and is usually plastered with mud mortar sometimes mixed with ash and fresh cow dung for the second coating. Lighter materials, like grass and bamboo combined with thin wood planks are preferred for roof construction. The floor is plain earth and simply puddled with mud. Grasses are used for thatching"²⁶ However, in the Gondarine tradition, the size and the construction system have evolved to have a much more distinct feature as the noble's house, namely *echage bet*, which is characterized by four pillars and a round wall system. Some are double story buildings. In Gondar, a humble circular house with a single pillar in the center has existed with the Amharic name of *kubi bet*, meaning round house, originating from Oromia²⁷. Its diameter is much smaller than *echage bet*, less than 5 meters, with the wall made of *chikka* or simple wooden construction.

It is not so difficult to trace the evolution of surrounding quarters around *Fasil Ghebbi*, thanks to numerous drawings and descriptions by European travelers since the 17th century.

²⁴ Jacques-Charles Poncet, "Relation de mon voyage d'Éthiopie, 1698-1701", Éditions la Lanterne magique, Paris, 2010, p.121

²⁵ Tomohiro Shitara, *op. cit.*

²⁶ Abera Kumie, Yemane Berhane, "Crowding in a Traditional Housing ("*Tukul*") in Ethiopia", *Ethiopian Journal Health Development*, 16(3), 2002, p.304

²⁷ Tomohiro Shitara, *op. cit.*

The density changed by period, but the pictures taken during the Italian occupation period reveals the area with the highest density [Fig. 1-12]. 1940's marked the last period when the circular houses were commonly used as prestigious dwellings. Soon after reinforced concrete buildings prevailed in Gondar as the "heritage" of Italian building techniques so that the number of the circular house dramatically diminished. The present ratio of circular houses is only 2% of the total households within the researched area.

b. *Gojjo* as Circular House with Thatched Roofing

The term *Gojjo* is generally used to discuss a circular house with thatched conical roof. The original meaning of this terminology is a simple hut.²⁸ In Amhara, *gojjo* is many times used with a negative sense, meaning poor and humble *tukul* type house as represented in the case of *kubi bet*. On the contrary, in Tigray, this term is used more positively, Nobuhiro Shimizu has shown variations of this type in his master thesis presented to Keio University in 2013 after he identified numerous cases of this type by way of a field survey and interviews with masons.²⁹ In old days, the major dwelling type in Tigray used to be *gojjo* as seen in the drawings of Henry Salt at the beginning of the 19th century and many pictures of Aksum taken around 1900. This corresponds to the distribution of *echage bet* in Gondar, but with simpler decorative ornaments than the Gondarine counterpart. It is important to know that in Tigray the masonry tradition is very strong and equally shared by the locals, so that the quality of the building technique is much higher than in Amhara.

The oldest *gojjo* ever confirmed is former *Ras Woldi Selassie House* in Chelkot that was supposed to have been constructed in late 18th century.³⁰ Although ruined and used as a stable, this house conveys clearly how the ruling class in Enderta conceived their own residence. Henry Salt, who visited this site around 1810, mentioned the details of this house and made a precise drawing of another guesthouse of *Ras*, where his compatriot Nathaniel Pearce may have stayed.³¹ The house represented in his book was a two-story *gojjo* type house, but unfortunately it was demolished a decade ago by locals.

(2) *Hidmo* and its Variants

Hidmo is founded in typical rural and urban landscapes in eastern Tigray. It is a flat-roofed masonry dwelling. In most of the cases, it has a rectangular shape, but sometimes circular plan *hidmo* can be found. It differs from *gojjo* by the roofing, whether flat-roofed or thatched conical. All the villages have this type of dwelling with a variety of sizes and forms. A series of field surveys in Mekelle and surrounding villages completed by the author's team have given us a clear vision of this typology. The following is the hypothetical evolution of *hidmo* type from the rural to the urban, from the native to the westernized.

²⁸ *Gojjo* is the term shared both in Amharic and in Tigrinya, but practiced more in Tigray in a positive sense. See: Reidulf Knut Molvaer, "Tradition and Chance in Ethiopia: Social and Cultural Life as Reflected in Amharic Fictional Literature ca.1930-1974", E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1980, p.43

²⁹ Nobuhiro Shimizu, "Succession and Innovation of Tradition from the viewpoint of Architectural Construction in Tigray, Ethiopia: Cases of Princely Residences", master thesis, Keio University, 2013, See also: Nobuhiro Shimizu, Yohei Mano, Ryo Higuchi, Rumi Okazaki, Hiroto Kobayashi, Riichi Miyake, "A Study on Early Housing Typology in Mekelle, Ethiopia" *Bulletin of Architectural Institute of Japan*, F-2, pp. 691-692, 2011

³⁰ The author's team has undergone a survey on this building in May 2013 in collaboration with the Institute of Paleo-environment and Heritage Conservation of Mekelle University.

³¹ Henry Salt, "A Voyage to Abyssinia and Travels into the Interior of that Country, executed under the orders of the British Government, in the Years 1809 and 1810", M. Carey, Philadelphia, and Wells & Lily, Boston, 1816, p.256

a. Original *Hidmo*

The original *hidmo* is a rural dwelling with distinct spatial system. In general it is a rectangular structure, with the plan divided into several parts: tri-parted or quadri-parted. The central room is a vast space with a pair of pillars in the middle if it is quadri-parted. On one side is reserved a space for sleeping while the other side has a double story with *devri* as upper room and *gallo bet* as lower stable. Its width varies from 7-8 meters to 10-11 meters, depending on how the house is divided. The ceiling is beautifully decorated by timbers. The combination of wooden pillars and ceiling signifies the social status of the family.

Nobuhiro Shimizu pointed out the cases of circular *hidmo*, called *kubi hidmo*.³² It is the roofing which is completely different from *gojjo* as *kubi hidmo* has flat roofing with the same stone details as the rectangular *hidmo* type. The field research done by the Swedish team in 1967 left architectural drawings, one of which is a typical *kubi hidmo* with the diameter of approximately 8 meters.³³ Its section is the same as rectangular *hidmo* as it has a loft on one side of the tri-parted interior space. This type of *kubi hidmo* is limited to eastern Tigray, that is, in Agame, Tembien and Enderta. Aksum which is situated in central Tigray has different a physiognomy from typical conic *gojjo* houses.

b. Urbanized Type

The variation of masonry architecture in Mekelle signifies the evolution of masonry buildings from the prototype of rural *hidmo* to much wider and more flexible urban dwellings. Two important factors should be underlined: one by the introduction of row house typology, another by the apparition of the double story buildings. To collect the examples, the information provided by the field research by the Swedish team done in 1967 is very useful as it revealed numerous cases of urbanized *hidmo*, many of which have now been demolished and disappeared.³⁴

The row house is a typical phenomenon in urbanized zones. The landowners enlarged their housing capacity to receive migrants for speculative purposes. Some needed to widen their houses in order to house their extended families or relatives. In accordance with the land adjustment which took place at the turn of the century, these houses were extended along the streets so as to form an alignment within the built-up urban environment. The interior composition of such row houses is much simpler and without ornament since owners envisaged renting. The owner's house or the main room followed the style of traditional *hidmo*, mostly furnished with a double storied interior. Mekelle, as imperial capital, advanced this new fashion from the late 19th to the early 20th century so that it became a well regulated stone city, which had evolved from *hidmo* typology, before the coming of Italians. This aspect of stone heritage is considered the most decisive factor to make this city full of historical values.

(3) *Ge Gar* and its Variants

³² In Amharic and Tigrinya, *kubi* means "circular" as it is used *kubi bet* (round house) in the case of Gondar.

³³ Per Carlsson, Bo Martensson, Rolf Sandstrom, Mats Astedt, "Housing in Makalle, Ethiopia", Svensk Byggtjänst, Stockholm, 1971, p.19

³⁴ *ibid.*

Harar has a completely different urban history from other parts of Ethiopia. Its building culture has lasted much longer than Orthodox Christian Ethiopian cities. *Ge gar* is the indigenous housing type with which Hararis have been deeply concerned. It could be compared with the *hidmo* tradition of Mekelle although its space and furnishing are completely different. Despite the migration of other ethnic groups to Harar *Jugol*, Hararis still keep their position of the majority (38%).

In comparison with other cities, *ge gar* has been much better preserved and maintained by the local inhabitants who are proud of inheriting this housing and of living there. The special characteristic is the hierarchy; *gidir gar* and *nadaba* as the main room, *tit gar* as depending room to house the first son or retired lady, *kirtat* for women and so on. This is nothing but the representation of the family and, eventually, the neighborhood. As described in the recommendation by UNESCO, the association among the residents, namely *afocha*, both for men and women, is the basis for maintaining this kind of traditional value within their community. “the organization of the communities through traditional systems has preserved its social and physical inheritance and, significantly, the Harari language”³⁵.

(4) Indian Type Houses

Harar was the first city in Ethiopia to serve as a gateway to foreign countries. First by the violent invasions of Egyptian and Amharic troops, then the peaceful migration of foreign merchants and traders, Harar faced to the international community and received a number of diplomats, traders, and travelers. The completion of the railway from Djibouti to Dire Dawa abruptly increased the trade in and out of Ethiopia. The fact that Hararis were talented in promoting commerce and trade backed up the growth of the city after the annexation. Foreign traders from Armenia, France, Austria, India and other countries settled down in this city and opened their businesses before moving to Addis Ababa in the late 1910's.

The role of Indian traders such as Muhammad Aly and Jivagee Nazarela, who made fortunes by foreign trade, constructed their own mansions in a completely new style. This is why the houses of this style is called “Indian Type”. As a trading center, these mansions had a large courtyard to hold caravans inside, accommodation for guests as well as large stockyard for the storage of merchandise. The main house was as gorgeous as possible to express the wealth of the company. Muhammad Aly Gar was the continuation of double-story house, which had already appeared during the occupation of Egyptians in the 1880's, but with much more decorative elements such as wooden terrace and windows. The housing plan was rather monotonous with the same type of rooms all in a line. On the other hand, we find one of the most splendid mansions around 1910, known by the name of Rimbaud House, which is comparable with *Ras Tafari Mansion*. With an oval opening in the center, the interior has a vast hall while the exterior is carefully designed with woodwork. Symmetry is the principle for the façade design. Although the names of architects are not known, participation of Turkish or Armenian architects has been questioned. The building boom of the “Indian” style would soon transferred to Addis Ababa as soon as the rail way to Addis Ababa was completed in 1917. Therefore, Indian type mansions could be found only in Harar and in Addis Ababa and no other cities.

³⁵ UNESCO World Heritage Center, home page of Harar *Jugol*

(5) Mixed Style Houses

a. *Ge Gar* and Indian Style

The difference between Hararis and foreigners resides in their sense of distance towards the traditional Harari type of living. In other words, the presence of *ge gar* is the key to understand their commitment in Harari tradition. Indian traders, for instance, were completely outside of this engagement. In their houses, neither rooms like *ge gar* nor interior decoration with baskets and plates were to be found. They pursued more functional, if not, more internationalized, value for housing.

After the rise of such Indian and foreign traders in Harar, native Harari merchants followed the same success story in the field of commerce and trade. Haji Yunis was one such trader. As Harari, with Arabic origin, he followed *ge gar* style when he commissioned his house, but asked that new westernized rooms be made up over the traditional ground floor. Accordingly, it became the mixture of traditional *ge gar* house on the ground level with the westernized floors for the first and the second stories. The last story works as a Belvedere so as to enjoy the landscape all around. The case of the uncrowned *emir* Abd Allah II has the same tendency when he was allowed to return from the exile. His new house followed the same principle: the ground floor is reserved for *ge gar* with *nadaba* in the center while the upper story is divided into three large rooms with a wooden terrace in the front.

One has to be careful when judging whether the style Indian or not; the existence of *ge gar* rooms inside is the key. The French team has reported that there are more than 100 Indian houses in Harar *Jugol*, but more than half of them are a mixture with traditional *ge gar* rooms.³⁶

b. Eclecticism with European Town House Style

Despite a short period of occupation, Italians left “heritages” in terms of building culture. First of all, the masonry technique has evolved considerably due to the introduction of new tools such as hammers and chisels so that the cutting and piling technique became more regulated with uniformly cut stones. Secondly, the symmetrical planning inspired by European town houses was introduced by local architects and masons. Terraces and balconies with double doors are other new elements introduced to such town houses. As the masonry technique of locals was highly appreciated, the demand for creating new residences within the city became larger after the withdrawal of the Italians. Unlike Gondar, the masonry tradition has been very strong and well maintained even after the reinforced concrete became widely used.

c. Mixture among Different Ethnic Styles

Since the end of the 19th century, the mobility within Ethiopia accelerated due to the annexation of Muslim regions so as to induce migration to other regions where the life style is different. These newcomers formed their own settlements either within the boundary of

³⁶ Philippe Revault, Serge Santelli ed., “Harar: une cité musulmane d’Ethiopie”, Maisonneuve & Larose, Paris 2004, p.188

the existing city or outside the city. With regards to the mobility by ethnic group, Oromo people are the first. Since Harar is neighboring to the Oromo regions, this city has been always confronting immigration. Poor Oromo people used to live in thatched huts, or *gambisa*, on the southern slope of the city, but these humble buildings were replaced by *chikka* structures. In some cases, they formed more permanent masonry circular house (*gojjo*) within the compound of *ge gar*. This explains the subtle relation between Harari and Oromo who spend their lives side by side.

2-4-2. Evaluation of Heritage Buildings

Ethiopia is rich in historical buildings, which show unique and incomparable characters by region. The detailed surveys carried out in several cities and villages by the author and her team during the last decade has proved their rich typological variety and architectural nature. The existence of circular wooden hut thatched roof, called *tukul* or *gambisa* on the grass root level may suggest its Africa-ness as the rural landscape is dominated by the presence of this type as farmers' houses, but once one enters in a city, the townscape changes radically. Sophisticated design of mansions and urban houses may represent its urban culture inherited in its respective history. The discussion in this section defines the major building types as urban heritage of Ethiopian towns and cities, especially from the viewpoint of housing culture.

Houses are the very place where the lives of local inhabitants unfold and interact. The author has focused not only on the building itself but also the relation between the parcel and the buildings within it as the driving force to generate the typological similarity and difference. In this sense, the urban fabric is a kind of organic entity which keeps changing according to the situation of the land and the people who use it. Land tenure is therefore considered the key factor to define the relation between the landlords, house owners and the inhabitants. At the initial stage, that is, when it was constructed, the building follow its initial purpose to house a specific family of families, but in the course of time, the housing condition changes so as to generate alteration of the building. Additional construction, demolition, renovation or even restoration take place, then. The urban fabric is not always homogeneous, but dense and loose by parcel and block. The mixture of different kind of housing types was accelerated especially in the 20th century as different groups, by ethnicity and religion, came to occupy the different parts of the mosaic-like city.

Fortunately major cities like Gondar, Mekelle and Harar possess numerous historical buildings, which have been identified worth called cultural heritage during the field surveys. Many of them came to be nationalized when the *Derg* government launched revolutionary reform of housing policy. Most of the old sophisticated mansion were divided and subdivided into small rooms. Accordingly, the size of the space assigned to one household became comparatively small and deteriorated although the poor majority who had been neglected from the right to enjoy the sufficient housing condition benefitted this policy. Equalization was, thus, controversial. Hararis have maintained most spacious life style within their *ge gar* type of house as they were not so much engaged in speculation of real estate. Despite their housing conditions, the old traditional buildings still remain and are used as residence.

The assessment of such buildings should be done, therefore, from the viewpoint of

typological evaluation. The building type is not the only one, but has been shared among the residents. The criteria for conservation is not based on its singularity of the building like in the case of *Fasil Ghebbi* or Yohannes Palace, but by the uniqueness of the type as mentioned in this section. Although the present heritage institution in Ethiopia is not yet ready for accepting such types as national heritage, it is urgently required to have another level of inventory to deal with the actuality of these housing types as heritage houses.

Chapter VII

Heritage Risk in Ethiopian Historical Cities

1. Identification of Heritage Risk

1-1. Extraction of Prominent Lived-in Heritage in the Target Area

Following the result of Part 2, the problems extracted from each historical city were grouped and analyzed in a comparative way. By making cross analysis of parameters such as building typology and building age, evaluation of historically appreciated buildings within the central districts was done. The results were mapped as “prominent lived-in heritage” in the form of a mapped inventory [Fig. 7-1]. The number and density are clearly different by city as its nature differs substantially among three targeted cities. Once the inventory was constituted, heritage risk was identified by crosschecking different parameters indicating the nature of residents, socio-economic features as well as the physical aspects of the housings.

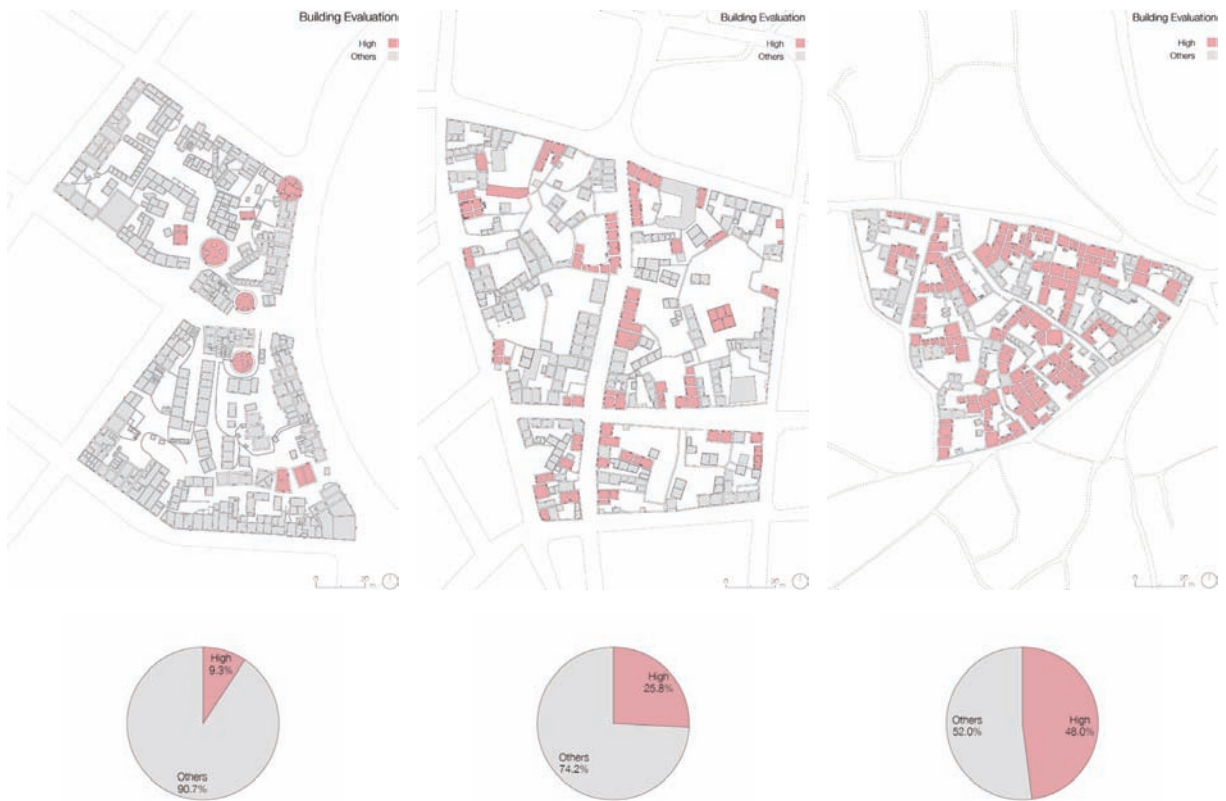


Fig. 7-1 Building evaluation of three cities, red shows high evaluated historical buildings

1-2. Identification of Heritage Risk

1-2-1. Definition of Heritage Risk

The notion of heritage risk varies according to discipline, just as the definition of environmental risk. In the UK, the notion of heritage at risk (HAR) has been discussed for two decades. It aims to reveal the hidden dangers toward heritage and for the conception of protection and conservation measures. Similarly European countries have developed ideas on risk assessment and management of heritage conservation. Identification and analysis of risks is one of the great needs. In countries like Ethiopia, worsening situation of heritage is much more complicated and narrowly related to socio-economic factors. The surveys undertaken by the author reveal the difficulties and problems for maintaining old buildings with historical value. An overall viewpoint based on the appropriate situation in Africa is necessary to understand and make an analysis of such built environments. All the historical buildings are facing complicated and inter-related problems caused by specific conditions of local life.

Following the general idea of risk management, the author defines “heritage risk” as the probability or the possibility of threat of adverse effects on cultural and environmental properties related to heritage. It is necessary to place this notion in the local context of Ethiopia in order to clarify the specific problems in this country. Besides outstanding monuments like churches and palaces that have been studied and protected to some extent, “prominent lived-in heritages” related to the unknown field of indigenous heritage is examined. It is necessary to measure the degree of risk in a quantitative way, besides the qualitative way, so that the author applied different parameters related to the nature and the characteristics of people who spend their lives in heritage. In order to comprehend the relation between the built-environment and socio-human factors, the author has selected the following six parameters based on a typological understanding of heritage: gender, ethnic group, occupation, income, tenure and period of residence. In the following pages, the general tendency of the heritage-dwellers related to these parameters is shown. The details are discussed in the following sections.

1-2-2. Six Parameters for Socio-Economic Aspect

To focus on the socio-economic aspect of heritage risk, the author has used for field survey and analysis in the preceding chapters. They are decisive to define the social and housing aspect of the inhabitants in the central districts, although they differ to considerably according to the level and mode of life within the historical blocks. Therefore, the author will extend her observation on the reality of social behaviors and life style among the residents in historical cities on the basis of these parameters.

(1) Tenure

The expropriation of supplementary houses by the *Derg* government exerted tremendous influence on the state of tenure in Ethiopia. In Harar, self-owner are the majority. Mekelle shows the complete opposite, with *kebele* housing comprising three fourths of the heritage houses. In Gondar, despite the small number of heritage houses, two thirds are *kebele*

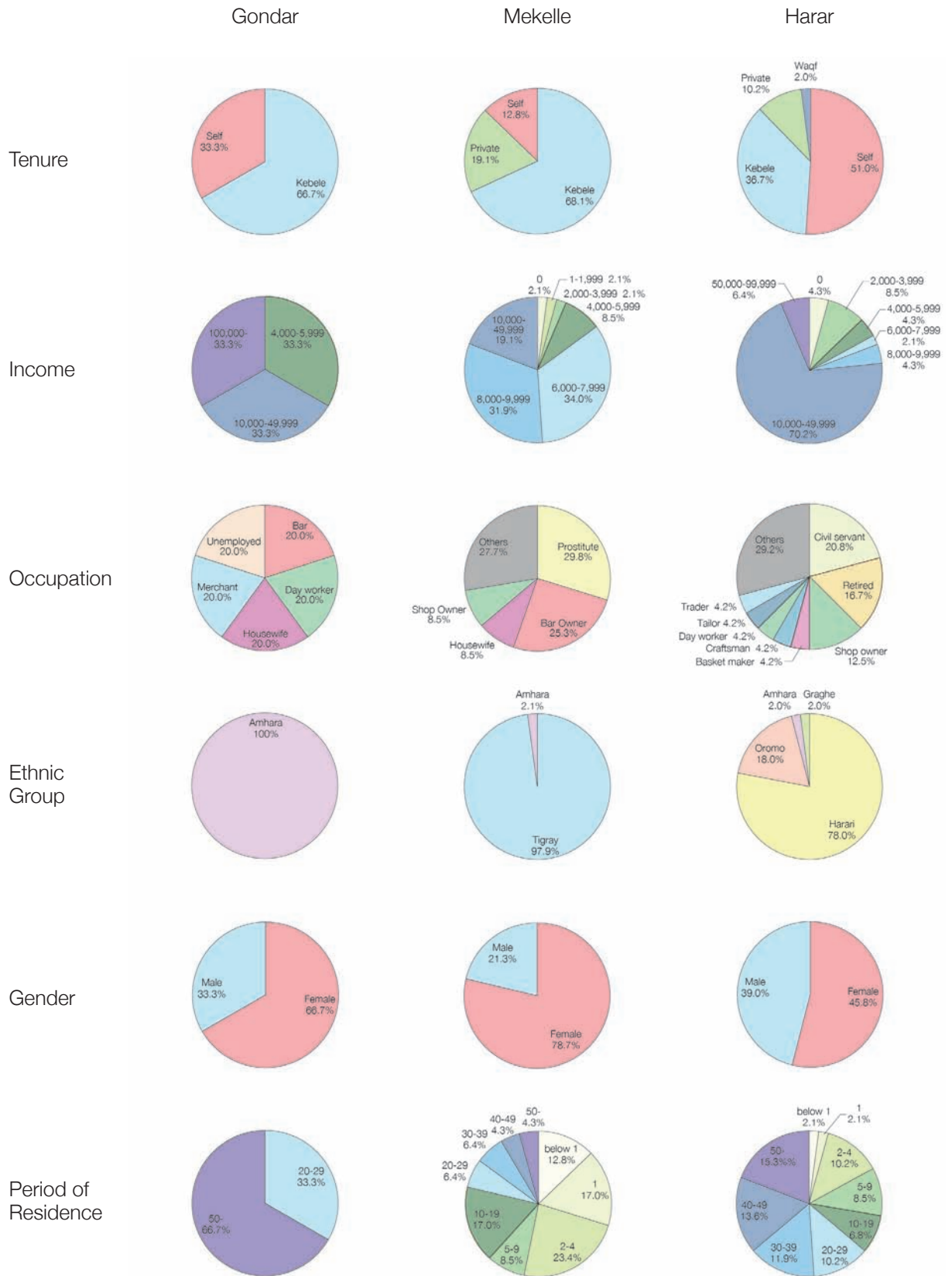


Fig. 7-2 Six parameters

housing. Tenure, in this sense, seems to be a key factor to define the mobility and income level of the residents.

(2) Income

The income level of central districts is comparatively higher than the average of whole city. Harar and Gondar share the same tendency of income differentiation: high-income and low-income groups. On the contrary, the heritage houses of Mekelle are occupied by the low-income group due to the absence of owners who reside in different parts of the city. In this sense, the appearance of built environment (houses) does not coincide to the income level of the residents. This phenomenon is unique in Ethiopia.

(3) Occupation

Harar represents the most stable situation with the presence of civil servants (20.8%) and the retired (16.7%). Mekelle, on the contrary, has a large presence of night occupations like prostitutes (29.8%) and bar owners (26.3%). Gondar, on the contrary, has a dispersed distribution of occupations despite the presence of night business, in the same sense as Mekelle, since long time ago. The division of formal/informal in terms of their occupation is valid to understand the reality of the inhabitants.

(4) Ethnic Group

The ratio of ethnic groups is strongly related to the local situation. The division Orthodox/Muslim is not enough to analyze the general tendency. Although each city is characterized by the presence of Amhara (Gondar), Tigrainian (Mekelle) and Harari (Harari) as its major group, but the presence of other groups such as Oromo (18.0%) In Harar has already become a conspicuous factor.

(5) Gender

The presence of woman-headed households is outstanding in three cities. Gondar and Mekelle are based on the Orthodox Christian culture that have higher ratio of female residents in the central district, but Harar is not exceptional in terms of gender issues. The presence of old women in Harar is another aspect in contrast to Mekelle, where the average age of females is much lower. Following the recent academic tendency in the development policy, the notion of feminization should be carefully examined.

(6) Period of Residence

Period of residence is related to the mobility of inhabitants. In Harar those who have lived for more than 30 years comprise half. Mekelle shows the opposite and the mobility is extremely high: those who have lived here for less than 4 years comprise half. Its mobility is extremely high. Gondar, despite its small number of heritages, the majority is self-owners who lived there for more than 50 years.

1-2-3. Categorization of Heritage Risk in Socio-Economic Sense

The result of the comparison in relation with the above-mentioned parameters suggests several characteristics defining the risk pattern in Ethiopian historical cities. The tenure represents the percentage of public housing within the historical center. Most of these *kebele*-owned housing units are what was expropriated as surplus houses in the socialist period, but no scarcely any maintenance has been done by the public sector. Such institutional incapacity and indifference by the residents affect considerably in terms of their sustainability for better living. Income and occupation signify the economic potential of the inhabitants. The presence of extremely poor people among the residents is undoubtedly the sign for the economic incapacity of the resident side. Informalization, in fact, is typical phenomenon in these districts as the locality of historical centers assures accessibility for informal type of business such as street seller, prostitution and so on. One of the most characteristic tendency is feminization of the residents and occupation as represented in the result of gender issue. Except Harar, feminization is peculiar in Gondar and Mekelle. This phenomenon is shared in many African countries, but in Ethiopia, poverty, informalization and feminization are densely related. The presence of shadow business for women is outstanding. Besides, the question about the mobility of residents is another issue to be discussed. Mekelle represents a very peculiar case in which residents keep coming in and out in a very short interval, probably because of its location near Eritrean border. On the contrary, Gondar and Harar share the same tendency of longer residence.

In short, after summarizing the results, the author came across the following socio-economic criteria as heritage risks that threaten the sustainability of historical environment.

1. Institutional Incapacity
2. Poverty and Informalization of Occupation
3. Feminization of Resident Pattern
4. Instability of Dwelling Cycle

All these factors are related with vulnerability that inhibits healthy and safe life to be expected for human habitation. In the following sections the author will focus on each topic and make consideration on the reality of the critical aspect of human life and housing.

2. Institutional Risk

2-1. Public Housing and Heritage

2-1-1. Nationalization of Surplus Housing Units

Ethiopian property rights are different from those of other African countries as it has not experienced colonization by the French and British. Italians who invaded and ruled the whole of Ethiopia in a short period of time in the late 1930's did not create new property rights for the sake of the colonialists, but succeeded the imperial land holding system of the Haile Selassie's government that had expanded towards the south in the second half of the 19th century and established a new ruling system by Amhara and Tigray aristocrats over conquered provinces. In the imperial period until the 1970's, a small number of the privileged class was in possession of most of the land, both in rural and urban areas. Without attractive industries in the countryside, these landowners directed the investment of their fortunes to the urban real estate business. Consequently, speculation raised the property prices and the rents so that only a limited number of urban elite could afford the possession of such urban lands. An estimate of 1966 indicated that only 5 % of the population of Addis Ababa owned 95% of the total area.¹ In comparison with the small number of landowners, the number of house and shop owners was much more, as indicated by the 40% in the case of Addis Ababa before the revolution.² By 1974, the population of Addis Ababa had reached 1 million as migration from rural areas accelerated the population growth and, accordingly, housing provisions. However, between 1969 and 1972, only 12.6% of the total dwelling units required by the population increase were built with municipal permits and others were illegally constructed by squatters.³

After the Revolution of 1974, the *Derg* Government implemented a series of land and property reform policies to ameliorate the housing situation based on strict socialist doctrine. The Proclamation No.47 published in 1975, entitled "A Proclamation to Provide for Government Ownership of Urban Land and Extra Urban Houses", prescribed the nationalization of all the land in urban communities and the expropriation of surplus housing units.⁴ It was estimated that there was approximately one million residents were in excess within 200 municipalities located all over Ethiopia.⁵ All the surplus properties within these municipalities were confiscated. In addition, tenancy was abolished so that former tenants were freed from rent payments, debts, and other obligations owed to the landlords. Each household was allowed to be in possession of a piece of land with a maximum area of 500m². Spouses and children were allowed to inherit, but selling, especially to anti-christs and mortgages was prohibited. Each household was only allowed to own one housing unit. For business purposes, a household could possess more than one business unit upon the approval of the government. Houses were categorized as "enemy property" if it used to be

1 Mesfin Wolde Mariam, "Problems of Urbanization", *Proceedings of the Third International Conference of Ethiopian Studies*, Haile Selassie I University, Institute of Ethiopian Studies. Addis Ababa: 1970, p.28

2 John M. Cohen, "Land and Peasants in Imperial Ethiopia: Social Background to a Revolution", Van Gorcum, Assen, 1975

3 United Nation Human Settlements Program, "SITUATION ANALYSIS OF INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS IN ADDIS ABABA – Addis Ababa Slum Upgrading Programme", 2007, p.9

4 John M. Cohen, Peter. H. Koehn, "Rural and Urban Land Reform in Ethiopia", *African Law Studies*, No. 14, 1977, pp.3-62

5 Peter Koehn, "Forecast for Political Change in Ethiopia: An Urban Perspective", Paper presented at the Sixteenth Annual Meeting of the African Studies Association, Syracuse, 1973

possessed by the enemy of the class, that is, the aristocrats and high court officials.⁶ All the urban houses falling into this category were placed under the direct government control.

The basic point of this policy is that private ownership was not denied, providing that one household could own only one housing unit, but to receive income from this as rent was forbidden. Instead, the public sector was to handle the housing for rent with very low prices. The expropriated housing units were redistributed to those who had been excluded from house ownership. Calculating the standard of the rent before the revolution, 100 ETB was judged to be the ceiling to divide the low-income class from the moderate. All the dwellings that rented for over 100 ETB per month were administrated under the newly created Agency for the Administration of Rental Houses (AARH) while those under 100 ETB were handled by neighborhood cooperatives. At the initial stage, the government expected the establishment of a new local institution, a cooperative society of urban dwellers, to implement low-rent housing policy. Proclamation No.104 of 1976, on the Urban Dwellers' Association Consolidation and Municipalities, defined the role of *kebele*, corresponding to the prescription of the Proclamation No. 47. The establishment of this type of cooperative was delayed in the initial stage, but by 1977, *kebele* was functioning and administrating the housing issue by using the stock of expropriated houses. However, under the *Derg* rule, all cities in Ethiopia kept suffering from a serious housing shortage. Of the estimated 409,000 nationalized houses and buildings, *kebeles* were assigned to administer 390,000: the remaining was administered by AARH.⁷

2-1-2. Potential of *Kebele* for Maintenance and Preservation

EPRDF which had overthrown the *Derg* regime in 1991, did not change the nationalization policy for land, but introduced the urban land lease policy instead by publishing Proclamation No.80 in 1993. The main objective resides in the direction towards a market-oriented land and housing development system, but it is possible to read another intention to guarantee the revenue for the amelioration of municipal services by way of the leasehold-generated resources. Compared to the permit system of the *Derg* period, the significant characteristic of this proclamation is that it allowed the free transfer of lease rights in the form of sales and mortgages.

In 1994, the Ethiopian Privatization Agency (EPA) was created. This agency was assigned the mission of the privatization of state-owned properties as well as the restitution of confiscated properties. For the latter purpose, Proclamation No.110 on Review of Properties taken in Violation of the Relevant Proclamations was published in 1995.⁸ By 2003, they received 17,000 applications among which 13,000 were rejected. Among 4,000 cases processed for further investigation, 414 cases were approved for restitution in the year 1999-2000. 336 houses were returned to the original owners who used to be their owners. The process seemed to be very slow and time consuming, but a certain number of important houses were returned to the original owners such as the descendants of Hailemariam Gugusa in Mekelle and of Emperor Tewodros in Gondar.

⁶ Article 14 of the Proclamation No. 47

⁷ Girma Kebede, "The State and Development in Ethiopia", Humanities Press, New Jersey, London, 1992, pp.45-46

⁸ From the Home Page of the Ethiopian Privatization Agency

The number of housing units which were restituted to the original owners is small. All other housing units which were confiscated by force still remain as *kebele* housing. The author's field surveys has revealed that most of them are seriously deteriorated. The financial situation of *kebele* was proved to be so bad that they were not able to afford the maintenance cost of the housing, which were left uncared for by both public bodies and residents.⁹ From the viewpoint of equalization of housing opportunity for all the urban inhabitants, this reform brought certain results, but in terms of quality assurance, it is far below the previous housing standards. The interviews with the residents have proved that many *kebele* housing dwellers support the redistribution policy presented by the previous regime as they could benefit low rent. It seems that in a short-term they are not concerned about the building situation as employment and family care. However, in a long-term, most residents express their concern about the amelioration of the building conditions, knowing that it is beyond their own capacity. The cause-and-effect relation of degradation within the historical districts in the heart of a city owes so much to this mechanism of uncared for public housing, which was generated by the lack of the maintenance capacity of *kebele* administrations that still suffer from the lack of funds.

The difference of the attitude between the self-owners and *kebele* housing dwellers is apparent. The former is thoroughly involved in the improvement of the housing conditions as well as cleaning and furnishing of the house. The latter does not give concern about such housing conditions even if they have high income as it is not their job. Harar has different tendency from Orthodox Christian areas, Hararis, are proud of their traditional life style in *ge gar* type housing whether it is self-owned or rented while other ethnic groups are rather indifferent to the housing style. If the house is recognized as the vehicle of identity, the residents pour so much energy into it, but if it is not, houses are left uncared for.

It is important to note that in the historical centers still attract a specific type of people such as traditional minstrels (*azmari*).¹⁰ Gondar above all keeps this tradition. In the target area, for instance, several *azmari* could be found. They originally come from nearby villages and rent rooms in *Kebele 11*, right next to *Fasil Ghebbi*. Their performance in local bars such as *bunnabet*, *talabet* and *tedjbet*, where people enjoy alcoholic drinks and musical entertainment, is still highly appreciated among the inhabitants. This kind of activity is an inseparable part of historical Gondar. Contrary to the apparently hectic concentration of different types of people, the central district is producing other kinds of attractions. To evaluate the cultural value of a historical quarter the nature of inhabitants should be well integrated to the discussion of the built-up environment.

9 Yuko Otsubo, Riichi Miyake, Tomohiro Shitara, Kyoko Homma, "Study on the Housing Policy in Gondar, Ethiopia, and its Reality", *Bulletin of Architectural Institute of Japan*, F-2, 2004, pp.259-260 (in Japanese)

10 Itsushi Kawase, "Musical Performance and Self-designation of Ethiopian Minstrels: *Azmari*", *African Study Monographs*, Suppl. 29, 2005, pp.137-142

2-2. Incapacity of Heritage Authority

2-2-1. ARCCH

In Ethiopia, the present institution in charge of historical monuments from the purpose of heritage conservation is the Authority for Research and Conservation of Cultural Heritage (ARCCH). Originated from the Institute of Archaeology in collaboration with the French Archaeological Mission founded in 1952, then reorganized as the Ethiopian Antiquity Administration with various functions such as preservation and restoration, it has evolved to become a more consolidated administrative institution corresponding to European governmental departments for heritage conservation. The revolutionary government reorganized this as the Center for research and Conservation of Cultural Heritage (CRCCH) under the direct control of the newly created Ministry of Culture and Sport Affairs. Even after the dissolution of the *Derg* government, this center continued its functions in the same way, but finally with the Proclamation No 209 in 2000, the accountability of the Authority has been transferred to the Ministry of Youth, Sport and Culture due to the restructuring program of the government.

The basic measure for the protection of historical monuments is the inventory. This measure has been taken since 1978, during the *Derg* period, which promoted conservation policy as the tool for gaining national identity.¹¹ The major interest of the *Derg* government was the campaign for the World Heritage as socialist Ethiopia had to make its appearance in the international community by way of its cultural heritage. UNESCO experts were invited to Ethiopia in order to make assessment of several important heritage sites such as Aksum, Lalibela, Gondar and Harar. The registration to the UNESCO World Heritage List was successfully done for Lalibela (1978), Gondar (1979), Aksum (1980) and Tiya (1980). ARCCH was in charge of the campaign in collaboration with foreign heritage institutions. Although the work for making the inventory started around 1980, it was suspended due to the worsening of the situation due to the civil war. Academic and detailed investigation of cultural properties all over Ethiopia was not accomplished until the change of the regime in the 1990's.

The responsibility of ARCCH is limited to the historical monuments, that is, the publicly approved cultural heritage such as churches and palaces, but the notion of the historical quarter is still vague as it is not legally designated. There is no relationship with the urban planning and housing sectors. In the case of Gondar, ARCCH is only responsible for the *Fasil Ghebbi* compound. The municipality tried to extend the notion of historical value to its urban entity on the occasion of the revision of its master plan in the 2000's, but ARCCH did not show any interest. The discussion for the evaluation of the historical quarters around the castle was not shared with the national institution. Academic interest in such a field is also lacking within this institution. Only universities and foreign experts have maintained their interest and continued to be engaged in the research programs on the existing historical quarters.

¹¹ Following the establishment of the Inventory system, foreign experts were invited for consulting purposes. See: D. P. Abotomey, "Creation of a Cultural Heritage Inventory System" UNDP, UNESCO, 1981

2-2-2. Lack of Experience

Lack of experience among Ethiopian institutions for dealing with historical monuments has caused a serious problem in terms of heritage conservation. Only a few specialists, most of whom were trained outside of Ethiopia, have been engaged in this profession so that the systematic approach for the research and conservation, including research method, inventory, expertise, craftsmanship, heritage management and so on is still lacking. The uniqueness of Ethiopian heritage and cultural landscape has attracted foreign schools of architecture, but their concern has been limited to the architectural aspects so that their understanding on the reality of the quality of life has been superficial as it is without an appropriate methodology for analyzing the human and social aspects. Relating to the lived-in heritage, it is necessary to have experts both on the architecture and the human sciences. Although the housing side has been much more studied, the value of the historical context has not been well identified. This dilemma has been the major obstacle to give adequate training for future professionals.

3. Economic Diversity and Informalization of Historical Quarters

3-1. Poverty and Historical Cities

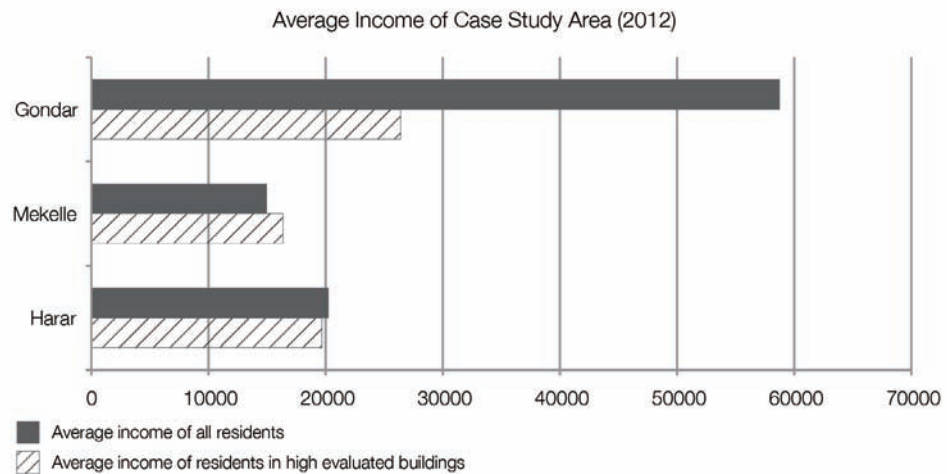


Fig. 7-3 Average income of case study area (2012)

Poverty is the fundamental problem of developing countries. Although the situation has been ameliorated during the last decade in accordance with UN Millennium Development Goals, Ethiopia is still facing serious problems on this issue. Urban poverty has been considered a crucial factor for characterizing the life of urban dwellers. According to the World Bank, it is a multidimensional phenomenon characterized by cumulative deprivations such as income, health, education, tenure insecurity, personal insecurity and disempowerment. There are many indicators to represent poverty, but here the author has tried to compare the mode of poverty by using the income/consumption dimension in order to examine its correlation with other parameters such as gender and life style. The field surveys made in the target cities have in fact revealed that the mode of poverty in historical quarters varies according to its nature and characteristics.

Since 1995 Ethiopia has been achieving the goal of poverty reduction on the national level as the incidence of poverty in 1995/96 was 0.495 and 0.336 in 2010/11.¹² However, strangely enough, with regards to urban poverty, the ratio did not correspond to the national trend.¹³ In 1995/96 it was 0.365, but in 1999/00 it became 0.467 and in 2010/11 it settled down to 0.279. This means that around 2000 the urban living situation became more difficult due to the rapid migration and inflation, but recent economic growth helped the improvement of urban life. The decline in the urban poverty indice and the gap is interpreted as the result of pro-poor activities undertaken in urban areas since 2005, creating a favorable environment for private sector investment, job creation and distribution of subsidized basic food items provided to the urban poor in times of inflation.

¹² Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, "Ethiopia's Progress towards Eradicating Poverty: An Interim report on Poverty Analysis Study (2010/11)", Development Planning and research Directorate, Ministry of Finance and Economic Development, Addis Ababa, March 2012, p.9

¹³ Akililu Amsalu, "Eradicating Extreme Poverty and Hunger in Ethiopia: A Review of Development Strategies, Achievements, and Challenges in relation with MDG1", NCCR North-South Dialogue, No.45, 2012, p.11

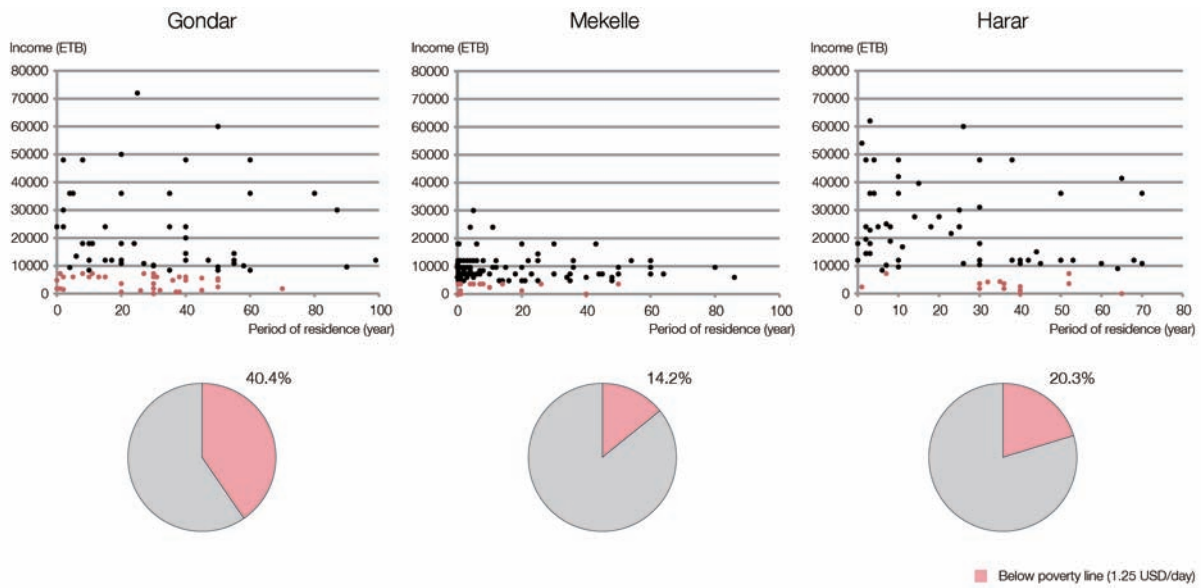


Fig. 7-4 Income and period of residence

It is suggestive to place the cases of historical centers within this poverty head count. In Gondar, the incidence reached 0.790 in 2003, but in 2011 it went down to 0.404. This means the historical center of Gondar used to be the gathering place for extremely low-income people who obtain income in the informal sector. Recent trends backed up by the commerce boom, has altered the situation, but it was still below the average of all the urban sectors in 2011. On the contrary, Mekelle shows a more “healthier” trend in terms of the incidence of poverty. Despite the large number of informal sector workers, it keeps a comparatively higher level of income. Harar is the same. In Gondar, heritage dwellers earn very high-income in spite of the presence of absolute poverty around them. On the contrary heritage dwellers in Mekelle and Harar keep the same standard of income with non-heritage dwellers. This means the equalization of income regardless the quality of the built environment.

3-2. Income Pattern

3-2-1. Residents in Heritage Houses

It is interesting to compare the income pattern of the residents in historical houses in three cities. Historical houses are generally defined as the houses with high historical and cultural values, but here they are more simply defined as “old” houses built before the 1940's. As indicated in 1-1 in this chapter, the density of historical heritage differs by city. Gondar shows the extreme case since the heritage houses are quite limited while Mekelle and Harar show much wider distribution of old historical dwellings. As the year of the survey is different (2011 for Gondar and Mekelle, and 2012 for Harar), the figure should be corrected by using the consumer price index. This may be the reason why the average income is very different in Gondar (58,751 ETB per year) and other two cities: Mekelle (14,981 ETB) and Harar (20,238 ETB). This explains that the residents of historical houses in Gondar earn considerably more as they are merchants and have good connections with diaspora family members. In the case of Mekelle, the lend-away phenomenon has accelerated the migration of poor and modest income settlers to live in the houses. This has resulted in the heritage house dwellers in Mekelle earning less than the average of all the residents in the targeted blocks. In Harar, the income gap is wider than in Mekelle as a certain number of residents enjoy comparatively high income. It is common for self-owners of heritage houses to earn much higher income than *kebele*-house dwellers. The income diversity between these two segments is outstanding as represented in their standard deviation.

3-2-2. Income and Period of Residence

The correlation between income and period of residence shows interesting results. Contrary to the tendency of heritage house dwellers, the general pattern of the residents suggests the similarity between Gondar and Harar. Both cities have two extreme groups: high-income long-term residents and low-income very short-time residents. There are several in-between segments: high-income short-term residents and low-income middle-term residents, for instance. On the contrary, Mekelle shows a completely different pattern. Despite the period of residence, residents are comparatively low-income people. The segment with the period of residence shorter than five years and income less than 10,000 ETB constitutes 38.3%. The mobility of low-income people depending on informal economy is extremely high in the historical quarter: the majority is prostitutes, bar owners represent the second largest group.

3-3. Informal Business

Informal employment consists of a variety of income-generating activities, which do not depend of institutionalized and formalized enterprises or professions. Such are the cases of street sellers, daily employed construction workers, temporary bar employees, needless to say prostitutes. They are either engaged in informal self-employment or own-account workers in informal enterprises and in informal producers' cooperatives. It may also include unpaid family workers, and wage employees working in enterprises without formal contracts, worker benefits or social protection as ILO indicates, but in the cases of targeted cities, the latter cases are excluded. It should be noted that the informality of occupation does not coincide to the informality of land holding or housing right. All the houses in the historical centers are registered by the municipality and assigned the house number respectively. In this sense, the residents are registered citizens, not squatters who occupy the land illegally, although many of them are newcomers from countryside.

The nature of historical districts in the targeted cities is characterized by the presence of informal economy to a great extent, but as the income pattern seems to be different in each city, the distribution of informal business is thought to be also different. The ratio of informal workers among all the heads of household, as a matter of fact, varies according to the study areas. The highest is Mekelle (57 %), then Harar (27 %) and Gondar (20%). These figures do not coincide to the tendency of unemployment: Gondar (14%) Mekelle (2.8%) and Harar (0%). Of course these figures concern only the heads of household and do not cover all the family members.

It is interesting to point out that, in a city like Harar where old Muslim tradition is still strongly shared among the residents, job opportunity is comparatively well balanced and flexible so that the poorer could enjoy the accessibility to certain jobs whether they are formal or informal. The targeted community in Harar is much more equalized and homogeneous within the walled city so that the Muslim society still maintain cooperative tie among the inhabitants. The non-unemployment in Harar have been achieved from this system as a kind of safety net.

On the contrary, Gondar show the case of clear separation of the richer and the poorer. The richer, generally long-term dwellers, keeps their old residences. They are not so much concerned about the situation of the poorer who are concentrated in the same quarter and spend a life with slum-like living conditions. The high ratio of unemployment in Gondar has originated from this fact. The field study reveals that the inhabitants depends more on formal sector. The distinction between the "surface side" of the blocks, which consists of buildings with comparatively new and solid structures, and the "inner-block" which consists of poorer and humble buildings, seems to correspond to this separation of working sectors. In short, those who are working in the informal sector tend to reside inside the blocks, but they are rather minority. Still, the presence of "queer" occupations such as street performer, musician, and fortune teller, who are "hidden" within this district could be describes as the charm of this historical quarter.¹⁴

Mekelle, very different for above two cases, shows that the informal sector occupies

¹⁴ Itsushi Kawase, "Musical Performance and Self-Designation of Ethiopian Minstrels: Azmari", African Study Monographs, Suppl. 29: March 2005, pp.137-14

more than the half of the heads of household, far beyond the cases of Harar and Gondar. Despite its historical and well-harmonized townscape and physical settings, these buildings are occupied by poor inhabitants depending on informal sector. The majority is females, working as prostitutes, bar waitresses and street sellers. This could be described as a typical case of transgression of the old heritages. A great number of migrants come in this quarter and establish their home within old buildings. Prostitution itself is not unique in Mekelle, as the target area of Gondar is also dotted by this red light occupation. However, the nature of houses is very different from the case of Mekelle. They live in humble and roughly constructed *chikka* houses.

Informality in historical districts in Ethiopia is not equal by city. Their historical and social background exerts a tremendous influence upon the situation of economical and occupation conditions. The case of Harar seems to be unique because of its strong Muslim tradition with a unique ethnic group which have been playing the role of safety net to protect from the extreme poverty. However, in Orthodox tradition, the situation has been exposed to more *laissez-faire* type of inhabitant dynamics. The convenient location of historical districts attracts a large number of migrant workers, who even have even replaced the old occupants in the case of Mekelle due to its led-away policy among the old inhabitants. The presence of low-rent *kebele* houses, expropriated from the old landlords contributed for receiving a big number of poor inhabitants, who depend on informal sector works. Still, these people have much more chances to get higher income once tourism and other businesses fit for city centers are well implemented within the historical districts. Gondar suggests this possibility despite its poorly looking townscape of its historical district neighboring to *Fasil Ghebbi*. Discussion on the gentrification is needed in terms of Ethiopian historical districts.

4. Feminization of Heritage Risk

4-1. Feminization of Poverty

4-1-1. Gender Issue in Historical District

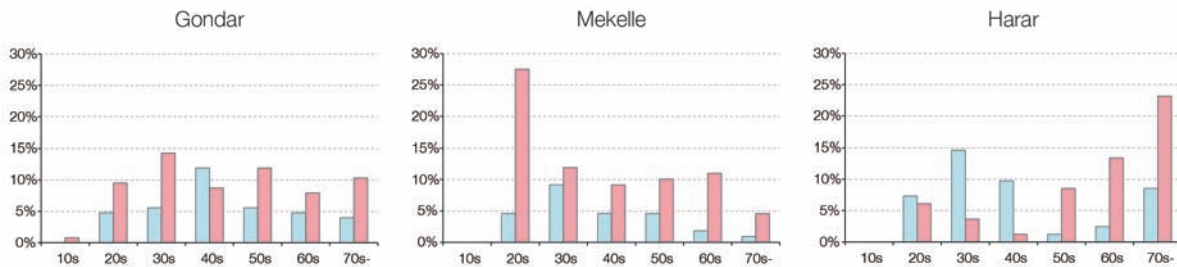


Fig. 7-5 Gender and age

Urban poverty has a distinctive gendered dimension. The aspect of feminization relating to poverty in developing countries has been pointed out by many scholars such as Sylvia Chant or Cecilia Tacoli¹⁵. The major question can be summarized as the interpretation of females' position vis-à-vis the growing situation of urban areas which would provide "unprecedented opportunities for improved standards of living, higher life expectancy and higher literacy levels, as well as better environmental sustainability and a more efficient use of increasingly scarce natural resources"¹⁶. Women in the developing countries have been excluded from this benefit. In African countries, the actuality of women's life has not been spotlighted except few examples in Mali, Nigeria, Kenya and Tanzania.¹⁷ Urbanization which accelerated migration of male labor force towards the cities has caused serious male-female unbalance in some rural areas, but at the same time this kind of rural-urban mobility has been causing unexpected gender unbalance.¹⁸ Husbands working in other places and send regularly remittance is the most frequented pattern. Several papers on this subject in Eastern Africa have pointed out this phenomenon. Such is the case in Ethiopia, as extracted the case studies in three cities. However, why is historical district in the heart of the agglomeration?

15 The problem of gender and poverty has been well studied in South America and in South Asia (India), with case studies. See: Sylvia Chant ed., "The International Handbook of Gender and Poverty: Concepts, Research, Policy" Edward Elgar, Cheltenham, 2010, Sylvia Chant, "Gender, Generation and Poverty: Exploring the 'Feminisation of Poverty' in Africa, Asia and Latin America", Edward Elgar, Cheltenham, 2007, Bruno Schoumaker, Bruno "Poverty and Fertility in Sub-Saharan Africa: Evidence from 25 Countries", presented at Population Association of America Meeting, Boston, April 1-3, 2004. Degefa Tolossa, "Some Realities of the Urban Poor and their Food Security Situations: a Case Study of Berta Gibi and Gamachu Safar in the City of Addis Abeba, Ethiopia", *Environment & Urbanization*, vol.22, no 1, 2010, pp179-198

16 Cecilia Tacoli, "Urbanization, Gender and Urban Poverty: Paid Work and Unpaid Carework in the City", International Institute for Environment and Development, London, 2012, p.4

17 Mahomoud Bah, Salmana Cisse, Bitrina Diyamett, Gouro Diallo, Fred Lerise, David Okali, Enoch Okpara, Janice Olawoye and Cecilia Tacoli, "Changing Rural-urban Linkages in Mali, Nigeria and Tanzania", *Environment and Urbanization*, vol 15, no 1, 2003, pp13-23, Jonathan Baker, "Survival and Accumulation Strategies at the Rural-Urban Interface in Northwest Tanzania", *Environment and Urbanization*, vol 7, no 1, 1995, pp117-132

18 Mari H. Clark, "Woman-Headed Households and Poverty: Insights from Kenya", *Woman and Poverty* Vol 10. No. 2 (Winter 1984), pp. 338-354

In Ethiopia, the ratio of urban woman-headed household was reported as 35.4% in 2000.¹⁹ This ratio is still high compared with other African countries except Botswana (48.1%) and Ghana (39.7%). The urban growth of this country was thought to have been delayed due to the inadequate infrastructure, but the rapid urbanization after the 1960's has resulted in mass migration towards the cities. Gondar and Mekelle, as regional centers, attracted rural population, who gathered for job opportunities. Such difference of economic potential between the urban and the rural areas caused the strong stream of labor force towards the cities. Mekelle represents this tendency in the 1960's. The Swedish team reported in their 1971 report that the male and female ratio was 40.4%: 59.6% in Mekelle. In the 1960's the economic potential of Mekelle was not so high in comparison with the present state. However, the present gender ratio is much more normalized: 50.8:49.2. The ratio has been reversed as the male population is slightly higher than the female. This means that today Mekelle absorbs male workers from rural areas. Still, in the central district, the female proportion is much higher. A series of surveys in the case study areas have revealed the high proportion of woman-headed households in Gondar (63.5% in 2011) and in Mekelle (74.2% in 2009). Relating to Harar (50.0% in 2012), it is well balanced, but according to Muslim tradition, this number is still over-proportioned towards females.

Age distribution among females is another specific feature of woman-headed households. In Gondar, man-headed households have been dominant only for those in their 40's. Taking into account the life expectancy, it is natural that aged households are woman-dominated, but even the younger (especially the 30's) have a feminized tendency. Mekelle's case is extreme. The ratio of woman-headed households of those in their 20's is overwhelming. In many African countries, women in the informal sector provide entertainment (running unlicensed bars, brewing and selling beer, selling sexual favors), engaging in commerce (selling food or char-coal), and providing other personal services (doing laundry, performing female circumcision, practicing traditional medicine). In the researched cities in Ethiopia, these women are working as prostitutes, bar hostesses or *tella* sellers and have very high mobility. On the contrary, Harar shows a high proportion of female head of household among the aged households, which are mainly occupied by widows. The proportion of formal/informal distribution by gender is overwhelmingly male oriented. Female heads of household correspond to only one fourth of the male. The field survey on the targeted districts suggest that in the informal sector the majority is occupied by female heads of household in each city. This means that females have much little chance to work in the formal sector compared with males. The extreme case is in Mekelle. The proportion of the informal sector is more than half of the heads of household, first of all, and then more than 80% of them are females. This signifies that the historical center of Mekelle is characterized the overwhelmingly large number of women working in in formal sector. They are prostitutes, *tella* sellers, bar workers, and so on.

In comparison with Mekelle, the income of aged women in Harar is more dispersed with a certain number of higher income woman-headed households. Gondar, on the contrary, the presence of low-income woman-headed groups is still outstanding although this tendency is not extreme as in Mekelle's case.

¹⁹ Cecilia Tacoli, "Urbanization, Gender and Urban Poverty: Paid Work and Unpaid Carework in the City", International Institute for Environment and Development, London, 2012, p.15. Cecilia Tacoli, "Internal Mobility, Migration and Changing Gender Relations: Case Study Perspectives from Mali, Nigeria, Tanzania and Vietnam", in Sylvia Chant ed., "The International Handbook of Gender and Poverty: Concepts, Research, Policy", Edward Elgar, Cheltenham, 2010

4-1-2. Income Level by Gender

In developing countries, women's work remains characterized by insecurity and low returns as general tendency although their working pattern is differentiated by the type of "female" labor.²⁰

Sociological and anthropological researchers so far have distinguished several types of woman-headed households. Households headed by an absentee male should be distinguished from households headed by a female alone. The former is the type of households caused by migrated labor force. But the households in the central district of Mekelle appear to be exclusively with female heads. There are two tendencies. One is a household with a single mother without husband or father. Another is a household with an old lady whose spouse has already passed away. The former pattern is mainly occupied by prostitutes and *tella* sellers. They form the majority in this study area and run what we call "gay trade" based in their own houses. Food sellers, who are also by females, belong to the same pattern. The latter type is represented by house owners, who are comparatively wealthy and enjoy benefits from their property and, occasionally, from their family or kin outside of Ethiopia. This means that two extremities coexist in the same area and, curiously enough, live without interference each other.

The correlation between the income level and the age both male and female, in three targeted cities, is plotted in [Fig. 7-6]. Each city apparently shows its own pattern. The difference by gender is represented as 26,748 (male): 11,212 (female) ETB as average income per year for Gondar, 10,984 (male): 7,828 (female) ETB for Mekelle, and 24,470 (male): 16,063 (female) ETB for Harar. The dispersion pattern is different respectively in each city, but the level of Mekelle is very much lower than other two cities. In the case of Gondar, females are poor and the distribution of income is rather equal by age, but in Mekelle it shows the extreme case as the poor is concentrated within the segment of the young (under 30 years old). Harar has completely opposite tendency as the distribution by age shows the dominant number of old poor females. The presence of rich and aged females is another character of Harar.

Therefore, the concern about the poverty of the females is repeated also in Ethiopia as the result of the field researches. Historically speaking, the transformation of the male/female composition since the middle of the 20th century has caused

4-1-3. Gender within Heritage House

Does the gender issue affect lived-in heritage? In terms of the heritage house dwellers, the feminization is much more outstanding. In the cases of Gondar (66.7%) and Mekelle (78.7%), the tendency is the same as the general tendency in the historical districts, but as far as Harar is concerned, the ratio of woman-headed household becomes comparatively higher.

²⁰ Rachel Masika, "Urbanisation and Urban Poverty: A Gender Analysis", Bridge Development-Gender Report, No.54, p.8



Fig. 7-6 Income, age, and gender

4-2. Prostitute in Heritage

4-2-1. Prostitution in Ethiopia

It is reported that poor women, in many cases, use their sexuality to support their family and to get better social status by becoming concubines or lovers for wealthy men, by entering into consensual unions, by working as “good-time girls” in bars, or by becoming prostitutes of various sorts.²¹ Unlike other countries in Africa, prostitution is not illegal in Ethiopia. This is why in most of the cities the “gay trade” has been commonly acknowledged. A previous research on the female behavior in Addis Ababa proved that 7.1% of the adult female population of Addis Ababa regularly practiced multi-partner sexual contacts, the majority of these being prostitute-client contacts.²² Historically speaking, the downtown of Gondar, *Gira Bet*, was known as the place for drinking and prostitution and even now, this “tradition” has been kept as indicated in the result of the survey on Gondar. The case of Addis Ababa, Kazanchiz, has been studied as it is a very well-known nightspot in the capital.

From social anthropological viewpoint, the behavior of prostitutes suggests a peculiar pattern in terms of social contact. Prostitution, or rather, sex work, is tough work which has insecurities and risks of all kind, but, it is also considered the kind of work to bring women into contact with a wide range of people and society on a daily basis. A part from the men who come to them as clients, the contacts with other prostitute who work and live with them, and neighbors who live nearby. The case of Mekelle corresponds explicitly to such circumstances. Bethlehem Tekola, who did a detailed survey on the reality of prostitution in Addis Ababa by interviewing sex workers, pointed out these three categories of contacts. “The men to whom service is given bring to the women both risks and opportunities. Women who work together can be competitive or cooperative with each other. Sex workers can be accepted and embraced by their neighbors or rejected and ostracized”.²³ Their contact with neighboring community can be measured by their commitment of formal and informal activities like visiting the sick, attending funerals or calling upon a bereaved neighbor as well as becoming a member in community organizations like *iddir*. It is interesting that the social life of prostitutes is well integrated into such community in many cases. Tolerance and acceptance seem to be the key to understand the social contact between the sex workers and the neighboring community.

In the Muslim community of Harar, people do not accept prostitution as practiced in Orthodox society and the occupation as “prostitute” is not admitted within their community, but among Amhara and Oromo communities, the “gay trade” is still widely practiced. Even within Harar *Jugol* brothels are popular night spots. Heritage houses are used as brothels, as a matter of fact, but they are situated beyond the study area.

21 J. Mugo Gachui, “Anatomy of Prostitutes and Prostitution in Nairobi”, Institute of Development Studies Working Paper no. 113, Nairobi: University of Nairobi, 1973

22 Mehret M., L. Khodavich & B. Shanko, “Sexual Behavior and Some Social Features of Female Sex Workers in the City of Addis Ababa”, *The Ethiopian Journal of Health Development*, 4(2), 1990, pp. 171-176, Kevin Lalor, “The Victimization of Juvenile Prostitution in Ethiopia”, School of Social Science and Law Articles, Dublin Institute of technology, 2000, pp

23 Bethlehem Tekola, “Negotiating Social Space: Sex-workers and Social Context of Sex Work in Addis Ababa”, African Study Monographs, Suppl. 29: March 2005, pp.169-183, Also See: Bethlehem Tekola, “Poverty and the Social Content of Sex Work in Addis Ababa An Anthropological Perspective”, Forum for Social Studies, Addis Ababa, 2005

4-2-2. Prostitution and Heritage

Mekelle has shown an exceptional example of the usage of heritage houses as the places for prostitution. The “lend-away” phenomenon leads historical buildings lent by the owner being occupied by a majority of the new residents, namely prostitutes. In brief, heritage is occupied by prostitutes. If we call this phenomenon “prostitute-in-heritage”, this becomes a very peculiar feature in central Mekelle. The combination of prestigious architecture and vulgar occupation evokes mismatched image for living historical monuments. Despite their historical value, mansion and houses are divided into small components and subject to let at very low rent. Prostitutes are attracted by this low rent and its convenience for their work. Still, their living conditions are very humane, devoid of violence and organized crime. In Gondar, prostitution is widely practiced in the historical center. This is the traditional hotspot of the gay trade, but the buildings used for this purpose are ordinary *chikka* buildings. Only one historical building in the target area is known as an old brothel used by Italians and locals, but is now used by an ordinary household. It is interesting that in Harar, an old Indian type of mansion is now used as brothel. This coincides the case of “prostitute-in-heritage” despite the Muslim dominated atmosphere.

This kind of “prostitute-in-heritage” exists in many Latin American countries although it is not categorized as a specific tendency.²⁴ Three major countries in terms of prostitution, Brazil, Columbia and Dominican Republic, give examples of this type of transgression of heritage houses into this occupation in their renowned historical cities. Santa Fe district of Bogota, Columbia, is, as a matter of fact, one of the most congested zones for prostitution in the world.²⁵ Santo Domingo of Dominican Republic, shares the same phenomenon. A part of Ciudad Colonial, the oldest colonial city constructed by Europeans, has been dotted by the presence of “red light” businesses. Scholars have pointed out the peculiarity of this women's work, apparently exchangeable to monetary amount, which is closely related “clients” inclination to consume for sexuality, but the relation between the physical environment and the prostitution has not yet been analyzed. The same type of red zone used to exist in central Barcelona. The famous *Barrio Gotico* (Gothic Quarter) is a medieval town with a concentration of masonry buildings. As a historical quarter, this area attracted a considerable number of tourists from all over the world, but at the same time, many building turned out to be warehouses with hundreds of prostitutes taken from other countries. A kind of syndicate ruled this area clandestinely so that opium and human trafficking were common. Finally towards the end of the 20th century, the municipality successfully launched a campaign to clean this area through intensive intervention with new public spaces.

Is central Mekelle or central Harar on the way to becoming a *Barrio Gotico*? This is a question raised in front of the present situation prevailing in central Mekelle. Outsiders from this area, including city managers and experts, are concerned about enlargement of this phenomenon. But, physical similarity does not always signify the same outputs and social process. Its social context should be carefully analyzed. As described in the publication of Bethlehem Tekola, the Ethiopian sex working situation seems to be different from that of other parts of the world. It is more tolerant and open to neighboring communities.

²⁴ Mauricio Rubio Padro, “La Prostitución Latinoamericana y su Incidencia en España”, Instituto Universitario de Investigación sobre Seguridad Interior, 2005.

²⁵ Hilda Patricai Vargas Ramierz, “Exclusion Social de Mujeres que han ejercido la Prostitución en el Barrio Santafé, en Bogotá, Colombia”, September, 2010

The problem of woman-headed household does not always mean the predominance of prostitutes, but here it happens. What is peculiar is the parasitism of prostitutes in historical monuments, which otherwise would have attracted more tourists. Still, this area is safe regardless of its appearance. The key to understanding this situation might be tenure. In metropolises like Paris, Tokyo, and Los Angeles, the red-light zone has been a legally complicated district. The tenure, or the property rights, became very vague and ambiguous. Sometimes, the real estate properties are subject of double or triple leasehold. Organized crime is based on such areas. Fortunately, Mekelle is too small and naïve to be absorbed in such a vicious circle. Ownership is clear and owners are always taking care of their properties, with good and smooth relation with their tenants no matter what their occupations are. Tolerance by the public body as prostitution admitted not illegal may have something to do with this situation.

Among African cases, cities frequented by foreign tourists are enlarging the “sex industry” to receive the growing number of foreign “clients”, but in most cases, prostitution takes place in well-furnished modern clubs and bars and not in heritage buildings. The cases of Kenya were well studies on the reality of sex work from the view point of health and hygiene conditions.²⁶ However, some Swahili cities endowed with historical environment such as Zanzibar and Mombasa seem to be characterized by this kind of prostitute-in-heritage, but the relation with neighboring communities is very different from the above-mentioned Ethiopian cases. Further investigation is needed in terms of the relation between the prostitution and heritage in historical cities in Swahili Region and Mozambique.

What is the typical life style and the behavior pattern of the prostitute-in-heritage? Many of them displaced from other places to such convenient houses as historical buildings in the district. Interviews with them revealed that they have chosen this place as their home and the working place as independent sex worker. Many are single mothers, so that they have to take care of their children. As the old masonry mansions are comparatively large, they are partitioned into several living units. Therefore, the old mansion now works as a kind of collective house, but not a brothel in the original sense of the word, because the type of residents differ according to the units. This means that a mansion is housed both by prostitutes and ordinary people. Prostitutes are like hermit crabs which have taken over the old incrustated shell. Old historical buildings play the role of the incrustated shells. Historical monuments are a kind of ready-made products which are very affordable for the newcomer.

²⁶ For instance, an estimated 6.9 % of women are said to have exchanged sex for money in 2000-2001. Case studies show that they work in bars, hotels, bus stages and discos where clients gather for looking for their partners. See: Michael Elmore-Meegan, Ronán M. Conroy, C. Bernard Agala, “Sex Workers in Kenya, Numbers of Clients and Associated Risks: An Exploratory Survey”, *Reproductive Health Matters*, 2004, pp.50-57

4-3. Feminization by Ageing

4-3-1. Dominance by Old Females as Community Organizer

The role of aged women is comparatively evaluated in a traditional society. They are the persons to be respected of by the younger generation as seen in the Far East. In Harar, which still maintain old Muslim social values, old women are playing the core role for the local cooperative association called *Affocha*. As gender issues have been apparently decisive in such a society, women are still clearly differentiated from the males and formulate their own community by household and block. Most of the females in each quarter are closely organized by this association, which has a feature of cooperative for assisting marriages, funerals, social welfares and other familial events. Communal fund resulted from an amount of small contributions is the basis for their financial activities. The heads of this association is mainly occupied by aged women, most probably related to influential families. Aged widows are also highly respected in Harar as they are given special housing units, *tit gar*, within their compound. They spend their lives by pension, which is small, but familial contribution supports their domestic economy.

Presence of excluded women works well in a community. They are street watchers and contributes a lot for community based crime prevention

4-3-2. Decrease of Maintenance Capacity

Increase of aged women has both positive and negative aspects. As discussed in the former sections, the presence of aged women in a community has symbolic value for local associations and security. However, as most of them live on pension, their economic capacity goes down parallel to their age. This Incapacity would cause the lack of maintenance for their dwellings and their surroundings. Some families are supported by their children who reside outside of the country as diaspora. Money transfer from the children is the fundamental resource for their life so that these old families spend much better life because of their economic capacity. However, their future is uncertain as their children may not come back to their original place and abandon the property. There are many single families by an aged woman. Most of them are widows. This represents the typical phenomenon within historical center in Ethiopian cities.

5. Tenacity and Vulnerability of Historical Quarter

5-1. Incrustation of Historical Quarter

5-1-1. Incrustation as a Stage of Evolution of Historical Environment

To understand the growth of historical environment in general, both on physical and social contexts, the process how the built environment has been recognized as the basis for social life is essential to define it historical. This stage is achieved by interactions of physical and human factors such as buildings, townscape, and greens, as well as inhabitants and social institutions. Unlike historical cities in Europe, historical environment in Africa has been always exposed to negative impacts such as deterioration or slum formation. Even the feminization as represented in many African cities is one of the crucial elements of this kind of vulnerability. Still, Ethiopian historical cities show a high level of historicity by achieving qualified townscape with well-stylized buildings. The architectural aspect either as a single building by itself or represented as a group of buildings matters by any means to be qualified as cultural property. Conservation or restoration works are to be executed to maintain or recover such qualification.

“Important” buildings like mansions or public halls can be described as concretization of certain architectural quality which has characterized local culture. Such is the case in Ethiopian cities like Gondar or Mekelle although their appearance differs city by city. Mekelle at the dawn of Italian invasion already showed a level of matured state as masonry townscape due to the densification of central districts and supporting unique building technique. The social system then followed the feudal hierarchy with the active intervention of aristocrats in the central zone. At this point, the physical built environment of Mekelle was well formulated, or well “incrusted” by way of high level building technique and sufficient investment. As long as masonry architecture is concerned, it is not difficult to imagine the notion of “incrustation” to describe the level of construction. Hence, the author tries to introduce the idea of incrustation to explain the evolution of historical quarters in Ethiopia.²⁷ This concerns both the physical achievement as stylized architecture and the maturity of social life within this built environment. Once the incrustation process is completed, the building is to be sustained by generation for a long period of time as in the cases of European masonry architecture thanks to the high level of consistency and tenacity assigned to the buildings. In a walled city, its historical environment can be said to have double crusts, first by the stylized building itself, then by the surrounding wall which contains groups of buildings.

This incrustation, either as a point or as a surface within a historical district, gives the qualification of tenacity to what we call the historical environment. Within the incrusted city and architecture, the space could re-articulated within it according to new contexts and meanings. Renovation, renewal, and restoration are operations targeting this incrusted environment. Its physical nature should be maintained, but its contents and inner spaces

²⁷ In the field of art history, the idea of incrustation was used to explain the faux-stone paintings (incrustation style or *incrustae*) for Roman (or Pompeii) architecture as well as that of Italian Romanesque, but here this concept corresponds to rather biological idea for growth of accumulation or overlays as hard-coating of the inner.

could be altered or reorganized. To understand the level of maturity of Ethiopian historical cities, the concept of incrustation would play the key role. The following discussion on the characteristics of study areas reflects on this conception.

5-1-2. Difference among Historical Cities from Incrustation Point

The types of the inhabitants in the historical districts in Gondar and Mekelle show the same tendency as long as the informal sector is concerned. Informal workers such as prostitutes, street sellers, waitresses and temporary workers are residing within their historical blocks. However, there is a clear difference in terms of built environment. In Gondar, what we call historical means mainly circular houses constructed by the upper class, but in Mekelle, it is more a group of buildings that formulates its townscape. At first glance the appearance of Mekelle is much richer than Gondar. The presence of a large number of slum-like poor houses within the blocks in Gondar, as a matter of fact, disturbs from the recognition as historical entity within the oldest quarter of this city. On the contrary, Mekelle shows much more recognizable townscape as historical entity. Therefore, the notion of incrustation could be applied in the case of Mekelle. In fact, Mekelle was well incrustated and became mature in the first half of the 20th century, but Gondar did not reach to this level even in the second half of the 20th century.

It should be noted that in Mekelle mansions with high architectural quality have become actually spotlighted buildings in a gay trade zone, that is, as residences and working places for the prostitutes. This prostitute-in-heritage phenomenon corresponds directly to the degree of incrustation within historical districts. They have been transgressed by these migrant females since thirty years ago. Two hypothetical reasons for the transformation of this district could be raised from the observation of the site. First, the lend-away by the landlord, started in the 1960's, results in the absence of the landlord in the city center. This caused a big vacuum in the heart of the city. Secondly, following this vacuum process, the take-over of supplementary housing units by the *Derg* government from the middle of the 1970's has changed definitively the nature of existing buildings. These expropriated mansions were accordingly divided into several living units in order to house the poor tenants, but the rapid cycle of turnover of residents has accelerated the migration of newcomers, especially, prostitutes, who seek convenient location in the city center for the sake of their business. This is way how aristocrats' and high court officials' mansions have been transformed into such "brothels", but what should be underlined is the fact that in Mekelle prostitution is not so much organized as in Gondar. Prostitutes are more independent as other occupations are. In Gondar, prostitution is common, but it happened to be more organized than in Mekelle. As explained in last section, bar and *bunnabet* owners run this business, gathering young women around them. These females reside in very humble dwellings scattered inside the blocks. Their life style and the housing types do not coincide to historicity like in the case of Mekelle. They only live in poor looking slum-like housing units, owned by *kebele*. They earn less than their counterparts in Mekelle as they are "hired" by the gay trade business people.

In this sense, Gondar has been continuing the same type of gay trade business since the imperial period. The bars and brothels or *bunnabet* take the shape of old days. Its built

environment was not matured until the 1960's when the master planning was overlaid to this district so as to generate gridded street system. Heritages are partial. Due to their limited size, circular houses contains only one household even after some of them were expropriated by the *Derg* regime.

If it happened in Ciudad Colonial in Santo Domingo or in Santa Fe in Bogota, where the brothels are situated within historical colonial buildings, the prostitution would be much more organized and dangerous. Organized crimes with drugs and human trafficking are common. These cities have been well incrustated due to the construction of stylized stone buildings. Djibouti follows this model to some extent with colonial constructions in the midst of the city, where gay trade is very common as a port city. Bar waitresses and prostitutes, mostly Ethiopians and Eritreans, are working there. Based on French oversea colonial urban model at the turn of the 20th century, the urban fabric is well incrustated by the use of coral stones.

Harar shows another tendency. As a walled city containing a number of old houses, Harar was incrustated in much earlier period, in the course of the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries. The inhabitants sustained their lives even after the annexation by Amhara regime at the end of the 19th century. Its social system with Muslim tradition serves as a safety net to keep the old system which guarantees the cooperative community. Their *gegar* has been maintained as a principal residence even until now. Only in an Orthodox area, prostitute-in-heritage has been taking its shape in a certain old mansions. The degree of incrustation is much higher than in Mekelle.

The field survey in the targeted districts of Ethiopian historical cities reveals different levels of incrustation, but what is certain is that old heritage houses are functioning as incrustation because it has a kind of sustainability both in its physical quality and social meanings, which are superior to other ordinary buildings. Once left from the hand of the owner and lend away as house for rent, it came to be sub-divided so as to contain several housing units within it. These units were accordingly provided for those who sought cheap rent. This house went through dramatic process of nationalization by the socialist government and became public housing in the 1970's in many cases. However, the clearance operation of 2010 in Mekelle caused demolition of several culturally important mansions which had survived such drastic urban upheavals. One has learned a lesson that the modern theory of urban design would oblige the decision makers to adopt an easy way of clearance and rebuilding, rather than to upgrade the level of incrustation, which ought to be the key for the regeneration of old historical quarters.

5-2. Vulnerability of Living Environment

Vulnerability of a city has been mainly referred to disaster mitigation. In a country like Japan and the Philippines, natural disaster such as earthquake, typhoon and eruption of volcano is always the main factor to harm and destroy urban settings and human life within them. However, in a country like Ethiopia, the type of natural disaster is completely different. Historically there has been drought and, in some mountainous regions, flood in the rainy season. Fire is rare because cooking is mostly done outside the house. Besides, the size of the buildings is modest enough to resist such accidental disasters. Therefore, the idea of vulnerability should be used in different context in Ethiopia. In the following section, the author will discuss on several aspects of urban vulnerability related to Ethiopian historical cities: slum formation, vandalism and excessive investment.

5-2-1. Slum Formation

According to the statistics of UN Habitat, 79 % of inhabitants in Addis Ababa are reported to live in slum in 1994 and its number is growing afterward. UN Habitat defines slum in the following way. “A slum is an area that combines to various extents the following characteristics: inadequate access to safe water, inadequate access to sanitation and other infrastructure, poor structural quality of housing, overcrowding, insecure residential status”. From the viewpoint of sanitation, the living condition in historical quarters is critical. Devoid of tapped water, inhabitants are obliged to purchase water by jerrycan. Water supply and sewage is thus a big problem. Living places are often contaminated because harmful pollutants and sewages run in the open drainage. In rainy season, housing sites are overflowed by such contaminated water. The case of Gondar is the most serious. However, from the stand point of those who are well accustomed to the living environment of this country, the number presented by UN Habitat seems to be a bit exaggerated, because the life style of Ethiopians is very humble and simple. Buildings look very poor, but the housing quality itself is not always so bad except water supply and sewage problem.

Historical center in Gondar, as a matter of fact, has slum-like looking because of its humble houses built of *chikka*. Still, this material is widely shared and common in Ethiopia. We are not able to judge Ethiopian housing in slum state only from this viewpoint. To examine the extent of deterioration of the buildings as well as to detect social indicators related to poverty is very important to know the reality. As discussed in the previous chapters, the historical quarter in each city contains different potentials. In the case of Gondar, the juxtaposition of wealthy residents among them raises the average income higher than other historical cities. In Mekelle, the quality of existing masonry buildings shows the potential. In Harar, the pride of place by the local inhabitants is the key for future social development. Such factors will have a possibility to upgrade the situation and make the historical quarter sustainable.

Two scenarios could be made in front of present situation. First one is rather positive in terms of upgrading the quarter by making use of heritage houses. They would play the role of vehicle towards more proper and healthier type of society, provided that they are upgraded and reused in a proper way. These buildings are lived in by the residents who are aware of the value of heritage and proud of their houses. The intervention by local

community either by *kebele* or *idir* for this kind of community care is strongly needed. Another scenario is in a negative direction. Lack of interest and solidarity among the residents would lead the situation more and more degraded. Extremely low standard of life would be repeated by high ratio of mobility of newcomers, who seek opportunity for their informal business. If we pay attention to the majority, that is, low-income informal sector people in the historical quarters, the situation always stays critical. Life according to the definition of slum by UN Habitat unfolds all the time.

Both cases are feasible. It is true that historical quarters are always facing with a serious problem of vulnerability, which may worsen the slum-like housing situation and confuse the community. To avoid this risk, the first task to be accomplished is to know and understand profoundly the extent of this threat. Then, the second task is to extract from the present situation whatever potential for regeneration of historical environment, if any. To measure carefully the potential of both public and private sectors would be the key for the regeneration of the deteriorated slum-like quarters.

5-2-2. Vandalism

Ethiopian regional cities are known as comparatively safe places in terms of crime and violence. Traditional style of local governance through the chiefs or heads of various communities is still working. Addis Ababa, on the contrary, has become too large to have this kind of well-disciplined society as it has gone beyond the limit of well balanced urban scale through mass immigration from rural areas. Cities like Gondar and Mekelle still enjoy this low crime ratio. However, if the city center becomes instable with high ration of coming-in and going-out, the situation would change radically. For the present, no fierce vandalism is reported inside the urban cores of these historical cities. The ratio of crime is quite low in comparison with slum-like urban centers in other Africa countries.

Prostitution may be another factor which concerns gender-related social risk. Prostitution is not illegal in this country, and not related to organized crimes, fortunately enough. As observed in the field survey, prostitutes seem to be well integrated to neighborhood. Beggars are everywhere, but people do not interfere to their behavior of begging. Ethnic confrontation is rarely reported as well. However, the high ratio of mobility, mainly females, especially in Mekelle, could become another negative factor to induce vandalism from outside. Economic growth may result in sex tourism like in other African and Asia countries. In many developing countries, it has been observed that economically motivated violence occur among men and that women are more involved in interpersonal violence, but in Ethiopia, such tendency has not reported as poverty is acknowledged common reality. Both Orthodox and Muslim discipline requires the ethics of obedience.

5-2-3. Gentrification by way of Privatization

Gentrification is a kind of operation to be applied to ameliorate the existing built environment, mostly deteriorated throughout time. In many cities in the world, gentrification has become an effective method for the conservation of historical quarters, especially in advanced countries. Its problem is the gap between the life of "former" inhabitants and the developer, who generally pursues the real estate business to get profit from the property

asset of the historical buildings. Those who have been living there, say old residents, have to abandon their residents to give way to those who purchase renovated buildings. Heritage houses are upgraded with new asset values by way of renovation. If the real estate market is matured and open to whatever kind of client, this operation would produce considerable merits and profits that could compensate the renovation cost. However, in a country like Ethiopia where real estate market is unbalanced in relation with great mass of poor people, it seems too early to introduce this kind of real estate business model to solve the problem of inner city. Currently, renovation or restoration of old buildings in this country is still on the line of cultural property policy by the heritage authority, which is unfortunately incapable of handling all the issues at the same time. The position of old residents is still considered as public sector is in charge of housing in historical cores. However, once the privatization process starts, a typical capitalistic business model of investment and profit will be certainly applied. Of course, to encourage the private sector, this business model is effective, but how should we reconcile the residents' will and right to stay in their "own" place with the development expected by investors?

From the viewpoint of incrustation theory, cities that are already well built-up and well incrustated are manageable in terms of renovation and restoration for the purpose of better living. Gentrification is not the only way to attain this goal. Although the once-flourishing mansions have been gradually articulated and sub-divided in order to generate rooms to house several households for the sake of small profit of landowners, to restore it to the original state, or to add new articulation corresponding to the new use, is not so difficult as the physical structure is solid enough to undergo this kind of operation. The question is rather its social program how to introduce new social life into this quarter. To expel the prostitute from this area, as represented by the present "slum clearance" policy implemented by the municipality, does not show the fundamental solution to the real problem. Introduction of strong support by the collaboration of public and private would generate new guideline for the socially conscious heritage house. The presence of lowest administrative body, *kebele*, would be potential basis for future development provided that there will be enough intervention toward this local community from the upper level of state governance and even from the international community. In this paper, the author dare not enter into the operational discussion in terms of the upgrading deteriorated historical center, but the next phase after the completion of this paper will be certainly this process for implementation. Community-based approach is for the sake of grass-rooted operation is again highly appreciated.

Conclusion

The standard pattern of a historical city, in general, is that historical relics and sites concentrate in the central district. In many cases, the urban core is the place where the initial stage of urban settlement started. This place is not necessarily that of a palace or a temple, but it may be an area where various types of mansions and houses are dotted as the very place for daily life of citizens. In Europe, America and even in Japan, such places are not always well conserved. Sometimes it may be concentration of dirty and decayed buildings with low-income population. The inner-city phenomenon that signifies the degradation of the physical environment and the migration of low-income class within the central district has become a serious urban issue since the 1960's. A number of old buildings with historical value in the center were thus disqualified and replaced because of the decrease in real estate value and the danger of vandalism among the inhabitants. Facing this unpleasant situation, research papers have been published by the initiative of urban planners and social scientists in order to raise public attention to such social problems and find adequate solution for ameliorating the situation. As a result, new methodology for the regeneration of deteriorated historical cores was commonly shared among the academics and the citizens and implemented by local authorities and associations. One can see many successful cases of regeneration and even gentrification. Such conservation movement has been widely recognized as a vehicle for urban rebirth.

However, in developing countries, the destiny of historical districts is still uncertain or even tragic. To maintain the level of historicity, not only public attention but also a good financial system and well-established governance are fundamentally needed. However, in general, in such countries the priority is naturally given to the infrastructure and housing that would satisfy the minimum requirement of basic human life within a city and does not coincide with cultural and spiritual value. In other words, historical monuments or cultural property is the last and far-away existence that is reserved only with rare probability of realization. Precious historical centers in Asia, Africa and Latin America are thus being replaced by completely different new townscapes. The cases of Karachi or Abidjan represent this tendency.

Ethiopia's position is unique and rare in Africa where history has not been well preserved due to the lack of writing culture and, politically speaking, the colonization by European powers. In Ethiopia, a large number of historical relics are well kept up to the present time. This country is internationally known by the presence of amazing rock-hewn churches and outstanding imperial castles, some of which have been registered in the UNESCO World Heritage List. The author has been involved in a series of research programs targeting this country and neighboring countries. This made her appreciate its deep-rooted civilization that is still inherited by the contemporary generation. Visits to the historical cities gave her a chance to recall the glorious past and to ask herself how Ethiopians have maintained its building culture up to now. This is the reason why she started overall research on the history and actuality of such cities and towns. Addis Ababa, capital of Ethiopia, has been facing with extremely complicated urban problems, but regional cities such as Gondar, Aksum and Mekelle, once the capitals of this country, suggest different urban characters with manageable scale and rich concentration of heritages within their urban perimeter. Dealing with these cities may bring unexpected knowledge and findings about evolution of Ethiopian cities. There is still a gap between such privileged condition of heritage and the reality of people's life. The physical environment is rich and the inhabitants are poor. GDP per capita in Ethiopia was only 125 USD in 2000. The heritage sites were surrounded by

slum-looking deteriorated residential quarters although many heritage buildings were found within such environment.

The author has started investigating the urban situation of regional historical cities in Ethiopia at the beginning of 2000's, participating in several projects for urban planning and heritage conservation. The goals of the research were summed up into three fields: (1) appraisal of the historicity of Ethiopian heritage based on its own background, (2) identification of deterioration problem by analyzing the transformation process of central districts, and (3) clarification of the vulnerability related to lived-in heritage in a socio-spatial context. Historical zones are not museums. They should be lived in by inhabitants and used daily. The balance between the value of heritage as cultural property and its social aspect is crucial to maintain such lived-in historical environment. To achieve these goals, the author chose three cities, Gondar, Mekelle and Harar, as target of the research and made field surveys in the center of these cities. All of these cities once used to be the capital of an empire or an emirate although their dominant religion was different.

The architectural survey was useful to determine the physical aspect of urban heritages. The basic point was that the survey did not tend to focus on single monuments that are considered as cultural property, but tried to grasp the overall aspect of historical districts as an ensemble like an organic entity. All the buildings within the designated area were measured regardless of their cultural value and function. Spatial composition and building techniques should be carefully examined so as to analyze the process of how locals came to generate such urban space and townscape and even their living style. All the households in the designated area were the targets of the interview in order to clarify the social aspect of the research areas. Data about the nature of households as well as their social indicators such as income, occupation, period of residence and etc. were collected one by one. The author carried out such field surveys at least twice with an interval of several years in order to investigate the transformation of these research areas.

Gondar used to be the see of Gondarine Dynasty between the early 17th century and the middle of the 19th century. With *Fasil Ghebbi* in the center, this city unfolded different quarters corresponding to its hilly topographic conditions. The research area, designated next to *Fasil Ghebbi*, has been recognized as a sensitive zone because of its nature of gay trade although it has a long history of the place with high importance. The survey of this area revealed the presence of outstanding families who continued their life since the Gondarine Dynasty period. A new typology of circular house was identified although the area was occupied with the majority of slum-like cheap *chikka* houses. It was only at the beginning of the 20th century when the urban complex around the castle was well formulated because in the second half of the 19th century, Gondar suffered from the war and vandalism due to the vacuum of strong political power. Concentration occurred after the withdrawal of the Italians who deliberately constructed a "white" new town adjacent to this old city. Disparity of economic level among the inhabitants came to be larger as the central district attracted many migrants from the surrounding rural zones. Good accessibility to working places as well as night attractions gathered people who live on informal economy, including prostitutes. The new master plan requires the conservation of this district as historical buffer zone including the protection of old heritages such as the circular houses. Street performers and fortunetellers are still living there. Introduction of high-rise buildings was not allowed, but people in the business sector are wise enough to use this area as depot

zone for merchandise circulation. Although suffering from poverty, this district has another type of dynamism that reminds us of the urban culture of the imperial period in the past.

Mekelle is a comparatively new city as it was constructed in the second half of the 19th century as a new capital of Ethiopia under Yohannes IV. Endowed with masonry tradition of Tigray, its townscape provides pleasantly organized urban space within the center. Mansions of old aristocrats and high rank warriors still stand out as landmarks of this stone city. Typological analysis of these buildings revealed the presence of different types of masonry mansions considered to have derived from *hidmo*, a local stone house. The problem is that the old owners have left from these houses in early stage and provided them as houses for rent. The nationalization by the *Derg* government made these heritage buildings be divided into small pieces and lend away to a number of people relying on informal economy, namely, prostitutes and eventually refugees from Eritrea. Feminization is extremely apparent in this area. “Prostitute-in-heritage” is a typical phenomenon describing the nature of this central zone. However, this feature does not interfere the presence of old families in this quarter. Some are descendent of imperial families, but they live side by side with such people depending their lives on gay trade. Street sellers, again mostly female, are another segment of this area. Despite such vulnerable feature, the physical aspect of this area is very strong and promising due to the durability of stone materials.

Harar is one of the most respected Muslim cities in the world. Harar *Jugol*, exceptionally maintains its old feature of several hundred years ago. Before the annexation to Ethiopian Empire in 1887, this city had kept the position of the capital of emirate and sultanate successively. Its economy has been based on the trades between the Red Sea and Ethiopian Highlands so as to generate an urban typology of Muslim trading city. Its urban fabric is different from Gondar and Mekelle, with organically curved streets and paths. Its lots within blocks were densely built-up with typical traditional indigenous houses called *ge gar*. From the second half of the 19th century, the communication with India and Europe as well as the construction of Djibouti railway resulted in the appearance of new typology such as the Indian type and mixed type mansions prior to the establishment of Addis Ababa. Although the nature of the population differs sector by sector, the eastern part of the city is characterized by solidly conserved old tradition. Muslim community is well organized. No large construction activities were started in these areas. However, other ethnic groups have penetrated and formed a different type of residential quarter on the southern slope where thatched roof huts stood until the middle of the 20th century. In terms of feminization, prostitution was apparent only in the Christian district where “prostitute-in-heritage” occurs in old mansions, but in Muslim district, ageing, or the presence of aged women, is outstanding. Low fertility of Harari ethnic group would downsize their population while other ethnic group such as the Oromo may occupy a certain portion of the population in the near future.

Integration of the analysis of each historical city and the results of the comparative study have revealed several important findings in terms of heritage value and the social aspect of historical zones.

The urban typology of Ethiopian major historical cities could be categorized into two distinguished groups: “dispersed *Habesha* city” and “concentrated Muslim trading city”. The former is related to the presence of a monarch’s palace or castle, where districts for

its subject were developed surrounding it. It has a kind of segregated zoning system either by class-occupation or ethnic group. Gondar unfolds zones for aristocrats and warriors, for Muslim merchants, for Jewish artisans and so on. Dispersed allocation system with low density characterizes the nature of this type. The latter, represented by Harar, is a walled city with high-density population. Presence of mosques and shrines characterize each quarter keeping a strong community bond.

The critical points of the urban formation process in Ethiopia could be found in its emerging stage (17-18th century in Gondar, late 19th century in Mekelle, 16th-18th century in Harar) for the first time. Then the confrontation with the Western culture and technology marks the next phase. The “westernization” of Harar prior to Addis Ababa, as well as the densification of Mekelle corresponds to this period. Thirdly, Italian occupation exerted a tremendous influence on Ethiopian urban formation as the Italians implemented master planning for major cities in their new territory. The ambiguity between the modern theory of urban planning and the indigeneity or the identity of Ethiopian cities is the keys to understand the transformation of Ethiopian cities in the 20th century before the 1970’s. The double system of the old and the new, introduced by the Italians, was gradually dissolved by the following regimes, but without clear theory for integration.

The socialist government in the 1970’s exerted the most radical and decisive impact; the nationalization of land and surplus housing units completely changed the urban system of Ethiopian cities. However, the lack of fund for proper maintenance of existing buildings and construction of new housing made the city center hectic and disorganized with small and dirty slum-like buildings. Heritages were taken over by the local administration, *kebele*, and divided and sub-divided into small housing units where low-income people occupied either legally or illegally. These inhabitants depend on informal economy such as street selling and prostitution. The urban policy of the *Derg* government aimed to redistribute the properties by way of nationalization, which completely crashed the old imperial system of land management. The monopoly of real estate by small number of privileged class declined and the heritage houses once owned by them were redistributed to the majority. Until the 2000’s the poverty within central districts did not allow large investment so that the heritage were left untouched by chance. However, the improvement of Ethiopian economy encouraged by the free market policy may cause danger of replacing these heritage housed by completely different types of buildings.

However, the central district of above-mentioned historical cities still reveal specific characteristics. The analysis made by parameters like gender, age, occupation, income and etc. clarifies serious heritage risks in Ethiopia. Feminization is the largest phenomenon and may cause serious problems. Woman-headed households occupy 63.5% in Gondar (2011), 74.2% in Mekelle (2009), and 51.8% in Harar (2007). High mobility and loosened community tie have increased the proportion of the females especially in Orthodox Christian zones. In the case of Harar, ageing of females is getting to be a serious problem. Unstable position of females, both young and aged, has caused a series of socially sensitive problems as described in the former chapters. Informality is another problem to be discussed in historical centers. It facilitates job opportunity especially for those who depend on daily informal business. Slum-like *kebele*-owned housing with extremely low rent allows them to stay and to enjoy their life. The case of prostitution is the same.

All of the heritage risks extracted from the above-mentioned analysis affect the present situation of historical environment to a great extent. Weak institutional structure in this country does not allow the locals to work for conservation and social planning with sufficient public support. However, the conditions of heritage as a physical setting are still good. The notion of incrustation comes from this point. It is not necessary to direct the operation toward gentrification that requires the replacement of present inhabitants by the new rich, but the community-based punctual approach would fulfill the demand of the local community by way of recycled and reused heritages. The author's concern resides in the potential of the existing historical environment. One can reach the goal of properly maintained historical city that will represent the identity of the Ethiopians by sustaining the life of locals, especially by strengthening their community ties. The research on the historical quarters of three cities has categorized the fundamental problems of heritage risk and, at the same time, gives light for the future of such irreplaceable environment.

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