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Social Inclusion and Energy Managment
for Informal Urban Settlements

CASE STUDY
SOCIAL INCLUSION AND PARTICIPATORY PLANNING IN MARGINAL SETTLEMENTS OF MEKELLE CITY

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ABSTRACT

The practice of urban planning along with prescribed participatory tools is becoming more frequent in Ethiopia. Its importance is well recognized and urban issues are given due emphasis by the government as a result of its growing challenges. Urban planning practices and its implementations are highlighted by law and laid out through a variety of manuals.

Despite enough concern, planning outcomes have not always been satisfactory. Unanticipated cultural, social and political consequences have been observed as a result. Planning approaches have followed the same, rigid approaches across the country. Practical participation and social inclusion are in question despite the intents of policy. Urban communities of Mekelle in northern Ethiopia, from the inner city to the peripheries, are undergoing enormous transformations with uncertainty, because of heavy urban development activities.

This case study intends to evaluate the effectiveness of participatory planning practices in Mekelle city. In 2017, a Neighborhood Development Plan (NDP) was carried out in Dingur neighborhood in Mekelle. Dingur is located in peri-urban Mekelle where land is in loose control and various socio-spatial interactions among formal and informal settlements occur. An evaluation of the Dingur NDP was done to check, whether the NDP process was inclusive or not to vulnerable groups based on variables linked to socio-spatial and economic vulnerability.

Social and economic variables at household level, that are anticipated to affect a participatory planning processes are included. A sample survey of 99 households (about 25% of recognized households in the neighbourhood) was taken to examine the perception of the inclusiveness of the NDP process. This gives a measure of the effectiveness of participation in the planning practices. Other qualitative approaches, like physical observation of the neighborhood, informal discussions along with the NDP reports are used as supplementary inputs in this study.

The study has found that over 50% of the households do not believe the NDP reflect their interests. There is a statistically significant difference in the perception of being represented in the LDP process between those assumed vulnerable groups and the rest. It has depicted exclusionary features along the lines of social and economic aspects. Thus, vulnerable groups in employment and tenure security (informal settlers), have been underrepresented in the NDP process. With the increasing trend of informal settlers having less tenure security, the study anticipates the lack of inclusiveness of the NDP processes to aggravate with time. Taking the qualitative assessments of this study into account, livelihood status, and gender need further investigation, as there are some indications that this factors can also be bases of exclusion from the NDP processes.

Key Words:
Participatory planning, neighbourhood planning, social inclusion, vulnerability, informality

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PART 1
BACKGROUND

The practice of urban planning is becoming more frequent in Ethiopia. Its importance is well recognized and urban issues are given due emphasis by the government as a result of its growing challenges. Urban Planning practices and its implementations are highlighted by law and detailed out through various manuals.

Despite enough concern, planning outcomes have never been always satisfactory. Unanticipated cultural, social and political consequences have been observed as a result. Planning approaches have followed the same, rigid approaches across the country. Practical participation and social inclusion are in question despite the intents of policy. Urban communities, from inner-city to the peripheries, are undergoing enormous transformation with uncertainty, as a result of heavy urban development activities.

Sustainability

This is a scenario not limited to Ethiopia. Geneletti et al. (2017), in their literature review noticed the agreement among many authors in the complexity and dynamism of planning issues in urban peripheries, and the high risks of negative outcomes associated to traditional planning approaches deterring sustainability**.**

In the subject of housing in urban Ethiopia, following the failures by the private sector to offer affordable housing along with inefficiencies in urban land use, the government has taken a courageous move towards low cost mass housing provisions.

Monopoly of housing provision by the public sector, though it is out of necessity, has detrimental effects on sustainability of the housing system due to its strict top-down approach. It gives only few alternative housing commodities from which to buy, despite the significance of housing to a household as a life-time asset. And buying an expensive commodity such as housing is not an easy decision for a household. Besides, the probability of picking the wrong choice out of the limited options for a given dynamic household and community with its hands financially tied is high. Here, the issue of sustainability comes in.

The Integrated Housing Development Program (IHDP), a housing supply system, overlooks the characteristic details of varying household and community needs due to its strict top down approaches. Neither does it consider the unique assets and resources that can be mobilized from specific communities. It has simplified many things to make housing a standard commodity so that those who can afford can buy. Affordability is decreasing and its accessibility to the low-income is decreasing from time to time.

With regards to stakeholders' participation, there is no coordination or partnership between the private and the public sector in the housing provision. The private sector has been and will be limited to the high income households with the current deadlock. With the government involvement in subsidized housing, the few private sectors who dared to invest in the housing industry will be tamed due to under-pricing of housing as a result. ◆

PART 2
PROBLEM STATEMENT

The practice of Participatory planning is in its early stages in Ethiopian cities. Despite the national policy recommendations, practices usually end up offering choices, a "take it or leave it". This has been observed in recent publicly financed housing schemes. Urban planning projects have also brought certain openness incorporating public representatives during the planning phase. The decentralization of the national planning institute into regions is one aspect of this development.

Yet, addressing issues of vulnerable groups through few representatives, which are selected on a brief public forums and based on narrow national guidelines makes it short of inclusive planning. In Mekelle city, Members of Representative Forum/or public forum are elected at sub-city level by the volunteer attendees to boost this supposed participatory urban planning. Whereas, the representativeness of this elected members to most vulnerable groups is questionable. They are usually the elite groups with better voices in the localities. Besides, the likelihood of the representative forum evolving as a form of localised clientelism (Lemanski, 2017) is high since many of them have previous relation working with the local administrative units. The 'local' scale' which is the sub-city in this case, is by itself too big (popuation size ranging from 30,000-60,000) to be represented by 8 to 10 people to address issues of minority groups.

This is Similar to observations in South African wards as discussed by Lemanski (2017),

> "... reliance on spatial structures ultimately places the extremes of citizenship (i.e. the highly educated wealthy and the poorly educated indigent) within a shared (and supposedly) equal platform of governance without any provision of additional support to mediate such differences....... the 'local' scale itself does not always represent citizens' identities and interests, particularly when based on a spatial unit designed to serve the needs of representative rather than participatory democracy."

Informal settlers, possibly being among the least empowered groups in communities, are less likely to involve and get their voices heard in such aggregated calls for community forums. After all, in a system where many informal settlements are seen as illegal and intruders, one would not expect such groups to actively get involved in local politics.

Thus, Social inclusion in urban planning is one important area of discussion demanding research and education. Basically, there is little concern and limited scholarly urban planning discourse about informal settlements and social inclusion in Ethiopia. If there is any, it would be among cross-cutting issues like gender, poverty, elderly, the youth, children etc. Thus, spatially concentrated vulnerabilities established in informal settlements still need thorough study and discussions in the arenas of research and policy environment in Ethiopia. ◆

PART 3
OBJECTIVE

PART 4
SIGNIFICANCE

The Objective of this research project is to evaluate social inclusion and participatory planning policies, and practices in marginal informal Settlements of Mekelle City, and exercise on devising 'enabling frameworks' as part of the planning education in higher institutions and practice in Ethiopia. Specific study objectives are listed below:

1. Explore the development process of informal settlements
2. Study Demographic and socio-economic characteristics of informal settlements
3. Explore the relation between Formal governance and informal settlement
4. Evaluate the appropriateness of planning practices, existing formal/informal institutions and its structures in harnessing social-inclusion and participatory development
5. conduct community analysis: from community values, world views to identifying and typifying communities within communities (communities of common interest), marginalized etc
6. Test prominent theories that exist in the dominions of informality and inclusive/ participatory planning
7. Develop/ synthesize context-based tools and procedures for inclusive planning (Operationalizing Participatory methods in context). ◆

Such study will have an impact in creating awareness among practitioners and policy makers offering perspectives on alternative planning and management mechanisms to informal settlements other than the conventional stigmatized associations to it. Communities will also be part of this awareness creation.

This study will bring about a couple of returns for the university of Mekelle (UoM), the institution conducting it:

1. It provides a local case study and thereby reducing total reliance on foreign teaching material, it can be reference material to the existing courses in the current UoM programs. In due process, this can be a breeding ground for new hypothesis or theories.
2. A short course curriculum can be devised and initiated for actors in the planning, design and implementation of urban planning and housing projects: consultants, government technocrats, NGOs and decision makers. Activists in communities will also be part of such training.
3. In the long term, a tailored masters course curriculum can be developed. ◆

PART 5
LITERATURE REVIEW

Fast urbanization rates are observed in developing economies. And the process has manifested its various facets such as development of informalities among many other. According to Dovey (2012), Informal settlements have been the most pervasive form of new urban development globally over the past 50 years and most rural to urban migration has been housed in this way. Thus, understanding the phenomena and related outcomes becomes crucial for better urban management.

Regarding informality, its conception has at times been debated among scholars. There is a considerable disagreement on how informalities should be defined and approached as objects of study (Bunnell and Andrew, 2012). Governments' urban policy making and development funding decisions by international donor organizations (Soliman, 2002) are affected by the conception they have on the matter. Thus, the ontological conceptions of informality in academics and policy, and the proceeding theories derived as a result will eventually have tremendous impact in urban development practices. Accordingly, considering the significance of informality to urban development, the literature discusses the formation of informal settlements, its characteristics, and the way it is functioning in the prevailing formal institutions. Then, it discusses the concepts, methods of participatory planning, its potentials for social inclusion along with its loopholes observed in practice.

Conceptualizing Informal Settlement

Informal settlement is not just a particular phenomenon to few cities. It is a common phenomenon to all with predominance in urban centers of developing economies. They constitute 43 percent of the total population in the developing countries of the world while in more developed nations, they make up only about 6 percent (Ishtiyaq, M. & Kumar, S., 2010). It is quite remarkable to understand why it is a global phenomenon. This prevalence, among other things, is said to be because of the low capacity of government institutions lacking the financial and human resource, corruption, dysfunctional land markets, displacement, and above all the political will to face the pressures caused by rapid urbanization processes (Calderon,2012, Menshawy et. al., 2011, and UN-Habitat, 2015).

On the other hand, it is worth looking into what "housing" mean to the settlers. Housing in many urban centers of the global south is viewed (particularly by the majority poor) as a versatile resource that allows households to engage in all kinds of economic and social strategies, which is quite different from what western-like housing policies in the south may envision as a mere shelter (Peattie, Lisa. 1997, cited in Espino, 2015). This means, to many urbanites in the developing world, informal settlement or housing can be favored over public or other sorts of formal housing. Despite the poor physical conditions, socio-economic gains in the informal housing happens to outweigh those in the formal. This shows a mismatch in the concept of housing, and by the same token, this conceptual disparity again extends to the definition of informal housing or settlement. Conventional definitions understand informality in terms of socio-economic activities that lie outside formal systems of recording, remuneration, labor organization and state control (Bunnell and Andrew, 2012). De Soto (1989, cited in Soliman, 2002) puts

informality as an outcome of rational economic decisions of individuals, defining informal housing as "the refuge of individuals who find that the costs of abiding by existing laws in the pursuit of legitimate economic objectives exceed the benefits". This places the legal framework and administrative bureaucracies of a city as the driving cause to this matter.

De Soto seems to sympathize with informal settlers designating them as refuges and blaming the formal institutions for their failure to act. The motives of informal settlers can also be interpreted as rational decisions on cost-benefit as De Soto claims. However, these settlers who are referred to as "refugees" are not always the poor and the vulnerable who deserve sympathy. Reports of the UN-Habitat (2015) shows that informal settlements can also be a form of real estate speculation for all income levels of urban residents, including the affluent.

In relation to tenure security, recent scholarly developments of the concept of informality and Informal settlement has evolved (such as Soliman, 2002, Dovey, 2012) from general formal-informal dichotomous term along with its stigmatized associations to poverty and underdevelopment to more diverse, context specific definitions and typological categorizations having a fluid nature, forming varying shades along the two ends. But the general understanding is that informality as its name indicates it is an activity or a product, suiting its purpose, which goes beyond the formal process or which is not in conformity to the "norm".

In order to address this broader understanding of housing informality, the Habitat III's Issue Paper 22 proposes a definition for informal settlements as residential areas where:

1. inhabitants have no security of tenure vis-à-vis the land or dwellings they inhabit, with modalities ranging from squatting to informal rental housing,
2. the neighborhoods usually lack, or are cut off from, basic services and city infrastructure and
3. the housing may not comply with current planning and building regulations, and is often situated in geographically and environmentally hazardous areas. (UN-Habitat, 2015)

UN-Habitat and others define informal settlements based on the variables of compliance to property right (tenure security), compliance to planning and building regulation, and access to social/ physical infrastructures. The first two are causative factors to informality, whereas the third variable is usually an effect. This is just one of the many outcomes and/or characteristics of informality as a result of incompliances to at least one of the two factors. If the third is assumed to define informality, those areas containing formally leased properties, where installation of certain social/ physical infrastructures is lagging behind due to limited public resources, then have to be considered as informal.

Different from UN-Habitat's and alike literatures, Dovey (2012) questions the relevance of any discrete conception of informality in development discourse. He rather prefers the twofold concept of informal/ formal as two inseparable sides of the same coin, in order to be meaningful and have an appropriate framework for understanding and re-thinking development issues. Dovey's perspective refers to, if proven correct, a major conceptual gap that could bring about the need to redefine the prevailing dualistic concept and to revisit the methodological approaches associated to it.

Having certain approaches and conceptions of informal settlements discussed in this section, it appears to be crucial for one to keep an open mind for conceptual iterations should current evidences evolve.

Characteristics of Informal Settlement

Basic characteristics include lack of basic amenities for sustenance, issues of tenure security, and having relatively lower or no voices in local decision making. Settlers in Informal settlements can range from homogeneous to wide variety of socio-economic groups depending on the manner the settlement formation. Cases in Indian cities (Ishtiyaq, M. & Kumar, S., 2010) and Egyptian cities of Cairo and Alexandria (Soliman, 2002) have manifested informal settlements of migrant workers around or near work places and transport facilities (India), and in peri-urban agricultural areas (Egypt). In other cases, heterogeneous settlements are evident. Accordingly, the Physical conditions of settlements can range from permanent or semi-permanent to temporary structures.

Besides, the degree of tenure security varies depending on the settlement formation, and the policy trends and the way formal institutions in the localities regard cases in its context. For instance, Soliman (2002) based on the settlement formation, classifies informal settlements into twelve typologies under three broad categories of *Semi-informal housing* (illegal subdivision of legally owned Agricultural plot), *squatter* (illegal occupation) and *ex-formal* or *hybrid* (gained informality through process). Whereas, many public policies and urban management practices tend to dichotomize settlements into formal and

Social Inclusion and Urbanization

Social inclusion/ Exclusion can be explained as a function of social power (Connelly and Richardson, 2003). The hierarchical and evolving social order, be it through the technocrats or the market place, and irrespective transparency in a system, influences the development processes in deception to our own egalitarian ideals (Espino, 2015). The standing social order in the process will, under normal circumstances, preserve if not worsen its very hierarchical nature, posing marginalization as a by-product.

Urbanization processes are simply the worst in exacerbating this social problem. Urbanization in our cities appears to perpetuate exclusion. The planning concepts and its associated practices such as zoning of land uses and the focus of planning towards efficiency of an urban system along with the intricate workings of the market has paved a way to gentrification and social exclusions. Hamdi (2010) asserts that most government and international aids face a contradiction in their development objectives between the moral obligation for equity/social inclusion and the economic imperative for efficiency, which resulted in inducing rather than reducing vulnerability. Hamdi explains how contemporary cities are acting against their own citizens for economic gain:

> *"... in the drive to attract foreign investment, the nexus between politicians, bureaucrats and developers has strengthened and, therefore, zoning regulations and by-laws in cities have become easier to violate in the interests of capital, not people."* (*Hamdi, 2010*)

Espino (2015) Shares the notion of exclusionary trends in the current urban development claiming the trend is deeply rooted in the way the contemporary societies exert and express power. He claims such impositions are observed even under urban initiatives with "good intentions", openly practiced as normal though trapped in a stereo-type worldview of what cities should look like and what shouldn't.

In many cases, the urban development as a package has arrived to throw the poor guardians of the old city away only to benefit the incoming developers and the affluent. These presumed 'good Intents' of policy, development/ planning approaches and zoning regulations have been found to be associated with negative externalities. And the long awaited hopes that the established residents expected the city to bring them as a result of the urbanization process turned out to be nothing but a bluff, resulting in disregard to their interest, propagating

social exclusion and vulnerability in the city. Slums and informal settlements in locations where land values have risen, are cleared in the processes of urban redevelopment that tend to benefit wealthier households (Arimah, n.d). It is imperative for urban development plans to give emphasis to inclusion when the trends of urbanization process tend to exacerbate exclusion. "When planning for increased economic access, it is important to work with the functionality of city space as the poor understand and use it" (SACN, 2014).

Espino (2015) frames inclusiveness in spatial terms and standing in opposition to urban segregation, that vulnerable social groups are not pushed out, isolated, and marginalized from important urban services, amenities, commercial flows, and jobs. The UN-Habitat describes exclusion in spatial terms and in relation to informal settlements as follows:

> "Socio-spatial exclusion refers to the processes that contribute to the geographic marginalization of particular individuals and groups because of where they live and who they are. It is characterized by their inability to access or effectively use a whole range of facilities and resources which improve well-being and position people to take advantage of available opportunities. Particular groups and individuals often suffer a disproportionate 'disadvantage' because of their identity, which is physically represented in urban contexts by the presence of informal settlements." (Fincher & Iveson, 2008, and Vicki-Ann Ware et. Al., 2010; Cited in UN-Habitat, 2015)

Informal settlements are urban environs where a great portion of vulnerable groups live. Compared to other urban dwellers, the UN-Habitat (2015) recognizes the prevalence of more spatial, social and economic exclusion from the benefits and opportunities of the broader urban environment among the people living in informal settlements, particularly in slums. Arimah (n.d) particularly refers to the

proliferation of slums and informal settlements in African cities as one of the most enduring physical manifestations of social exclusion.

In relation to City performance, it is imperative to assess "how cities are designed and planned to integrate their populations with their development processes" (Espino, 2015). Particularly, the scale of social inclusion in urban centers can be measured by gauging the extent to which cities are taking measures to embrace the vulnerable sections of the society in mainstream urban processes (MUDHCo, 2015). Accordingly, evaluating the performance of the management of Informal settlements by a city administration can be used as a core indicator for assessing vulnerability and inclusiveness of livelihoods in that city.

What a city can do to improve social inclusion ranges from a paradigm shift in the planning and development policy to rethinking the detailed operationalization of development or planning processes as framed in context. This may include revisiting of existing governance structures, and rethinking of new institutional spaces that offer voices to local citizens in decision making processes (Calderon, 2012), particularly to the voiceless vulnerable groups.

Participatory governance, development and procedures

At present, the concepts of social inclusion, participation and consensus building are inseparable recipes for dialogues of contemporary development processes. Participatory decision making processes in current development endeavors are generally practiced and anticipated to bring about social inclusion. Participatory planning, development or governance and its derivative jargons came into the mainstream discourse following the failures of planning institutions around the second half of the 20th century which were armed with concepts of technical rationality behind hierarchical and bureaucratic planning processes (Calderon, 2012).

Interest in the subject of participation has finally grown from the NGO communities to a full-blown scale after 1990s, embraced in the policies and objectives of governments and International development agencies (Williams, 2004).

Participatory urban governance is conceptualized as a multi-actor process involving interaction among various stakeholders collaborating to make decisions about the allocation of resources within a defined territorial space (Lemanski, 2017). This multi-actor process is carried out based on the use of undistorted communication and the encouragement of interactive, inclusive and equal discussion scenarios, and decisions are made based on agreed consensus (Calderon, 2012).

Agreed consensus is also based on certain values to make sure it is built rather than forcefully made. According to Sidaway (1998, cited in Connelly and Richardson, 2003), three principles have to be fulfilled to achieve or build consensus: every one with an interest participates in the process; quality of the process Stated as "a deliberative process constructed based on principles of fairness, openness and trust"; and finally, each participant has to be given a veto power implying that voting cannot be used as an alternative to a mutual consensus.

Involving different actors within the planning process has the potential of achieving more just and sustainable results than the technocratic approaches (Calendron,2012), builds resilience to exclusion and to violence and reduces vulnerability (Hamdi, 2010). Successful participatory processes can open up spaces of empowerment at the grass roots, could allow both greater public scrutiny, and opportunities for political learning (Williams, 2007).

There are also critiques on the concept of participation and its process. Adversary to Participation, it is conceived as an extension of and a mask to a top-down governance (cooke and Kothari, 2001, Cited in Lemanski, 2017) producing a form of localised clientelism (Lemanski, 2017). Swygedouw (2005; Cited in Limanski, 2017) refers participation as a form of "governance beyond the state" privileging unelected and potentially unrepresentative actors. It can also be a means to displace and localize blames for 'failures' associated, from macro-level onto 'the people' (Williams, 2007).

High levels of participatory processes leading to empowering of communities can be frightening to the formal institutions. The fear is based on the notion that such community engagement may entail undertakings of development decisions based on the voice of "the herd" and not necessarily based on rationality. Besides, such intensive engagements can be tedious to the paternalistic local authorities and technocrats unless they really believe in participatory planning outcomes and dedicate themselves to it. The local people's interest, particularly the vulnerable social groups, may possibly have visions which are in conflict with the preconceived notions and aspirations of the city administration and/or the planners. The dominance of such paternalistic views and practices (Agency problems), the spread of norms and values maneuvered by the so-called facilitators in participatory processes are pointed out in the writings of Williams (2007), Hamdi (2010), Lemanski (2017) and the like.

Given the literatures, participation has pitfalls as much as it offers benefits. Glyn Williams (2007) conceives Participation as a mixed-blessing, in one hand having the potential to become a form of 'subjection', on the other hand providing its subjects with new opportunities for voice, and its consequences are far from pre-determined.

Some scholars have come up with terms like "real" community participation (Menshawy et. Al., 2011), "meaningful" participation (UN-Habitat,2003), "invited versus invented" participation (Cornwall, 2004, Cited in Lemanski, 2017), "ideal versus practi-

cal" consensus (Connelly and Richardson,2003) etc. demonstrating the paradoxical and tricky nature of the concept of participation in practice. The dilemmas are reflected in the light of the flaws associated to inclusiveness in the process, effects of power relations among participants and the counteracting role of state influence. This implies the existence of methodological gaps in its implementation (and possible gaps in conception).

The effectiveness of participation for inclusive decision making, according to Sidaway (1998, cited in Connelly & Richardson, 2003), calls for impartiality in allowing anyone interested to involve in the process. However, this statement doesn't approve effectiveness without bearing the motives in mind of those potential participants who might apparently be uninterested. Voluntary engagements can be affected by various human, cultural, social, political and economic factors. 'Consultation fatigue', and lack of trust in state institutions are indicated as deterrents by Duncan & Thomas (2000, cited in Connelly & Richardson, 2003). And more, dwellers under conditions of poverty and stress, without tenure security are less likely to engage in time consuming participatory processes (Devas et al.'s, 2004, Cited in Calendron, 2012). As a counterbalance, Calendron, in emphasis to this overlooked problem, suggests the provision of funding, organization and provision of technical assistance as a stimulant to offset constraints.

Other studies (Williams, 2007; Limanski, 2017; Calendron, 2012) probe into the methods employed vis-à-vis its socio-spatial milieu. In participatory courses, Williams (2007) denounces the labelling of any one mechanism as more 'radical' or 'authentic' than others without careful contextualization. Evidences from South Africa (Lemanski, 2017) also reveal the non-neutral role of context (structural context) in shaping citizenship experiences of participatory processes: Lemanski labels them as temporal and spatial political geographies: 'Temporal'

referring to pre-existing forms of participation and civil mobilization, and 'spatial' to pre-existing inequalities as well as the functioning of such processes at state-devised spatial scales which he believed are meaningless to people. Moreover, spatial scales in heterogeneous and big communities or dispersed over a large area with little social cohesion, can allow imposition of interests of the more powerful at the cost of the weak (Calendron, 2012). Likewise, Connelly and Richardson (2003) uphold this concern that "in any real situation practical constraints and tensions between different goals lead almost inevitably to compromises in the ideals of inclusivity and non-coercion".

Another issue raised regarding the context is the Conception of Community and the delineation of the Spatial territory for Participatory planning/ Development. Mediated by Westernized development experts as a gap closing facilitators between the community and the state/ global interests, there are trends of perception to homogenize differences within communities. The image of 'communities' as homogeneous and place-based, and/or the organization of participatory processes with familiar representative groups (Connelly and Richardson, 2003) builds on the danger of active de-politicization of development, "uncritically privileging 'the local' as the site for action" (Williams, 2007). Hamdi (2010) describes the misuse, if not abuse of the conception of community:

> "... And when we try to homogenize that sense of belonging in the rush to complete our participatory exercise, we wind up excluding those who don't fit – the hawkers, street vendors, the homeless, the squatters. We criminalize rather than socialize the socially excluded, because often our identities are defined not by who we are, but by who we are not." (Hamdi 2010, P55)

Once again, Hamdi (2010) resonates with William's hesitation of framing the local as the site for action.

He emphasizes the transformation of values of identity and belongingness in urban life, and asserts the prevalence of multiple identities whereby status is earned "by association more than by location". He believes that this intracommunity value differences at delineated localities undermine a commitment to place and, thus raises the challenges of engagement with community in participatory endeavors.

Policy framework in the Ethiopian context: The constitution, proclamations (on conception of property right, planning, social inclusion)

Legal rules within which citizens function are paramount in offering access to citizenship and Citizens' engagement in participatory processes (Lemanski, 2017). Thus, the Legal and policy frameworks on property right, social inclusion and participatory development along with the underlining issue of informality in context are worth exploring. Accordingly, relevant contexts are briefly discussed here, looking at the constitution, and related policies, proclamations, and directives currently used in Ethiopia.

Land and property rights are core issues in relation to informal settlement. Under the current constitution of Ethiopia (article 40-3), land is under state ownership and it is not subject to sale or to other means of exchange and article 40-7 stipulates only developments or improvements on land are referred to as private property (FDRE,1995). The constitution also extends the right to communal property holdings whenever found appropriate.

Nevertheless, the land on which these private properties exist, which are referred as developments or improvements, has to be acquired by legal means as specified in the FDRE urban Lands Lease Holding Proclamation No. 721/2011. The Proclamation doesn't offer any sort of prospect for extralegal land holdings of informal settlers. It prohibits urban land possession other than the lease holding system (FDRE, 2011, Article 5). And, any illegal holding of urban land is subject to demolition without com-

pensation (article 31-5) and occupants are subject to 7-15 years of imprisonment and a fine of ETB 40000-200000 (Article 35 -1b).

Executions of "demolition without compensation" of such occupations by local governments have been witnessed in recent years. However, imprisonment and fines are unlikely practices on crowds of informal settlers. There are however some cases, at the mercy of local governments, whereby informal settlements survived campaigns of demolition through occasional regularization processes.

Regarding dispossession and compensation of land holdings, the FDRE constitution in article 44 (2) guarantees the right to commensurate monetary or alternative means of compensation, including relocation with adequate state assistance for those who have been displaced or whose livelihoods have been adversely affected as a result of State programmes. The proclamation (Proclamation No. 721/2011, article 26) also braces the clearing and takeover of urban land in the public interest. Public purpose is defined as ".... the direct or indirect utilization of land by people and thereby enhance urban development during the implementation of an approved plan". This broad definition lacks clarity by including "indirect" public interests. It can lead to subjective interpretation and misuse. Any development can be considered as a project in the public interest indirectly. If so, it is possible that economically powerful people can influence officials and can have their plans approved at the cost of the poor and the vulnerable residents.

The clearance of an illegally occupied urban land is executed without clearance order by merely serving a written notice of seven working days to the occupant in person or by affixing it to the property situated on the land (Proclamation No. 721/2011, article 26-4). During the course of clearing the land, no body may be responsible for loss of any property situated on illegally held plot of urban land. All

kinds of acts of illegal occupations, without any regard to the root causes, are generally conceived as a mere act of rebellion.

Regarding Participation, the FDRE constitution in article 43-2 assures the right to participate in national development and, in particular, to be consulted with respect to policies and projects affecting communities. The constitution (Article 89-6) gives the responsibility of promoting participation in policy and program formulations, and supporting local initiatives to the government. The Urban Planning Proclamation, in its preamble, aims to ensure "the satisfaction of the needs of the society through public participation, transparency and accountability" (Proclamation No. 574/2008, Article 5-5). And the planning process carried out through public hearings (Proclamation No. 574/2008, article 15).

Social inclusion is reflected through ensuring equal opportunity for all nationals to promote equitable distribution of wealth (The Constitution, Article 89-1&2) Gender (The Constitution, Article 89-7).

The practice of Urban Planning in context
Decentralized urban planning, proclamation stated, each urban center to prepare its own plan. In 2007, the present Ethiopian Ministry of Urban Development, Housing & Construction (MUDHCo), (formerly known as MINISTRY OF WORKS and URBAN DEVELOPMENT), along with the now dissolved FEDERAL URBAN PLANNING INSTITUTE (FUPI) has prepared and published a Participation Manual for Urban Planning intended for practitioners and municipal technicians in Ethiopian cities. This guide not supposed to replace, but to work along with Integrated Development Plan (IDP) or other planning manuals.

The manual acknowledges the weaknesses of previous planning endeavors that plans were expert driven, had limited participation through a couple of consultative meetings usually to inform the public, emphasizing land-use planning and the approaches were neither strategic nor participatory. The introduction of Participatory Urban Planning was primarily due to ineffectiveness and failures of the urban plans during implementation. Evaluation by the Federal Urban Planning Institution (FUPI) identified the following factors responsible for the failures in planning: complexity and uncertainty of urbanization processes, significant change in land use, prevalence and expansions of squatter settlements, incompatibility of functions, and building height regulations becoming hindrance for implementations. ◆

PART 6
URBANIZATION AND HOUSING IN MEKELLE CITY

Mekelle is the second most populous city in Ethiopia (CSA, 2007) only next to the capital city. Its urban boundaries are expanding. The demand for industrial land has grown exponentially in recent years. Both public and Foreign direct investments have demanded quit a chunk of the city's land for industrial development. In 2017, a publicly funded industrial real-estate was inaugurated on 75 Hectares of land whose construction was completed in about one-year. Other huge foreign investments include large scale textile factory complexes from Asia.

Influxes of migrants are expected to rise as a result of the industrialization process and the diminishing returns from shrinking farm lands in rural areas. The physical expansion of the urban administration has gone into the hinterland rural areas absorbing rural agrarian livelihoods, which are yet to be integrated. Looking at the trends, the expansion is expected to continue in the future.

Recently, Access for land and housing is at its low, and tenancy is the dominant feature. Rent is not regulated and it is constantly increasing. Overcrowded housing conditions are characteristics of rented household units, and informal acquisition of land for housing has also been practiced within and beyond the urban administration.

The development of publicly financed condominium housing didn't go far enough to address housing shortage in Mekelle city. It stopped right after the construction of some blocks. All the political campaign for the condominium as a panacea for housing issues finally faded away in Ethiopia, except for the capital city, Addis Ababa. As a result, the residents got stuck with the options of striving for land through expensive and inflated lease auctions, or remained struggling with private rental units, and of course, the informal means.

In the meantime, informal settlements have grown in scale to a level that grabbed the regional government's attention. This led to the 2012 bulldozing of large informal settlements in "Gefih gereb", a rural administration in the hinterland of Mekelle city, which is self-evident for the booming of informal settlements and informal land markets within and around the city.

In November 2016, New housing scheme, "town-house self-help program" has been devised by the regional government to alleviate the soaring housing crises in twelve large towns of Tigray region, evidently Mekelle being at the epicenter. Five residential design typologies (all G+1) in an 84 square meters plot of land were offered for applicants based on established eligibility criteria. Though this scheme is questionable with regard to its affordability and its inclusiveness, it is being implemented and the units are currently under construction. ◆

PART 7
INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS IN MEKELLE CITY

To avoid ambiguities, working definitions of the different types of Informal settlements in the context of Mekelle city are provided in this section. Informal settlements in Mekelle city, at this exploratory phase and for this specific study purpose, are categorized under major four groups. The basis for classification of these typologies are associated to the processes of land acquisition, the differing characteristics in the conventional definition of informal settlement and the legal frame-work of property right in the region.

Urban Villages

These are basically rural settlements except that they are currently under urban administration. These settlements have haphazard and sparse morphology. Most of them don't have basic municipal amenities. They are the dominant informal settlement features in the city.

Squatter Settlements

These are settlers on publicly owned open spaces or vacant lands. They are public land sub-divisions usually in peri-urban area.

"Unauthorized Colonies"

These are illegal private land sub-divisions in peri-urban, usually from farmers. The process of such colonies happen either before the transfer of the land to urban administration or afterwards within urban villages. In terms of tenure security, ownership is relatively better acknowledged in the former than the latter case.

Semi-forma

These are varieties of informality cases but with high tenure security and with no or little deprivation with regard to the provision of municipal amenities. The following cases are considered under this category.

- Formally acquired private lands having structures built without construction permit or against building standards/codes. Such activities are usually treated with penalties.
- Formal-gone-informal due to recent urban planning activities. They are expected to be relocated elsewhere with a minimally allocated size of property and compensation money.
- Heading-informal: acknowledged as formal but at risk of informalization in fear of future planning. These are located near marginal locations, rivers, mountains etc. They may be relocated elsewhere with a minimally allocated size of property and compensation money.
- "Ownership in limbo": These are cases of informal transactions of formal properties (due to bureaucracies in ownership transfer. Plot/ housing is identified as formal by government, but ground realities are different. The buyers take a calculated risk to obtain the property before they are able to transfer it legally.
- Not serviced "formal" settlements[1], leased and privately owned, but not serviced with social and/ or physical infrastructures. Mainly located in the sub-urban areas of the city. They basically do not have any sort of risk with regard to tenure security.

Table 1

Comparison of Tenure security among Major Typologies of Informal Settlements in Mekelle City

TYPOLOGIES OF INFOR-MAL SETTLEMENTS	TENURE SECURITY			
	Very high	High	Moderate	Low
Semi-formal Units				
Urban Villages				
Unauthorized Colonies				
Squatter Settlements				

1 These types of settlements are framed according to the definitions of informal settlements one may find in literatures (including UN-Habitat's), but they are generally in agreement with the governing laws of property right, planning or building codes in the city. They are included just for contrast and they can actually be considered as irrelevant to the discussion of informality.

PART 8
CHALLENGES, LIMITATIONS AND SCOPE OF THE STUDY

There are certain limitations regarding this study while evaluating, analyzing or testing situations on the ground without actually conducting or simulating pilot projects for participatory planning. It is difficult to run participatory planning process as a full-fledged project in school in the condition that

1. It is a course-based activity and to be accomplished on a four month/ semester term
2. Willingness of participants to engage in this study can be challenging without offering any expected concrete outcomes, or prospect for immediate outcomes.
3. The political will of the local administration to participate and assist in the course of such study within its jurisdiction is quite decisive for its effectiveness and success. Otherwise, participants will be less motivated if they think their involvement is nothing but an academic exercise.
4. Little chance or no funding to effectively implement or install such exercise in practice
5. Difficult to address multi-disciplinary problem single-handedly by the profession of urban planning

Thus, the scope and depth of the study, and/or the final selection of the actual study area are partially dictated by the social, political conditions of the potential study areas selected at this preliminary stage. The scope of this study and its outcomes is expected to scale-up if funding becomes available either from the university community service budgets or other external donors. ◆

PART 9
THE STUDY AREA

Based on the above breakdown of settlement/ housing informalities in Mekelle city, those with high risk of tenure security, at risk of relocation, or having (or at risk of) disarray in their livelihood are considered as the most vulnerable typologies which are worth of close observation. They need close attention regarding social inclusion. Accordingly, all typologies but Semi-informal units are included for this study.

Urban Villages have got the sympathy of the government or urban administration which makes it convenient for any participatory community planning activities. Whereas, the other two, Unauthorized Colonies and Squatter Settlements are the most vulnerable groups, having low or no recognition by administration, and at risk of expropriation and demolition without compensation and offer for relocation land.

Findings of Quantitative study

Data and descriptive statistics of variables
The study was carried out in Mekelle city, located in the Northern part of Ethiopia. A household sample survey was collected from Dingur community, located at the outskirts of Mekelle city, which is recently incorporated in to the city administration. The study area was selected mainly because this constituency got an NDP (Neighborhood Development plan) quite recently, in 2017. Therefore, accuracies of data (in relation to the core objective of this study, on participatory processes) based on memories

of interviewee are expected to be better; besides, related secondary data are easily accessible.

The study area overlaps with the map delineated for the NDP. In this study area, the locality is mainly dominated by farmers, and settlements are sparse, organic along with many other informalities. And the local administration couldn't provide data on population, while secondary data on population are found inconsistent. This has made following probability sampling difficult, and cluster sampling procedures were exhaustively used. In Cluster sampling, a sample is taken by dividing the area into a number of smaller non-overlapping areas and then to randomly selecting a number of these smaller areas (usually called clusters), with the ultimate sample consisting of all (or samples of) units in these small areas or clusters (Cothari, 2004). A sample of 99 households was taken as a result, where all the samples in randomly selected small clusters were taken to achieve a certain level of representativeness in the population.

In 2017, NDP (Neighborhood Development plan) was conducted in this constituency (covering 137 hectares of land) and reports of situation analysis and development proposals were released. Thus, raw data of its household survey, the aforementioned reports and an interview with the project coordinator are used as data input in this study. Moreover, focus group discussion with residents that was carried out during the SES[2] consultative meeting on 21st of April 2018 was also used as part of the data input.

Table 2

Cluster ID from which sample is taken

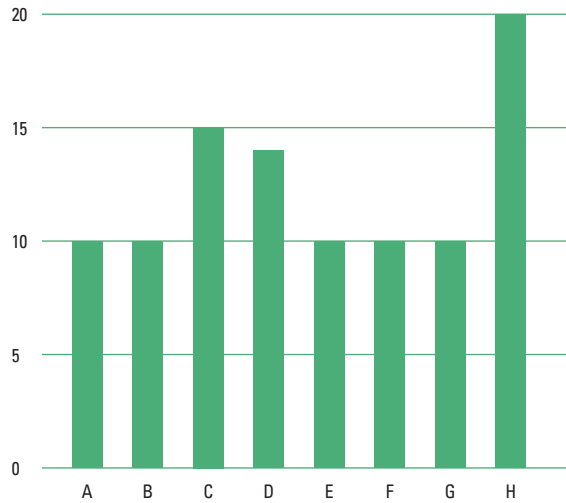| VALID	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUMULATIVE PERCENT
Cluster A	10	10.1	10.1	10.1
Cluster B	10	10.1	10.1	20.2
Cluster C	15	15.2	15.2	35.4
Cluster D	14	14.1	14.1	49.5
Cluster E	10	10.1	10.1	59.6
Cluster F	10	10.1	10.1	69.7
Cluster G	10	10.1	10.1	79.8
Cluster H	20	20.2	20.2	100.0
Total	**99**	**100.0**	**100.0**	

Chart 1

Frequency of clusters

Figure 1

Clusters taken for sample selection in household survey, Dingur Area, Mekelle(Base map Source: Mekelle City Administration)
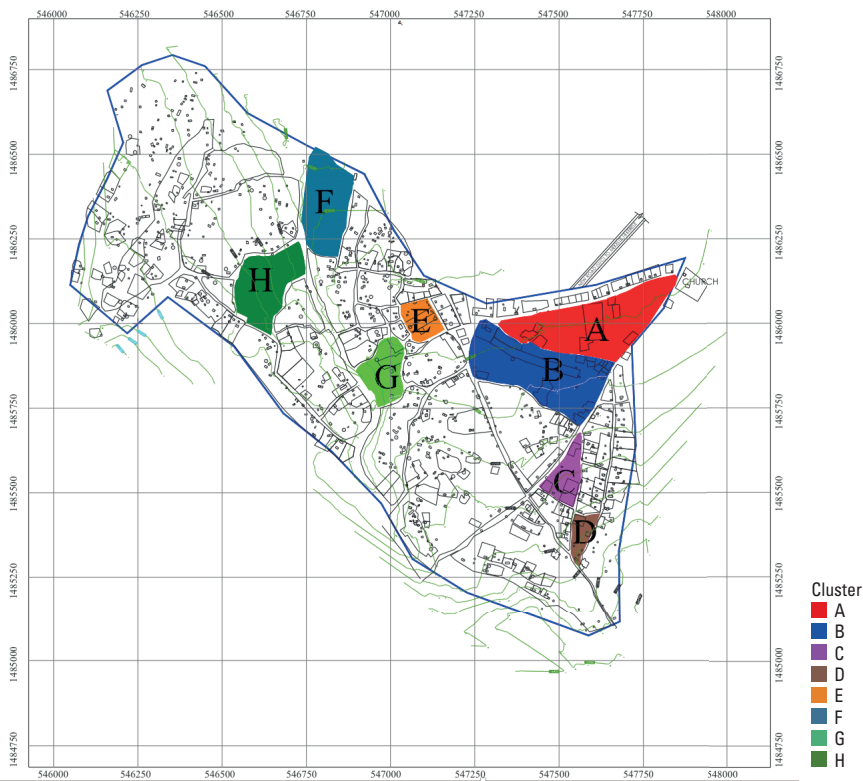
Variables under Study

Based on literature review, conducted interviews with key informant and context based experience of the researcher, the study has identified variables that are expected to have influence in effectiveness of participatory processes and social inclusiveness of the NDP preparation process. Accordingly, various socio-economic variables are identified at household level: subjective poverty (relative economic position of households in the community), employment status, educational status, household size, marital status, gender, age, years of stay in the neighborhood, means by which tenure is acquired, are tested whether they are associated to perceived levels and effectiveness of the NDP participation processes for the residents. The study initially had the hypothesis that these factors may affect the propensity to participate in such processes.

Discussions/ Presentation and Data Analysis

This section primarily deals with the presentation and analysis of data gathered from household survey along with other sources in Mekelle City.

Prevalence of Informality

Literatures report that the prevalence of informal settlements (usually defined in terms of those who have legal issues) in Mekelle city is estimated below 20 %. Whether informality prevalence is associated to spatial is studied as shown below.

The eight sampling clusters, located at Dingur peri-urban LDP site, are categorized into two based on their relative distance to the city proper of Mekelle city: three clusters close to the city proper are grouped into one category and the rest into another. Then, significance of association (using the Spearman's rho test for association) is measured.

Figure 2

Data collection Areas for Sample Survey, Dingur Area (Base map Source: Mekelle City Administration)
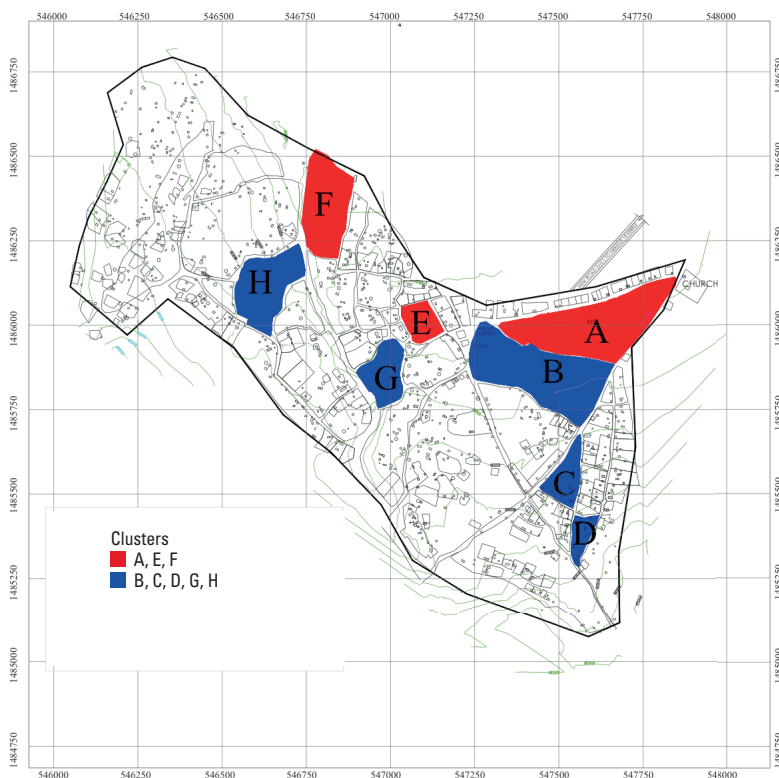
Table 3

Correlations

	CLUSTER ID FROM WHICH SAMPLE IS TAKEN (IN 2 CATEGORIES)	TENURE FORMALITY/ INFORMALITY
Correlation Coefficient	1.000	.179*
Sig. (1-tailed)	.	.038
N	99	99
Correlation Coefficient	.179*	1.000
Sig. (1-tailed)	.038	.
N	99	99

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (1-tailed)

Chart 2

Tenure formality/informality

Discussion:

LDP Situation analysis report (Census data, 2016) Vs. Findings from the sample survey of this study (2018)
During the LDP process in Dingur community, the census survey by experts shows that about one third of the households in the community preferred to keep silent when asked whether implementation of LDP would bring about opportunities to them.
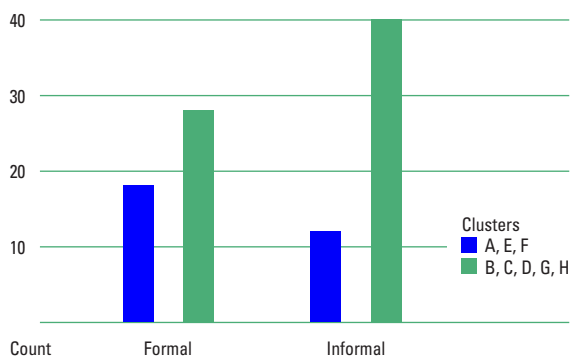
Table 4

Expectation of Residents on implementation of Dingur LDP
Q. Does LDP implementation would have opportunities and what possible impacts can you trace?

	DINGUR SETTLEMENT AREA	
	FREQENCY	PERCENT
Prefer to be silent –no services	140	30,5
Yes, opportunities are in place	125	27.2.
No, it will not have opportunities	5	1,1
If yes, what opportunities it does have:		
Access to infrastructure development	70	15,5
Ensure good governance	37	8,1
Create job & income opportunities	54	11,8
Job, infrastructure, other benefits	28	6,1
Total	**458**	**100**

Data Source:
Dingur LDP Situation analysis report based on household
Census survey, page 15

Table 5

Modalities of Land Holding (Access)

MODALITY	IN %	NO.
Lease	0,4	2
Received from Local Admin.	43,2	198
Received as Heir/ Heiress	17,7	81
Gift	22,3	102
Rent	3,5	16
Purchase	12,2	56
Other	0,7	3

Table 6

Comparison of Household Survey data as indicator of patterns of informal settlement expansion, between 2016 LDP census survey and 2018 Sample Survey, Dingur

MODALITIES OF LAND HOLDING (ACCESS)		HH DATA FROM LDP CENSUS STUDY (2016)*	HH DATA FROM SAMPLE SURVEY STUDY (2018)**	REMARK
Received from local Administration	Freq.	198	43	land acquired formally shown decrease by 12.7% from the 2016 LDP census study
	%	43.2	43.4	
Received as Heir/Heiress	Freq.	81	7	
	%	17.7	7.1	
Received as a leasehold	Freq.	2	3	
	%	0.4	3.0	
Sub-total 1 (Land Owned by Formal Modalities)	**Freq.**	**281**	**53**	
	%	**61.3**	**53.5**	
Received as a gift	Freq.	102	17	land acquired Informally shown increase 35% from the 2016 LDP census study
	%	22.3	17.2	
Purchase	Freq.	56	29	
	%	12.2	29.3	
Sub-total 2 (Land Owned by Informal Modalities)	**Freq.**	**158**	**46**	
	%	**34.5**	**46.5**	
Rent	Freq.	16	0	Rent not applicable to ownership, whereas Other means are unknown
	%	3.5	0	
Other	Freq.	3	0	
	%	0.7	0	
Total	**Freq.**	**458**	**99**	
	%	**100.0**	**100.0**	

This was checked if this difference is a random error, taking the prevalence ratio of the informal in the 2016 census study (by LDP) as a hypothesised/ expected prevalence of informality for the LDP area. A One Sample Chi-squared test for goodness of fit is used as a test statistic. The null hypothesis is rejected, and the result doesn't show that the prevalence of informality is unaffected/steady after two years in 2018 ; x^2 (1, N=99)=4.714, p=0.030.

Table 7

Hypothesis test summary

NULL HYPOTHESIS	TEST	SIG.	DECISION
The Categories of Tenure Formality/ Informality occur with the specified probabilities	One-Sample Chi-Square Test	0,03	Reject the null hypothesis

* This data is taken from a Secondary data source; Dingur LDP Situation analysis report, based on household Census survey, 2016
** This data is a prim ary data from sample survey of this study

Participation in LDP Processes across Demographic and Socio-economic Factors of Households

Based on perception of households, effectiveness of Participation or social inclusivity of the LDP process in Dingur is assessed. Accordingly, social and economic variables of households are taken into account based on literature review. This way, whether the LDP process was inclusive or not to vulnerable groups is checked.

Tenure security

Tenure security is defined as a dummy variable; those with certain level of informality having tenure insecurity and those who are secured/ Formal. Households are asked whether they feel represented in the LDP process in such a way that your interests are included.

Accordingly, only 44% of the respondents (Valid cases, 99%) think that they are represented in the LDP process. Over half of the respondents believe that the participation in the LDP process was not representative enough for them.

Based on the Chi-square test, the study indicates there is a significant difference in the perception of being represented in the LDP process between those with secure tenure status and those who are not/ Informal settler's. More (than expected) households with insecure tenure perceive that they are not represented in the process.

Table 9

Chi-square test of independence (perception on inclusivity of LDP) by tenure security

	VALUE	DF	ASYM-PTOTIC SIGNIF. 2-SIDED	EXACT SIGNIF. 2-SIDED	EXACT SIGNIF. 1-SIDED
Pearson Chi-Square	3.585[a]	1	.058		
Continuity Correction[b]	2.856	1	.091		
Likelihood Ratio	3.615	1	.057		
Fisher's Exact Test				.069	.045
Linear-by-Linear Association	3.549	1	.060		
N of Valid Cases	98				

a   0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5.
     The minimum expected count is 20.65.
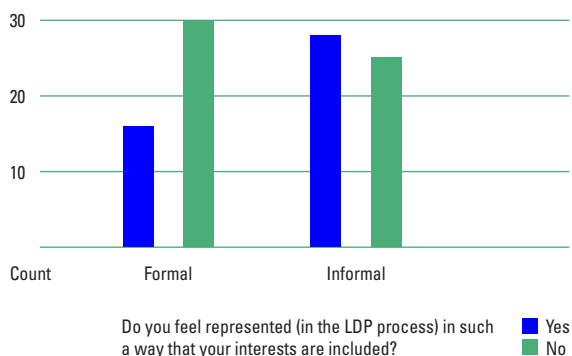b   Computed only for a 2x2 table

Table 8

Tenure Formality/Informality Cross-tabulation

		Do You Feel Represented (in the LDP process) in such a way that your interests are included?		Total
		Yes	No	
Tenure Informal	Count	16	30	**46**
	Expected Count	20.7	25.3	**46.0**
Tenure Formal	Count	28	24	**52**
	Expected Count	23.3	28.7	**52.0**
Total	**Count**	**44**	**54**	**98**
	Expected Count	**44.0**	**54.0**	**98.0**

Table 10

Symmetric Measures

	VALUE	APPROXIMATE SIGNIFICANCE
Phi	-.191	.058
Cramer's V	.191	.058
N of Valid Cases	98	

Chart 3

Perception of households on inclusiveness of the LDP process by Tenure type (Sample Survey of this study)

Do you feel represented (in the LDP process) in such a way that your interests are included?
- Yes
- No

Chart 4

Perception of households on inclusiveness of the LDP process by Relative Livelihood status (Sample Survey of this study)
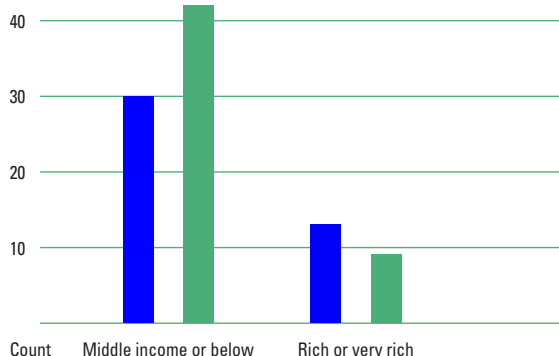

Economic indicators: Perceived livelihood status and Employment security

The study evaluated inclusiveness of LDP process using two economic indicators of households; i.e perceived livelihood status and Employment security. Perceived livelihood status is measured in terms of a Likert scale: Respondents, representing their respective households, were asked their perception on relative livelihood status in their community as Very poor, poor, medium, rich or very rich. A dummy variable is then computed with the first three labeled as less affluent and the last two categories as Affluent. A second variable, employment security is also used which is computed from the type of employment they are engaged in. Accordingly, households are categorized as those with Low Employment Security (Unemployed or Employed temporarily) and those with High Employment Security (Self-employed or Employed Permanently).

As can be seen from the Bar chart below, affluent households feel that they are represented in the LDP process more than expected as compared to the less affluent. But the chi-square test shows that the difference is not significant enough to conclude that participation in the LDP was exclusionary based on income/ livelihood status.

Regarding Employment security, the study has found a statistically significant difference in the perception of inclusiveness of the LDP process between the two groups. Households with Low Employment Security (Unemployed or Employed temporarily) were found more likely to perceive the process of LDP as exclusionary in representing their interests.

Table 11

Chi-square test of independence (perception on inclusivity of LDP) by Employment

	VALUE	DF	ASYM-PTOTIC SIGNIF. 2-SIDED	EXACT SIGNIF. 2-SIDED	EXACT SIGNIF. 1-SIDED
Pearson Chi-Square	4.614[a]	1	.032		
Continuity Correction[b]	3.723	1	.054		
Likelihood Ratio	4.736	1	.030		
Fisher's Exact Test				.049	.026
Linear-by-Linear Association	4.566	1	.033		
N of Valid Cases	98				

a 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 13.92.
b Computed only for a 2x2 table

Table 12

Symmetric Measures

	VALUE	APPROXIMATE SIGNIFICANCE
Phi	-.217	.032
Cramer's V	.217	.032
N of Valid Cases	98	

Chart 5

Perception of households on inclusiveness of the LDP process by Employment Security (Sample Survey of this study)
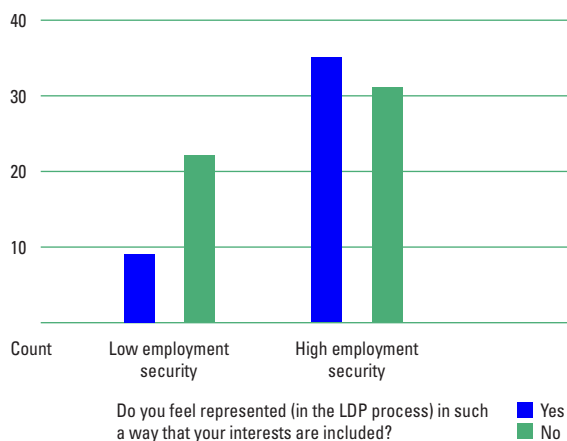

Do you feel represented (in the LDP process) in such a way that your interests are included? ■ Yes ■ No

Table 13

Title?

QUSHETS IN DINGUR LDP	PARTICIPANTS		
	Total (Qus-het-level)	Male	Female
Meqayih	7	7	0
Indagabir	8	6	2
Adi-Amique	3	3	0
Dingur	5	4	1
	23	**20**	**3**

Other Variables: Gender, Educational status and Spatial indicators

The study has not found statistically significant difference in the perception of representativeness of the LDP process across gender and educational status of household heads. However, based on the attendance list from one of the meetings with the public representatives, there are indications of under representation of the communities within the boundary and likely exclusionary phenomena.

Generally, the number of attendee in this documented public representative gathering (representing the four administrative units) in the LDP was too small (only 23 people). Out of 23 representatives, only three are female and two of the qushets (administrative units) are represented by male members only.

Conclusion and Recommendations

The idea of Participation in Community development, particularly in LDPs in Ethiopia has been recognized and practiced for over two decades' now. However, there are still difficulties in exploiting participation as a tool to a satisfactory level. As per this study, over fifty percent of the interviewee do not feel represented. The following factors contribute to this. One factor is there are only few number of participants or elected representatives in these processes. Another factor is that the election process of the representatives is usually influenced by the appointed individuals in the administration unit.

Besides, the study has depicted exclusionary features along lines of social and economic aspects. Thus, vulnerable groups in Tenure security (informal settlers), and employment security (less Secured or unsecured groups) may have been under represented more than their counterpart in the LDP process. Taking qualitative assessments this study has into account, Livelihood status, and Gender also need further investigation as there are some indications that this factors can also be bases of exclusion in the LDP processes. ◆

PART 10
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