

THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPACT OF URBAN REDEVELOPMENT IN GONDAR CITY

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Received: 24 February 2016, Revised and Accepted: 26 February 2016

ABSTRACT

Introduction: It is observed that huge socio-economic problems are come about with urbanization and urban redevelopment programs of third world countries. Therefore, there is a need to pay the most attention for the dynamics of these programs.

Objective: This study looked at the socio-economic impact of urban redevelopment on the resellers. It takes a form that emanates from not only after the displacement takes place but also the process of relocation. Identifying the change in income, means of livelihood, social bond were the specific objectives.

Methods: A cross-sectional study design was employed and both forms of data collected through structured questionnaire, semi-structured interview, and observation.

Results: It has indicated, the relocation scheme affects the relocated community negatively. These can be outlined as occupational, income, and social interaction. The change in occupation changed their income level. Their social interaction score has decreased as compared to their former residence. Both the intensity of neighborhood-based interaction and the intensity of attachment to the neighborhood are decreasing.

Conclusion: This study gave remarkable concern on how the process of relocation undertaken. In contrast to the established rules of project execution, the study reveals the opposite. The necessary input for a project, i.e., participation, was almost abandoned and it only restricted in giving information. Therefore, we recommend toward the planning and execution process. It includes improving the existing situation and preparing for the proper implementation of future projects.

Keywords: Socio-economic impact, Urban redevelopment.

INTRODUCTION

In 1986, the (United Nations) UN General Assembly adopted a declaration on the right to development, which states that "every human person and all peoples are entitled to participate in, contribute to and enjoy economic, social, cultural, and political development, in which all human rights and fundamental freedoms can be fully realized." The heart of the problem is that people displaced by development projects are generally seen as a necessary sacrifice on the road to development [1].

For instance, De Wet (2000) paper points out that the experience of indigenous peoples with development projects has been characterized by cultural alienation, dispossession of land and resources, lack of consultation, insufficient or a complete lack of compensation, human rights abuses, and a lowering of living standards [2]. Cernea (1996) also mentioned eight forms of socio-economic risks resulted from development induced displacement; unemployment, homelessness, landlessness, marginalization, food insecurity, loss of access to common property, erosion of health status, and social disarticulation [3].

There are different studies conducted concerning urban redevelopment. Demelash *et al.* (2004) tried to reflect on the displacement and resettlement process of Addis Ababa city [4]. They pointed out that the displacement and resettlement schemes of the city failed to consider the interest and psychological makeup of the displaced households. They also noted implementation difficulties and inconsistencies on the government side with regard to plot allocations and compensation benefits (for instance, women are more negatively affected than men in compensation). Other studies (Mulugeta and McLeod, 2004; Ayalew, 2003) also identified some weaknesses related to various aspects of urban renewal projects including governance, real estate development,

and housing for low-income groups [5]. Furthermore, Zeleke (2006) pointed out that "Eviction is the greatest threat to most slum dwellers since it means an end to their former settlements, which includes cheap affordable housing at a convenient location and a loss of an interdependent community lifestyle." It seems that the resettlement activities are performed in the absence of sound policy, planning, and need assessment of the relocated [6].

Since its start, in the city of Gondar, a remarkable number of residents has been displaced from their residence. However, as houses are not merely a means for the protection from rain and external intrusion, there does not exist even one study concerning the socio-economic impact of redevelopment in the city. This study, therefore, explores how the redevelopment project undertaken in Gondar city, as a way of improving the inner city also turned to impose an impact on those who are displaced during the undertaking of redevelopment scheme and how it has influenced the people in terms of improving their livelihoods. It looks at what projects were implemented, whether the people have fully participated and the pattern of their ways of life.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

Social bond - It refers to the attachment to families, commitment to social norms and institutions (school, employment), involvement in activities and the belief that these things are important.

Social capital - It denotes the propensity of individuals to associate together on a regular basis, to trust one another, and to engage in community affairs.

Means of livelihood - It is the command on individual, family, or other social groups has over an income and/or bundle of resources.

Redevelopment - It is a process designed to empower local governments to reverse the trend of physical and economic decline in the central districts of cities.

Neighborhood - It refers to a setting where the dislocated has resettled, and it exclusively includes the resettlers.

METHODS

Participants

In Gondar, there were 21 kebeles that are currently transferred into "kebele" administrations, which are 12 "kebele" administrations. Kebele administrations, which have no any resettlement scheme, were out of sample. From five sites, four kebele administrations had undertaken resettlement scheme. All kebele administrations, which undertaken resettlement schemes, were included in the sample.

The target population of the research was the displaced households in the city. There are 4 kebele administrations which contain 172 displaced households. Therefore, the study had taken these households in the four kebele administrations as a source population.

The residents consist of a relatively high proportion of elderly people (45-60 years old and above 60). 40% of neighborhood residents were found between the interval 45-60% and 24.7% of them are above 60 years. The remaining 2.3% and 33% are less than 25 and from 25 to 45, respectively. Most residents who have educational background have only primary education and an insignificant number of them 12% of them have an educational background of 7-12. All those over 60 years have less than 5 years of education.

Instruments of data collection

Quantitative methods of data collection

A quantitative data had been collected through survey method using structured questionnaire, and from documentary sources.

Questionnaire

One of the instruments had been the use for data collection is a structured, investigator-administered questioner, for the displaced to know the impact of redevelopment on their socio-economic condition. The strategy of data collection was interviewing by enumerators. This had increase the quantity and quality of data to be collected by giving clarification on the items and minimize misinterpretation.

The questionnaire had been incorporate both open and closed ended questions. The majority of questions would be objective and some with open space to allow the respondents express their personal view.

In this particular study, the questionnaire had included in the first section background information (age, educational level, and occupation), and in the second part, items related to the pattern of change in livelihood and the third part there were questions concerned with social interaction analysis.

Qualitative methods of data collection

A qualitative data had been collected through the semi-structured interview from the key informants, and the other is through observation.

Semi-structured interview

Semi- structured interview had been conducted to get information about the process of redevelopments. Five informants had been selected based on the criteria of involvement in the process of redevelopment, to make the information as much as holistic and representative. There were two government officials, and three key informants among the displaced. The officials were selected from the city municipality because of the accessibility of information regarding the whole process.

Observation

Additional data would be collected by conducting an observation of all the neighborhoods of the relocation area. Observation had been done so as to evaluate the process of resettlement on how things like selection of the site and accessibility of services fulfilled.

Procedure

One of the instruments used for the data collection was a structured, investigator-administered questioner. The strategy of data collection was interviewing by enumerators. Each was employed as enumerator after a short training on how to administer the questionnaire.

For the first time, the questionnaire had been prepared in English and then translated into the Amharic language since informants are Amharic speakers, and they may not understand English language very well. The translation process had gone on under a process known as forward-and-backward translation so as to produce a refined final Amharic version of the original draft having undergone through several possible modification that might reduce error to a minimum level.

Ethical considerations

As the issue of redevelopment may jeopardize the level of trust informants have, all the information had been kept in a confidential way, and all the necessary ethical considerations had observed to respect the rights of the participants. The researcher asked an ethical approval from all concerned bodies. Furthermore, the informants had been oriented about the study and requested to sign a consent form. Interviews had been conducted in private and safe places; the interviewees informed that all the information they provide kept secret. Besides, the anonymity (not exposing their personal issues to others or secrecy) of the participants maintained during and after the interview. The interview was held after oral and written.

RESULTS

Changing socio-economic profile in pre- and post-displacement

Changing occupational profile

As indicated in Table 1, it is indicated that those who changed their occupation incorporates (53%), those who does not change (9%), and those as a result of relocation become unemployed (27%). While summing up the above scores, in their former residence 89% of them responded that they have some occupation. Later in their new neighborhood, it is declined to 62% (the total of those who changed their occupation; 53% and those who did not change; 9). According to their response, this happened because of their detachment from the market. Formerly, their house was next to business streets, but now their home is not only far from business activities, according to them, they are also drifted out of the city with little or no opportunity for employment. One way of knowing their condition is identifying their former and current occupation if they have changed. This helps to know the correspondence between their occupation on one side and their income and participation in different social affairs in the other. As it is evidently shown from their response from the total who are engaged in some work. 59% of respondents used their home as a means of survival before displacement. However, currently all these respondents in accordance with the shift in residence they all changed their occupation or left unemployed. From the total of 120 respondents, 11% of them did

Table 1: Employment status before and after displacement

Item	Frequency	Percentage of respondents
Occupation		
Unemployed in the former residence	13	11
Changed their occupation	64	53
The same occupation	11	9
Become unemployed	32	27

not have any job in their former residence. From the rest respondents, 53% of them responded they have changed their occupation.

Based on this, we can analyze the change in occupation. From the total 53% who said their occupation has changed 48% of them formerly in their past residence used their home as a means of business activity: Selling local beer, local jine, medeb renting, shop, and video renting. However, now all of them are daily laborers with diverse kind, from baking injera, working in building sites to other manual works. All contribute for the rapid degradation of their wealth power and prestige, the decrease of all these three signs indicates how they tend to classified as the poorest of the poor. Even though it is a clear manifestation in their mobility pattern, we will also refer their income in the preceding section. As it has mentioned above, 11% of respondents answered they did not have any occupation. From the rest 89% of respondents, 27% of them have lost their employment.

Schefer (2003) indicated that the explanation of variation in individual social mobility involves a combination of the factors of opportunity and aspiration for social mobility. However, there was no way to benefit the displaced for any single opportunity. A 42 years old interviewee said in this regard:

"In the former residence with all my effort and suitability of the place, I can afford the cost of living. But after displacement there is no way out. You cannot do a thing in this remote area. Even when you do outside, it cannot support you"

It is expected from the previous section that the head was a casual worker would strongly associated with the households' condition being worsened. In addition, the aforementioned factors the characteristics also strongly associated with a lack of education, which is, in fact, the fundamental factor underlying why the head can only work as a casual worker or remain unemployed after relocation.

Changing in income profile

Studies of household welfare and poverty are mostly based on objective measures derived from the household budget survey. Another important dimension we looked at this study was an approximate comparison between the subjective evaluations of households about changes in income across two periods. In this case, there is no a specified time which enables to compare the two periods. Rather what has been done is to evaluate the difference before and after displacement.

In this second wave, the survey included a module in which three basic qualitative questions on income and income change were included. Households were asked questions related to changes in household income and expenditure since the displacement. They asked to state whether they think their general income level has increased, decreased or has remained the same and what they think is behind the change, if any. In the third question, respondents asked to state whether their expenditure has increased, decreased or has remained the same.

In the survey, the question is posed to the head of the household, and the response, therefore, represents an individual's evaluations about the income of the entire household. A possible reservation against this procedure is that other members of the household may have different evaluations. This is not likely to be a serious problem in this case since the head is usually the sole or the main breadwinner and his or her evaluation tend to be most authentic.

As shown in Table 2, the majority 78% of respondents answered their income has decreased, and 2.1% of them responded their income has increased. While 21.9% of the respondents answered, their income has remained the same before and after relocation. As it has explained in the changing occupational profile, the decrease in their income level is also directly associated with the change in their residence. A 36 years old woman living in the Addisalem neighborhood said:

"While I was in piazza I was able to get a better income by undertaking up to two tasks per a day. But now because of the remoteness and the danger it brought I am unable to do a single work."

This woman in her former residence work half a day as a receptionist in one place and the rest hours left for different tasks. Moreover, she can get up early in the morning and come back even at the darkest hours. However, after relocation, she said, as it is a place where high amount of crime takes place, she refrain in getting in the morning or being late in the afternoon.

In the other way, respondents were asked whether their expenditure has increased decreased or remain the same, 67% of them said their expenditure has increased. While 23% of them answered as it has decreased and the remaining 10% regard their expenditure the same. Both groups of respondents, those who responded their expenditure has changed, posed reasons for their answer. The former's rationale is the remoteness of houses from different services and incurs them transportation costs. The later relate their answer because of their decrease in income. They argued that if they get more they will spend more, and the reverse is true. In both cases, at first their answer seems contradictory, later one can see the different manifestations of the same problem, high transport cost, and decreased income level.

Change in social bond

To study the change in social bond the researchers undertaken social interaction analysis. In the case of intensity for social interaction in the study; it has calculated interaction scores and standard deviation, by asking two questions: How do you understand the background of your neighbors? And, how frequently do you interact with your neighbors? The calculation of the interaction is shown in Table 3. The intensity of social interaction in the neighborhoods has been assessed. The result of the general assessment is presented in Fig. 1. The small circle in the middle shows the average score in the neighborhood; the two bars show the interval of 95% confidence level.

This Fig. 2 is effective in detecting variation of the data. So, it gives us confidence about the validity of the difference in the average scores

Table 2: Change in income and expenditure before and after relocation

Items	Frequency	Percentage of respondents
Income		
Increased	3	2.10
Decreased	94	78.00
Remain the same	23	21.90
Expenditure		
Increased	80	67.00
Decreased	28	23.00
Remain the same	12	10.00

Table 3: Social interaction analysis

???	Percentage of residents	
	In the former residence	In the current residence
Level of knowledge about neighbors background		
Knowing nothing	12	73.3
Very little	16	16.7
Having some knowledge	18	6.7
Very well	54	3.3
Frequently of interaction with neighbors		
Never	2.5	80
Rarely	7.5	6.7
Less than once in a week	15	6.7
At least once in a week	75	6.7

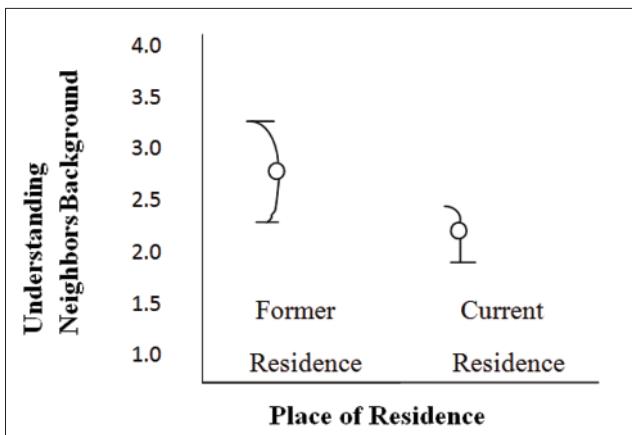


Fig. 1: Mean score of understanding neighbors' background and 95% confidence intervals

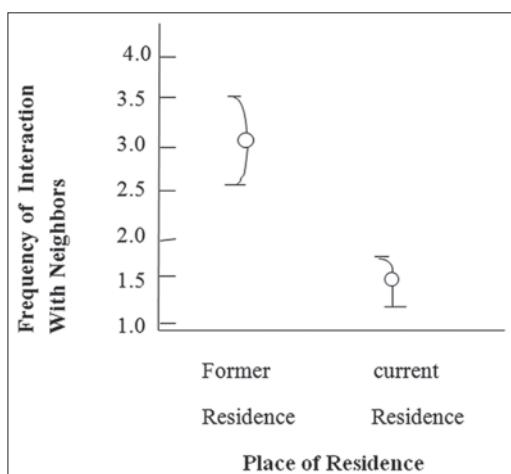


Fig. 2: Mean score of frequency of interact with neighbors and 95% confidence intervals

across different neighborhoods. Fig. 2, as a general analysis, shows that the scores of current residence are very low compared with the former residence.

Intensity of neighborhood-based interaction and attachment

Intensity of neighborhood-based social interaction

To understand the impacts of urban change in neighborhood level, we compared the level of neighborhood-based social interactions and the degree of attachment and commitment to the neighborhoods. We calculated the percentage of residents who replied "yes" to a series of questions. To measure the attitude toward neighborhood relation, we computed the percentage of these residents, using the following weights:

1. Good understanding of background information of the neighbors (0.1);
2. Frequently interact with neighbors (0.2);
3. Neighbors as main social contacts (0.1);
4. Request for help from neighbors within the last 6 months (0.2);
5. Offer help to the neighbors within the last 6 weeks (0.2);
6. Positive attitude to neighborhood relation (0.2).

As it has shown in Table 4, the score of intensity of neighborhood social interaction, are 80.5 and 20, respectively. In the former residence had the highest score, while the current ranked as low.

Intensity of attachment to neighborhood

In the course of understanding the degree of attachment and commitment to the neighborhood, we asked a series of questions.

Table 4: Intensity of neighborhood-based social interaction

Items	Weighting	Percentage of respondents	
		In the former residence	In the current residence
Know the background of neighbors	0.1	87.5	26.7
Frequency of interaction with neighbors	0.2	90	16.7
Major contact with neighbors	0.1	62.5	13.3
Ask neighbor for help	0.2	62.5	0.01
Offer help to neighbors	0.2	90	46.7
Positive attitude to neighborhood relation	0.2	85	16.7
Intensity		80.5	20

Table 5: Intensity of attachment to neighborhood

Items	Weighting	Percentage of respondents	
		In the former residence	In the current residence
Willing to participate in redevelopment activities	0.2	62.50	48.00
Have positive attitude toward developing partnership with developer	0.1	85.00	38.00
Collective action against threat	0.2	50.00	24.00
Prefer to stay in the same neighborhood for a long time	0.3	47.00	34.00
Support environment	0.2	55.00	34.00
Intensity		56.00	35.20

Table 5 shows the degree of attachment and commitment to the neighborhood. The weights used for indicative questions are as follows:

1. Willingness to participate in redevelopment activities (0.2);
2. Positive attitude toward developing partnership with developers and the government (0.1);
3. Willingness to act collectively with neighbors when the community faces a threat (0.2);
4. Stay in the neighborhood for a long time (0.3);
5. Support environment construction (0.2).

As the Table 5 indicated, the scores are 35.2 for current residence, 56.25 for the former residence. The result shows that the degree of social cohesion in the former residence is the highest. At the same time, the index shows that in their former residence they had the good intensity of attachment, actually it is related to the high score we give for Question (4), and because their former residence had the very good quality the respondents answered "yes." The two indexes suggest the different characteristics of these two periods of time. Comparison of the result of the two indexes showed that in their former residence they have the highest scores of both indexes, indicating strong neighborhood-based social interactions, resident's strong attachment and commitment to the neighborhood, which in turn indicates high degree of the social bond. Their current residence presents different characteristics, and weaker neighborhood-based social interactions, and social cohesion than their former residence.

PARTICIPATION OF THE LOCAL PEOPLE

While interviewing both the relocated and the concerned bodies, there is unanimity of views concerning participation. Both groups of

interviewees believe in setting out objectives the target community is not included. According to them, their participation is limited to giving them information. They only aware of the project when time to evict comes. A 37 years old interviewee in this regard said:

"It is not that we stood against government policy. It is only that it has to properly implemented with the full awareness of the community. But they did not participate us. We are not consulted about the selection of the place, our future means of livelihood and the long established bondage through which we sustain ourselves. What they all do was inform us what is going to happen."

The form of participation that took place in the project could be seen as the three forms of participation as highlighted by Kumar *et al.* Passive participation where local people were being told what is going to happen or already happened [7]. While informing the process of relocation, the community, not until their choice is ultimately needed, is participated. The choice was forwarded by the municipality as to whether they attain an empty space so that they can build their house or get a house that has built by the municipality. The choice was not ambiguous as all of them cannot afford to build a house. However, the participation, according to an interviewee on the government side, did not extend on how their future home build, where it shall build, how to enable them to join the new environment and by assessing their socio-economic background try to make readjustment.

With all the aforementioned drawbacks the project undergone, it was not too far to witness its failures. There are manifestations for this failure to be recognized. According to the interviewee, the researcher has found in the neighborhoods there is a frequent flood that leads to the death of one person. There are also those because of their means of livelihood and distance of residence forced to be street dwellers according to the interviewee. Besides, those aged individuals whose means of livelihood rely on their home now become beggars. This is because of the inevitable inability of them to engage in any activity other than their homes.

We have seen evidence that suggests a lack of participation in the project. In support of this idea, an interviewee in the government office uncovers the drawbacks of the project in involving the target community, he said:

"At first our whole attention was drawn to how to redevelop these deteriorated areas and by whom it should redevelop. After these issues once solved we turned in to build houses for the relocated In actual sense we did not let them participate in building the house As their role is very limited."

The relocated are also restricted to be given an emphasis on the economic status of the community. There are those aged individuals not only they are unemployed but also unemployable. This is because they cannot engage themselves in the market anymore. These are what the implementation process of relocation fail to consider. Once the background of the relocated identified the next step would have to be creating a favorable condition for them to readjust themselves in the new arena. However, they have only attained a house which lacks basic ingredients.

Knowing their means of survival and educational background is an important step for further inclusion. However, the planning and execution process misses this important step. An official said in this regard:

"The reason why we did not consider such things is not because we think that it is not that important, it is because of the fact that we even don't have time to go through the details. What was so urgent was to give them a house so that they can easily dwell. The rest is the problem of cost and community's willingness to pay."

It is apparently stated in the different sections of this chapter; there are different impacts of urban redevelopment on the displaced. Above, we have seen the gap in the process of executing as part of the whole

integrated development project. Moreover, we have seen gaps related to lack of participation which was in one way or another the source of most negative impacts the project imposed on the relocated. The process cannot be treated as separated from the outcome. As a result, what we have seen in the changes undergone in income, occupation, and social interaction cannot also be signified as an exclusive and natural byproduct of the redevelopment scheme. Rather, they are mutually interconnected with the planning and execution part of the relocation process.

DISCUSSIONS

The results of the analysis suggest that there are the different socio-economic impacts of urban redevelopment in Gondar city administration. Regarding these, most findings of scientific studies conducted on redevelopment so far are compatible.

The study in Gondar city has provided a similar result as that of studies conducted in Addis Ababa. For instance, as depicted in chapter one, Demelash *et al.* (2004) tried to reflect on the displacement and resettlement process of Addis Ababa city [4]. They pointed out that the displacement and resettlement schemes of the city failed to consider the interest and psychological makeup of the displaced households. Zeleke (2006) basing his study at Casainchis, Addis Ababa, assessed the impacts of urban redevelopment on the livelihoods of displaced people in Addis Ababa. His major findings reflected that the current urban redevelopment schemes of the city are failed to address the needs and priorities of the urban poor, rather they impoverished and marginalized the affected communities [6].

As it has indicated in this study, the change in residence creates a change in employment status in terms of changing their former occupation or losing it. The study attests the existence of both conditions. Studies also (Keating, 1998, for instance) discovered that urban modernization of slum areas undermines site-bound employment opportunities such as the informal economy thereby imposing negative effects on the urban poor, the unemployed or underemployed or households headed by women. The study also indicated that resettlement sites are mainly located in urban fringe zones where restoration of employment, income, and social networks is difficult [8].

It has stated in the study, there is a huge change in terms of occupation. Moreover, it has also presented most of the respondents used their home as means of livelihood before displacement. However, after resettlement either they remain unemployed or alter their means of livelihood. After seeing the change, the next step is to depict what kind of occupational change they have undergone after relocation. Here comes the concept of social mobility, Schefer (2003) defined it as a movement from one social position to another [9]. It may take the form of a step up the social ladder, a climb to the top, or a step-down. According to this, we can categorize most of the change undergone as downward social mobility, as not only their occupation attests, their income level is also a clear manifestation.

In the case of the change in social bond, this study revealed the existence of a high level of drop off in social interaction. It has indicated that there is a decline in neighborhood-based social interaction and attachment to the neighborhood. Zeleke (2006) indicated in his study; eviction is the greatest threat to most slum dwellers since it means an end to their former settlements, a loss of an interdependent community lifestyle [6].

These differences in social interactions and cohesion are partly attributable to the approach of redevelopment that has taken place in the neighborhoods. There was no special development strategy, which forces the concerned bodies to relocate all the residents of the same origin to reside in the same neighborhood. It can also be attributed toward the lack of any organizing effort to solve common problems. In this case, the researcher found no committees that while achieving its stated goals could indirectly create cohesion among the members. Because of the comprehensive relocation, the neighborhood had weak

neighborhood-based social interactions and cohesion, so the intensive neighborhood-based social interaction and social cohesion are relatively absent compared with their former neighborhood.

This study also tried to uncover the gaps in the planning and execution of resettlement. It has indicated that because of lack of comprehensive planning, there was a definite absence of participation. It signifies that the resettlement activities are performed in the absence of sound policy, planning, and need assessment of the resettles. This finding is similar with Bayrau and Genanew (2005), they directed their study to Addis Ababa to assess households' willingness to resettle [10]. They underlined that resettlement programs failed to reflect on the needs of the displaced households, and resettlements projects are enacted without negotiations with the affected group, who are dominantly low-income groups.

From the aforementioned findings of this study, it is unequivocal to argue that community participation in the form of selecting the overall objectives of the project and involving the community in every phase of its implementation is decisive. For instance, Bartolome *et al.* (1991) put it in this way, participation through consultation with potentially affected people is essential for "resettlement in development mode" [11]. This indeed shows how crucial community participation is for the relocated. If affected communities, like the case in Gondar city administration, not allowed to participate in the formulation and implementation of policies that will at the end determine their future, then surely the project will not be successful.

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