

A Tragedy of the “Urban Commons”? A case study of 2 Public Places in Addis Ababa

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Abstract:

There is a burgeoning literature about common resources both in academic circles and practitioners coming mainly from rural development exercises and focusing either on agrarian practices or else pastoral societies. The use of land for farming and grazing purposes, water resources and fishery management, forests and their derivative resources, biosphere areas and tourist attraction sites are all the concerns of scholars' grappling with the notion of commons.

It is imperative to employ this rich rubric of knowledge in studying urban issues. This we deem is important because the theoretical debates as well as the research techniques developed within the study of the commons can help galvanize the interests of social scientists focusing on the study of urban issues. This is more so for the study of urban public places whose purposes, functions and prospects looks very much similar to that of the “commons”. Among other things, public places , i) bring their dwellers into contact which otherwise are diverse, ii) serve as focal points of shared identity and concerns, and iii) are culturally managed, arranged and used.

Despite their vital importance in the urban milieu, urban public places usually face the risks that common resources usually face. They could be ill-managed, deteriorate both in physical and aesthetic forms and become desolate urban spaces. This study is a qualitative study conducted in two public spots in Addis Ababa: The “Jan Meda” – the biggest multipurpose open air field in Addis and a hillside “Africa Park” which stretches from the footholds of Menelik II palace further down to the premise of the UNECA. In so doing, it tried to establish whether the “tragedy of the commons” is actually taking place in an urban setting or not.

To that end, the study looked at the i) origin, ii) functions, iii) management, and the rules in use iv) challenges and opportunities of these two institutions. Key informant interviews were held with the workers and management of these institutions as well as the municipal authorities of Addis Ababa.

Key Words: *the tragedy of the commons, urbanism, public places, urban management practices, privatization and outsourcing*

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I. INTRODUCTION

There is a burgeoning literature about common resources both in academic circles and practitioners. The latter are usually informed by experiences from rural development exercises focusing either on agriculture or pastoralism. The use of land for farming and grazing purposes, water resources and fishery management, forests and their derivative resources, biosphere areas and tourist attraction sites are all the concerns of scholars' grappling with the notion of commons.

Clapp and Meyer (2000) underscore two major concepts, non-excludability and subtractability, as the most defining features of common property. Non-excludability refers to the difficulty of excluding individuals or groups from accessing and using the commons. Subtractability means when an individual uses a common good, he or she subtracts from the total amount of this good available for others to use. Usually, both of these features act as disincentives to the upkeep of the commons. Open access to the commons (or the inability to exclude) is a disincentive to the conservation, upkeep or development of a common property area. Subtractability, on the other hand, may encourage every individual user to consume at a higher rate while he/she calculates of diminishing returns from future use. As a result, neglect and deterioration become the hallmarks of the commons. It is this tragedy that Garret Hardin (1968) rightfully called, "the tragedy of the commons".

Clapp and Meyer (2000) also note that the concept of 'public goods' is subtly distinct from that of the commons for the use of public goods by one party does not necessarily impinge on the use of the other. Hence public goods are not subtractable. However, the writers argue, this distinction between the 'commons' and the 'public' is getting eroded. For instance, air was regarded as a public good until very recently. We believed everyone can access air and one's consumption was not assumed to affect another. Today the story is different. We have realized that air is a subtractable 'global common' where its pollution in one part of the world would result catastrophic effects on people in other parts of the world. By the same token, we can argue that urban public spaces could be regarded as 'urban common spaces' owing to their non-exclusivist and subtractable nature. The latter is evident in the fact that many actors would like to use these spaces for various *dissimilar* purposes. As a result the neglect and deterioration of urban public spaces has become evident- at least in the case of Addis Ababa.

II. TRAGEDY OF THE COMMONS

Garett Hardin's (1968) account on the 'tragedy of the commons' is one of the most persuasive criticisms against methodological individualism and the 'rational' pursuit of self interest to ever maximize gains. In his classic account, Hardin argues that rationalism- the *tendency to assume that decisions individually*

reached will, in fact, be the best decisions for an entire society- has one fundamental flaw. It assumes that the resources on the planet and the benefits that accrue from harnessing them are limitless. In reality, they are not. Whereas population growth and the competition for the resources of the planet could be infinite the resources over which people compete are finite. Unbridled competition to maximize individual benefits would therefore lead to collective crisis or societal ruin.

Hardin's two famous examples vividly illustrated this argument. Herdsmen may want to increase their animal stock from time to time but by taxing a common pasture land that they share with other herdsmen. This competition would lead to the ultimate loss of the common grazing land. In Hardin's words (1968:2), "Each man is locked into a system that compels him to increase his herd without limit-in a world that is limited. Freedom in a commons brings ruin to all."

The tragedy of the commons may also occur in a different context. The problem of pollution, for instance, presents a situation where 'rational' individuals keep throwing in sewage, chemical, radioactive, and other kinds of wastes into the air, water, and the soil. The pursuit of self interest therefore leaves us in a condition where "we are locked into a system of "fouling our own nest" so long as we behave as independent, rational, free- enterprisers" (Hardin, 1968:3)

In today's globalized world, the 'tragedy of the commons' is one phenomenon that we can not afford to sit by and watch unfold. In Hardin's words, "the alternative of the commons is too horrifying to contemplate." Hence the tragedy needs to be averted. Hardin recommends that one major way of avoiding a global commons crisis is by checking world population growth! Curbing the rights of the individual to reproduce' freely and checking national fertility rates help minimize the risk of resource competition and the resultant 'tragedy of the commons'. To reinforce his argument over the necessity to curb 'individual freedoms', Hardin posits that the *laissez faire* freedom of individuals to use (or rather abuse) the commons should not even be regarded as freedom! Freedom is not freedom if- in the final analysis-it results a universal ruin. Echoing Hegel, Hardin goes to redefine freedom more as the "recognition of necessity". The necessity to survive as a human species should be the moral high ground that makes us relinquish some of our freedoms as individuals. In short, freedom can only have its essence if there is restraint in the way we access and manage the commons.

III. URBAN PUBLIC SPACES

It is imperative to employ these insights about the tragedy of the commons and experiment with the ideas in an urban context. We deem it important because the theoretical debates as well as the research techniques developed within the study of the commons can help galvanize the interests of social scientists focusing on the study of urban issues. This is more so for the study of urban

public places whose purposes, functions and prospects looks very much similar to that of the “commons”. Among other things, public places , i) bring their dwellers into contact which otherwise are diverse, ii) serve as focal points of shared identity and concerns, and iii) are culturally managed, arranged and used.

Urban public spaces such as parks and town squares have physical and social structures. As physical structures, they provide a “potential environment” for social interaction (Golicnik, 2004:1). They bring various kinds of dwellers of the city into contact. But more interestingly the public usually ends up using these spaces for many other objectives than the original purpose they were designed. Hence an “effective environment” emerges in urban public spaces. Golicnik (2004:1) defines this effective environment as the *realized potential environment* i.e. the social environment “created and determined by what people actually do within it”. According to Golicnik(2004:2) urban public spaces- both as potential or effective environments- are “ relatively adaptable and can accommodate a variety of users.” This adaptability and potential to serve many users, the writer believes, makes urban public spaces very similar to that of the commons.

Apart from providing a highly adaptable physical arena for public action, urban public places serve as focal points of shared identity. For instance, public spaces serve as the platforms of collective political action “where citizens unknown to each other meet as equals, without having to give up their different standpoints.” (Huning, 2007:5) Hence organizers of different political functions “take into account the symbolic dimension of the appropriation of public space.” According to Huning, the use of the public space for political or civic action entails elements of representation (to be present and actively participate in a public political function) as well as co-perception (people meet, get in touch with each other, and communicate to act). In a similar vein, Huning talks about “the democratic qualities of public spaces” in terms of their ability to encourage public access (representation) and participation (co-perception). In the urban milieu, these two are important to construct shared identities of resistance and allow the people to experience themselves as political beings.

Public Spaces do not only bestow a sense of personal and shared identity for their residents. More importantly they are culturally managed, arranged and used by different actors. The major actors include the state, the municipal authorities, private developers and urban dwellers themselves. In relation to this, Orum and Chen (2003:13) stated that public places are like *territories for residents* who go “to great lengths to defend [the places], creating boundaries that separate them from other neighbourhoods.” The same authors (Orum and Chen 2003:19) argue that residents “make an effort to create for themselves a place in their own image, to which they can feel securely attached.” In fact, each of the above mentioned actors articulate their interest and mobilise their agency in order to arrange and manage urban places in general and public places in particular. Such wrangling between the various actors could lead to a situation where urban

public places encounter a similar fate to that of the rural commons- “the tragedy of the commons”.

IV. THE COMMONS VS PUBLIC SPACES: Is comparison possible?

The similarity between urban public spaces and the rural commons becomes more evident if we look at their management and the possible risk they face due to their ownership tenure. Despite their vital importance in the urban milieu, urban public places usually face the risks that common resources usually face. They could be ill-managed, deteriorate both in physical and aesthetic forms and become desolate urban spaces.

This study attempted to conduct a qualitative study of two public spots in Addis Ababa: The “Jan Meda” – the biggest multipurpose open air field in Addis and “Africa Park” which stretches from the footholds of Menelik II palace further down to the premise of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. In so doing, it tried to establish whether the “tragedy of the commons” is actually taking place in an urban setting or not.

To that end, the study looked at the i) origin, ii) functions, iii) management, or the rules in use iv) the challenges and opportunities for the development of these two public spaces. The study is qualitative. Key informant interviews were held with the different stakeholders (institutions) and claimants of these two public spaces as well as the municipal authorities of Addis Ababa to generate the data.

4.1 Jan Meda

4.1.1 Background

Jan Meda is the biggest open air field in Addis Ababa with an area of 25000 square meters. It is a public space freely accessible to the residents of Addis Ababa. The field came to prominence from Emperor Menelik II's² time. It was one of the spots where the royal family of Menelik and his entourage used to play horse racing and polo. The Ethiopian nobility and foreign diplomats were also its frequent visitors. Jan Meda went on the annals of history after the 1896 Adwa Battle with Italians. Menelik's army displayed the cannons captured from the Italians on Jan Meda. According to the Encyclopedia Ethiopica(2005), “Significant military reviews were held there [in Jan Meda] in 1903(honoring the dead of the Italian war 1895-96), with a 300, 000 men military review, in 1909 (to declare Lij Eyasu³ heir) and in 1916 after the battle of Sagale.”

Jan Meda also hosted the coronations of Tafari Makonnen as King (1928) and then Emperor under the name of Haile Sellasie I (1930). During Haile Sellasie's

² Menelik II was the Emperor of Ethiopia from 1889-1913

³ Lij Eyasu was the grandson of Menelik II who inherited his grandfather's Crown but was soon dethroned. The battle of Sagale was a decisive incident where the pro-Eyasu army of Wollo (led by his Father King Mikael) was defeated by the forces of Tafari Makonnen, who later was coronated as Haile Sellasie I.

era, Jan Meda was frequented by high ranking officials, military officers and members of the diplomatic corps who used to come for horse racing and polo games. The Emperor himself used to come to Jan Meda to watch these competitions. After the Italian Occupation (1936-41), Jan Meda continued to be the public space where the major Christian celebrations like “Masqal”⁴ and “Timket”⁵ are celebrated. The field also became the major training and competition ground for open air games like foot ball and athletics. Famous Olympic athletes like Abebe Bikila and Mamo Wolde used to train at Jan Meda.

Right in the aftermath of the 1974 Ethiopian Revolution and the overthrow of Haile Sellasie’s monarchy, Jan Meda served as the spot where the incumbent military cabal⁶ declared the famous “Development through Cooperation Campaign”.⁷ The campaign “envisaged the sending of high school students, university students and their teachers to the countryside in order to implement various programs of rural development” (Bahru 2005: 240). Jan Meda staged the farewell event for the campaigners where a massive rally was held “in the course of which the Derg leaders made their first public appearance” (Bahru 2005: 240). Jan Meda continued to be the centre stage for major athletic and horse racing events during most of the Derg’s period. It was also during the Derg regime that 3 huge water tanks were built inside the Jan Meda compound.

In 1990/91 the long and grinding civil war ended in Ethiopia. The Ethiopian Peoples’ Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF)⁸ forces took control of Addis Ababa. Thousands of displaced Ethiopians from the war torn zones of Eritrea and Tigray fled to Addis Ababa and took refuge in Jan Meda. In the coming two years, Jan Meda became less of a sports and recreational center but rather center for Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs). We can therefore conclude that Jan Meda has been playing a pivotal role in the modern history of Ethiopia staging religious festivals, coronations, military reviews and campaign inaugurals. It has also served and is still serving as the play ground for various sports activities ranging from horse racing to athletics field events. In trying times of crisis and transition, Jan Meda has also served as the place of refuge and temporary settlement.

4.1.2 Functions

Presently Jan Meda is carrying out different functions.

1. It serves as a national sports arena for Athletics, Football, Volleyball and Basket ball games.
2. The Addis Ababa Sports Commission is now building a multipurpose public gymnasium to be used by the youth of Addis.

⁴ Celebration commemorating the finding of the ‘True Cross’

⁵ “Timket” is a celebration commemorating Christ’s baptism- epiphany.

⁶ The Military Cabal which seized power in 1974 is popularly known as the “Derg”

⁷ The campaign is popularly known as “ Ye Edget Be Hibret Zemetcha”

⁸ The EPRDF started out as an armed resistance movement which struggled against the Derg and took power in 1991. Since then, the Front is incumbent.

3. The traditional “timket”- Christ’s Baptism- ceremony is held here in Jan meda every year. People come to Jan Meda to celebrate epiphany in their thousands.
4. The youth from the surrounding neighborhoods come and play on the space
5. The locals also use the field for public gathering purposes.
6. Various governmental and non- governmental organizations occasionally utilize the space to hold musical festivals and open air exhibitions.

4.1.3 Institutional Wrangling on Management

There is a lot of institutional wrangling about how this huge and multi purpose public space should be managed. It was after 1991 that the city government of Addis Ababa delegated the management of Jan Meda to Addis Ababa Sports Commission. Following this decision, the Ethiopian Equestrian Association which is one of the veteran associations housed in Jan Meda filed a legal case against the Sports Commission. The Association claims that it retains a legal right to oversee the field and the ancillary services Jan Meda offers (like the catering and restaurant service). The court case is still going on and nothing binding has come out of the litigation process.

The management of this public space has become problematic because the AA water and sewerage authority has built three big water tanks inside the compound before the AA Sports Commission took over the administration of Jan Meda. The Ethiopian Orthodox Church has also fenced off a few square meters of land that it usually uses for the Timket procession. All these actors do NOT have any forum or platform where they discuss on how Jan Meda should be managed. Neither is there a division of labour between the stakeholders about the management of the space. The wrangling has definitely led to the utter deterioration of Jan Meda both physically and aesthetically.

The Sports Commission representative argues his case stating

The Addis Ababa Sports Commission is legally delegated to administer. It has been doing so over the last 17 years. However, the Ethiopian Equestrian Association has filed charges against us claiming that it has to manage the field. The City Government officials had ordered them to handover their offices, horse stables but they have become unwilling to do so!

The official continued arguing,

There are powerful personalities inside the association who have vested interests to take control of this public space and use it for their private interest. We fear that Jan Meda would be a ‘victim’ of this drive to privatize public spaces in Addis Ababa! We are witnessing how open air football grounds in sub cities have now become building ground for low cost condominium houses. If this trend continues, Addis Ababa would be one city where there is no public space!

The representative of the Ethiopian Equestrian Federation, on his part, stated

We have a legal case with the AA sports commission. We argue that the 1958 legal charter has given us the authority to manage and run Jan Meda whereas the city Sports Commission has denied us our right by fiat. It is more than 5 years since the case was taken to court. Because of that the commission representatives are making things difficult for us here. It has become very difficult to organize regional and national equestrian contests.

4.1.4 Summary

All of the actors agree that this institutional wrangling has led to the physical and aesthetic deterioration of Jan Meda. The head of the Ethiopian Equestrian Federation confirms this stating,

The place has become one which does not have any legitimate owner! The fence and the horse stables were built in 1959 with the help of the special palace guard of the Emperor(the *Kibur Zebegna*). Since then no repair and maintenance work has been done. The area is not well guarded. As a result it has become a dumping ground of waste!

Mr Alemu Adane, head of the AA Cultural Sports Federation, stated the sorry state of this public space saying,

The ownership wrangling between the different stakeholders has resulted the neglect and deterioration of this public space! There is a saying in Amharic; the house of a respected husband who does NOT have children would end up becoming 'barren'- one where wild animals and children play at. That is what is happening to Jan Meda. Nowadays, it is becoming barren!!! It has become a spot where vagabonds and street children sleep at.

4.2 Africa Park

4.2.1 Background

There are around eleven closed public parks in Addis Ababa and 32 private managed closed parks⁹. The city also has plenty of open-air (roadside and square side) parks. A study conducted in January 2006 by the Addis Ababa Sanitation, Beautification and Parks Development Agency (AASBA) indicated that there are about 23 roadside and square parks in the Kirkos sub city where the big Africa Park is located. It is the AASBA which actually monitors all the open air parks and green areas in the city. The agency is also mandated with the task of developing policies related to park management and development in AA. It is however the branch offices of the agency based in the sub-cities of AA and cleaning task forces deployed at the Kebele level who actually carry out the day to day cleaning, gardening and upkeep of these open air parks.

⁹ The data was furnished by the Park Development Expert at Addis Ababa Sanitation, Beautification and Parks Development Agency (AA-SBA)

The Park is found on a hillside corridor stretching from the foothills of Menelik II Palace through the National Palace all the way to the premises of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA). The Park was founded following the establishment of the UNECA headquarters in Addis Ababa and the launching of the Organization of African Unity (OAU). African leaders planted trees in remembrance of the inaugural conference of the OAU. The area became an open air park with gardens and cemented chairs freely accessible by the public.

What went wrong with Public Space Management of Africa Park?

Africa Park was directly managed by the city municipality before the restructuring of the city into sub-cities. The park was found right in the heart of the city but was deteriorating both in physical and aesthetic terms. The trees and plants grown were not regularly watered and gardened. The poor and street children in the neighborhood started to use the space as a sleeping ground. Litter and wastes were thrown into the space and the park started to become a desolate urban space than a public attraction site.

Once again it is important to ask why Africa Park deteriorated. The major case has got to do with the lack of institutional mechanisms (elaborate rules and regulations) that protect the use of such public spaces. Mr Dereje Mesfin, a Park Development Expert, underscores the absence of institutional control in public place management stating,

Addis Ababa's Master Plan has been revised in 2004/05. The Plan has indicated which parts of the city need to be green areas and public spaces. However the city administration has been lax in enforcing its own Master Plan. It is commonplace to see the governments' own bureaus, mainly AA Roads Authority and AA Water and Sewerage Authority, dig through these spaces, build roads around them and/ or erect other structures! Decisions regarding the city administration are usually political and whimsical! The management of AA itself has become a tragedy let alone the public spaces of the city!

Poverty is another major problem. The number of children and adults who are poor, unemployed, disabled in Addis Ababa is staggering. In many instances, the poor and the indigents sleep on the streets or any other public space they can access. No wonder these green areas deteriorate in physical and aesthetic terms because they have become sleeping and stomping grounds. Mrs Aleme, the Head of Parks Development Department in AASBA, argues very persuasively about poverty stating,

It is indeed disappointing to see street children squatting on public places like parks. But if one thinks of it from their point of view, who does not like

to rest, sleep or play on a green area than a tarmac road? There were instances when street children in sarcastically commented to our gardeners stating “you [the city government] have water to garden plants with while we don’t have water to drink?”

Last but not the least, the experts at the Agency stated that the AASBA does not have adequate budget and the requisite human resource to plan and enforce park development and beautification in Addis Ababa. Because of that it is now outsourcing the parks’ management into the hands of private entrepreneurs.

Outsourcing Management, Privatizing the Urban Commons?

It was in 2002 that a famous business tycoon in Ethiopia, Sheikh Mohammed Al Amoudi presented a proposal to voluntarily redevelop the site and hand it back to the city administration. The entire park became fenced, replanting, gardening and landscaping work was done superbly and facilities like cafeteria and restaurants were built inside the compound. This generous philanthropist, it was stated “ has spent more than 40, 000, 000 Birr” on the redevelopment of the Africa Park¹⁰. Sheikh Al Amoudi handed back the park to the city administration a year later. But cost wise, the agency has found it very difficult to manage the park.

According to Mrs Aleme, the Head of AA Park Development Department,

The monthly water and electricity bill of the park is now between 35-40000 Birr!! The annual expense of maintaining the park has therefore become more than the annual budget of the agency itself!

In light of the financial handicap of the city agency, the park was handed back to Sheik Al Amoudi’s Midroc International PLC in 2004 that became willing to manage the park. According to the Head of the Parks Development Department, “the handover agreement however insists that the park be open for public use!” She underscored that outsourcing the management does NOT mean privatizing this public space.

According to Mr Dereje Mesfin, parks development expert at AASBA, the agency has now embarked on a process of outsourcing the management of some public parks to private entrepreneurs for three major reasons. First of all, the private investor has better financial capacity to redevelop the parks and manage their accessories. Secondly, it would be ideal for the agency to monitor and follow up on the activities of the private management on these public parks. Finally, the sub-cities earn Eth Birr 20-30000 from subcontracting the management of these public parks to private investors.

This being said the writer strongly feels that there indeed is a risk of privatizing public spaces while the outsourcing of their management is conducted. First of all, the private company may start building new structures like coffee shops, restaurant halls on the green area in order to generate more income from the park. This way the green area could reduce and in some cases may even

¹⁰ Information was gained from Mrs Aleme, Head of the Parks Development in AASABA

disappear. Secondly, with the introduction of outsourcing the food and drink services offered at public spaces become more expensive. In some instances, the private managers may introduce entrance fees as well. This means the low income earning section of the population will be excluded from the use of these parks. Only those who can afford to pay for the entrance and the services would access the parks even if, in theory, the park is a 'public' park. Hence, outsourcing may lead to a situation where open air public parks lose their 'public' essence.

V. CONCLUSION

Hardin's argument about the 'tragedy of the commons' still resonates. The commons, being non-exclusive and subtractable, are vulnerable to gross misuse when 'rational' actors compete to maximize their individual gains out of them. One witnesses a similar process of competition and the deterioration of public spaces in urban areas. Public spaces are in most cases non-exclusive and subtractable. In addition to being the venue of contact and interaction for fellow urbanites, public spaces bestow shared or collective identities. They also are culturally managed and arranged. At least in Addis Ababa, we have witnessed the aesthetic and physical deterioration two public spaces.

The tragedy of these spaces is mainly related with the lack or absence of definite rules that regulate access to the city dwellers without endangering their physical and aesthetic upkeep. In the case of Jan Meda, the historic open air field in Addis Ababa, we have witnessed how two institutions, the Addis Ababa Sports Commission and the Ethiopian Equestrian Association, have become litigants claiming to be the rightful 'managers' of the field and its accessory facilities. In addition, other actors like the Ethiopian Orthodox Church and the Addis Ababa Water and Sewerage Authority, have some stake in the use of this public space. While the former uses the field to celebrate religious festivals, the latter has erected huge water tanks inside the compound. As mentioned above, all of these actors do NOT have any forum or platform where they discuss on how Jan Meda should be managed. Neither is there any division of labour between the stakeholders about the management of the space. As a result, Jan Meda, as one of our respondents clearly stated, has become "barren like the house of a respected husband who does NOT have children that would inherit his property and safeguard it!" Jan Meda has lost its majestic glamour and is becoming a desolate urban spot.

Of course, there are a host of factors which result the tragedy of public spaces in Addis Ababa. Grinding poverty is one major factor. Urban poverty and the resultant streetism mean a predicament where thousands of people sleep on the streets or any other public space they can access. But more importantly, the fact that the Addis Ababa Master Plan is not legally enforced is one major problem. More often than not, the city's own authorities- like the Roads Authority and the

Water Works Department, are seen digging through or erecting structures inside green areas and other public spaces. As one of our informants replied, “Decisions made regarding the management of the city are usually political and whimsical”.

One of the remedies devised to curb the ‘tragedy of public spaces’ in Addis Ababa is the policy of outsourcing parks into the hands of private entrepreneurs. The assumptions are that i) private investors have better capital and expertise, ii) it is easier to monitor private management and iii) the sub-cities can generate some income from private management. Nevertheless, there are worrying signals that “privatizing the management” of these public spaces would in effect lead to the ‘privatization’ of the spaces themselves. Private companies may start building structures (coffee shops, restaurant halls etc) which drastically reduce the size of the green area. Secondly, food and drink services offered at public spaces could be more expensive. In some instances, the private managers may introduce entrance fees as well. In the end, only those who afford to pay for the entrance and the services would access the parks. Hence, outsourcing may lead to a situation where open air public parks may lose their ‘public’ essence.

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