







MASTER'S PROGRAMME IN URBAN MANAGEMENT AND DEVELOPMENT

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Community participation in Urban Upgrading project – The case of two neighborhoods in Nam Dinh city

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Summary

Participation is nowadays becoming a very important trend in world's development thinking. It has gained adequate attention of powerful international organizations in their development assistance programs. Community participation has been said to be the pivotal solution for local government in conducting their development initiatives towards poverty reduction, social equality and project sustainability at grassroots level. However, turning participation policy into practice is not easy because it has to face so many difficulties on the ground related to the participation performance organ, the community representatives – community leadership and local diversity. These are the foundations of the research conceptual framework.

The research studies a pilot urban upgrading project, implemented in Van Mieu ward, Nam Dinh city. It is targeted for low income areas with an upgrading package including basic services and technical infrastructure improvements identified. Based on community priorities, other social infrastructure can be included as schools, health care, markets, ext. As participatory approach is called as the key project principal, this research's main objective is to learn about the real practice of community participation in the project, in which the attention is focused on four different groups based on gender and socio economic situation – the poor men, poor women, better off men and better off women, benefits they get from the participatory project and the factors influencing their participation.

To see the difference in participation of each group, the research method is explanatory. Both qualitative and quantitative study are used to analyze an embedded case study of Van Mieu ward project. Survey, interviews and desk researches are the sources of data collection. Besides, sources of the researcher's attendance in interviews, working sessions and focus group of another mission with the same topic are also valuable for the research findings.

Learning the project doc, interviewing key respondents and especially conducting the survey among community members, the research find out that the mobilization of community participation is mainly assigned to the grassroots officer system, who have the most close and frequent contact with the people. Project staff mainly work with them as the main channel to communicate with the people. Those people are prestigious and supported by the people, but lack of professional performance, resources as well as necessary tools and skills. Regarding the community, though both neighbourhoods of research are low income areas, but there is difference in housing condition and economic background, which has led to difference in their level of project participation. The community members are mainly poor to whom the earning for the living is more urgent. The limited education also affect their active participation in the project. While the better off have less worries about daily life and can contribute more to the project in regards of time, material (land) and local supervision. The interesting thing is that the rate of participation in the project is nearly 100% because all of them have to pay the in kind contribution. However, the level of collection varies according to the difference of each neighborhood.

Based on the findings and analysis, conclusion are made on the participation of each groups, the benefits they perceive from the participatory project and factors influencing the participation. Recommendations are finally reached to overcome current shortcomings, for better participatory implementation based on local context in future projects.

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Firstly, I thank the NFP scholarship, who is such an effective sponsor for me to carry out the dream of studying in an advanced education system of Holland. To study well during the whole course, I appreciate very much the support of all IHS staff, especially those of the course bureau, library, Cocky Adams, Ruud Frank, Sharon, Nigel, who are always willing to help us with study tools and equipments. I will also never forget the first time meeting Marijk Huijsman, whom I met during the short course in Korea. She was the one to introduce to me about IHS master course, which is really relevant to my field of work.

During the course, I was updated about much valuable knowledge on multi disciplinary theories and practices through qualified lectures with respected lecturers of IHS, Erasmus University, Lund University, Lincoln Institute, and many other international and local organizations in the world, who were committed to share and train us to be more professional in the field. Especially our Urban Social Development specialization lecturers Maria Zwanenburg, Wim Blauw, who were with us during the lectures, excursions and researches in the field. I would like to deeply express my special thanks for Maria, who have been with me in each steps of writing the thesis. I can say nothing but my great gratitude for her commitment and valuable consultation on my work.

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My family and friends at home are those that I miss during the whole course. They always stay deep in my heart. That is the strong basis for my effort and belief wherever I go and whatever I do.

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Forewords

I have talked much in the summary and the acknowledgment. It is now time to go to the thesis content to see what was happening in the project and see how the research was implemented. It is always better to see what is really done than just to listen to what is said in paper. This is also the starting point of my thesis in looking at the correlation between "Text" and "Practice" in regards of community participation.

Before going forward to the next page, the author just want to emphasize that, this research is not intended to create a great and new idea to the mainstreaming theory. It is just an academic study research, where the author brings the updated theories to the practical context to see what is or is not applicable. The greatest value of this research stays in the author's learning process. This research was actively and seriously implemented by the author together with the support of her supervisor and colleagues and has brought about a complete study methodology for the author to be able to conduct further in depth researches in the future. The author also learnt a lot from the existing relevant body of theories as well as go in to the site to see what was happening in real practice.

The author believe that, despite continuous effort until the last minute before the final submission, there still remains rooms for further improvements on this study research. All the comments and corrections all really welcomed and this is part of learning process that to the author will never end. It is also the learning process, in many cases that will help decrease the distance between "Text" and "Practice".

Now, as promised, not to take readers' time, let's move on to see the story between "Text" and "Practice" on Community participation in an urban upgrading project.

Abbreviations

CIDA Canadian International Development Agency

CPRGS Comprehensive Poverty Reduction and Growth Strategy

ECOSOC: United Nations Economic and Social Council

GLTN Global Land Tool Network

IFAD International Fund for Agricultural Development

ILO International Labour Organization

MD May Det – Cotton Plant MOH Ministry of Home affairs

MT May To – Silk Plant

PMU Project Management Unit

SIDA: Swedish International development agency
SDC: Swiss Development and Cooperation Agency

UNDP United Nation Development program

UNESCO United Nation Environmental, Social and Cultural Organization

UN HABITAT United Nation agency for human settlement

UNRISD United Nation Research Institute of Social Development

WB World Bank

WCCARD World Conference on Agrarian and Rural Developmen

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Rationale

This thesis is made based on my interest on the community participation in local planning and decision making process. Participation has been talked and written about much by various authors including famous academics, local activists and senior officers of international organizations. Specifically, participatory approach, has become the new way to engage men and women 's will, sense of responsibility, abilities and dignity, in making better life for people and the poor neighborhood in particular. Nevertheless, there remain conflicts, inequalities within the complex structure of each community. This is the reason for me to initiate this following study proposal in looking at the application of policy text on community participation in practice – the application of participatory approach in the urban upgrading project, funded by the World Bank in Nam Dinh city – part of the National urban upgrading program. In this research two low income neighborhoods will be taken as the pilot case studies.

1.2 Research topic

1.2.1 Theoretical Back ground of the topic

Half the world's population live in urban areas by the end of 2008 and about 70 percent are city dwellers by 2050 (United Nation, 2008). It is also recognized that cities/towns in Asia and Africa registers the biggest growth. Together with the globalization, urbanization has brought cities/ towns in these areas enormous economic and social changes, however at the same time, raises the cost of traffic congestion and pollution, inadequate housing and services, urban poverty associated with unemployment, reducing the quality of life in many urban environments (Roberts and Kanaley, 2006). While urban governance, the institutions and arrangements for the planning, provision, and financing of urban infrastructure and services have been swamped by the speed and magnitude of urbanization, it is required to adapt innovative approaches in creating improvements to the sustainability of cities and the quality of life of their inhabitants. One solution to this has been the increased involvement of local communities in urban development planning and practice (Abbott, 1996).

During the past decades, "public participation" has become a major concern, both for local activists and for the public authorities. Support for measures to increase public participation in social policy and administration first came to prominence thirty years ago in the UK (Rebecca, 2000). And over the last fifteen years, interest in participation has become "new vogue" (Hague 1990 p.243). Participation of the governed in their government is, in theory, the cornerstone of democracy-a revered idea that is applauded vigorously by virtually everyone (Arnstein, 1969).

Public participation is a categorical term for citizen power (Rebecca, 2000). It is the redistribution of power that enables the have-not citizens, presently excluded from the political and economic processes, to be deliberately included in the future (Mitchell et al., 2004). They participate to determine the way of sharing information, setting goals and policies, allocating tax resources, operating programs. Shortly, participation enables them to share the benefits of the affluent society (Arnstein, 1969). Especially, adequate attention has been paid in the public involvement at community level, which represents a locus of change that offers the possibility of bringing together individuals in a unitary way that overcomes divisions based on sex, age, political orientation, and to certain extent class and ethnicity (Kaufman, 1997).

1

Much attention was paid in analyzing greater public participation in local policies for sustainable and liveable environments through Local Agenda 21 (Local Government Association 1998), and participation of citizens in the activities of local government in general and the work of their neighbourhood in particular (Rebecca, 2000)

Community participation is now the dominant thinking of as the solutions for the better local governance, which has seen the failure of both centralized state and the monopoly of market forces (Stigliz, 2002) (Kaufman, 1997) It is really new dimension to the way practitioners and academics view 'urban management' in today's cities (Snel, 2009)

The World Bank, in its support projects, is also aware of this orientation by taking steps to implement projects with participatory approach where sponsors and designers take a stance that places them inside the local social system being addressed. That is the process of collaboratively working with other stakeholders in carrying out projects steps, which enforces the stakeholders' influence and share control over the decisions made. Participation according to the World Bank is a process through which stakeholders influence and share control over development initiatives and the decisions and resources, which affect them (Liversedge, 2007). To reach this end, various World Bank's projects all over the world are being more focused on listening and consultation, social learning, social invention, stakeholders' commitment and participation, engaging the poor and disadvantaged groups. Those people are considered the direct beneficiaries, and usually without voice in the development process, in terms of learning from them and building capacity for them to act (World Bank, 1996).

However, the fact shows that borrowers of the WB, including elected officials, line agency staff, local officials, are the most significant partners, shareholders as well as clients of the Bank, who are responsible for devising and implanting public policies and programs. Private sector organizations and so forth with an interest in outcomes, considered as indirectly affected groups, also exist as critical participants and could affect the outcome of a proposed Bank intervention or be affected by it (World Bank, 1996). In regarding this point, in the 1990s, a general critique of participatory approaches emerged. The ideas encompassed a number of points ranging from the narrow localism and functionalism of many project based participatory activities, to the broader problems inherent to working with power and inequitable social structures (Cleaver, 2004). Like Cleaver's ideas of links between individuals and social structure, personal psychology, motivation and identities in a participatory process, Kaufman's idea is similar to this way of thinking when he indicates that within a participatory structure, social inequality and oppression are usually reflected and maintained relating to class, sex, color, age, religion, nationality, physical well being. The marginalization of women, certain racial groups, peasants, or young is still continued. Differences in community participation are based on not only individual capacities, talents, efforts, but also systemic forms of power and hierarchy in the community. Thus, the author suggested that the challenge is not only to develop participatory mechanisms of empowerment but the means to over come the structured inequalities in the social power (Kaufman and Alfonso, 1997, p 159-160).

In the frame work of this research study, the author will go into more details of the participation of different groups in the community, regarding the poor and the better-off, and especially the men and women – because women are often on the frontlines among the poor and disadvantaged (Imparato and Ruster, 2003) and because the tensions and difficulties encountered with gender have generated concepts methods and understandings which are subtle, and which ground participation in a deeper realism (Guijt and Shah, 1998a).

This above is the primary theoretical background of the topic, which is the foundation for the research idea. Much more in-depth theoretical overview of what has been being discussed in the world's development and research arena will be presented in the chapter two, including different trends of thinking, of famous international organizations, researchers, scholars and practitioners, summarized case studies related to the research's main topics, and the conceptual framework, which is identified based on the whole theoretical framework.

1.2.2 Practical context

In this section, readers will understand about the practical context, which together with the theory basis initiate the author's research topic. Here, the practical context will be briefly presented, and normally, it was written before the author's going into the fieldtrip, based on her desk research about the studied problem. Further details in this regards will be obtained in the chapter 4.

Viet Nam, after the turning point in 1986 from centralized planning to market oriented economy, has been more committed in renovating political, economic and social system. During the last 15 years, more and more functions and services in the Vietnamese public administration have been delegated or decentralized to the cities making them the most relevant public authorities for the daily life of the people, especially those marginalized and disadvantaged ones.

The involvement of community in urban development planning and practice has been identified in the Constitution 1992 (article 2, article 6)¹ and different Laws on Organization of State, People's Committees and Councils, Law on complaints and denunciation, Law of Anti corruption. Laws of mass organizations like Father Land Front, Youth, and trade unions. Recently, Ordinance on Grassroots Democracy, dated on April 21st 2007, has created a turning point in recognizing community's role in local planning and practice. Transparency and efficacy in public services have become important objectives in the Vietnamese Public Administration Reform Strategy. Efforts also have been made to improve relations between local authorities and the population through stronger involvement of the citizens in local planning and decisions making. Especially, the Comprehensive Poverty Reduction and Growth Strategy, was approved by the Vietnamese Government in May 2002. (Vietnamese Government, 2009)

In spite of these efforts the praxis of participation of the people, the quality of public services and communication between local authorities and citizens is not yet satisfying. As a consequence the framework for private economic and social activities is far from optimal, and the commitment of the population in public programs on socio-economic development is poor. This hampers the efforts on poverty alleviation and the reduction of social problems.(Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, 2008)

Before the globalization and international integration context, Viet Nam is still taking continuous efforts in institutional building and economic restructures. The Vietnamese Urban Upgrading Program (2004-2012, funded by the World bank's borrowings is part of these efforts. The Project is aimed to alleviate poverty in urban areas in four cities of Viet Nam, by improving the living and environmental conditions of the urban poor using participatory planning methods, and influencing planning processes to become more inclusive and pro-poor (World Bank, 2004). Thus key principal of the Project is the active *participation by communities* in critical stages of preparation, design and implementation as a pre-requisite to effectively respond to the needs in these areas.

The project's first component is targeted in improving tertiary infrastructure and basic services for the low-income areas in the pilot cities, one of which is Nam Dinh – my place of birth, the medium sized city - capital city of Nam Dinh Province and located in the centre of Red River Delta.

Nam Dinh city faced numerous difficulties such as: low economic starting point, poor infrastructure, lack of adaptability to new mechanism and many times of changes in administrative structure. Though the development pace is not as strong as in bigger cities in the country, the city is now facing the socio economic challenges at the cost of economic development and growth.

The majority of the urban poor live in areas with poor infrastructure and limited access to services (safe water, sanitation, drainage, lighting, garbage collection, etc). High population densities, and lack of, or poorly maintained infrastructure, and inadequate social services are main characteristics of low in come areas.

As mentioned, this above is the first introduction on the practical research area. In the chapter 4, the whole picture of practical context will be described in the forms of field trip findings and analysis.

1. 3 Problem statement

The urban upgrading project was expected to bring a new wind to the low income areas in terms of improved infrastructure and basic services, new project implementation modality with focus on community involvement. The project was highly talked about for effective community participation by the Nam Dinh Project Director several times, when I met him in some workshops in Nam Dinh. Talks with my father, who is the former Chief of the Assessment Division in the Department of Construction, Provincial level, informed me of positive views of the local managers on the role of community participation. However, I still wonder about the specifically contextual nature of participation, critical theories about participatory approach, the myths of community with complex social structure in side the community in terms of gender, age, social identity, ext as analyzed above (in the section 1.1). In addition to this, is the fact that this participatory approach is brought in by the sponsor to local system while local authority is still facing challenges of administration reforms and there remain things to talk about the grassroots democracy at community level. These facts bring me to the aspiration to do research study on the application of participatory approach towards the participation of different groups, which, in the frame work of study research, would be the poor and the better off, men and women.

The potential site study would be Van Mieu Ward/neighbourhood, one low income ward benefited in the project of Nam Dinh city. The reason why I want to look at the neighbourhood level is because it is the organizing principle in community development, where concerns about quality of life are tangible and a sense of pride is easily established. And initiatives designed have great potential to capture peoples' imagination and sustain participation with awaken a sense of community (Gershon.D., 2008)

1.4 Objective

The objective is to learn how the participatory approach has been done in addressing the participation of different groups in the community, how far the heterogeneous nature of the community with different groups, different interests has been reflected through the participation in the urban upgrading project.

1.5 Research questions

- How are different groups of the poor, better off, men and women in the community involved in the urban upgrading project?
- How are benefits of being involved in the project cycle as perceived by those different groups?
- What factors create the different grade of participation of these groups?

1.6 Method

With the Hypothesis: "There is difference in the participation between the poor and the better off, and between men and women in the urban upgrading project two neighborhoods of Nam Dinh city", the author use quantitative and qualitative explanatory research type. A case study including interviews and survey with stratified samples was conducted among the two neighborhoods. Data for the research includes both Primary data and secondary data. To ensure the high value of the research, Reliability and Validity are made sure by quality of information collected, the questions' triangulation, support of reliable assistants, tools and especially through the test in SPSS analysis. The complete research methodology is mentioned thoroughly in chapter 3. This was finalized and improved during the whole research proposal establishment and became very effective instrument for the author to conduct well the fieldtrip and result analysis afterwards.

In summary, this chapter above is to provide readers a very brief introduction of the whole thesis research. Reading so far, we can have a general overview about what, why and how the author did in her research study. Each main aspect of this above chapter will be in turned thoroughly mentioned in the each following chapters. Please go ahead together with the author, go into further details to have a clearer picture and assessment on the study. The Research can not avoid problems and limitations which will also be described in more details in the chapter 3. Lessons learnt during the fieldtrip were also individually drawn out by the author and are similarly found in this chapter.

Chapter 2: Theories on different Participation Trends

Community participation is considered orthodoxy of the development process, with the promise of inclusion, enabling the less vocal and powerful to express their voices and have more choices (Cornwall, 2003). Participatory approaches, calling for local communities' involvement in their own development have been in widely supported by international donors over the past time and is becoming more and more important in the work of international donor organizations, one of which is World Bank, with its lending instrument and across sectors (World Bank, 2005). It is raised up in order to address challenges of equity and inclusion. However, as Gregory (2000) in his writing shows that "Community participation may have won the war of words but, beyond rhetoric, its success is less evident' (Gregory, 2000), it is easily recognized that, besides the prescriptive view of "community participation" as the tool for reaching the excluded and strengthening development initiatives' effectiveness and sustainability, there has been existing critical points of view about the real effects of community participation. In this chapter, I would go into more details about the general theoretical framework of the mainstream concept of community participation, the history development of the thinking, two trends of thinking with proofs of case studies, which will then be the relevant basis for the research conceptual framework. This will be used to initiate the questions, variables and indicators of my own research.

2.1 Historical development of "Community participation" discourse since 1970s

In early 21st century, poor people' active involvement in development was mentioned. In the world's development agenda, participation has obtained new legitimacy and respectability and become orthodoxy. Being a strong advocate for the inclusion and participation of poor women and men in the development activities for more than 20 years, Sida has supported a number of institutions and organizations in their efforts to promote and learn from participatory development (Cornwall, 2002). It 's their idea to take time reviewing the development of "participation" since 1970s till now to see how the "vogue" discourse has been applied in shifting the beneficiary, to consumer and then citizen (Cornwall, 2002)

Calls for "popular participation" in the 1970s

During the time, Governments of donor agencies adopted legislation and agendas with goals of "popular participation". US Foreign Assistance Act (1973) intended to involve beneficiaries in planning and implementation of projects, Swedish Parliament adopted the goal of "democratic development" (1978), comprising popular participation in the development process at all levels. Spontaneously, many organizations declared to move further supports towards popular participation. In 1975, the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) urged governments to adopt popular participation as a basic policy measure in national development strategy. ILO 1978, argued that Participation is "by itself a basic need". The World Employment Conference issued a program of action that included "the participation of the people in making the decisions which affect them through organizations of their own choice (ILO 1977) and the World Conference on Agrarian and Rural Development (WCCARD) (1979) agreed that participation by the people in the issue and systems which govern their lives was basic human rights and also essential for realignment of political power in favor of disadvantaged groups and for social and economic development.

These above trajectories have identified a set of participation perspectives (Cornwall, 2002). The first argument shows that as development beneficiaries, people contribute to effective interventions intended to benefit them. They are invited to be part of

consultation processes and sharing costs. The second one is in regards to participation process, which is owned and controlled by those beneficiaries. This point of view is in line with arguments on equity and democracy, showing that excluded people participate in order to gain entitlements and rights to resources. The third thinking presses on needed closer relationship between development activists and beneficiaries. Participation involves working with people rather than for or by them.

The domestication of participation in projects with people in the 1980s

In the 1980s, community participation came to be associated in the mainstream primarily with the sharing of benefits by the poor, increasing project efficiency and effectiveness. People were recast as targeted "beneficiaries" of anti popular initiatives, enlisted and enjoined to participate in development programs and projects designed by others to benefit them, to achieve cost effectiveness, compliance and sustainability.

Participation was extensively seen, in the main stream, means to engage people in activities, which are initiated by the state or development agencies. Whereas, "people's self-development" relates to a collective action process leading to people's negotiation capacity with the power and self reliant development. This trend of theory then get along with neo – liberal economic reforms in the 1980s as the favor of grassroots. Term "do it for yourself" then turned into "do it by your self". This is not only a basic need but also a basic human right, recognized both in development projects and policy formulation. Together with mainstream neo-liberalization convergence and participatory development, "beneficiaries" became more active consumers of development projects and policies.

Shifting of beneficiary to stakeholder in participatory approach in the 1990s

This time witnessed the shifts in development thinking with firstly the emergence of a new participation discourse. With the statement about people's "urge" to participate, the UNDP report (1993) situates "people's participation" as an imperative – a condition of survival", as "an overall strategy for people to gain access to a much broader range of opportunities". Economic liberalization, freedom of association and democracy governance are considered as sine qua non of popular participation.

Also this time, the language of "empowerment" became popular in mainstream development domain. There was argument this time about the fact that "empowerment" is not something to be done for people, but some thing people do by and for themselves, which refers to the relations of power that might prevent people from efforts to empower them (Cornwall, 2002). It can be realized that around the 1990s, Participation was widespread agreed to be a good thing, with a new round of definitions and declarations of intent, where languages of stakeholders, partners, and customers were found.

Two trends of thinking about "participation" discourse until now.

Despite growing consensus on the importance of participation, contrasts have been emerging between the texts and policies of development institutions and the critical point of view on the practice of those texts and policies. This has raised two different trends of thinking on "Participation" discourse among scholars, donor agencies and development activists. The first is prescriptive perception by almost development agencies as "more participatory, less bureaucratic, more flexible, more cost – effective, with an ability to reach poor and disadvantaged people and the second are critical ideas on increasingly evident of paradox of participation initiatives aimed at enabling communities to own, manage and provide their own services intensified (Cornwall, 2002). In the following section 2.2, I will go from the prescriptive view of development issues, where participation is mentioned as important part in the design and policy of projects and

programs. Then in the following section 2.3, critical view of scholars, who raise lessons from the project implementation, will be mentioned.

2.2 Prescriptive theory on Participation

2.2.1 Prescriptive opinions of Participation by different organisations

Prescriptive participation is mainly text showing the point of view of different development organizations. The reasons for participation in the 1970s was pointed out in terms of efficiency and effectiveness: meaning that projects stood a better chance of success if people were involved more directly in them; self - determination for rights, recognition and a more equitable distribution of resources. In 1970s, UNRISD identified participation to be organized efforts where groups excluded increase their control over resources and regulative institutions; and mutual learning, which asserts importance of people's engagement as active subjects who participate, cooperate and contribute their own resources to the process of their own development (Cornwall, 2002). Since then, development literature offers several definitions and understandings on participation based on views of various international development donor agencies:

Paul in a WB paper defines "Community participation is an active process whereby *beneficiaries influence* the direction and execution of development projects rather than merely receiving a share of the project benefits" (World Bank, 1987)

Inter American Development Bank echoes the term as "a process through which stakeholders influence and share control over development initiatives, decisions and resources that affect them" (Cracken, 1996)

Popular participation learnt from 48 case studies cities of WB is identified as "a process by which people especially *disadvantaged people*, *influence policy formulation and control* design alternatives, investment choices, management and monitoring of development interventions in their communities" (Schmidt, 1996)

CIDA thinks that "a self help approach characterized by the *involvement of target groups* in project design, implementation and evaluation, which aims to build the capacity of the poor to maintain structures created during the project *implementation and continue their own development*" (Imparato and Ruster, 2003)

According to International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD), it is a democracy process in which people, particularly the weak and the poor, are not passive receiver of a development project at the end of a top-down approach. They are are requested to identify their needs, voice their demands, and organize themselves so as to improve their livelihood with the help of financial, technical, and human resources offered by the development project, as well as their own" (Imparato and Ruster, 2003)

UNDP see it an overall development strategy not just as people's involvement in certain project or programs. Participation means that people are closely *involved in the economic, social, cultural, and political processes that affect their lives*. People may, in some cases have complete and direct control over these prospects – in other cases, the control may be partial or indirect (Imparato and Ruster, 2003)

In the same mainstream thinking, about the strength of participatory approach, Francouse Lieberherr Gardiol - Senior Advisor and Head, Urban Section Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation considers participation as a road leading to democracy. More than hours of compulsory labor or imposed levies, it is *rather a process in which men and women engage their will, their sense of responsibility, their abilities, dignity.* It affects much of what makes for a better life in a poor neighbourhood: water supplies,

sanitation, electricity, roads, drainage, public spaces, housing (Imparato and Ruster, 2003)

Also in favour of participation, UN HABITAT identifies effective grassroots participation in their global land tool network (GLTN). Paying attention to the divergent interests within "communities" on the issues of land, UN Habitat use grassroots participation instead of community participation. To them, Grassroots participation is planned process whereby local groups are clarifying and expressing their own needs and objectives and taking collective action to meet them (UN Habitat, 2009). The involvement grassroots is crucial at all stages of tool development to ensure sufficient community input. The main vehicle of participation has often been the right to lodge concerns and complaints about development. The author believes that the absence of grassroots participation in many land interventions has often led to failure or outcomes that do not assist women or people living in poverty. Participation has been seen as key foundation for classical civil and political rights: right to vote, freedom of expression and right to freedom of association, as well as key element of economic, social and cultural rights, as well as the right to development (UN Habitat, 2009)

Discussing about sustainable urban development, in a report issued by the UNESCO, Gyorgy Enyedi (2004) recommends changes in attitude and approach on the part of local authorities, urban planners and the local population, meaning new procedures for public to have right of participation and co-determination. The main aim of public participation is to help decision making. If the authorities neglect public participation, it may lead to protest movements and actions(Enyedi, 2004)

Besides the mainstream in development thinking of international agencies, participation has been recognized by various local governments in the world as the tool in urban management. League of California cities see the importance of public participation in local decision-making as fundamental to democracy. There are many reasons to involve the public in planning, in which the most important is the a sense of community. Individuals feel more connected when they are take part in setting up solutions to community problems. Whereas, those who are not involved in this process are more likely to resist the solutions once developed. Their experience show that people with contributions to decision-making process express that they walk away with a feeling of pride and a stronger connection to the community. About this theme, Rick Cole, Former Mayor of Pasadena, California (2009) sees that participation help to enhance the quality of planning, to avoid contention between interested parties, to ensure swift and efficient project implementation, to ensure that good plans remain intact over time, to foster a sense of community and trust in government (League of California Cities, 2009)

A strong and powerful organization that can't be forgotten when talking about participatory policy is the WB. It has been following the discourse of participation for a long time, the meaning of which has changed along with the Bank's assistance programs through the time. Because this research is particularly looking at the Bank's funded project in Nam Dinh city, it is necessary to talk about their thinking of participation in a separated part, which will continuously follows this.

2.2.2 World Bank's input in the participation trend

With poverty focused lending emerged in the 1970s, the World Bank emphasized access by the poor to project benefits (Cornwall, 2002) (pg 20). In 1980s, "community participation" came to be cast, as a means of eliciting self help in the construction of facilities, contribution of material inputs, cooperative mechanisms (World Bank Health

sector policy paper) (Cornwall, 2002), (pg 25). Besides, cost sharing and efficiency emerge as the principal objects of "community participation" initiatives of the Bank. Later on, World Bank's participatory approach in development project can be learnt more in the Bank's source book (1997), which requires collaborative analysis and diagnosis conduction, objective setting, strategy creation and tactic formulation. Recovering the so called "external expert stance" in the traditional approach, participatory approach in WB projects now pays great efforts on the process of Listening and Consulting; Social learning; Social invention; Commitment; Popular versus stakeholder participation; Reaching the poor (characteristics of the poor are mentioned); Learning from the poor. Practice pointers in enabling the poor to participate shows the reasons, the ways to enable the poor, in terms learning from them, providing incentives for them to participate, showing them clear benefits, prompt action and visible results: visible results demonstrated that the program was producing significant gains and motivated people to participate more fully. The Bank's participatory approach also pay attention to women's participation, barriers to their participation in terms of systematic gender biases, socio cultural constraints, time and mobility constraints, legal regulatory constraints, and solutions to seek their views.

In his perspectives from the comprehensive development paradigm, Stigliz (2002) – WB Chief Economist started by raising the question on the relationship between democracy and development. Despite arguments that the Soviet Union had grown faster than the countries in the West by jettisoning basic rights and some other most successful countries in the East Asian didn't have participatory democracy in the 1960s and 1970s, Stigliz then came to the argument that participatory processes promote successful long-term development. Comprehensive development paradigm refers to participatory process. Participation and democracy help to corporate Governance and Economic efficiency, project effectiveness, political sustainability and effective decision-making. The involvement of citizen, in turn, who are well educated will ensure success of knowledge economy and help to serve social development.

Participatory process, to the author, itself may not ensure development success in some cases, but the centrality of open, transparent and participatory processes in sustainable development helps to design policies, strategies and processes that lead to long term economic growth and strengthened processes themselves (Stigliz, 2002). Stigliz then mentioned about a new comprehensive development paradigm where change is recognized and individuals and societies can take action to make a change. To him, development is a participatory process, which calls for transparency and accountability in both corporate and government sector. It also improves project effectiveness and restore social capital.

Drawing on ideas of other agencies cited above, WB formulates its own working definition in the upgrading projects, which defines participation as a process in which people, and especially disadvantaged people, influence resource allocation and policy and program formulation and implementation, and are involved at different levels and degrees of intensity in the identification, timing planning, design, implementation, evaluation, and post-implementation stages of development projects.

Imparato and Ruster (2003) shows that participation may create risks, whether of popular protests, mismanaged conflicts of interest, or mounting expectations that are difficult to meet. But in reality and above all, participation creates opportunity in terms of civic learning and people's empowerment, open way to alternatives, Enhanced project quality, the continuity of development, enabled strategies of negotiation. It is understood that

participation of urban poor and disadvantaged is the evidence of a new path to development. Participation, undertaken as a continuous process should lead to the continuity and sustainability of initiatives – to social institutional, technical, and financial sustainability.

An important document showing clearly about the Bank's policy is the World Development Report, which is considered as the the break through of participation and empowerment within world bank organization. It will mentioned in further details in the following section 2.2.3

2.2.3 World Development Report

The World Bank's annual World Development Report which is published annually since 1978, containing a wealth of socio economic information of the world, provides a wide international readership, which is significant to all organizations. With a specific aspect of development, the report of 2000-2001 discussed about the changes in governance, institutional arrangements in confronting with poverty (Worldbank, 2001)

In the context 1990s governance and institutions' moving toward issues of vulnerability at the national and local levels, the World Development report (WDR) 2000/2001, report suggest a strategy for fighting against poverty by the promotion of opportunity, facilitating empowerment and enhancing security. It can be realized that besides the task of creating opportunities and security aiming at greater equity, which is particularly important for rapid progress in poverty reduction, the report calls for the discourse of empowerment. It is to promote active collaboration among all members in the society including the poor, middle class and other groups, which only can be implemented by changes in governance with efficient public administration, legal institutions and public service provision. Especially, the Poor's participation in political process and local decision making is an important tool for recovering poverty, which take away from people the freedoms of action, leave them behind with inadequate food and shelter, education and health, deprivations that keep them from leading the kind of life that everyone values. This will also help to remove social and institutional barriers causing discrimination in gender, ethnicity and social status. It is not only benefiting the policy but also is essential for the entire growth process.

Moving from strategy to action, the report recommends that actions by international community and development cooperation will be fundamental. Together with a mix of public spending, institutional change, participation discourse still plays important role in addressing asset inequalities across social divides. ethnic, racial and gender. Effective mechanisms for popular participation are needed to promote inclusive decentralization and community development, in order to services closer to poor people and communities. It will also help ensure better control of services that they are entitled to and avoid the capture by local elites.

Another aspect of empowerment mentioned in the report is the promotion of gender equity, which if not well address will be part of broader issue of social inequities, and the support for poor people's social capital, that can help poor people out of poverty. To reach this end, the improvement in legal, regulatory, and institutional environment for groups representing is required. This is on the other hand call for mechanisms of creating popular participation (Worldbank, 2001)

2.3 Critical theory on participation

In the above writing, I have discussed about the meaning of Participation in development policy. In this section, I will go into the critical talks of scholars and practitioner activists,

who don't look at the text but look at the real implementation of what is said in the text. From this point of view, we will see the differences between what is said in document and what is implemented in the reality. —

2.3.1 Critical view on the functional project approach

In his article on the limitations of participatory approach, Frances Clever (2004) shows that although participatory imperative is strong, there are critiques about participatory development in terms of narrow and functional project approach with defined enterprises, quantifiable costs and benefits, limited time and budgets. The manifestation of community participation through structures with limited focus on people's concerns to the project and the efficiency of the outcomes actually disregards the complexity in local social structure. The foundationalization of communities, neglect of power within the community the tyrannies of techniques and the underestimation of resources are shown to be the limitations of participatory approach (Cleaver, 2004) (pg 67-69)

Paradox of participatory approach are listed as the distinguished efficiency and empowerment, with the confusion on who is to be empowered; the overriding imperative toward efficiency, without the exploration of empowerment effect; the institutionalization that help render legible community with collective endeavor to intervention and influence; the myths of community as the social entity, organization, egalitarian and solitaire; unclear links between inclusion and subordination, with insufficient analysis on structural and political aspects (pg 70-76)

Similar to this way of thinking, back to 1997, the research on Community and grassroots Democracy – the transformation of social life (Kaufman, 1997) looks at the issue of "popular participation" at the community level, not with the sense of organizational structure but the part of the creative flux of change. From this starting point, the author talks about Community; Community based participation, obstacles that it may face. Interests are also paid to organizations of community power and grassroots democracy as the popular participation base by listing potential kinds of organizations, their different characteristics, things in common. Being critical to the definition of popular participation by different organizations UNRISD, modified UNRISD definition by a study in West Bengal, ILO), the author suggests participation/empowerment is both a goal, and a method of change. The former refers to participation with aims to create no political, economic, or cultural monopoly, and no power controlled only by particular class, sex, or bureaucratic elite. The later calls participation for a means for the majority of the population to strengthen their voice and organizational capacity, to express needs and to create direct solution contribution to social issues.

Nevertheless, problems are pointed out in terms of what experiments, what strategies and how to build inclusive structures of social, economic and political power, ones that overcome inequalities in terms of political, economic and social power (which might be classes, castes, ethnic national, color groupings, sex, combination of these) and could fundamentally shift the basis of social power.

According to Kaufman, participation is determined by individuals and groups in a participatory process, rather than existing in abstract. Nevertheless, even in a participatory mechanism, social inequality in terms of age, class, religion, color, wealth and nationality still exists. For this reason, it is recommended by the author that the requirements are to look at structured complexity in the social power, better than only promoting empowerment participatory process.

With critical analysis on liberal democratic and two broad camps on this issue of democracy and socialism, the author believes that all society has at least some degree of democracy at some level of social, economic, or political life. The challenge is to develop an extensive democracy. With aims of redressing inequalities of social power and social voice, this body of theory tries to address forms of power inequality among the oppressed or exploited.

2.3.2 Critical view from gender perspective

Kaufman in his same writing goes into more details on the differential participation between men and women, which has two aspects: the existing structures and ideologies and the concept of power, the hegemonic in patriarchal society. Limited capacity for women to participate and their trend to be marginalized, oppressed and subordinated are because the control of men has perpetuated in different ways (access to politics, work, education, skill, prestige) and there are many constraints that women have to face in their daily life. Patriarchal societies, which is centuries old, according to the author has formulated the frame of power exercise. Difference in men and women's capacity to be democratic participants is not resulted by sexism and inequality, but also by gendered self-identities.

However, the author still discovers women's dynamics through the experience in much of third world in the tendency of their leadership role in the community, informal meetings that they create and men's abdication of responsibilities on things more relevant to women (health, education, garbage, ext) to get involved in army, politics, diplomacy, larger scale of economy, ext. At the same time, the author shows that there is men differential participation with situation where most men cannot have actual power. It is finally concluded that change is needed even if differential participation actually exist in current democratic and participatory institutions and that we are able to create change through an extensive theoretical and practical framework, including sex and other various inequality determinants (Kaufman, 1997)

With more details of differential participation between men and women, during the past two decades, another separate movement on gender has been transforming the rhetoric, and increasingly the reality of local-level development. The pervasive inequities of the socially constructed relations between women and men are more recognized by both organizational behavior, in projects, programs, and policies and above all, development professionals. Gender awareness and equity are irreversibly on the agenda and increasingly pursued in practice (Chambers, 1998). It tends to raise critical questions on the participation discourse because attitudes and behaviors, which are dominating and discriminatory, are common among men. Even participatory methodologies is intended to minimize biases, women are often marginalized in terms of time, place of meeting, compositions of groups, conventions that only men speak in public, ext. Thus, recognizing and offsetting those biases requires sensitivity, patience, and commitment on the part of those who are outsiders of the community because, local context are complex, diverse and dynamic. The reduction of collective noun misleads that "community" hides many divisions and tracts attention from gender relations between women and men, and from men themselves, and women also conceals many differences between females by age, class, marital status and social group, conflicting issues of power and control over resources, and dealing with aggressive and violent behavior. (Guijt and Shah, 1998a)

Discussing about "waking up to power, conflict and process" the authors point out that despite participatory approach seeks to empower lowers – women, minorities, the poor, the weak, and the vulnerable and to make policy reversals real. (Chambers 1997:106),

gender was hidden (in participatory research) in seemingly inclusive terms: the people, the oppressed, the compassions, or simply the community. It was only when comparing projects, that it became clear that the community was all too often the male community. (Maguire, 1996: 29-30) (Guijt and Shah, 1998b)

Guijt and Shah to be problematic learn gender naivety in participatory development. It is due to the historical factors of the evolution of participatory development, meaning that participatory processes have been increasingly approached as technical, management solutions to what are political issues without implications of gender relations on development. It has been often assumed that the presence of women at community gatherings, alongside men, means that women and their issues are being included; this assumption completely ignores the dynamics of gender relations. The simplification of community with "community meetings" as the forum for decision-making based on the needs of the entire community, representing perceptions in terms of "the community action plan" tend to overlook inequalities, oppressive social hierarchies and discrimination. In addition to this, the simplification of participation in related to the different way of participation between men and women, the diversity of community willingness, capacity and motivation to participate one more time raise the issue of critical participation (Guijt and Shah, 1998a)

The fact that participatory approach focus on consultation to relieve the symptoms of oppression, such as inadequate material wellbeing, rather than its causes, without clear strategy for negotiating conflicting interests which arise between participants, and between participants and development agencies. The emphasis on techniques of participation has detracted from a need to understand the causes of disempowerment.

Adding to this matter, Andrea Cornwall (1998) determines that there is no reason to assume neither that just because women are present, they represent women in general, nor that because women do not speak that they do not have any decision making power. The showing fact of many development workers resisting delving into social complexities draws attention to the practical realities of development and the need for a simple framework that can ensure the inclusion of women in development initiatives (Cornwall, 1998)

2.4 Case studies revealing existing constraints for popular participation.

2.4.1 Participatory Project performance – the case of Bangladesh project

In this section, a case study together with relevant analysis will be provided for readers to see the difference between the Bank's text on empowerment through mutual learning in participatory project and challenges in bringing it to practices

In the Source book (World Bank, 1997), experience shows that if information is acquired, analyzed and presented in reports by experts, then social change usually does not take place. Whereas, the kind of "social learning" that stakeholders generate and internalize during the participatory planning and/or implementation of development activity does enable social change. For this reason, the Bank now turn its project from past traditional approach, called "external expert stance", into a more participatory process. where project sponsors and designers no longer place themselves outside of the local situation to investigate the subject matter. Stakeholders become sources of information and opinions and take active part in conducting the analysis and diagnosis collaboratively, objectives, strategy and formulate project tactics

Admitting the fact that, in the past, though the consultants hired by the Bank do consult and listen to local people, they do not always listen to all the people or consult with poor

and advantaged people, the Bank is now making concerted effort to consult and listen to all relevant stakeholders. Stakeholders are those who can provide experience and expertise, like in the case of identifying what it is to be poor or female, or the expertise to develop specifications for a new road, or educational program (World Bank, 1996)

This, however, is not equated with participation, but only considered the prerequisites for participation, because, no matter how good are the project sponsor and designers, there is a missing part, which is the local people's learning from the project. The Bank's document on "Adaptive approach in urban upgrading project" (2009) mentions about the "Consensus" where project is implemented in a consistent process. Project staff goes into the field to learn about the real situation As Ashna – World Bank senior consultant talk in the video says "you learn more and more when talking with people, when you go on your assignment. There's no other way than going out on the field to understand about the real situation". According to her, there are three reasons of why it is critical for interacting with beneficiaries in developing any project (World bank, 2009)

They are the one in the situation that you are trying to address, they can give the best sense of what's going on and in many cases, the best solutions to the problems.

To create ownership because once, people are involved in initating the project, they can take it forward and take it as their own project

Going into the field, talking with people, you can validate or verify data that you find in the report or secondary sources, and it can tell such different stories

Mutual learning is also reflected in the participatory approach adatpted by the Bank through the fact that, project staff not only learn from local people, but also train and educate them to understand about the project, making proposal and costing out the project items. Designers and local people learn from each other when local people see the respect the designers have for them and designers see the people's willing to take charge of their lives and do something about it (World Bank, 1996). Involving the poor in decision making and getting resources to them, the majority of which is women, requires strengthening their ability to act for themselves. Thus special efforts and proper policies need to be made by of project sponsors and designers to make the voices of the poor be heard and their participation not be token (World Bank, 2005)

Related to the interface between project staff and the local community, Bebbington et al (2007) takes a critical look at the way of Empowerment from policy to practice. To him, empowerment, which is defined by the WB as an asset that can be built and bestowed on those without it earlier and later as the access to market and participation and decision making, seems to be unproblematically combined within development policy discourse.

Though empowerment can derive from two basic sources: "the "reform of state institutions" and "investment in the poor and their organizations" in the World Development Report of 2000 – 2001, and the WB's source book where empowerment means the "expansion of assets and capabilities of poor people to participate in, negotiate with, influence, control and hold accountable institutions that affect their lives" (World Bank, 2002), the author still hangs the question on whether the poor are actually empowered in this process.

The long and diversified history of empowerment notion, even within a single organization like the WB reflects diversified meaning, interpretation and commitment among and within different organizations involved in Bank's funded programs. From this the author shows that this is somehow influenced by the national and institutional conditions that help translate such statements into bureaucratic development and political practices, which is understood as the organizational culture, meaning process of reality construction allowing people to see, understand certain events, actions, objects in

distinctive ways" or a force helping to shape aspects of an organization's behaviors (Bebbington et al., 2007).

Taking the Bangladesh as the case study, the author sees the decline in Dhaka World Bank's office's interest level due to heavy work pressures faced by the staff. This remark is proved by the fact that the author asks the Bank contacts in Dhaka to comment on a short preliminary report without getting any feedbacks despites some efforts of chasing by email or the meeting between the organizational culture research team and the project staff was not well attended by the Project Task Manager and the social expert. The author's research, notwithstanding a component of the Bank's work, was actually a big waste of time to everyone, and was not really welcomed for the reason that the WB did not work with NGOs.

In the case study, because people are provided production input and credit by the NGOs, who participate in supporting the sericulture as an employment generation activity, they can not sell to wider market with better price. Products are not weighed in front of the people, and the price can be determined differently by individuals, which is sometime just a lump sum. Moreover, the hierarchical decision making and management within the NGOs studied, the "role culture" among individuals within the administration system are other conflicts between those NGOs' internal factors and the common empowerment objective.

Based on these facts, the author then concludes that, the ability of NGOs in dealing transparently and clearly with the target groups is the precondition for the emergence of strong, autonomous structures at the grassroots levels, and that unequal power relationships within NGOs can work against building more equal and empowering partnerships between NGOs and grassroots groups (Bebbington et al., 2007). The structural and cultural difference among NGOs is also contradicting to the common view that they share in the same projects with same working methods. This is to say that there is hardly a straight forward from the Bank's textual commitments to empowerment as set out in project document. The objective of empowerment to be put in practice varies over the life of a project, where there are many factors determining the diversified meaning and practices of empowerment among different actors. Power relationships among different stakeholders also have big influence on the values dominating the overall program intervention.

In the body of this research, the author is not going to analyze the concept of organizational culture, but it will be used as the foundation for the operationalisation of "project performance" concept to see the interlink ages from project document to implementation.

2.4.2 Community leaders in three slums' participatory system – Indian case

The case (Desai, 1994) shows realities of three different slum settlement in Bombay where 40-50% of the city's urban population live. They are Kurla, a settlement close to the railway, with the majority of migrants, Worli with the intense residential development of upper classes in the surrounding hills and a small settlement of service people near by, Wadala which consists mainly of agricultural migrants, but socially and economic better off, better educated.

Looking into what the terms of "popular participation" means in the three settlements, the study observes that only certain persons, called leaders or initiators from the slums contacts political leaders and NGOs on behalf of slum dwellers. They are mostly better off, higher educated, better employed, who run a patron client relationship with

politicians and bureaucrats, to help determine their power and level of services and physical benefits for the slum community. However, slum leaders are rarely seen in the areas, because they have permanent well paid jobs elsewhere. Even during the election, they are just present when bribing the most voters from their relatives. Questions are raised on how far those representatives relate to the slum dwellers and how slum dwellers respond to the initiators and to what effect.

It is fact that those leaders don't act on themselves, but are supported by a group of "mediators" around them. Those people are willing to give time and resources to communal work and also benefits in certain way from the initiators' external contact. They are informed and consulted by the leaders and play as the bridge of community between the leaders and the community. In his research the author argue that the support from slum dwellers to the initiators depends on their capacity and rapports with the mediators (Desai, 1994).

The importance of slum dwellers' participation in decision making is emphasized by community development officers, politicians, bureaucrats and community leaders and is said to form the slum development policy. To support this idea a participatory institution, called community organization is established in each slum to serve the needs of dwellers for water, toilets, drainage, streets or electricity. They are substantially well organized (regular meetings, permanent office, transparent accounting system), facilitated by a management committee of 10-15 elected members, based on two or three year term election, to support decentralizing community organization's decision making powers,

However, it is found out by the author that there is no popular participation, because the majority of respondents could not answer any formal questions about the community organization members, purpose or the time of its meetings. Informal conversations showed better responses that the people knew nothing at all the community organization, even the past office bearers. Some dwellers recognized their councilors, or bureaucrats, but they did not know what their capacity was to influence decisions. The meeting mainly involved community leaders and were poorly attended by the community. They rarely know about what has happened or what decisions were made during the community organization's meeting, even when exactly it happened. Worli case study show a similar story when the community members did not know anything or were not consulted about the leaders' budget mobilization plan to rebuild the community organization's office, which was a decision affecting the slum dwellers. Stories above shows that the idea of a representative system to support community participation fails to involve the people in making decisions that affect their lives. Even those representatives, who act and voice for people turn out to be not only for the representative institutions of community organizations.

Another fact through the case is that community leaders seems to stay consistently in the leadership. Some of the office bearers of important positions are not elected but appointed because they are thought the best to the post. Part of the fact is that few dwellers would not go forward to take vacant posts or stand for the election. Moreover, dwellers were not very much interested in selecting their representatives. They can not remember what happened during the previous election or the information coming out were contradictory. Even when voting by hand in the meetings, they look around to their neighbors before raising their hands. Very few people attend the meeting, and rarely stand up and speak. The most and only representative system in the areas were not seriously taken by both the community members and leaders.

Though it is convinced by the state officials that a measure of participation and some degree of popular participation in the decision making process have been achieved, the fact shows that people are not organized to access to the authorities directly and just can participate in the decision making process via interconnected representative institutions, which normally seems to be crucially divorced from the slum community that they exist to represent. They don't contact directly the municipal officers, and think it is the job of the community leaders. They just question the officials directly when they are invited to introduce about planning or programs in the community organization's meetings. The author shows that the more participation by representative institutions means less participation by popular involvement in decisions. "Participation through community leaders become contradiction in terms" (Desai, 1994). Participation is impeded rather than encouraged by such representative institution. And the community leader's real role is simply a channel of communication from the state bureaucracy to the slum dwellers, not the other way around.

Another fact that hindered the community participation is the thinking bias about the capacity the poor and women. As a councilors of the Communist Party thinks that the slum people were just poor and uneducated, who can not understand the issues, the report content and its implications. During meetings, if those among very few dwellers ask questions about the discussion matters, they are normally dismissed as irrelevant, and most ideas by the politicians, bureaucrats, NGOs representatives are generally passed. Gender issue is an other aspect regarding to the failure of popular participation here. Though they have their own small organization to discuss and raise problems of concerns and their activities are culturally accepted, they are just allowed a mere supportive role. They don't have access to higher echelons of leadership or decision making and have no active part in the community organization meeting, except the role of spectators. There is almost no communication between male community leaders and their wives. Men talk with men, women talk with women. Most of the community organization's affairs are considered not relevant for wives, daughters of female headed households. And often time, wives consider it not their business to interfere and leave to the husbands, who are believed to know better.

Through the case study, despite the idea of generating popular participation through the participatory administration system, most slum dwellers are not involved in the decisions which directly influence their life. Community leaders, who turn out to be constituted by men, and have better jobs, education and contacts with external politicians, are the one to affect the content of decisions concerning the slums. *Positions of disadvantaged people like the poor and women are still hindered in the participatory process, thus they hardly put their knowledge into the "officialdom"* (Desai, 1994)

2.4.3 Local diversity and the exclusion of women in participatory projects.

In his writing about world development, by looking at such classic "participatory" initiative, and exploring women's barriers to participation, Andrea Conwall shows the fact that "those projects that seems to be transformative turns out to be supportive of a status quo" that is highly inequitable for *women* (Cornwall, 2003). He mentioned about the Joint Forest Management (JFM) which aims at adapting community-based institutions to create opportunities community participation in sectoral governance. Community members are considered "stakeholders", "partners," and "owners". Despite its prowess with participation, shortcomings of JFM regarding "gender exclusion and inequality", in terms of "losing out of benefits from JFM and suffering higher workloads" (Agarwal, 1997).

Joint Forest Management (JFM) program launched in India in the early 1990. Main idea of this participatory approach is to create a partnership between the forest protection department of state level and the village communities in reviving and preserving forests. Despite some notable successes in ensuring relative equality in benefit-sharing among households, the project turns out to meet the answer of "no" in meeting women's participation in forest management. Women are rarely members of the committee, if yes, the number is quite small (3% among 8000 members in West Belgan and 7% among 22,000 members in Tamil Nadu) (Agarwal, 1997). They do not often speak out, or if yes, their voice is not heard. This situation inevitably lead to the fact that women's concerns are not taken into the forest protection and use rules. As the result, they are not allowed to enter the protected areas and had to go farther for firewood, which doubles traveling time. Needs for help from daughters in its turn negatively affect their study. Because benefits from forest protection are linked with participation in the work, men tend to get more, which are not shared equitably with other household members (Agarwal, 1997a; Guhathakurta and Bhatia, 1992). Women when asked about forest, just said "what forest...?, Since the men have started protecting it they don't even allow us to look at it!" (Shah and Shah, 1995, p. 80). In this case, participatory approach becomes a system of property rights in communal land which is strongly male centered.

Besides that, women's non participation in the decision making process has led to inefficient functioning and long-term sustainability of the initiatives. Since women are the one collecting firewood and grasses every day, they should be the one who understand and take the responsibility of the rules. Otherwise, the task of collecting firewood and grasses tend to make them circumvent the rules. They are also the one who knows best about plants and species and should be consulted in a proper way. The author identifies that "Thus what initially appears to be a success story of participative community involvement in resource regeneration is found to be gender exclusionary and highly inequitable". It is the problem of treating "communities" as ungendered units and "community participation" as an unambiguous step toward enhanced equity.

Women's participation was hindered by the rules of allowing membership to one person per household, which seems to be equal intra household among the whole community. Through the study, the author sees that even the most equitable solution to allow membership to all village adults has other additional factors that restrict women's participation, including gender labor division and a number of social norms and perceptions about women's abilities and needs (see Agarwal, 1997a for details). Those are women's double work burdens, which made them rarely have time for long meetings after a long working day, the official male bias in not consulting women's idea for the preparation of forest development micro plan (Guhathakurta and Bhatia, 1992), social constraints on female behavior and presence in public spaces, perceptions about women's capacity and their roles in society. Women's limited experience in public speaking and their opinions being disregarded also are hindering factors. A woman member in a forest management group shared that "I went to three or four meetings....No one ever listened to my suggestions. They were uninterested" (cited in Britt, 1993, p. 146) (Agarwal, 1997)

Discussing about this case study, Conwall (2003) identifies that women's presence in forest protection committee doesn't means that they have opportunities to influence decision making, like the case in Uttaranchal, though it is emphasized to have a certain rate of women on the committee, their voice depends on the good will of the head and the forest bureaucrat who are usually men. "Voice, she reminds us, does not automatically translate into influence" (Cornwall, 2003) *In his writing, Mayoux also emphasizes that*

the marginalization or exclusion of women from participatory projects remains an issue (Mayoux, 1995). As, concluded by Conwall (2003), unless efforts are made to enable marginal voices to be raised and heard, claims to inclusiveness made on behalf of participatory development will appear rather empty (Cornwall, 2003)

In conclusion and before getting to the conceptual framework, the author just want to wrap up what has been discussed about in the theoretical chapter.

Going through certain theories related to participation, I understand that participation is the same trend in development thinking to be the way of social transformation, recovering inadequacy of dominant traditional development paradigm in the past half century (Stigliz 2002, pg 164-165), (Kaufmann, 1997, pg 158-159). The dynamics of participation concept that means "different things to different people in different settings" (World Bank, 1996) is taken into account both two theory trends. Attention to the vulnerable groups like the poor, the disadvantaged and gender issues inside the community level are of some similarities that can be found in most working on participation.

Participatory research and development with some of the earlier efforts undoubtedly arose as challenges to the dominant power structures. (Guijt and Shah, 1998b). Participatory development is aimed to increase the better participation of socially and economically marginalized people in making decisions over their life. It is assumed that participatory approaches empower people with to improve their situation with skills and confidence to analyze their situation, reach consensus, decisions and take action, toward the ultimate end of better equality and sustainability. Nonetheless, in spite of social inclusion intention, a number of participatory initiatives haven't dealt well with inside community dynamics and differences in terms of ages, caste, ethnic, and especially gender issues. It is often that community has been viewed naively, or practically treated as a harmonious collective which is internally equitable. As contributed by Mansuri and Riao (2004) that "Projects that rely on community participation have not been particularly effective at targeting the poor. Most such projects are dominated by elites, and both targeting and project quality tend to be markedly worse in more unequal communities. A distinction between potentially "benevolent" forms of elite domination and more pernicious types of capture is likely to be important for understanding project dynamics and outcomes" (Mansuri and Rao, 2004)

What we have seen above, on one hand is the development thinking about participation, what is called by Bebbington (2007) the "TEXT" and on the other hand the critical view points that are raised out by different researchers who see the difference between "TEXT" and its reality, called "PRACTICE". In fact, they are not uniform and the way of bringing the text into practice meet specific challenges. Because policies or texts are made and executed at different stages, from the policy performance staff, to the local diversified community where the text should be put in place. In between, there is a system of community leaders, who play a strong role in connecting the two levels and are controlled by them. In my research, I'm going to look at these elements and the diagrams of relationship among them will be figured out in the conceptual framework below.

2.5 Conceptual framework

Having reviewed on going dialogues on "community participation", it is learnt that there is difference between prescriptive and critical thinking. For the conceptual framework of the research, I look in to community participation from critical point of view, in which the diversified structure of the community are taken into account by comparing

community participation between two groups of people: the poor and better off, women and men.

From these above ideas, I then reach the Conceptual framework as follows: Figure 1: Research conceptual framework



Research study variables and indicators

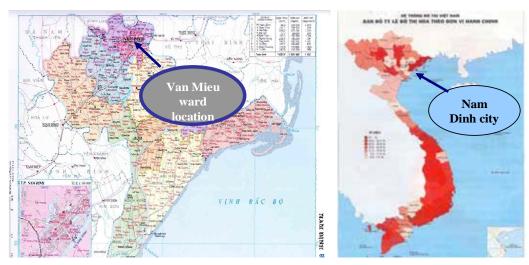
From the research questions on "How are different groups of the poor, better off, men and women in the community involved in the urban upgrading project?, what are benefits of being involved in the project cycle as perceived by those different groups and what factors create the different in their participation?", and based on the theoretical understanding I reached the hypothesis that "Even in a participatory project, among the community, those who are male and better off tend to participate and benefit more than women and the poor in a participatory process". To examine the hypothesis, I go to research variables on the interface process from bringing the participatory approach policy to project practice. Participatory approach is learnt to see what is said in the project policy. For the concept of Project practice, variables of project practice (toward the community's participation) and the Project performance (of project staff) are operationalised. Factors of community leadership and local diversity are further developed into different variables and indicators to study the factors that can influence on the community participation. "Project outcomes" is the last variable to be studied in which benefits of each groups, their urgent need and constraints will be studied to learn about the benefits perceived by different groups.

This above is only very brief explanation on the conceptual framework, as a part of chapter 2. In chapter 3, readers will find more detailed table of research question, variables and indicators. Now it's time for us to go to ahead to chapter 3, in which the author explains about what she did during the research period. As promised in the chapter 1 and 2, details on the research methodology and research variables and indicators will be mentioned clearly.

Chapter 3: Research methodology

3.1 Research Areas/Location

Figure 2: Map of Nam Dinh city and Van Mieu ward



Source Nam Dinh website

Viet Nam map

Figure 3: The low income areas before and after the upgrading project





The research was carried out in Nam Dinh city, Nam Dinh Province, Viet Nam. Viet Nam is located in the South East Asia region, bordered by China, Laos and Cambodia. Nam Dinh city located in the Red River Delta in the North of the country. It's a medium sized city of 46,4 km² and 491.900 people (2007) – the capital city of Nam Dinh Province. Though Nam Dinh used to be a big city in the French colonist time, after the war and unification, it faced low economic starting point, poor infrastructure, lack of adaptability to new mechanism and many times of changes in administrative structures. In 2004, with the credit fund from World Bank, Viet Nam started to implement the National Vietnamese urban upgrading project that was introduced in the chapter 1, aiming at low-income areas in 4 pilot cities, among which Nam Dinh is one. The area of analysis is Van Mieu ward, of Nam Dinh city, The ward is one of those low income areas

with the majority of citizens working for Nam Dinh Textile mill, which went down seriously after the collapse of the mill in 1995. The ward with high density faced really poorly maintained infrastructure and limited access to basic services (safe water, sanitation, drainage, lighting, garbage collection, etc), High rate of unemployment led to social evils, making the situation worse. Income of the inhabitants mainly comes from informal sector. Benefiting from the project, which ended in 2007, the ward witnessed a lot of improvement in the infrastructure system. The people living in the area show their gladness when talking with the journalist, being proud of the changed situation "Before the project, pupils had to wade in the flooding rain to school, but now it is over (Premchand, 1999)"The project in this area was implemented with participatory approach and has been positively remarked by a number of people about the attention paying to community members. However, the aim of this research was not to see how successful it was but based on the starting point of local diversity and the community leadership nature, the research went to see if the difference in these factors existed in the community's participation in the project. This inevitably decides the whole research methodology, which will be explained afterwards,

The notice is that the research methods was changed a bit in terms of survey sample and the objective. In the beginning, it was expected to survey 4 groups of poor men, poor women, better off men and better off women in each neighbourhood. But, the fact showed that two studied neighbourhoods were not comparable being different in housing condition and population component, and one neighbourhood appeared to be poorer than the other. So the research sample was changed into two groups of men and women in each neighbourhood.

3.2 Research stage

The research was conducted through following stage:

3.2.1 Research background:

From the theoretical background on the topic of participation and its critical point of view, looking at the difference in local diversity, the author initiated the idea of researching the practical context of a participatory approach project in her city of birth. Research objectives and questions were come up with from the theoretical and practical background, where the problem was stated.

From this general idea, the author went into review more in depth literature on related issues, including participation, writings on the diversified structure inside the community like the myths of community, gender issues, leadership issues. Thinking of participation is mentioned in the literature review based on discourse's long development history from 1970s, 1980s and till now, in two distinguished trends: prescriptive and critical. Those synthesis of most vocal and influencing international organizations, famous authors and scholars are all mentioned in the chapter, and especially, those of the World bank who is considered the main host of this participatory approach in the research area. Besides, the theoretical basis, case studies relevant to the research topics are illustrated to clearly see the practical context, thus create more excitement for the author to go on her own research practice. Conceptual framework then is finalized. Variables based on the research questions and conceptual framework were operationalized into indicators, which formulated foundations for the formulation of research survey questionnaires and interview guide.

Research methodology was then developed based on the research topic and requirements, which helps to guide the way of conducting the research to reach its set up goals.

3.2.2 Data collection

• Time

- It was mainly conducted in the author's fieldtrip starting on June 29th till July 30th (See annex 3)
- Before that, the author had tried to contact with relevant officials working on the project and other contacts to get the necessary information and documentation for the research during the home visit from April 4th to April 12th.

• Way of collecting data

Before the field trip, data was initially planed to be collected through

- a survey with questionnaires
- Interviewing key respondents related to the project
- Observation of the research areas, the project office, the respondents

In fact, during the field trip, the author had the chance to follow an assessment trip on the implementation of Grassroots Democracy Ordinance in Nam Dinh city, so besides intended way of collecting data, more information was updated from:

- Meetings with City mayor, relevant senior officers
- Focus groups of men and women in a low income neighbourhood, close by the research study area.

3.2.3 Data analysis

From the data collected during the field trip, quantitative data were analyzed in frequencies and tests to see the difference by SPSS software, with the support of chart drawing PPT software. After presenting general result and first feeling about the field trips at the 3rd colloquium, further in depth analysis were reached during the last month, together with the supervisor's consultation and the author's writing.

3.2.4 Result formulation

Based on the findings from the field trip and desk research, results were formulated during the last month.

3.2.5 Conclusions and recommendation

Based on the data analysis and the results formulated, the research reached final conclusions and recommendations, which reflects the whole idea of the research study.

3.3 Research type and strategy

3.3.1 Research type

The research is *explanatory type*, which firstly provides evidence to support the hypothesis prediction and determines the accuracy of the theory and the advance knowledge about underlying process. In this case, the explanatory research type was applied to obtain information concerning the current status of participation of different groups in the community to test the following hypothesis "There is difference in the participation between the poor and the better off, and between men and women in the urban upgrading project in Van Mieu ward, Nam Dinh city"

3.3.2 Research strategy and methods

Research strategy: Case study

Because case study is used to observe the events that we can still interview, get contacts with the actors involved in the process (Black, 1999), the researcher used case study which was multiple embedded one with two neighborhoods of May Det and May To. Sub units of the analysis were individuals, community groups,

Research methods

To implement the data collection for the research, I made use of four methods

- **Secondary study**: to collect data from project documents and other related sources to understand more and catch up with related information for research findings and analysis.
- Observation method: As a mixture of different perception and sensation, including sight, sound, smell, touch and taste, observation method is used to view people's actions analytically and interpret their behaviors (Gray, 2004). This method was thus, used besides questionnaires for getting more information on the real situation of the people living in the research areas, and to supplement the interview in observing the attitude of project officials or community leaders about community participation in the project.
- *Interviews*: with key respondents to get in-depth information.
- *Survey*: To implement the case study, a small survey was implemented. It is implemented in two neighborhoods. At the beginning, it was expected to have two comparable neighborhoods with four groups of poor men, poor women, better off men and better off women with the total number of 25 samples each group, in each neighborhood. So 200 questionnaires were expected to be asked for the survey.

However, as explained above, due to the reality of having two different neighborhoods with one poorer and another not so poor, only two groups of men and women were surveyed in each neighborhood. The total samples of the survey collected was 100.

3.4 Research instrument:

Because this research was aimed to see the difference between groups of men and women, the poor and the better off, *quantitative analysis was used* for its strength of getting cross sectional and generalized findings on the relationship between dependent and independent variables. Besides that, based on so much input of interviews with key respondents (city leaders, community leaders, project staff), *qualitative research was also used* to get the clear and thorough overview of the situation, the perspectives and perceptions of related respondents.

3.5 Population and sample

3.5.1 Research population

Population of a research is the entire group of individuals that we want information about (Score Mathematics, 2009). Population of this research was two neighbourhoods in low income Van Mieu wards - Nam Dinh city where the urban upgrading project was implemented. They were May Det (MD) neighbourhood and May To (MT) neighbourhood. Two neighbourhoods were ideally expected to be comparable, doing the same project and with the same participatory approach, where all four groups of poor men, poor women, better off men and better off women could be found. But not until going to the site, did the author recognized that two neighbourhoods of the pilot ward were different in their back ground and socio economic situation (housing, employment).

Both of them were still research population but were actually not comparable at all. This has affected the research sampling.

3.5.2 Research sample

Sample is the part of the population that we actually examine in order to gather information (Score Mathematics, 2009), from which we base conclusions about the population on data from the sample.

In this study, because the research was targeted to different groups of people, research samples consisted of a certain number of people within each group of interest in terms of men/women, better off and poor people. They could not be found in each neighbourhood. Only two groups of men and women were found in each neighbourhood,

• Sample selection

Stratified sampling was used to select the wanted groups of people. Two groups of poor men and poor women were surveyed in May Det neighbourhood and two better off men and better off women were surveyed in May To neighbourhood.

Stratified sampling was also applied for interviewing key respondents from the project team, local government, community leadership.

Table 1: The sample of survey

No	Respondents	Number	Neighborhood	Remarks
1	Poor men	25	MD neighbourhood	Completed
2	Poor women	25	MD neighbourhood	Completed
3	Better off men	0	MD neighbourhood	Because the majority of population in MD neighbourhood is poor
4	Better off women	0	MD neighbourhood	Because the majority of population in MD neighbourhood is poor
5	Poor men	0	MT neighbourhood	Housing condition is better and the population is more diversified with more better off people in MT neighbourhood
6	Poor women	0	MT neighbourhood	Housing condition is better and the population is more diversified with more better off people in MT neighbourhood
7	Better off men	25	MT neighbourhood	Completed
8	Better off women	25	MT neighbourhood	Completed
9	Total	100	Both MD and MT neighbourhood	

Notes:

- Because the neighbourhoods were not confirmed before the field trip during the completion of the final proposal, so they were named neighbourhood no 1 and neighbourhood no 2. In this table above, the names of the neighbourhoods have been updated.
- The total sample of survey was 100. The stratified sampling was initially thought to be based on housing situation that the author and her numerators could observe from outside. It was because culturally housing condition more or less reflects the prosperity situation of the people. At the field, the stratified sampling was used to seek for better off people, but it turned out to be very difficult to find equal number of better off men and women in MD neighbourhood. Inputs from the interviews with community leaders and project staff, experienced people living in the neighbourhoods helped the author understand that the two neighbourhoods were different in this regards, and people in MD neighbourhood tended to be poorer than the people in MT neighbourhood. (This difference will be described in more details in the chapter 4)

Table 2: Sample of the interviews

No	Respondents	Number	Organization	Remarks
1	The Head	1	Project Management Unit	Completed
2	The project staff	2	Oiiit	Completed
3	The Mayor	1	Local Municipal Government	Completed
4	Van Mieu ward Leader	1	Van Mieu ward	Vice Chairman
6	Community program manager	1	Nam Dinh city	Completed
7	Community leader	1	MD neighbourhood	Completed
8	Community leader	1	MT neighbourhood	Completed
9	Total	8		

Notes: These above people were easy to contact during the field trip. Except the meetings with community leaders were cancelled for some days because they were on the Summer holiday, organized by Provincial Association of the old aged people. The author did receive so much support in terms of working procedures and meeting time with these above respondents.

3.6 Unit of analysis

Unit of analysis was individuals because the research was aimed to see the difference in the local diversified context including gender and socio economic situation. To avoid the situation where different gendered people have the same socio economic situation (like the husband and wife of the same family), questionnaires were sent to one member of each household as sampled in the section 3.5a.

3.7 Data collection source

Data was collected from various sources which includes:

3.7.1 Second data source

This is the data collected by someone rather than by the research author. It is existing source of information that is of larger and higher quality database, and help researchers to save time and to be able to capture adequately past change (Wikipedia, 2009)

In this research, secondary data comes from following sources:

- Consulting and reviewing existing Literature related to the research topic, in order to get relevant theories and knowledge on participation, community, gender and leadership
- Reports and presentations of international organizations working on the topic of community participation, international projects' experiences
- Specific Documentation of the World Bank Upgrading program in Viet Nam, and Nam Dinh upgrading project
- Records and Document related to the research site: Nam Dinh and Van Mieu ward,
- Archival documents of the author's organization and the Local Government of Nam Dinh city about the project and the situation of the research site.
- Project documents, reports and proposals

Notes: These above secondary data were updated from available libraries, provided by the supervisor or the author's other contacts and especially internet sources

3.7.2 Primary data source:

By contrast, the primary data is directly collected by the researchers themselves. For this research, the author collected primary data from following source:

- Small Survey in side the case studies: asking respondents through questionnaires
- Semi structure interview with in depth and open ended questions to local government, project staff, World Bank office, community leaders
- Personal analytical observation of the research sites, talking with respondents.
- Results of meetings and interviews, focus group discussions during the Grassroots Democracy project assessment trip at the beginning of the field trip (1-4/7/2009)

3.8 Reliability and Validity

Reliability:

Reliability is an indication of consistency between two measures of the same thing (Black, 1999). Joppe (2000) defines reliability as consistent results over time and represent accurately the total study population under study (Golafshani, 2003)

To ensure the research reliability, the author intended to collect data by the same questions to different people at different time. This is to make the measurement as Kirk

and Miller (1986) says given repeatedly, remains the same, the stability of a measurement over time; and the similarity of measurements within a given time period.

- Triangulation is applied through questionnaires for community members, interviewing the City government officials, interviewing the Project Management team and interviewing Community leaders.
- Questions were made focus and relevant with ensured quality of translation between English and the local language
- The use of tape recorder, pictures were asked for permit to ensure the best accuracy.

Validity

Joppe (2000) determines Validity as whether the research truly measures that which it was intended to measure or how truthful the research results are. That means the research instrument allow to hit the research object? Researchers generally determine validity by asking a series of questions, and will often look for the answers in the research of others (Golafshani, 2003).

- The author paid attention to the construct validity by discussing and reviewing relevant aspects of the constructs with her supervisor's and other colleagues' support.
- Concurrent validity was ensured by comparing the results of different data collection techniques: interviews, questionnaires, observations
- Questionnaires were carefully prepared and pre tested with the local people who
 had the same back ground as the respondents (not with the author's colleagues,
 who may have different background and situation) to make sure they fully
 understand the questions
- Experienced expert who is involved in the same project at home were consulted

Notes: Before officially conducting the survey, the author had the question pre tested with local people and some of the questions were adjusted to fit in the situation. Those adjusted items are highlighted in the annex 1 (Survey questionnaire) of this thesis

3.9 Variables and Indicators

Table 3: Research variables and indicators

Research Questions	Concepts	Variables	Indicators	Data Source	Question number
- How are different groups of the poor, better off, men and	Project policy	Participation	Participatory approach	- Desk research - Interviews with project management team	Interview guide Part 1.1;

women in the community involved in the urban upgrading project?	Project practice	Participation practice	- Information accessed - Instruction -Contribution Labour Expertise Material Financial Time	- Desk research - Interviews with LG, Project management team - Questionnaires	Interview guide, Part 1.2 Q 23-Q 37
- How benefits of being involved in the project cycle perceived by those different groups?		Staff performance	Staff capacity - Staff qualification - Specific training on participatory approach Staff commitment - Time duration of working with people - Place of working with people - Frequency of meeting people	- Desk research - Interviews with LG, Project management team - Questionnaires	Interview guide Part 1.3 Q38- Q 48
- What factors create the different participation of these groups?		Type of leadership	- Way of becoming leader - Term of leadership - Since when the leadership exist - Time of community leader's work (fulltime or parttime)	Desk researchInterview the community leaderQuestionnaires	Interview guide Part 1.4 Q49- Q50
		Community Leader performance	- Tasks and functions of the leader - Way of communication between leader and community members - Accessibility - Commitment to people's participation	- Desk research - Interview the community leader	Interview guide Part 1.1 Q 51- Q60
	Local	Gender	- Men - Women	Questionnaires	Q 1

Diversity	Socio Economic condition	- Education - Employment - Housing condition - Income - Consumption	Questionnaires	Q 2 – Q11
Project outcomes	Improved assets/benefits	 Benefits gained by the poor Benefits gained by the better off Benefits gained by men Benefits gained by women 	Questionnaires	Q61-Q71
	Needs	- Urgent needs	Questionnaires	Q 12-Q15
	Constraints	- Time - Opportunity cost - Permission - Experience - Access to information - Invitation - Knowledge	Questionnaires	Q 20, 26 In depth interview

Notes: The variable of "Consumption" was researched through the question on frequency of buying rice. However, it turned out after the survey that this doesn't not clearly reflect the poverty situation because Viet Nam is a rice exporter. The rice does not account a big amount of money so people tend to buy rice once a month. This answer was much repeated many times even in MD neighbourhood. So it was not analyzed in the chapter 4.

3.10 Problems and Limitations

Lack of time for both fieldtrip and findings analysis

This seems to be the common problems for each researcher because they always want to find more and analyze more on what has been found. For the author. The distance between the studying place and field site is one of the reason affecting the time budget. Traveling between the place of living and the field, traffic jams and limited public transportation are other issues in related to the time difficulty.

Lack of information on the research site and the implementation of the project before the field trip

This was the main reason causing the situation that during and after the survey, the author realized that there were some questions that were not accounted for to measure certain things that could have got significant input from the respondents, which would serve for the analysis afterwards. This was because the questionnaires were prepared based on the

theory updated and predicted situation on the field. This helped the author draw such valuable lessons for next researches in the future.

Another problems that led to limitation of the research was that, the author assumed to have two comparable neighborhoods, in terms of the number of groups of poor men, poor women, better off men and better off women, and the community leaders. This would enable a more attractive comparison of two neighborhoods in answering the research questions. However, the field trip showed that the two neighborhoods are not comparable, among which, one is poorer than the other and the community leaders are of different background and motivation. This has limited the possibility of comparing the difference among 4 groups of people in each neighborhoods. From this point, the author turned to the comparison between different groups of gender and socio economic situation in both neighborhoods.

The Time of field trip

This showed to be not a big problem for the author because she could complete all the necessary procedure for the interview and survey, except for the cancellation of meetings with community leaders of two neighbourhoods who were on summer holiday organized for old aged people by the Province.

Change in the Project Management Unit personnel

This change actually did not affect so much on the interview result because the author worked with the senior officer who has been working for the PMU since the beginning and could get enough document and information on the implementation of the project.

3.11 Resources

- * Knowledge
- Knowledge update at HIS
- Support of Thesis supervisor
- Inputs from colleagues in the course
- * Information
- Field trip
- The author's organization
- Project office in Nam Dinh
- * Other resources
- Personal efforts
- Family encouragements
- Relatives and friends in Nam Dinh

3.12 Lessons learnt during the field trip

Checking the weather forecast

My survey was attached by such heavy rain, caused by a storm coming from Philipin islands. I was always in rush during the field trip time, so did not have time even to watch the news. That was the reason my survey was postponed until the next week.

Good preparation of the tools like recorder, camera, paper, pen, ext

This will help you save time during the interviews and confident to get good quality of information for the analysis after that. Be noticed that, taking pictures or recordings should be asked for allowance before going ahead.

Try to take picture whenever you can otherwise you will forget and can never take it again

This was my lesson because now, I did not pay attention to take pictures because I thought there would be many chances to take pictures during the field trip. However, because I was too busy and totally forgot to take good picture which could be good illustration for the thesis. really want to have some picture for illustration. This was not really important but was something that I should keep in mind for the next trip.

Follow the required procedures and you will feel it easier

I did this so I found it really helpful for me to go and meet high level people. Once you have the legalized document in the hand, people in charge will be more open to welcome and work with you

Chapter 4: Research Findings and Analysis

Packing all the necessary knowledge after nearly one year of studying, with the research questions, relevant theories, case studies, and appropriate research methodology to answer the question, I went to the field. This was unforgettable trip because I had the chance to come back home, being with family for some time after a long trip away, but the much more important purpose was to collect practical data for the study rather than to relax and enjoy the family life.

Now, I have come back and sat down to write about what I found during the field trip based on the related variables and concepts initiated in the conceptual framework in chapter two. Firstly, the chapter provides a brief introduction on the research areas, from national to city context and especially the studied neighbourhoods. This was preliminarily mentioned in the chapter 3, section3.1. In this chapter, more findings from the field trip and desk research on the research area included. Then the chapter will talk about the project policy, in which the overview on the WB project and its participatory approach will be mentioned. This is the "text" in the research conceptual framework. Then findings on project practice will be presented so that readers can have the comparison on what is said in text and what is done in practice. Other factors that may influence the community participation on the research area including local diversity and community leadership are presented after this. The people's perception on project outcome then comes out as the final sceneries of the whole picture on the community participation in the study area.

Besides the findings, descriptive and statistical analysis will be used to see how the practical situation fit into the existing body of knowledge and how it compares to the analytical framework (UMD5, 2008). Now it is time now to go ahead and learn about the project.

4.1 Nam Dinh city and Van Mieu ward – larger context of the research site

As a logic of presenting, this section provides an introduction about the National context, the city and neighborhoods of research to make readers have some overview on whole context, which will be the foundation for further information in following sections.

4.1.1 Nam Dinh city in the national administration system

For recent years, Vietnam is being known as one of the fastest growing economies in the world with remarkable poverty decline in past five years. Despite these gains, poverty is

still estimated to be around 30% of the population living below poverty line in 2000 (CPRGS, May 2002). While it is indicated by official statistics that urban poverty accounts for less than 10%, it is likely to be significant underestimation of urban poverty depth. Unregistered migrants are usually among the urban poorest residents with the least and worst access to public services and programs, who are not always adequately captured in the statistics. Studies show that the depth of poverty is worse in urban areas, and that urban inequality in Vietnam is worsening (Asian Development Bank, 2003). This intra-urban inequality is particularly shown in basic service access (across housing, water, sanitation, land tenure, and transport).

Nam Dinh city is the place where I was born and spent all my childhood and school life. It is currently ranked the city of type II¹ in the urban system of the country. The city has 15 inner wards and 7 rural communes. In each ward/commune, the Ward/Commune People Committee plays the role of local state management agencies, who are assisted by different specialized officers of heath care, cadastre, police, army, ext. Under the People Committee, there are 143 parts and 1143 neighbourhoods. Leaders of these neighbourhood do not belong to the official authority system.

Besides the authority structure, there are political and social unions and mass organizations set up including Party organization, women unions, old veterans, Ho Chi Minh socialist youth union, Vietnamese father front. Among these organizations, Party organization has the function of guiding all the authorities' activities, while the others help to encourage and organize the people to participate and implement Party and State's laws and policies.

Readers can refer to the figure below to see the whole picture of the national administration system in general and Nam Dinh city in particular.

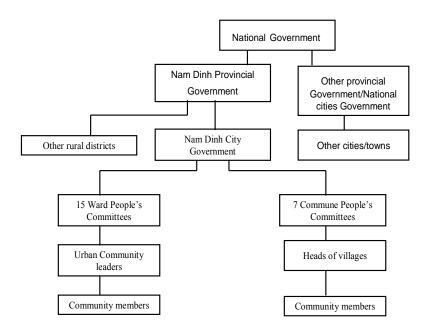


Figure 4: Nam Dinh city administration system

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Special cities and cities of type I are equivalent to provincial level, while the rest of cities are under provincial level

Currently the Vietnamese urban system is divided into 5 types (Special cities, cities of type I, II, III, IV and V.

4.1.2 Low income population in the city

Nam Dinh was well-known as a big industrial city during the French colony time with the textile industry with the history of being an urban centre with strong human culture and resources from 13th century. After the independence, it plays the key role in the Southern East of Red River Delta economic region in food and textile industry, with the area of 46.4 km² and 491.900 people (Statistics Department of Nam Dinh, 2009, Ministry of Construction, 2002). During the course of economic and urban development and management, despite not being very much influenced by the unprecedented urbanization magnitude like other big cities like Ha Noi, or Ho Chi Minh city, the city faces many difficulties with a big number of low income people living in low standard of life quality, poor basic services and lack of infrastructure (30% - according to the income based poverty standard, defined by the City Government referring to the Decision No 1143/2000/QD - LDTBXH²).It is due to the falling down of Nam Dinh textile corporation, which caused serious influence on the whole city economy. The city economic growth was declined and thus, caused the lack of budget for infrastructure construction and upgrading. Low income areas spread all over the city and develop out of control. Below is the table about the areas where concentrate most the number of low income household, irrespective other low income households scattered in higher income

Table 4: Low income areas in the city

Number of household	Low income areas	Surface	
17.500	22	260ha	

(Source: Company of Design and Construction Consultancy – Ministry of Construction, 2002)

These areas within cities are characterized by high population densities. The majority of people living in these areas work in the informal sector with unsteady jobs/incomes. The lack of, or poorly maintained infrastructure, including inadequate social services, low quality of housing, no direct water supply connections and virtually no sewerage and drainage connections, thus, cause severe flooding. Worse sanitation is caused by unmanaged public toilets. Waste are discharged directly to water surface where the poorest families tend to live nearby. Chronic health problems then come in turn (Ministry of Construction, 2002)

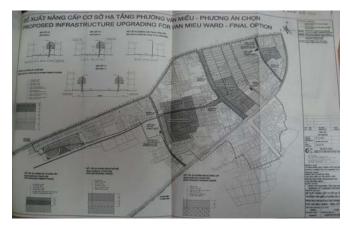
4.1.3 Two researched neighbourhoods in Van Mieu ward

Van Mieu ward, Nam Dinh city is one of those low income areas with the majority of citizens working for Nam Dinh Textile corporation including the cotton textile mill (May Det) and the silk textile mill (May To), and a part migrating from rural areas during the urbnisation. Due to the collapse of the Cotton mill in 1995 and the lack of investment resources, the ward with high density faced the poorest infrastructure and most limited access to basic services (safe water, sanitation, drainage, lighting, garbage collection, etc), 58% of the families living in lane of less than 2m width (Market Study Company,

² The Decision determines the line of famine and poverty of Viet Nam of 200.000VND/person/month (about 25USD). The general survey in 2000 shows that in Viet nam about 30% of the households are poor however, the decision says that each province/city define proper standard of famine and poverty based on their real situation

2009) High rate of unemployment led people tend to do any unsteady and informal jobs to earn their living. Social evils raise and even makes the situation worse.

Figure 5: Map of Van Mieu ward (Source: Nam Dinh Project Management Unit, 2009)



The ward with the surface of 37.7ha includes 2797 households, 11.271 people, divided into 11 neighbourhoods. May Det and May To are two major parts of the ward and identified to be the upgraded areas. Though both these parts are low income areas, they are different in housing condition, income and welfare system, provided by two different mills.

Being aware of the low living standard of the area, Nam Dinh provincial and city government attempted to improve the situation through different programs and projects, based on the support from international organizations and cooperation agencies. The sub component of Vietnamese Urban Upgrading project is one of those efforts. The first pilot component of upgrading tertiary infrastructure is implemented in Van Mieu ward.

Benefiting from the project, which ended in 2007, the ward witnessed a lot of improvement in the infrastructure system. The people living in the area have escaped from such poor living standard in the past "We are happy with the change. Once the communication streets are improved, it will address many other issues" - A people living in May Det neighbourhood said to me. However, some others people are still worried about something else "The idea is very good, the change is also very good, but we are still worried about the quality" or "why do we have to pay money, it is funded by foreign sponsor – that's what I am wondering"

The project in this area is implemented with participatory approach. My above quotation is to reflect different point of view of community members benefiting from the project. Because my research is to look at the community participation in the project and the influencing factors like, project practice, local diversity and the community leadership, so please go ahead to the next sections to see more details. But before going into the project practice and the community leadership, it is better to learn about the local diversity to have clearer overview on the place of project implementation. From this basis, more insights on the correlations between those local diversity factors and the people's perception on project performance or community leadership.

4.2 Local diversity of May Det and May To neighbourhoods.

In this section, local diversity will be mentioned in terms of Gender and Socio economic situation, including education, employment, income, housing situation. The findings will be based on the survey conducted in the two neighbourhoods. Quantitative analysis will be used to reflect the difference of each factor among the groups and the neighborhoods. Then a small conclusion will be drawn out on the general situation of each neighborhood.

4.2.1 Gender

To see the difference of people's participation in the project, different groups related to gender and socio economic situation were stratified to be selected for the survey. Before the fieldtrip, as explained in the chapter 3 of Methodology, the author wanted to survey four groups of poor men, poor women, better off men and better off women in each comparable neighbourhood. However, the real situation was not as expected and so the survey was conducted only among two groups of men and women in each neighbourhood for the reasons that will be more explained in the coming parts.

The gender stratified sampling was undertaken as follows:

Men

- MT men (better off community): 25
- MD men (poor community): 25

Women

- MT women (better off community): 25
- MD women (poor community): 25

The rate of men and women in the two neighborhoods are equal with the gender structure of 49.6% men and 50.4% women (Construction Design Consultant, 2003). This creates equal potential chances for both men and women to participate in the project, avoiding the situation in which the majority of gender groups belong to one of them, causing different level of interaction with communal events.

In the next part, in depth findings will be presented on the socio economic condition of two neighborhoods.

4.2.2 Socio Economic condition

Van Mieu ward is the low income area of Nam Dinh city, with 52% people retired people or doing housework, and 17% of workers (Ministry of Construction, 2002). The majority of population in the ward are workers of Textile Corporation (including Silk plant (MT) and cotton plant (MD)). After the collapse of Cotton plant, the whole Corporation declined. This situation affected badly the life of big population, many people lost job and became unemployed. They turned to work in informal sector or get early retirement according to the Local Government Decision no 41.

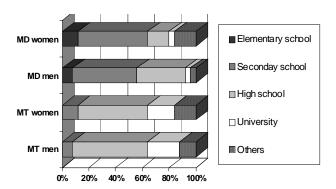
Though both MT and MD communities are in the low income ward, the situation is a slightly different due to the situation of two different plant's population.

Education situation between different groups

From the survey, it can be studied that the education level in MT community is higher than in MD community. The majority of MD population is workers of the cotton plant. Most of them just finish secondary school level. This was the criteria for being recruited in the plant in the past. The same criteria were applied for MT plant. However, the

population in MT neighborhood is more diversified and mixed with more component of higher positions of the Textile Corporation and other agencies like the Bank. This diversification leads to the diversification in education background. Population in MT neighborhood consists more number of people who are officers, army officers, Bank staff, officials of the Textile Corporation. Most of them have higher education like high school, university, and colleague.

Chart 1: Education level between different groups in two neighborhoods.

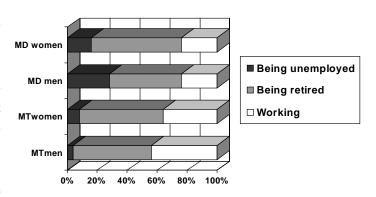


This education level has somehow affected the people's access to the project. "The people's understanding and knowledge is different, some of higher education just need little explanation, while others need more" a respondent in MD neighborhood

"There is a sub neighbourhood of bank's officers in May To neighbourhood. They have money to improve the neighbourhood according to their needs. So when the project came and designed the system, they did not agree and then the project had to listen to their ideas", MT community leader

Employment situation between different groups Chart 2: Employment structure between groups in two neighbourhoods

As already explained in the above section, after collapse of the Cotton plant (MD plant), most of the workers became unemployed. Those who had a certain amount of years working for the plant were arranged to get early retirement. This created a big number of people retired in the neighbourhood, getting the minimum amount of salary pension. The vounger



unemployed people tried to find jobs in informal sector. The rate of MD men's unemployment is higher than MD women's because there are a big number of men coming back from the army duties. They still can not find a job and are waiting to be supported by the Ward Authority.

MT neighborhood is better because the plant was not collapsed. Though being a little bit affected by the running down of "It was hard for us because we did not have good education. We just tried to do what we could do to earn the living like driving motorbikes, ect".

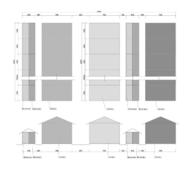
the neighbor plant, who are in the same Corporation, it still kept on working. So the workers in the plant did not lose jobs. Though the salary of workers in both plants are the same, MT workers tend to receive higher social welfare because the number of MT workers is smaller.

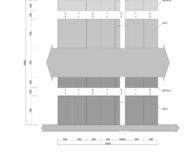
Besides those workers and officers working for the Cotton Plants, MT population includes people working for the City Army or the Bank, who were allocated housing in the same neighborhood since the past.

Different housing condition of two neighbourhoods

Different housing condition origins from the history policies of the two plants. To ensure workers' life, the Corporation had policy to allocate its employees with housing. Because the number of MD workers are bigger, and the area for MD plant is smaller, a tenement house without toilet was allocated to the Cotton Textile mill workers based on a family pax, not accounting for the number of people (see the illustration drawings), while the surface of houses supplied for Silk Textile workers is based on individual portion. These houses are also without toilets but larger and self contained. These houses are separated with kitchesn which are in the front line of the house passing the 1.8m lane. Because the area for MT neighbourhood is bigger, plus smaller number of workers, MT workers benefited more spacious houses and bigger lane. The area in MT neighbourhood is also provided for Bank and Army staff. Thus different housing situation had different impact on people's life.

Figure 6: Difference in housing condition in May Det and May To neighborhoods





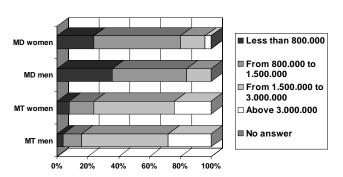
Housing map of MD neighborhood

Housing map of MT neighborhood

Income level between different groups in two neighbourhoods

Chart 3: Income level between different groups in two neighbourhoods

Due to the situation of education and employment, of income MD neighbourhood people is also much lower than in MT neighbourhood. Besides though being unemployed with the income of less than 800,000VND – the minimum amount of income to be identified very poor) (Statistics Department



Nam Dinh, 2009), the majority of retired people getting the pension, which is from

800,000 VND to 1,500,000 VND. This amount is still very limited for a living. A small part of people interviewed get higher amount of income of more than 3,000,000 VND, because they are doing their own business and this is the exceptional case in the neighborhood.

In MT neighborhood, the income of people is higher because they have better education and job. The rate of men getting better income is higher than women because they are in the army sectors and engineers of the Silk plant.

In conclusion, we can see that two neighborhoods are not comparable. It is difficult to find four groups of poor men, poor women, better off men and better off women in one neighborhood. MD neighborhood in general is poorer and MT neighborhood is not so poor, or considered better off than MD neighborhood. It origins from the historical economic reasons and is also caused by the location of two neighborhoods. The MT neighborhood is located in a more spacious area with more convenient access, making good foundation for the diversification of population's background, in terms of education, working situation and income level. More social components move to live in the area, even the Bank staff or Army people, while in MD neighborhood, the majority of people living there are unemployed or retired workers of the plant. Housing condition is definitely different between two neighborhoods, which is seen better in MT area.

In the next section, we are going to learn about the participatory upgrading project implemented with the direction of involving all the people in the project area. Does this above presented different local diversity affect the community participation in such participatory project? This questions will be cleared out in the section 4.4; 4.5 and 4.6. Nevertheless, before reaching these sections, it is necessary to see the brief introduction on the project and how is the participatory approach to be applied.

4.3 Urban Upgrading project for in Nam Dinh city - participatory approach policy

In this section, key information is mentioned for readers to catch the brief understanding on the studied project nature. The project policy are identified in more details afterwards in which, different levels of project policy are explained. Firstly, it is the reflections on the project's policy's going in line with the National strategy and the sponsor Bank's direction. Secondly, it is the participatory approach policy of the own project. After this, the whole section 4.3 will be ended by the conclusion on project policy before coming to the next section.

4.3.1 Key information about the project

In response to the above problems, and as part of the National effort in carrying out the National Comprehensive Strategy of Growth and Poverty Reduction (CPRGS)³ and the Urban spatial planning to the year 2020⁴ (Construction Design Consultant, 2003), the Vietnamese Urban Upgrading Project P070197 (2004-2012), funded by the World bank's borrowings attempts to improve the living standard for poor communities in Vietnamese cities. The first pilot phase of the whole program is implemented in low income areas in four cities of Viet Nam, one of which is Nam Dinh (World Bank, 2004).

³ Main objective of the CPRGS is to reduce the number of poor households to 40% by the year 2005, and 60% by the year 2020 in comparison with 2000, ensuring essential infrastructure for the poor, job creation, education universalisation and quality improvement, reducing rate of birth, fatality and malnutrition, vulnerability, developing culture, communication, gender equality, administrative reform, ext.

⁴ The Urban Spacial Planning to the year 2020, approved by Vietnamese Government on November 23rd, 1998, which is being adjusted for 2025 with the consultancy of international experts and to be approved within this year.

Box 1: Project brief introduction

Vietnamese Urban Upgrading Project P070197 (2004-2012)

- Time frame: 2004 2012
- Budget:
 - Total budget: 417,5 million USD
 - Vietnamese Government contribution: 148,5 milion USD
 - Community: 4,15 million USD
 - WB Borrowings 222,5 million USD
 - Nonrefundable support 42,5 million USD from France and Japan
- Project is aimed to alleviate poverty in urban areas by improving the living and environmental
 conditions of the urban poor using participatory planning methods, and influencing planning
 processes to become more inclusive and pro-poor (World Bank, 2004).
- Key principal: active *participation by communities* in critical stages of preparation, design and implementation as a pre-requisite to effectively respond to the needs in these areas
- The project consists of seven component:
 - Component one: Tertiary Infrastructure Upgrading and Service Improvements.
 - Component two: Complementary Primary and Secondary Infrastructure
 - Component three: Resettlement Housing
 - Component four: Land and housing management
 - Component five: Housing Improvement Loan Program
 - Component six: Capacity Building
 - Component seven: Development of a National Urban Upgrading Program

Source: the researcher's own construction based on the information from the project document (World Bank, 2005)

The frame work of this research study, the author looks at the first component, which is implemented within low-income neighborhoods facing deficient basic infrastructure and services.

For each identified area to be upgraded, a *multi-sectoral package of tertiary infrastructure and service improvements* is provided. It is the combination of solid waste management, water supply, drainage, pavements, electricity, sanitation services and in a single package of upgrading works, depending on the expressed demands of the specific communities. Based on community priorities, the rehabilitation of markets, public toilet facilities, health or education facilities are also included. This findings have partly answered my questions about these upgrading items are identified, whether it is fully based on the community inputs or identified before and from external expert stance.

It is considered as a big project, targeted to improve basically low income areas in the piloted city, making the foundation for the extension at nation wide level. In the following section, reflections on the project's lining with the National context and the Bank's policy will be presented.

4.3.2 Participatory project under the Country and the Bank's policy.

As mentioned above, the Project is implemented in supporting the National Comprehensive Poverty Reduction and Growth strategy, with the support of WB funding, thus, it clearly reflects the policy at both levels. This section will describe more about this.

Besides findings from project document that was provided by the project staff, I got more important in put from interviews with staff working for the Project Management Unit (PMU). I went to the Project office relatively often during the first two weeks to prepare for the fieldtrip procedures, arrange the schedule and to look for necessary project document. This helped to bring me more observation, formal talks with project staff in the Department of Planning, and especially the PMU senior officials.

The PMU Vice Director - the only leader working for the Unit from the beginning for nearly 7 years, who has been benefiting from project's different training on community issues, understands very clearly and smoothly about the participatory project goals and the importance and levels of community participation,

"The community work plays an important part in the project. Because one of the principles of the project is the active participation of the community in project steps from project design, execution and monitoring after the project is transferred for use".

This understanding is also mentioned and understood by the project staff and leaders at both level: ward and the community, as the way of making sure that the community's concerns are reflected in the project.

The Vice Ward Committee Chairman, said to me that "Participatory project means that the project is proposed by the community in terms of what needs to be done, the implementation measures, the execution, monitoring, operation and maintenance. These are actually all phases of a project cycle

Answering to the question "Why is a participatory approach needed?", he said "Community participation is important because they know what they want, what meet their expectations, because the project is finally to serve themselves".

- The community pay for the project, so it is their own asset. They need to play their role in project monitoring and maintenance.
- This also means that when the people contribute their money and labor into the project, their responsibility is attached to the project and it will become better

May Det (MD) community leader, 74 years old, understands about the participatory project as the orientation "State and people do together" program, where the people are informed by key officers at neighbourhood level (from community leaders and unions and mass organizations to head of sectors and branches)

May To (MT) community leader understands about participatory approach If the people participate, the project auality will be better, less burdens for leaders.

This is inline with participatory approach which has been followed by the WB, in which the equal attention is paid to vulnerable groups like the poor and the women.

Taking a look back the theoretical chapter, where the discourse of community participation has been mentioned by various actors, including WB as the "process through which stakeholders influence and share control over development initiatives and the decisions and resources which affect them" (World Bank, 2002). The participatory way of WB project is also mentioned as the different steps where the community is involved from conducting the analysis and diagnosis collaboratively, setting objectives, strategy, and formulating project tactics. Thus the nature of a participatory approach is the collaborative method that project donors and designers use in these steps to make sure

that stakeholders influence and share control over project decisions.

In the National context, as Beall and Todes said despite these initiatives occur at neighbourhood level they are often linked into national or citywide programs (Beall and Todes, 2004, Gerometta et al., 2005), the project is based on the context of

With the motto of "A world without poverty", the WB always pays attention to support worldwide poverty reduction projects, including Viet Nam. In Viet Nam, through different projects like rural poverty reduction, rural communication streets, township water supply, and urban sanitation, WB has proved to be an experienced and effective donor, highly appreciated by Vietnamese Government. Thus, the commitment of WB in the researched project from preparation to execution steps means a favorable condition for success, not because of its huge investment resource but its active support in related aspects like institutional reforms or capacity building" Project officer, Infrastructure department, WB

the implementation of National Program of Poverty Reduction as mentioned above and

the Ordinance of Grassroots Democracy, dated February 20th, 2007. Besides these policies, Vietnamese Government has promulgated different related legal documents: the Ordinance on , Law on Complaints and Petitions of Citizens promulgated dated December 12th, 1998, revised in 2004 and 2005, Revised law on Prevention and Fight against Corruption 2007, ext. These regulations are based on the motto "people know, people discuss, people do, and people supervise". People should be fully informed of government activities that affect their lives. "They should have the most convenient environment to discuss and contribute to the formulation of policies, to participate in local development activities, and to supervise government performance" (Asian Development Bank, 2003).

From above descriptions, it can be confirmed that the project's in the right direction of the beneficiary nation and the sponsor's assistance policy. In the next session, readers will be provided with the specific participatory approach as the text of the project.

4.3.3 Participatory approach - the project policy

In this section, project's participatory approach will be mentioned in regards of its goal, principles, participatory steps and methods. Then the author's conclusion on the project policy's text will be come up with.

Project goals

The project has two main goals, to reduce urban poverty by improving life quality and environmental condition urban poor areas and to promote participatory approach to make plans more synthesized and close to practical needs and concerns paying attention to support the poor.

"In all items and components of the project, the participation of local authorities, functional agencies, unions and mass organizations and especially the community is defined to be crucial for the project success" PMU Vice Director (2009)

According to the Project high level staff, the participatory approach is characterized by the idea of putting the people in the centre of the project. They are not only beneficiaries but also the ones to prepare, execute and manage the project. They are encouraged and enabled to express their needs, aspiration, discuss and identify responsive methods and plans together. At the same time, the community contribute their labors, efforts and finance to construct, supervise and manage the operation of project items (Ministry of Construction, 2002).

Project principles

The project's principles are to mobilize active community participation in all project phases from design, execution, supervision, operation and maintenance. All community members living in the

"Community representatives, especially community leaders are very important contacts for people's participation. They help to communicate directly with the people and bring their interests and concerns to project levels" Project community staff

neighborhood are have rights to participate and benefiting from the project, not depending on their residence or economic situation. Unions, mass organizations⁵ and non governmental organizations are encouraged to participate and support community members to participate in the project

⁵ Organizations set up to gather, link the people to undertake and response to their legitimate interests and benefits. They include youth unions, women unions, veterans, old aged people, ext

People contribute finance for the upgrading. Infrastructure design and improvements must take people's payment capacity into account by applying appropriate standards.

The upgrading project is aimed to improve gradually people's living condition, based on minimum resettlement or reconstruction in order to remain social bones. Multidisciplinary approach is applied,

"This international project requires more complicated procedures than other domestic project. But in general it is very methodical. People's participation is the commitment of the city government, and the PMU",

meaning that all infrastructure items like community streets, water supply, solid waste management are included in the project, not conflicting with other projects, and in favor of community's greatest interests. This will reduce investment budget and on the other hand encourage the community member to use their available resources to improve their living standard.

Sharing about the above principles, the project community officer impressed their importance in ensuring the correspondence of upgrading plans with community needs, interests, ability, customs and habits. Community participation ensures support for smooth and easy project implementation. To undertake these goals and principles, steps of participatory project are identified as mentioned in the next section.

Project Participatory planning steps

In this section, steps of planning phase will be presented in the combination of both table and text presentation. This is to ensure both full explanation of each steps, and clear lay out of the content.

To complete planning steps, design consultants are hired by the Project Management Unit to work with the Planning groups and utility companies, in consultation with the community members to prepare a *Community Upgrading Plan* (CUP) (Worldbank, 2005). This plan sets out infrastructure investments layout and details, describes participation process, community management structures, options for upgrading, costs, and payment arrangements. It also contains financial and implementation arrangements for project operation and maintenance, and a community environment management plan (Worldbank, 2005). Specific steps of this plan are described in table 4.2 as follow:

Table 5: Policy of Participatory planning phase

Project planning steps	Content	
Step 1: Communication movement		
Step 2: Upgrading priority identification	The identification of upgrading priorities is conducted through sociology surveys also in the collaboration of Project Management Unit Ward People's committee, Community representatives (community leaders, local mass organizations) to grade priority criteria, to identify	

	needs and community's capacity in participating in the project. These prioritized items are then disclosed to ensure transparency and in response of project requirements.
Step 3: Upgrading proposal preparation	At the same time, these community's requirements are studied by the Project consultants in comparison with existing plans, design standards and project principles to define technical solutions. The upgrading proposal draft must ensure minimum resettlement and community participation in contributing construction site and finance for project investment, operation and maintenance. These proposals are approved by the city government and the project management unit.
Step 4: Upgrading proposal consultation	The next action is the consultation of the drafted proposals in the community. Upgrading proposals, and their potential impact on relevant households and appropriate solutions are informed and consulted with the community <i>through communal meetings</i> , public announcement in order to clarify upgrading proposals and select the upgrading option. This is mainly implemented by community level (Ward People's Committee, community leaders, mass organizations, Community members) Besides, community discuss and provide opinion on contribution level and form (whether it is in cash or labor) based on their payment capacity,
Step 5: Upgrading proposal selection	After the community agree on upgrading proposals and plans, project consultants and community representatives (planning groups, representative of Ward People Committee), Project Management Unit sign the agreement, which will then be the foundation for project submission to be approved by authorized level. A specific community upgrading plan (CUP) is set up and finalized by the project consultants, the ward authority and the people

(Source: Author's own construction based on desk research and interviews with project staff)

Planning step is considered the most important phase in identifying upgraded items based on community's needs and concerns. This is according to the Project staff, to make sure that upgrading solutions fit people's needs technically as well as their financial contribution capacity. Community participation in project execution is mentioned mainly through people's contribution of in kind fee, land and labor for the infrastructure construction. People's project participation in construction supervision, and upgraded infrastructure operation and maintenance is generally mentioned in the project goals and principles. In the following part, methods to enable people's participation in all project phases will be mentioned so that readers can see clearer picture of community participation in the whole project cycle said in the text.

Methods to enable participation

The project document says that the strong point in WB funded projects is that they are specifically built and designed with serious supervision mechanism which ensures effective investment. To support the project, the WB has its own specific requirements and ties regarding the primary objectives and strict procedures and schedule. Besides, the participation, in kind contribution of local government, beneficiaries is compulsory. And all the project process has to be carried out equally and transparently. To undertake the above participatory step as well as active participation in the whole project process,

different methods are used. This is also aimed to build people's capacity and strengthen their awareness about the importance of the project and their contribution, methods of propaganda, consultation and skill training programs are implemented as in the following table:

Table 6: Methods to enable participation

Method	Content
Communication	This method is to make sure that community members know about the project content, understand clearly their benefits and responsibilities in financial payment and project operation and maintenance
Training	Training is organized to improve skills for planning groups (explained in above section) and community members on identifying project proposals based on needs, the investment limit, prioritizing upgrading needs, defining proper technical standards, upgrading proposal assessments methods, community encouragement and conviction skills.
	Skills and methods of communication, people mobilization, project supervision, infrastructure operation and maintenance are also trained for the planning groups and community members to enable them to participate better in the project.
Sociology survey	Sociology survey is conducted by project staff and mainly by members of planning groups to each beneficiary household. Information on local needs and concerns for the upgrading project is collected through the questionnaire interview and focus group discussion
Consultation	As presented in the planning steps, consultation is conducted to get community input on the selection of project proposals and other content like measures of in kind payment, labor, land contribution, forms of managing, operating, maintaining tertiary social and technical infrastructure items.

(Source: Author's own construction based on desk research and interviews with project staff)

The poor and Gender issue in the project

PMU Vice Director indicated that, this was the project for low income areas, so without saying, it was definitely for the poor. The other importance element is gender issue. Gender issue is not mentioned much in project doc. However he shared with me that because the project is aimed to upgrading the people's life, so women are the main project object, whose benefits are directly attached to community issues. Women are the one to take care of the families and manage daily expenses. The idea was that the more number of women participating in planning groups, the better it is.

4.3.4 Conclusion about the project policy

The project participatory policy is based on the lessons and experiences of WB funding agency in involving beneficiary stakeholders more to improve project effectiveness and sustainability. It also goes in line with the National trend in the better implementation of grassroots democracy.

The same understanding on the nature of community participation in the project, its objectives is a good foundation for the community participation practice, once the stakeholders involved all have the same information of what to do, when the people are involved and why is the community participation necessary. In this project, people are considered the project centre. They benefit from the project and also contribute their part in the conduction of the project. They are identified to take part in all phases of the project. The policy also says that participation process is based on local context, mainly implemented through grassroots levels (the local ward People Committee, community leaders, the planning groups). In the case, Local ward People Committee, Planning groups, especially the community leaders play the key role in the communication between the Project Team (of city level) and the community members.

What have been said in the policy help us understand how the participatory project is expected to be implemented in reality. The question raises "How it is implemented actually?" This is also the research question in regards of the participation of different groups of men and women, the poor and the better off. In the next section, we will see how the project practice is and hopefully our questions will be answered.

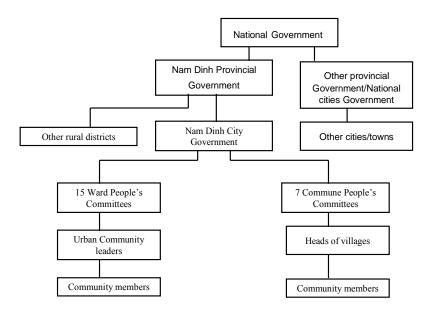
4.4 Project practice

Studying how the project policy is determined, I believe that readers are excited to see how the project text is turned into practice. And now it is the moment for us to see. This section firstly introduces the settings for the project implementation in which actors of the participatory process are described, then based on the research variables, the section goes to look at how is the participatory approach is implemented and the project staff performance. For the findings and analysis of this section, outputs of interviews with key respondents and project document desk research will be presented first, and then it will be perceptions of community members. Differences between groups of the same community and between groups in both communities in related to gender, working situation and income will be reflected in this section. The findings below are based on the interviews with the Project senior officer, community staff, ward Vice Chairman and the community leaders. Perceptions of the people through the survey and desk research also officer valuable findings.

4.4.1 Settings for the participatory project implementation

To help readers have an overview of the whole actors in the participatory process, the author come up with the following figure.

Figure 7: Project implementation settings



To understand clearly, description on the role and component of each actor is presented in the following subsections.

Project Management Unit (PMU)

To carry out the project, a **Project Management Unit** (PMU) is established at city level, under directly the City Government, with the head quarter located at the city hall. The Unit consists of a Director and one Vice Director, different sections. One of those sections is in charge of Planning. The community staff I interviewed is under this section.

To reach the goal of community participation, a **community consultant** is hired to help establish a specific community upgrading plan (CUP) (Community Upgrading Plan is established at the end of the project planning phase. It is prepared by project consultants after the conduction of a sociology survey to identify upgrading priorities, preparation of project proposals and community consultation to select the proper investment solution It identifies both physical upgrading items and necessary work to involve people's participation in the project.). Community work is deployed in the cooperation among PMU, local Van Mieu ward authority and neighbourhood planning groups.

Planning groups

To promote community work and participation process, the **Planning groups** are set up consisting of ward authorities, representatives of mass organizations including Women Union, Youth Unions, etc., and residents (community leaders). **Planning groups** are established based on the CUP. They are established at two levels including representatives of local authorities, unions and mass organizations, community leaders. They play key role in project preparation and monitoring. Their functions and tasks are identified and instructed by the community consultant. There are two levels of planning groups.

Planning committee - city level: It composes of 13 members (one head, one secretary, and 11 members, each of whom is in charge of a neighborhood, called collaborators

working with planning groups at neighborhood level. Its function is to initiate working plan, supervising and speeding up the work of planning groups at neighborhood level

Planning group – **Neighborhood level:** It composes of 3 members including representative of local Father land Front, Unions and mass organizations (women, youth, communist party) and the community leader. The function is to undertaking plans set up by the Planning committee at city level, and support the collaborators of Planning committee in propaganda work at the neighborhood, collect community opinions through the synthesized minutes of the planning group

Members of the planning committees and planning groups at neighborhood level are trained about the project content, communication techniques, project planning process, people's contribution level and forms with attention to their payment capacity. Mr Chuc said to me that "They are supported by project consultants regarding expertise, necessary working tools on regular basis. The planning members conducted planning steps creatively, making community participation in project planning process active and effective".

So far, it is too early to talk about how those above actors perform in facilitating community participation, but it can be clearly understood that planning groups in which community leaders are the core feature, play intermediary role in the communication between the Project Management unit and the community. They are considered centipede foot shaped networks of the PMU in mobilizing community participation in the neighborhood project. To understand more, let's go ahead to the next headings, in which project performance will be talked about.

4.4.2 Participatory project performance

This section is based on interviews with project staff, representative of planning groups and the survey among community members. The findings are updated based on questions about "How the people are informed about the project. This question is separated by sub components in terms of "By whom are they informed" and "Are they fully informed?" Second question regarding project performance is about "How they are prepared for the participatory project" meaning the instruction for the people to participate, and the last question is about "How do the people participate in the project?" Let's continue and we will see the participatory project performance from different point of view.

How are the people informed about the project?

By whom are the people informed about the project?

According to the PMU leader, information propaganda is seen a very important step of the whole project, to make sure that community members are updated clearly about project content, their benefits and responsibilities in the contribution, supervision, operation and maintenance of tertiary infrastructure item construction, based on that, they can define their needs and concerns to the project.

From the project report, I listed below the channels of communication in the project:

- Local unions and mass organizations
- Prestigious individuals community leaders
- Ward's public radio system,
- Public announcement, posters
- Distribution of leaflet and brochure

- Communal meetings with the attendance of project staff, local government, unions and representatives of community groups,
- Workshops to collect inputs of relevant sectors and branches.

He explained that all the basic information on construction items in the neighborhood (concrete or asphalted road, box sewerage or open sewerage, its depth and length) were informed to the people for them to supervise the work afterwards.

He shared that basically, the people participated in the project but the level was not up to requirements. In this case, people were communicated to understand and local women union played a key role. The work of communication was also integrated in the credit program, which was offered for the people to improve their housing situation and private toilets.

Asked about changes in project design, the Project representative shared that when the design was changed due to limited budget, it was informed to the people, otherwise, they would complain strongly. To inform about this, the PMU went to the neighborhood, discuss with the planning groups, who then explained to the people.

Talking with the project community staff, I found out that these above channels of information really existed and project changes were also announced and made clear to the neighborhood level. However, the problem remained on how these channels were used and how the information was transferred.

From the community side, the survey among 2 communities show that all the respondents (100%) of each group knew about Urban upgrading project in the neighborhood. Because all of them have to pay the in kind contribution (3% amount)⁶ and also because the project is implemented in their living areas. For further information about the 3% money.

The survey shows that most of the people know about the project through the community leaders, and according to them mostly the community leaders announce about the project at communal meetings. To inform the people about the meeting, the community leaders and his assistants go to each household to tell them the place, time and content of the meeting.

"It is our job and role in making sure that every one is updated about the project", MD community leader, "One tip of the community leader in making sure that the people attend the meeting is his warnings that if they don't participate in the meetings, and if they have any questions, they would not be answered afterwards", a survey respondent in MD neighbourhood.

We can see the percentage of MT men is highest, which is related to the rate of their

participation in the community meetings. The rate of women's knowing about the project through the community leaders at the meetings is lower than men's, due to the fact that they tend to take more time for family affairs, and have their husband or father to attend. Women, who attend are

The participatory project is implemented strictly where the people are informed by key officers at neighbourhood level (from community leaders and unions and mass organizations to head of sectors and branches) – MD community leader said.

widows, or have sick or busy husbands. Those who don't come to the meetings, are informed and discuss with their family participating member, or talked about by their

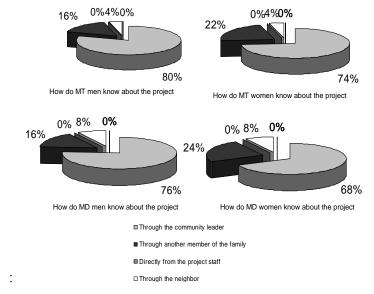
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⁶ This is the money that the beneficiary side has to pay to the project, while the 97% of the total amount is from the borrowings and nonrefundable budget of international donors (the WB and JICA).

neighbours. People in low income areas tend to meet and chat with each other more often. So besides the main channel through community leader, or family member, some of the respondents knew about the project through their neighbors.





In general, way of communication through the community leader in MT area is higher than MD area, with lightly higher rate for men than women. But in both communities, the major means of

The respondents told that in some other communal issues, it depends on each issue that "we discuss among the whole family, but for this project, because it affects all our life, so we talk and discuss about it".

informing people about the project is through the community leaders and there is no significance difference between gender groups and the channel of information through the community leaders. Correlation between education level and knowing about the project through the community leaders has no difference either.

However, there is significant difference between the employment situation and knowing about the project through the community leaders in each neighbourhood. In both neighborhoods, the tendency is that, the retired people in the family tend to participate more in communal meetings than the younger members, who have to go to work and take care of their children at home. Those aged and retired people are normally representative of the family to take part in communal activities. This reflects the culture of multi generations living together in the same family, especially in those low income areas, where people has more difficulties in affording a separate house for young couples.

No one in both communities knew about the project directly through project staff, except those of the ward authority and community representatives like the community leaders and other members of the planning groups. This is the project communication method to use the local grassroots network as the project information mediators.

Regarding the public radio, one of the project communication channels, during an informal conversation with the project staff, I found out the reason why it is not effective because firstly, there is not enough number of radios per neighborhood, and secondly, more important reason, that the radios normally turns on at the time when no one want to hear, (napping time or early morning). The brochure in its turn did not play as an important channel of information because it was small and full of information. Sharing

about the use of leaflets and brochure, a Grassroots Democracy external expert talked to me during the Project assessment trip that people would not read those if they don't like, don't understand and don't see their direct interests from that information. And from this, I am more convinced that not until people understand, they see their attached benefits and they like something, do they voluntarily get involved and this seems to me that this is more important than the use of these above ways.

Are they fully informed during the whole project process?

To this question, the survey shows that the percentage of MT community agreeing to be fully informed is smaller than in MD community and their percentage of disagreeing is bigger. MD people tend to be more satisfied with the project communication with bigger rate of strongly agreeing without anyone express of their strongly disagreement. This reflects that more MT people perceive that they are not fully informed about the project.

Across education groups, the author doesn't find the significant difference in their perception on being fully informed about the project. But there is significant difference among different groups of employment.

Among employment groups, people in retired groups tend to strongly agree and agree with project full information, while those of unemployment or working situation tend to be more neutral and disagree. Some of the respondents who was unemployed told me during the survey that they did not attend the meeting where the community leader announce about the project, so they did not know if it is fully informed or not. But he knew that their father attended communal meetings about the project information several times. For those, who were working, some agree because they also attend the meetings. Some other younger tend to be neutral because they are don't participate directly but have some older representatives in the family to get involved in the project activities.

Chart 5: Project information perceived by two neighborhoods

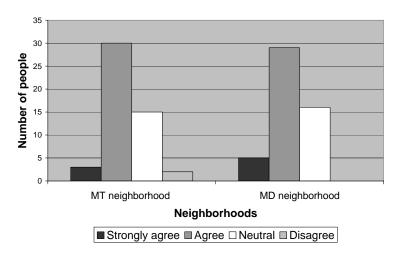


Chart 6: Project information perceived by different groups

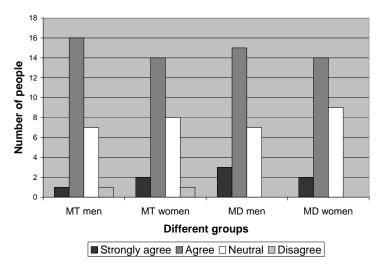
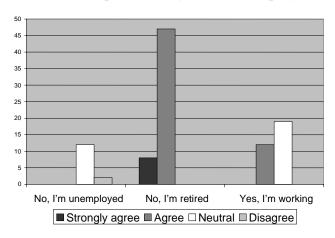


Chart 7: Project information as perceived by different employment groups



According to the project document, project staff and the local authority, it is perceived that the project communication and consultation was an important part to be undertaken. Looking at larger context, the manager of Nam Dinh SDC funded Community Management Program⁷, said to me that "Yes, information disclosure has been taken into account. But how is it implemented is another question. Information has been disclosed. but they are only disclosed to community leaders, unions and mass organizations, mainly through the community leader and women union. No commitment and guarantee about the information communication from community leaders to the people". About this, we can see project staff who are the main part in the so called "project mutual learning" (Bebbington 2007), plays an important role in bringing information from project level to community level. In this research, they don't communicate directly with the people but through the representative system. About project staff performance, readers will learn more in the section 4.4.3. Regarding community representative system, specifically community leaders, the project staff said to me, that much information may be dropped out on the way from the city, project to the people through the community leaders. Because they are old, not experienced, busy with so many communal work and even their own family things. Their capacity is limited to understand clearly what need to be

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⁷ The program is an important component in the Nam Dinh Urban Management Program, funded by the Swiss Development and Cooperation Agency (SDC)

transferred to the people. These factors remain the fact for us to think about and will be discussed more in the section 4.5.

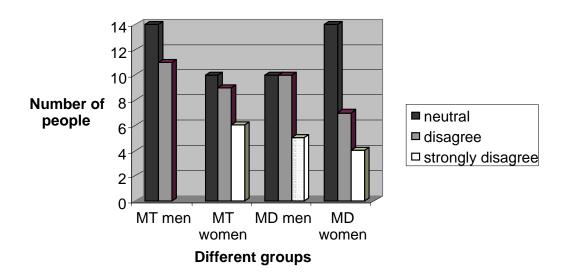
In the next section, we will find out how the people are prepared to participate in the project. Besides project information as one respondent told me "One respondent told me that "the sentence that I remember the most is that the project is implemented for poor community to improve their life", did they receive any specific instruction to be able to participate actively in the project? To answer this, let's go ahead to the next heading.

How are the people prepared to participate in the project?

Being asked about the instruction for the community in the project, the project staff said to me that instruction is mentioned in the project as to enable people to participate actively and effectively in all project phases. People were instructed through training on participatory planning, communication campaign, and training on project item operation and maintenance.

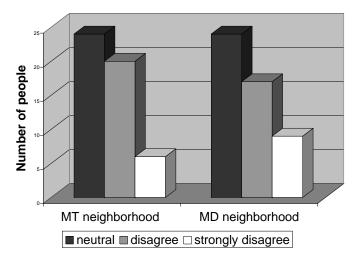
Especially for the planning groups⁸, who are the one working directly with the people on behalf of the project, who have regular contacts with the project staff. They are trained and then organize meetings with community members with the support of methods and skills of project consultants. It was showed during the fieldtrip that instructions for the community members were organized through communal meetings where people are introduced about the project, the way of their participation and prioritization of their needs. They were provided special training session on how to operate and maintain the sewerage and drainage system.

Chart 8: Getting instruction as perceived by different groups



⁸ This is the group set up to help the implementation of participatory project. They are representatives and play as the intermediary role between the Project unit and the community. This has been mentioned in details in the section 4.4.1

Chart 9: Getting instruction as perceived by two neighborhoods



Looking at the chart, we can see that no one in both the neighborhoods agree that they receive instruction from project staff. Most of them tend to be neutral because they agrees that the project staff came to community meetings, talking about the project, but in the next steps, they normally worked with the planning groups. Some other didn't agree with the statement to get direct instruction from project staff and that they didn't even know any project staff. This is strange and conflicted with the information that project staff goes to communal meetings to support planning groups in working with the people. Then the talk with the

Normally, the meeting is organized at 7 pm, but people do not attend until 8 pm. Then, after that at around 8h30, it was film time, so people were hurried to go home to watch the film. The main meeting content is series of decrees and resolutions to be read. After a moment, the people did not understand anything and then left for home, the next time, they would not attend. We organized tea breaks and snacks but the majority of participants were children.

"Engineering specialists were invited to provide the training. They presented very modern and advanced equipment for project maintenance, but we feel that they are more suitable for modern residential areas than for a low income neighborhood like here" a respondent said

project staff, that I quote above somehow helped to clear out this for me.

From the chart, it's easy to realize that the MD community strongly disagree more than MT community. Significant difference between MT gender group is also confirmed by SPSS T – Test. Much higher rate of MT women strongly disagreeing about the statement that project staff provide adequate instruction for them to participate in the project reflects the significant difference with MT men, who also disagrees, but not at high scale of strongly disagree. Though the women explained that project information and explanation is transferred through ward level, then to each neighborhood through the community leaders, they strongly expressed that it was not directly from project staff and feel that they need more explanation for the project.

Significant difference is also between MT men and MD men in this regards. It may be explained in terms of their education level. MT men in the average has higher education level so they seem to be more tolerant with the level of project instruction, while MD men need more thorough instruction, especially for the payment of money. They were still wondering when talking with me about the reason why they had to pay the money while it was a sponsored project.

How do people participate in the project?

The survey told that the rate of MT men participating in the project (84%) is higher than MT women (68%) and MD men (76%). MD women's participation rate is equal with MT women. For those who don't participate, it is because either they don't have time and have to go to work or there's another member family participating in the project. In this case, most of the participating members are the father of the respondents, who is considered the family representative. Sometimes it is the mother (grandmother) because the father (grandfather) is sick or passed away. Through the survey and field trip, I understand that the participation here means attending in communal meetings to discuss about the project content. The majority of participants are retired people, so they have more time and don't have to take so much care about the children or grandchildren. Women in both groups have the same level of participation, but less MD men participate than MT men, because among the cases interviewed, some of them work far from home, so their wife participate instead, and some are busy working so no one in the family participate.

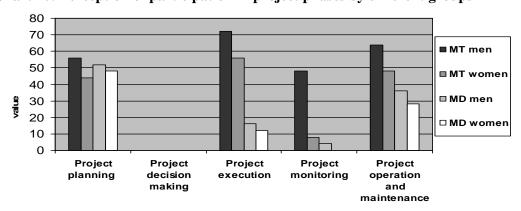
The interesting thing is that if we continue to the sub heading on people's financial contribution, we will see that 100% of the respondents have to pay the 3% money⁹ in the

"From the beginning, the people did not contribute actively to the project, but then when they understand and are encouraged and mobilized, they actively participate" – the Vice Ward Chairman said.

following sub heading. This can be considered the rate of community participation in the project. However, what is mentioned here is the level of community's participation in communal project discussion, like the consultation process or the communal meetings afterwards.

Which phases of project did the people get involved?

Chart 10: Perception of participation in project phases by different groups



The chart shows that more or less equal number of people in both neighborhoods participate in the planning phase. Because this is a very important phase regarding people's empowerment and being involved in the project decisions, it will be discussed separately in the below part.

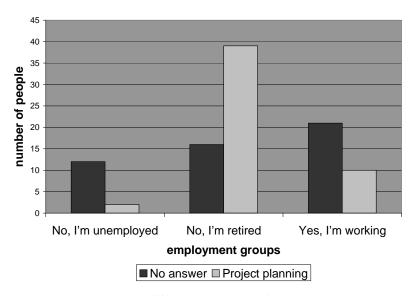
Regarding the decision making process, it is shown that there is no rate of community participation in the decision making process. In fact, though the upgrading package were

⁹ The inkind contribution that Vietnamese and Local Government commit to pay, which is 3% of the total investment budget. This is equally shared among the communicy members

pre identified in project proposals to be submitted to the funding agency, the community still participate in prioritizing those items or include other social infrastructure based on their real situation and priorities. Their input help the project consultants prepared the project proposals which then were disclosed and consulted again among the community for the investment solution and their payment capacity. Thus, it may be understood that people have somehow participated in the decision making, and there seems to be some conflicts between this and the survey result in related to the rate of people participating in the decision making process. there are three reasons for this survey result. Firstly, it may be due to the lack of survey questions that can clearly measure about the people's participation in this process. Secondly, it may be for the fact that people participated in the process but are not aware of the moment they did, and thirdly, it may be because people know that they participated in providing opinions on what and how things should be done, but they felt that much information were precooked and the consultation was just the formalism.

Community participation in project execution witness the difference between MT and MD neighborhoods. This is related to the contribution of land for project construction, and will be discussed more in the sub section of labor and material contribution. More MT people, especially men participate in the project monitoring phase, because they tend to contribute more supervision and recommendations that helped to improve the construction quality. This will also be discussed clearly in the section of local expertise contribution. In terms of Project operation and maintenance, we can see that MT people are more aware of their role in this phase, after the completion of the project and they understand that the money they contribute is to cover for this work. However, it was understood by more MD people that the work belongs to the State, and it is the task of the government to take care of those construction items.

Chart 11: Participating in planning phase as perceived by different employment groups in both neighborhoods



Testing the correlation between different groups of employment in participating in project planning, significant difference is discovered in total groups of both neighborhoods as well in each individual neighborhood. Most of the people participate in the planning phase are those retired, as usual. They are also the one to answer yes to the question of participating in project meetings, The total number of retired groups

participating in planning phase accounts for more than 50% of the whole respondent groups and most of them participate in the sessions in the beginning when the consultant came and talked about the project proposals. However, education levels has no significant effect on people's participation in planning sessions. In MD neighborhood, most of the retired people attending the planning sessions are of secondary or high school levels. While very few number of people of university or college level are busy with their studying or working schedule. In MT neighborhood, the same situation happens, but the level of those retired people attending the planning phase is of higher education level because the education level of those in MT neighborhood is in general higher than in MD neighborhood.

What do people contribute in the project?

In the following paragraph of this sub heading, the author is going to write about the contribution of local expertise, labor, time, material and finance. The input from interviews with key respondents and survey will be integrated with the author's analysis. Differences among the neighborhoods and the 4 groups will be mentioned at the same time. However, in order to stress the significant difference between different groups of gender, socio economic like working situation, education and income, more output of correlation tests will be mentioned deeply in the last part of the whole paragraph, as the final conclusion on different groups of people's contribution in the project.

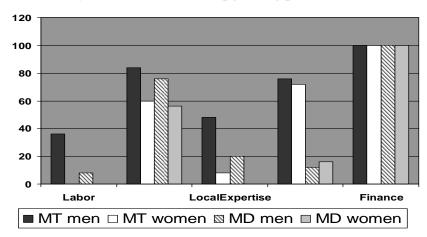


Chart 12: Community contribution in the upgrading project

Expertise

Admitting the fact that, in the past, though the consultants hired by the Bank do consult and listen to local people, they do not always listen to all the people or consult with poor and advantaged people, the Bank is now making concerted effort to consult and listen to all relevant stakeholders. They are those who can provide experience and expertise, like in the case of identifying what it is to be poor or female, or the expertise to develop specifications for a new road, or educational program (World Bank, 1996)

In this case, according to the project staff, in project preparation phase, people contribute local expertise through the involvement in the survey and focus group discussion, which are conducted with each beneficiary household by the planning group. During the community meeting, the people are encouraged to share and discuss their opinions, and finally come up with common needs within the community group. Planning groups are the one to collect and synthesize those community official upgrading needs and transfer

them to project consultants and Project Management Unit. Local expertise is also learnt during the consultation of different technical proposals, which are studied and prepared by project consultants in comparison with existing master plans design standards, project principles. The project staff told me that consultants had to go back and forth the neighborhood several times to prepare for the final pre-feasibility report and feasibility report.

Community members also discuss to set up a detailed monitoring mechanism during the

project implementation course, ensuring legal democracy and project effectiveness. During the project execution phase, people contributed their project supervision or comment on the project design.

The Ward Vice Chairman admitted that the project did consult the people about the technical plans in the preparation phase. His self example was that he could change the original planning of the health facility for more parking space.

"Just within one day, I guided the resettlement and compensation of some stalls in the market nearby to have more surface for more parking space in front of the health facility. I just explained to the stall owners and they were willing to move. Otherwise, you can imagine what will happen on the public vaccination day or general health examination day", ward representative

From the community point of view, the survey shows that the level of expertise contribution is shown to be different from what is said by the project staff and different among the groups.

There is some level of contribution in local expertise in Van Mieu ward but it is mainly by the men who is in the supervision team. Many others, despite their claiming about the construction quality to me did not mention about their local expertise contribution to the project. In May to neighbourhood, the situation is better because the the population is diversified with more educated people being officers or civil servants. They understand more about construction techniques. Another reason is that, the scope of construction in May To neighbourhood is bigger. More private surface are expropriated for street enlargement, thus people are more aware of their benefits related to the project. This is the reason for the fact that why people pay more attention to the project quality during the implementation.

The fact also showed that in May To neighbourhood, more cases were told to me during the field trip that many construction items had to be lifted and repaired when the people discovered unqualified work. The people there were not pleased with the construction quality and material (half baked brick, 5 cm distance of sewerage covers, width of drainage system, ect) and after three times of warning, they called the community leader. The community leader then called the Ward leader, PMU representative and city representative to come and solve. When the people saw that not qualified bricks are used, they called the ward committee representative to come and stop the construction work. May To neighbourhood leader told me that in some other cases, when the people did not agree with the design and by all means did not allow it to be conducted then the project team had to listen to. It was the case of the flow of sewerage system. Another example was that for example the location of the electricity pole passing some family's houses. Their comment was acquired. While in MD neighborhood, even though, currently, they see the internal lanes are of not good quality, which is lower than outside streets and more stagnant with water after the rain, they did not reflect anything wrong during the project execution.

Regarding gender point of view, the rate of men's contribution is higher than women, because men tend to understand more about techniques and construction issues. In MT,

there are some level of women's contribution because there are two women, who are construction workers and tried to help the project workers in dealing with some construction item in the area...

In general the contribution rate of expertise is not high among all the groups although the rate of their participation in the planning phase is much higher. This is, like in the case of community participation in decision making process, may be understood in several ways. Firstly, it may for the fact that during the planning process, people attended, discussed but actually did not know if their inputs were taken by the project team, and most of the time, they just participate to listen not to provide opinions. Secondly, people actually may have participated in providing input for the project planning, but they are not aware of their contribution in that regard as local expertise. They may think expertise must be relevant to professional techniques and that's why most of those who said yes, are men who commented on the project technique items. And thirdly, it is the questionnaire's fault for not having right question to measure the situation. Another reason was brought up by the community leader that talking without being listened to, limited access to information and also the commitment of project workers somehow affected the contribution of local expertise of community members.

Labor

Because the project construction was bided, so the community tend not to participate in this process. However, the survey shows some level of labor contribution, which is highest in MT men column. It is because some of the MT men interviewed participated in digging the sewerage. They were not hired but did it voluntarily. It was because the construction workers were paid with package salary based on the flat rate of m³ of soil and only dug 20 cm width, which did not ensure a good flow of waste water. Those men were mobilized by the community leader and his assistant. Some others who chose labor for their answer explained that they participated in lifting the sewerage cover for nearly half day for the check up on delivery.

In MD area, the level is much lower. Most of the reasons provided were that the project already hire the construction company, so they don't have to contribute. Others said that they had to go to work, or being old. Except for one guy that I interviewed, who was a mason. His wife participated in the meetings because he had to work far from home, but when he was home, he helped the workers to do the construction in the lane where he lived.

We can see the difference between men and women in both neighborhoods. Both women in MT and MD neighborhoods do not contribute labor to the project. In terms of working situation, it is different but in reverse direction. Those contribute labor are mostly working people, who are young and strong enough. Some of them do business at home, others worked on shift time and were at home when the community leaders asked.

Material

The survey shows that MT community contribute more than MD community. It is the contribution of land expropriated for enlarging streets. The majority of people are compensated but according to the Ward leader, thanks to the people's awareness, many households voluntarily demolished their gate or terrace without getting any compensation after being explained about the project requirements.

In MD community, it is noticeable that the rate of women's contribution is higher than men's because some of the interviewee provided food or water for the construction workers. Those people are retired and mostly stay at home during the day.

Finance

The correspondence was an important factor, to ensure the investment effectiveness and construction quality. From the project policy, we can learn that the payment of in kind contribution (3% of the total project budget) was an important content to be informed and discussed with the community during the planning phase. It was explained by the project staff that the correspondence fee of 3% of the total project budget was the commitment of beneficiary partner in the project and it is to increase people's responsibility in the project and to ensure people's awareness about this, meetings including project management unit, city government, community leaders, unions and mass organizations were organized.

Looking at the findings, we can see that nearly 100% of the respondents in both neighborhoods are aware of their duties in paying the correspondence fee, called by the project staff as "3% amount". The collection of this fee is

"We have to pay the money but we do not understand why we have to pay and what kind of money. She doesn't care about the project staff, doesn't know any one, just wonder why I have to pay money", a respondent in Van Mieu said to me

assigned to the ward and neighborhood level. As already mentioned in sub section of people's participation in the project, all the survey respondents indicated that they had to pay the correspondent payment because once it is the regulation, people have to obey because sooner or later, if they have something to get local authority's legalization, officers will check if they have carried out all financial duties. Despite the awareness of having to pay, some people, especially in MD neighborhood that I interviewed were wondering why they had to pay money for a sponsored project. There are two reasons for this confusion. Firstly, it is due to the fact that "Propaganda and communication responsibility is not up to requirements" as the ward representative said, and secondly, it was due to the limited capacity of the people in understanding clearly the real financial nature of the project.

Related to the level of collection, both community leaders and project staff complained to me that it is still a hard job. The rate of not payment in Van Mieu is higher due to more limited socio economic situation. While in May To, the situation is more brighter. The community leader told me that community members discuss about the payment of 3%, and do not hesitate to pay. However, it is still difficult to collect money from some families, not because they don't want to pay, but because the quality of streets and pavement in front of their houses is not up to their expectation (not flat street surface, hollow, pavement narrower to the design). Anyway, May To is now the leading neighborhood in the ward to have the highest rate of payment.

Time

In related to the rate of participation and contribution of other items, it is easy to understand that the people in MT community contribute more time in the project than the MD community. However, it is noticeable that MT women have higher rate than men. This is different from the fact provided by the project staff that the rate of men attending meetings is higher than women.

This can be explained because during the implementation process, more discussion were organized about the in kind contribution and being the family expense managers, women tend to pay more attention than men. And maybe because women are more busy at home than men, they value it higher when spending it for something else. This is also true in the case when they stayed at home and had to do things for the husband to attend in the

meetings. During the field work, I observed and was shared that women had to take care of the housework. After cooking, cleaning, they are too tired to attend the meeting. So the rate of men attending meetings is higher. But finally, women are the one to decide. Among the participants, the majority is aged people, this is explained partly by the culture of multi generation living in Viet Nam, and partly because of their socio economic situation, that don't have the condition to afford buying a house for the new couple, like the coming trend in big cities. Within the families, the aged people seem to have more free time, while the younger have to take care of their children, earning the living. And to the staff, the aged people have more experience and connections to the neighborhood and their neighbors" Project staff

Table 7: Time contribution among different employment groups in both neighborhoods

	respondent's working situation				
		No, I'm unemployed	No, I'm retired	Yes, I'm working	Total
		unemployeu	No, illitetteu	165, THI WORKING	TOtal
Time	Time	2	48	15	71
	No answer	12	7	16	29
Total		14	55	31	100

Conclusion on significant difference in different groups' contribution in the project Gender groups in MT and MD neighborhoods

Among MT neighborhood, the significant difference between gender groups is found in people's participation in project monitoring phase, as well as the contribution of expertise and labor in which, men participate more in this phase than women. This is explained by the masculine nature that men tend to be more specialized in technical work when women tend to be more focused on logistic things (Kaufman, 1997). This is also directly related to the significance found also between men and women in MT neighbourhood in the contribution of labor and time and local expertise. Because men are more free at home out of working time because they are not obliged to do housework, taking care of the children or do the cooking, cleaning and washing, they can participate more in community meetings. And because this project is more related to technical improvement. men tend to be family representative to participate, especially in the planning phase. Because they are more involved in planning sessions, and monitors more the construction, they contributed more expertise to the project. Many women when answering the questionnaires, said that she had to take care of the children, feeding them and supervise their study at home. Moreover, she was not very clear about technical items. It is better to have the husband go for the meetings". This saying reflects two things that limit the women's participation in the meetings. One issue is time, while the other thing is that the women herself refuse to take part in the meeting because she thinks she is not capable for technical issues. However, it is not necessary to be an expert to participate in the community project. They can contribute ideas based on experience of living in the neighborhood. They can recommend to identify where the market or the school should be for the community's convenience

Samples independent T – test among two gender groups of both neighborhoods shows that there is significant difference on the level of participating in monitoring project, contributing labor and expertise to the project.

Groups' significant difference in terms of socio economic condition (like employment, education and income) in both neighborhoods and each neighborhood itself.

Correlation between working situation and people's participation in the project shows some significant difference in both neighborhoods. Retired people tend to be the family's representative in dealing with communal events, because working people, who are mostly family's younger generation, are busy during the working time, and have small children or many other social interactions to deal with. Working situation inevitably affects people's level of participation in communal meetings, providing opinions and their level of time and local expertise contribution. The contribution of labor has significant difference between retired people and not retired people, including both working and unemployed people. Because retired people are mostly old. Those guys who contributed labor to the MT project are mostly young and strong. They don't participate on regular basis but based on the community leaders' invitation in some specific cases.

If combining two neighborhoods into one groups for ANOVA test with working situation as the independent factor, significant difference is discovered in related to the level of people's participation in project monitoring, contribution of labor, time, expertise, their perceptions on the influence on project, project staff 's cooperative attitude, project staff's time on the spot, their talking to community leaders about interests and needs related to the project.

Within the group of men, education and income factor create difference in their perception on project performance, level of material, labor and expertise contribution. This is because most of the men with higher education level and better income level are MT community members. A higher rate among them contribute land for the construction, monitors the project more and contribute more input in the project planning as well as monitoring process.

Within the group of women, though the rate of participation in communal meetings is lower than men's. Education, working situation and income all create the difference in level of contributing time to communal meetings, their participation in planning phase and execution phase, and project staff's commitment. This is because those women with better education, higher income or being retired tend to participate more than other women. The survey shows that the rate of MT women participating is higher than the rate of MD women, and in each group, the rate of women with higher education and income, or being retired, tend to participate more in communal meetings. This fact is also approved by the reflections from the focus groups that I attended in Truong Thi ward, another low income area next to Van Mieu ward, on the Grassroots Democracy project assessment trip. Most of the attendance are white haired people, mostly retired and seems to be those more educated than those who don't participate.

Once they participate more, they contribute more inputs, time and have clearer perception on the project staff's punctual and cooperative attitude during the meetings. Regarding perceptions on project staff's explanation and answering questions, higher educated women tend to have clearer views of agreeing or disagreeing with the statement because they knows the real situation, while the rest of women tend to have more neutral answers because they are not much involved, thus not very much clear. In related to staff's frequency at the spot or walking to each household, they have the same understanding

and this is of no significant difference. The contribution of material, which in this case is land differs between those of higher income and education. Because the majority of those women live in MT neighborhood where bigger infrastructure system are built like streets, sewerage, and health post.

The dependent element that is not influenced by the women's working situation is their participation in project monitoring and contribution of expertise. All the women see this rather men's work than theirs and in fact the different working situation groups only affect their level of participating in meetings, rather than their contribution of project monitoring or providing inputs on technical issues.

4.4.4 How does Staff performance affect community participation?

In this section, as promised from the section 4.2.2, readers will be presented about findings on project staff's performance, including their capacity and commitment on community participation. Findings of this section are be based on desk research, key respondents' input and community survey. For each factor, staff capacity and staff commitment, several indicators will be looked at. They will be presented in more details before going into each of them. However, before going to the findings, the author would like to explain a bit about the way of turning questionaire's findings into the results to be presented. Because for each variable, several scale questions are constructed to ask about one issue but in different ways, the internal reliability (cronback's alpha) is then checked and with the rate found of higher than 0.7, those variables are computed into a new variables with new values recoded from reliable existing values. They are in this research compacted into three levels of high, medium and low opinion. Now, let's move on and see how Staff performance affect on the implementation of community participation in general and of each groups in particular

Are project staff capable of working in the participatory project?

Staff's capacity will be mentioned from two angles, their background and qualification, and specific training that they receive to carry out the participatory project. To answer this question, the author studied the requirement of recruiting employees for the Project unit, as well as information on the project consultants. Interviews with project staff also helped the author to learn about the background of project staff. For the community survey, cromback's alpha test was used to see if the construction of the question ensured the internal reliability.

What is Project Staff's qualification?

Through the interviews I learnt that most of the staff working for the Project Unit have bachelor degree, which is a relatively good foundation for the Unit. Some of them already have experience in working with other international project in the city. The project staff in charge of community work that I worked with and interviewed graduated from Ha Noi University of Social Sciences and Humanitarian. Thus, the community work is related to her work.

"Some project staff and consultants are well educated. That's why they are hired to work for the project. But the masons are not very professional. They are farmers coming from free season, and hired on flat rate base so the quality is not ensured. They just want to finish the assigned work as quick as possible" MT community member.

The Project consultant hired to help conduct the project is the Construction Design Consultant, under directly the Ministry of Construction. This company is well known for its staff, including over 250 international and local experienced professionals and support staffs, working as designers, constructors, consultants, and relevant specialists v.v. The

PMU Vice Director told me that "CDC trade name is more and more well known in the construction consultancy field. In 2004, it received the metal award of "Vietnamese Gold Star" by The Vietnam Young Business Association.

Does the staff receive specific training on participatory approach?

Talking with the Ward leader, I found that a very good condition for community work in the project was that a Community management program was running in the city (explained in the footnote no 6) He shared that the community work had been conducted in the Swiss funded project so he was experienced and trained for that.

The city established a Community consultation committee whose task was to initiate and implement plans on environmental and health. This committee has sub committee in all wards including a movement officer and a volunteer. They are trained and educated in project planning and implementation and could contribute remarkably in the WB project.

For the specific community goal in the project, the planning groups are established as mentioned above, and according to the project report, they are trained on skills to work with the community members as followings:

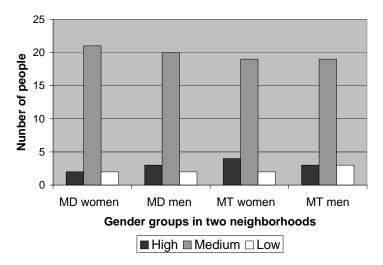
- o Training on skills of mobilization, group operation
- o Training on technical measure transfer
- o Training on planning for groups
- o Training on small project monitoring and supervision
- o Training on small credit and saving activities at community level

However, according to the Ward leader, there was some issues related to the communication skill when the questionnaires were distributed when people were preparing for the New Year's Eve. He also remarked about the way of distributing questionnaires and the methodology of working of those staff. Another fact the I found out was that for only the Vice Director that I interviewed received specific training on participatory approach. It was organized by the World Bank for project staff of pilot cities. During my talk, the Vice Director provided me a lot of document that I got from this course and it was such comprehensive package knowledge on community participation. However, due to limited budget, not all staff can attend this course. And as part of the organizational culture of hierarchy, usual, the chance often comes to the higher ranked person, rather than executing staff, who is more involved in daily related work.

Based on the cross-tabs analysis, we can see that there is no significant difference between gender groups of each neighborhood in their perception on project staff. The majority of people have medium opinion about this. Some have high and some other have low opinion. Most people determined that the project staff know what they were doing, their tasks and functions. Because of the fact that they do not know much about project staff, the answer are based on their perception that "project staff must be qualified to be employed in the project, and if they don't know how to work, they would be dismissed right away".

For other variables (before being computing into a new one) like "if the project staff answer well your questions or explains to your complaint", some of them agreed, while the majority of respondents provided neutral answer. It is because they did not have many chances to meet project staff so most of their questions and complaints were directed to the community leaders rather than project staff.

Chart 13: Project staff capacity perceived by gender groups in each neighborhood



In terms of working groups, most retired people, who have higher rate of attending communal meetings, have higher opinion about project staff capacity. Among education groups, there is tendency that people of lower education think higher about project staff capacity than those higher ones. Normally, those who have high opinion attend meetings and know the project staff, while those don't meet the project staff tend to have medium opinion. For higher educated people of university or college levels, though attending more in the project discussion sessions and have more chance to communicate with project, tend to be more critical about the project staff. They said that among the project staff, some are good, but some others are not really good, their levels are not equal. Thus, they tend to chose neutral answers. Some of the respondents who have low opinion remark about the quality of those construction workers, most of whom are seasonal farmers and are not very specialized in the construction items (See figure 11, annex 5)

How is project staff committed to people's participation?

Besides staff capacity, staff commitment is important and necessary because project staff are not direct beneficiaries, coming from outside. Their interests are not directly attached and it's easy that they can ignore many things. For this part, staff commitment will be studied through staff working time,

"The project mainly hired monitoring consultants from Ha Noi. They may be more educated but they lack of practical experience. They only follow the design paper, not standing for the people's interests" the May To community leader said.

working place and frequency of meeting with the people. They will be presented in general based on findings from interviews and survey. In the last heading, significant difference in community perception will be analyzed in more details in conclusion of the whole section. Now let's go to each heading, to see more descriptions.

How much time do project staff spend working with the people?

According to the project policy, the project staff mainly work with the planning groups and community leaders on regular contact. However, talking about this, the project staff told me that "To make sure the people understand clearly about the project, the PMU required their consultant to attend meetings to explain for the people because they were afraid that the planning groups could not transfer adequately the information"

The project staff told me that basically the people were aware of participating in determining upgrading initiatives. The community was encouraged to take part in the identification of project goals and objectives, problem trees. But the project staff expressed that this was very difficult, even to themselves, inter a liar the community members. Observing about this thinking, I asked the project staff what they would do if the rate of attendance at the meeting is not up to expected rate, she told me that for sure they had to organize it again. This was one of the requirements and told something about the commitment to involve people in the work.

From the survey findings, it is confirmed that the project staff did attend and organize meetings with the people in the first phases. Meetings with the attendance of project staff was mainly conducted during the communal consultation meeting at the preparation phase. In the next phases, less meetings were organized with the participation of project staff. They were mainly hosted by community leaders and planning groups, after being guided and trained by the project staff.

Where do the project staff meet and work with the community?

From the community perception, most of the respondents disagreed with statement on project staff's spending a lot of time in the neighborhood, or walking to each household to talk with people. They tend to be neutral or disagree with the statement that project staff just stay in their office all the day long, because they don't know exactly or they believe that project staff can not just stay in their office during the whole day. A notice here is that, most of project staff live in the city, and their office is in the City hall.

In the research area, there is no project office. Nam Dinh city is small, and the transportation system is easy. It really takes only 10 minutes to reach the area from Project office in the city hall. However, from the talk with a community member in MT neighborhood, and from the author's experience, it pose a question if it is better to have a project office at the site. This will bring the project organ out of the bureaucracy system, to be on the

"Project staff do not meet people individually, just through the common meeting" MT respondents

"I saw project staff come and walk to the construction site, with their pen and note book. They don't go to any household but work with the workers on the site" - the guy that I interviewed, who is unemployed and stay at home almost the time.

spot. This will enable project staff talk with the people, understand their situation and help find solution for them more quickly. However, it may depend on the real local situation and requirement of staff performance, it was not necessary to have a office at the spot, because according to the project policy, the direct contact to the people during the project is the local representative systems, mainly the community leaders.

More insights on the perception of project staff commitment will be found in the last paragraph of this section, where significant difference is analyzed among different groups. But before going to that part, let's see the frequency that project staff meet the community members.

How often do the project staff meet the community members?

The project staff confirmed that to start the project, project staff had various working sessions with the ward leaders including the people committee chairman, vice chairman, head of population parts, community leaders of neighborhoods, representative of unions and mass organizations (women unions, war veteran, youth, father front) as well as local specialized officers of health care, cadastre, ext. They also went on site trip to low

income areas to identify the exact neighborhood to be upgraded. They were present at nearly 100% of the meetings of this phase.

Based on the survey conducted among both communities, it is understood that the people do not see the project staff on regular basis. Many of them even don't know any staff. They said that they were informed of the project process but they did not know any project staff. Only the planning groups, supervision groups, community leaders knew them. Most of the people in both communities agreed with the statement that they rarely see the project staff. Regarding the question if the project staff always stay at their office, most of the people provided neutral answer because they don't know exactly what the people do during the day. Some of them disagree because they must have something to do outside of office during the day.

Significant difference perceived by different groups on staff performance

In this heading, analyzes based on SPSS correlation and internal reliability test will be described, in which the author goes to the comparison among different groups of gender, ecoconomic situation like employment, education or income. As already explained in the introduction of section 4.4.4, two new variables of Project staff capacity and Project staff commitment are newly established after the positive check of internal reliability among different related scales, asking about the same thing. New common variable of Project staff capacity can be referred to Q38 -Q42, annex 1 and new variable of Project staff commitment can be referred to Q 43-Q48, annex 1. In the following analysis, the author may refer to both the perception on new variables and to each statement of the scales. Some chart illustrations are presented in this page, some others can be found in the annex

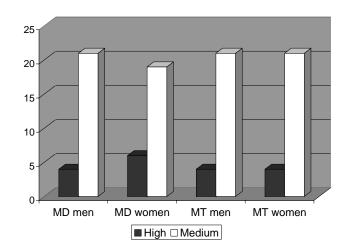


Chart 14: Project staff commitment perceived by gender groups

Looking at the chart, we can see the rate of men and women perceiving about project staff commitment has no difference. Most of them have high or medium opinion about staff commitment and the rate more or less equals among gender groups. Those who had

No significant difference among gender groups doesn't mean no significant difference

among working or education groups. Perceptions of working people on project staff performance is different from those who are retired (See Figure 7, annex 5). About project staff, working people mostly don't know about the project staff, because they don't attend communal meetings, where project staff came in the planning phase. They also

"Project staff do not go to each household but go to the construction field, the ward office or community leaders'. When we supervise or comment on the project, the masons did not listen to us. They were ignorant and did not acquire any ideas. They asked what were our roles, and that if we had something to complain, go to their boss. They had no responsibility to listen to us. We had to call the community leader, the ward leader and then the project unit leader to come".

don't attend public training sessions for operating and maintenance the infrastructure system. They tend to have more neutral answers when asking about project staff commitment, about which they are not sure or just based on their individual perceptions. More retired people have high opinion on project staff commitment because more of them attend the meetings with project staff and thus have clearer feeling about the project whom they met.

Income level also affect people's perception on the project information and project staff commitment in terms of their not being late at the communal meetings, their cooperative attitude. Because higher income people mostly are MT community members. They have higher rate of participating in communal meetings.

Among the men, income level doesn't create any difference in their's perception on the statements of "The project staff really knows their tasks and duties", " Project staff can answer all the questions you ask", "Project staff walk to each household to talk with people", They all disagree or have neutral attitude about this. The explanation for this indifference is that because the rate of men participating in community activities in general and the project meetings in particular, is higher than women. Regarding the staff's appearance in the neighborhood, it is the same fact that they mainly work with ward authority and community leaders at their own house, without walking directly to each household. They don't have office in the neighborhood, so the frequency of their appearance in the neighborhood is not remarkable. This is the same situation in all neighborhoods of project, so perceptions among different groups of income, working situation or even education stay the same. However, their perception on project commitment in terms of being late or cooperative attitude are different. People with higher educated background, thus have higher income level tend to agree more with the project staff's not being late at the meeting and their cooperative attitude. But they have the same perception on the staff's working place and frequency of meeting people. Because staff were mainly at the meeting in the first phase, and did not have many direct interaction with the community members so the perception of people on staff's explanation or answering to their question are not different. Most of men don't agree with those statement like "Project staff spend a lot of time at the spot", "Project staff can answer all the questions you ask?", or "I feel the project staff really explains well our complaints"

In general, no respondents in both neighborhoods have low opinion about project staff commitment. The majority of the respondents belong to medium opinion group because they may find the staff's good attitude and coming to the neighborhood for construction work, but do not see the project regularly or having them visit each individual family. Those have high opinions are mostly retired people, higher education and attend more on working sessions with project staff. They also don't agree with the fact that staff is at the spot many times or walking to each household in the neighborhood, but by computing the

whole scales, they still belong to the high opinion groups for having strongly agreeing or agreeing perception on the staff cooperative and punctual attitude at communal meetings.

4.5 Community Leadership

It has been indicated that community leadership plays an important role, who can have a major influence on shaping a community's future. The success or failure of a community project often seems to hinge on the presence or absence of good leadership.(Hennessy, 2009). In this research, I'm looking at the type of leadership (way of becoming leader, leadership term and working time), leadership performance (communication, accessibility and commitment). Type of leadership is to see the nature of being a leader, while leadership performance is to see the its effect on the community participation. Because both community leaders act in the same system and policy framework, common input on the type of leadership for community leaders of both neighborhoods will be provided. Regarding their performance, inputs will be separated to create a complete profile of each of them. In the end, conclusion will be drawn.

4.5.1 Type of Community Leadership

Type of community leadership will be mentioned in regards of the way of becoming the community leader, criteria for becoming community leaders, term of leadership, their working time and tasks and functions, specifically identified in the project.

In the Van Mieu ward, as presented in the previous section, the local authority is called Van Mieu Ward People Committee. Leaders of this Institution belongs to the Political system and part of the State organ. Under the Ward level are neighborhood levels, the head of which are called community leaders. Because those leaders are more close to the people's life, considered community representatives, so this research is mainly targeted to them. Besides, inputs about the Ward authority level is also mentioned and integrated, because the ward leadership also play an important role in the communication between the PMU of city level and the neighborhood level.

Way of becoming community leader

According to the first meetings' result, interview with the relavant experts (Former Director of Local Government department – Ministry of Home Affairs), interview with the community leaders of two research neighborhoods, I learn that the community leaders are directly elected by the community members in the form of secret suffrage and the position is acknowledged in the Ward People Committee's Chairman's Decision. It is clearly mentioned in the Decision No 13/2002/QĐ-BNV, dated December 6th, 2002 by Ministry of Home Affairs on the promulgation of the Regulation on the organization and action of urban neighborhood and rural villages.

This content is identified as one of things discussed and voted by the people in the Grassroots Democracy Ordinance, article 13 – Grassroots Democracy Ordinance, promulgated on April 21st, 2007. This form of becoming a community leader exists since 1998, up on the promulgation of Grassroots Democracy Status on September 08th, 1998 by Vietnamese Government. According to that, the community members meet and discuss about the criteria and introduces candidates, who will be then fixed by the Father Front and voted directly by the community members. This according to people, will make the community members more responsible for selecting their representatives to take charge of communal work.

Criteria for becoming community leaders.

According to the universal survey of MOH about the real situation of grassroots officers at ward and neighborhood level, despite the big quantity, the quality of these staff is very limited. Among 192.438 officers, 75,45% of high school background, 21,48% of secondary school background. In related to expertise, 48,75% haven't received any training, 94,22% do not know foreign language and 87,30% haven't learnt to use computers.

There are many reasons for this situation, one of which is the low salary. This doesn't attract young and educated people. In fact, the majority of those staff is retired and enthusiastic people, but do not have good related expertise – Hanoinet online, 2009

They need to have permanent houkho in the neighborhood, from 21 years old, have good health, enthusiasm and responsibility spirit for work. They also have good moral and personality, being prestigious in the community, being capable, having organization methods to undertake tasks assigned by upper levels (Ministry of Home Affairs, 2003)

In fact, community leaders tend to be those people who already retire so have more time for communal work. They also receive support and elected by the whole community. However, their job is based on their enthusiasm and voluntary attitude, not based on professional working capacity.

Term of leadership

Also according to the Decision No 13 on the performance of community leaders, by Ministry of Home Affairs, term of community leaders is 2 years. After two years the community members will elect their community leader again through secret suffrage election. In most of the case, the community leaders continue their work, if they have enough health, willingness and do the job well. There is no limit of the terms they take the position. This is the case of the two researched community leaders. When being asked until when would they finish their job of community leaders, both of the leaders told me that they wanted to retire but were not agreed by the people. People encourage them to do and keep on voting for them every two years so they continue the job

Community leaders' working time

It is not said in any legal document that I could find about if the community leaders work is part time or fulltime. But it is a fact that community leaders are committed people, who is expected to be available to any affair in the community. They play as the representative of the community to undertake administrative tasks in the community. Their job is under the control of Neighborhood Party Committee and the Ward Authority. They receive monthly allowance for the job.

For the two community leaders that I interviewed, because they are retired, so they tend to work on full time basis. They shared with me that their job is very hard and they have to solve all kinds of affairs, from family quarrels to land conflicts. It is not mentioned by both the two community leaders, but I learn from express that, community leaders in general have to undertake about 20 kinds of task items, and collect 4 kinds of basic fund, and other funds ordered by upper levels or raised upon real situation. However, the salary and allowance are too low in comparison to their hard job (Loan, 2009)

"After getting instructions from upper levels, I organize communal meetings to inform the people of the upgrading project, that Van Mieu ward is a poor neighborhood, which is prioritized to borrow money to upgrade the internal infrastructure in general, to collect people's inputs from their discussion. Once the people understand, they will discuss and express their opinions and contribute payment and labor" MD community leader

"All the complaints goes to the community leader. In some cases, the I explain or address without success so Mr Lai is called to the site" MT community leader

Tasks and functions of the community leaders identified in the project.

Because the community leaders are responsible actor closest to the people, they become the main channel of communication between the people and upper level. According to articile 16 of the same decision, community leaders are the one to mobilize and organize communal meetings to discuss and execute decisions related to neighborhood's affairs, collect and reflect people's legitimate concerns and opinions to Ward Authority (Ministry of Home Affairs, 2003)

In the frame work of this project, the community leaders have following tasks and functions:

Community leaders, local unions and mass organizations in cooperation with community members build a specific action plan in terms of project management and maintenance to mobilize total community participation. This action plan is based on the CUP initiated by the PMU and approved by the Ward Authority

They participate in training, organized by the Ward Authority in cooperation with the PMU, to understand about the project content, objectives and requirements as well as the community participation initiatives.

They take charge of transferring necessary information to each household in their neighborhood, including guidelines and explanation in necessary case, collecting in kind payment for the ward level and together with other prestigious members like party secretary, mass organizations, community leaders take part in project supervision team.

As mentioned in the previous sections, the ways of informing people about the project besides commune's bulletin, broadcasting commune's radio, documents sent to the neighborhood or households is mainly through communal meetings. Households are encouraged to discuss within the family and their neighbors about project contents. At communal meetings, people can discuss and give their opinions to the plans or policies through and decide by voting or secret ballot. Inputs from community members are collected by community leaders and planning groups in the form of meeting minutes to be transferred to upper level. The responsibility of communication with the people is attributed to the community leaders as centipede food shaped network of local government.

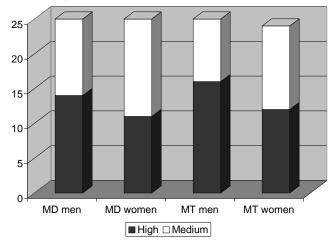
The work of community leaders are supervised and speeded up to carry out their work according to the schedule by the Ward authority. But it is the Ward level, not community leaders to cooperate with the project staff in communicating with households about their responsibilities, tasks and benefits in participating in upgrading project.

4.5.2 Performance of community leaders in two researched neighbourhoods.

In this part, Community leader performance will be discussed in terms of their accessibility to the people and their commitment to involving people in the neighbourhood in the project. Profiles of each community leader will be separated together with the perception of their community members. Like in the case of project staff performance, because the questionnaire was designed with several different scale questions on how the people perceive on the community leaders in the participatory project, the author then use the internal reliability to check the variables. As the test showed a rate of reached score, which was more than 0.7, then the common variable of Community leader commitment was created to score all the values, which were recoded into same order, into three levels of high, medium and low opinion. In the following paragraphs, it will be analyzed based on the output of the above process. More

explanation about the detailed scale questions will also be mentioned. After that, a conclusion is given, in which the significant difference among different groups will be described.

Chart 15: Community leader commitment to community participation perceived by gender groups in each neighborhood



Performance of MT community leader

Community leader of May To neighborhood has been working as the community leader since 1969. The way he understood clearly about techniques, and explained to me about the project construction and design made me think he must be some one educated enough in the field. And I was right when asking about his job before retirement. He was an mechanic engineer and has been representative of Van Mieu ward people's council for a long time. MT community leader is an exceptional case in such a low income ward

MT community leader is perceived by the people to be a very accessible man. He is the one whom people come to talk about their problems. He knows clearly all households,

People are very pleased with the community leaders for their enthusiasm, commitment, being their representative. "Yes, the community leaders are very close. He pass by my house every day. Sometimes, we drink tea together, an (unemployed man said.in MD area. "The community leader pay his consideration to the poor, those families having problems. Even we don't inform him, he still comes"MT respondent

their names, their jobs and concerns related to the project.

Regarding commitment to people's participation in the project, from the people's point of

view, MT community leader was commented by the people in the neighborhood that he was the closest contact for them to approach for complains. He then would bring all these ideas to upper level. In fact, he is the one to talk the most to the local government and actually participated actively in discovering unqualified construction items in the project. In fact, I saw that MT community leader was a unique case. Not all other community leaders are well educated and can understand the project techniques and construction.

Answering to my question on his opinion about people's participation, he said "People's opinions and inputs are very frank, some times annoying us, but not because they don't like us. It is that they are telling the truth. When I go to collect the correspondence payment, the people don't pay. I just asked if I should claim for the people not to have to pay the money, The people explained it was not because we did not want to pay but we want to have the official guidelines".

MT leader claimed to the project to allow the community members to supervise the construction. He talked that people knew about unqualified work being done by the masons. If they had monitored, they would have reflected right away shortcomings because they are attached directly to their life. Observation from the talk with him, I recognized his cooperative attitude about the people and their contribution. He said people were workers and officers. They were very honest and frank. They were not the one to listen to what other says. Besides workers, there were also army officers, colonel, commander or majors, chief or vice chief of a division, so he could not treat them, could not lie to them.

MT community leader's commitment was also acknowledged by the author for his helpfulness and enthusiasm for my work. When I explained to MT leader that I was carrying out a thesis study, not a funded project, so there was no allowance for the people in the survey, he said it was his job and that they were very happy to share considerations. What they wanted was to draw some lessons for other neighborhood's project to be better from the beginning, because this is only the pilot phase of the whole city's project, the community leader said to me.

The survey in MT neighborhood shows that people in both groups of men and women mostly strongly agree or agree with positive statement about community leaders about the regular communication, accessibility and commitment that community leaders have. Those who are neutral are young people, having another representative in the family to meet and talk with the community leaders. But in general, all the people are pleased with the community leaders' daily performance.

Among gender groups, significant difference is found in MT men's perception when they more agrees with the statement on community leaders' asking for their opinions, invite them to participate in the project and contact them closely during the project course. These are three scale questions in the questionnaire (see Q54-56, annex 1). In reality, stories were told that community leaders and other members were together when dealing with the construction masons. When the community members were not pleased with some items of construction, they came to reach the community leader. And when the community needed some assistance, he tended to reach strong men. Because men participate more in project technical issues, they tend to be in closer contact with the community leaders about project issues and community leaders tend to ask for their opinions more. Women mostly agree with those positive statement and disagree with negative statement about general issues. But about project issue related statements, they tend to provide neutral or disagreeing answers, like the statement of "The community leader asks for your opinion about the upgrading project?" or "The community leader invites you to participate in the upgrading project?", ext.

Performance of MD community leader

MD community leader is 74 years old. He has been the community leader since 1992, right up on his retirement. He was a former worker of the mill and had the background of secondary school.

In related to the MD community leader's role and importance, most of the interviewee in both gender groups of MD neighborhood see their community leader important in the neighborhood, who takes care of all the affairs without the neighborhood and who are voluntary and enthusiastic enough to work for that. Only one people in the neighborhood had the neutral answer because she thinks that he has already received salary for that and

doubts about whether the community leaders will be active when they don't receive salary.

Regarding scales for MD community leader's commitment to people's participation in the project, using the correlation T test for gender factor, the author finds the same difference in gender groups' perception on the MD community leader's inviting people to participate in the project is also expressed through the test. This is because the community mainly communicate to encourage people about the project through communal meetings. Thus with higher rate of attending communal meetings, men tend to be invited more to participate by the community leader.

Regarding commitment to participation in the project, MD community leader also expressed his commitment to the work and the responsibility of a reliable officer elected by the people. MD leader also supported me very much to conduct the survey in the neighborhood. He walked with me in the rain to introduce about the neighborhood area and upgraded items. However, as the reaction and participation in monitoring is less than MT neighborhood, it was not shown very much about his support for the people to claim. To him, the commitment was the exemplary spirit to obey upper level's directions which can not be objected to

Working in the neighborhood, I can feel the accessibility of the community leaders when walking with them in the neighborhood. The feeling of his accessibility was improved during my talk with his wife. After a talk with the MD leader for 10 minutes, he had to go for a meeting with the party secretary. I continued to stay at his home, waiting for him and talked with his wife. She was not complaining but tell me about his job to be very busy, and to be the one to deal with all kinds of communal affairs from family reconciliation, funerals, weddings, ext. He was the one to lay a respected old man whom took care of my parents' kids when we lived in the neighborhood on whom I considered as my grand father.

In fact, being the closest contacts with people at grassroots level, community leaders have to deal with so many different kinds of affairs happening in the neighborhood. This is the same situation of MT community leader. It on one hand shows their accessibility but on the other hand, reflects the limitation to the quality of task performance. Regarding this, the project staff told that during her work with the communities, some community leaders complained about their job and shared that their children did not want them to continue the job, because it was for nothing and in many cases, they had to use their own money to solve common thing. Some community leaders did not want to stay at the meeting because they had to pick up their grand children or because that day, his wife cooked his favorite food so he wanted to stay at home to taste. In other case, when the community leader was cooking, some people came to complain. After the talk, the food was overcooked.

Perception about leaders' performance of different groups.

Perceptions on community leaders for general issues are the same in the whole group of women. They tend to agree with the good performance of community leaders, their close contact and communication, and easy accessibility in case of necessity. However, the perception differs when they talk about the community's leader inviting them to participate or asking for their opinions. Those of higher education or retired tend to agree

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¹⁰ My mother was a doctor of the Textile Corporation Hospital. My family was also distributed a semi tenement house in MT neighborhood. We leaved the neighborhood long time ago when I was very small.

with these statements while the others are neutral or disagree. Because retired people in both groups participate more in community meetings and meet the community leaders on more regular basis they agrees more with the statement that community leaders take their interests and needs into account, while the more working people are neutral to this statement, because they don't participate much in those communal discussions. Gender groups in both neighborhood have different perception on the statement of community leaders' asking for their opinions about the upgrading project, and inviting them to participate in the project. More men tend to agree with this while more women tend to be neutral or disagrees.

No difference is found in their disagreement on "The community leader is not interested in your problems in the upgrading project", "You can not find the community leader when I need to approach him/her". They may all have close contact with community leaders so their perceptions on community leaders' consideration for their interests are the same.

With the new variable created as Community leader commitment to people's participation, the tendency is that those retired have higher opinion, while working and unemployed people tend to be medium thinking. Among the education groups, people with higher educated also have higher opinion for leaders' commitment to their participation. This is understandable, because they tend to participate more in the communal meetings, discuss more on the project issues.

Conclusion on the community leaders

Through the survey, we can see that both community leaders of the research are prestigious people, who all receive support from the community members through their ballot election and have been taking the position for a long time, based on their experience, voluntaries and prestige. They both have close contacts with people and is the reliable for people to come and express their daily concerns related to common interests. However, so far, the working condition and resources for their performance is still limited with overloading job items and inadequate salaries. This seems to be the job for the retired people who have more free time and enthusiasm.

In the project framework, those community leaders become the important clue for the communication between project unit and the people. Most of the people in both neighborhoods receive project information through the community leaders and if they have any interests or claims, the community leaders are the first person for them to contact. They then transfer those to upper levels. Both community leaders in the research have commitment to encourage people to participate in the project. However, it is discovered that their communication about project is mainly implemented through communal meetings. Those who participate are more invited and consulted for opinions by the leaders than others. The different level of education and background is also found between two community leaders. MT community leader tend to be more critical about project quality than MD community leader because he understands more about techniques and has more experience in being the leader of the whole ward council. However, because MT community has better socio economic situation with higher level of education and better employment (as analyzed above), it seems to hard for the author to conclude whether the higher level of MT neighbourhood participation is affected by MT leader or by their own situation.

4.6 Project outcomes

Finally, we have reached the last part of the conceptual framework – project outcome. Here in this section, I'm presenting about the improved assets/benefits, seeing if the project meet people's urgent needs and the constraints of people when participating in the project? This will reflect the outcome of turning from project policy into project practice. Findings to be presented are based on survey results. Project benefits are learnt about by scale questions which are then recoded into uniform scales and turned into one same variables of project benefits. Findings on "Urgent needs" are based on questions about communal and individual needs before and after the project, and scales questions about people's perception on if the project meet their urgent needs. Finally, constraints that affect people's participation in the project are reached based on related question's results and the indepth interviews with key respondents.

4.6.1 Improved assets/Benefits

According to the WB, benefits of participation are summed up as the improvement of project design and effectiveness, project sustainability, demand responsiveness, local ownership of projects, enhanced sense of responsibility. Local capacity is built and channels for community to participate in decision making are established. People are given chances to influence the actions that shape their lives (Worldbank, 2009)

Looking at the studied participatory project, which is also funded by the WB, benefits are expected to be the same as it has been mentioned in the Bank's policies. To study the real benefits of the participatory project, point of view from different stakeholders including the project staff, community leaders and most important from the community members are studied. Findings are arranged into each separated groups.

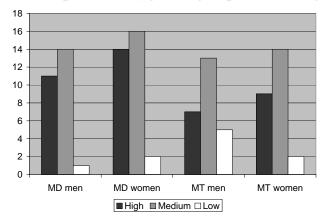


Chart 16: Project benefits perceived by gender groups in each neighborhood

The findings above is based on the measurement of different questions on scale about project benefits. After checking the internal reliability, the author create a new variable of project benefit and counted the answers chosen by the people for each questions (see Q59-Q63). Then it is recoded into three values of high, medium and low opinion about project benefit. Looking at the chart, it can be seen that there is difference in high perception between MT men and MD men, and even between MT men and MT women. Though the majority of all the groups don't disagree with the statement on what have changed make them happy, and they get many benefits from the project, more MT men tend to be neutral about this while both MD men and MD women agree and strongly agree. More men are neutral with the statement of "I would have had a lot of benefits if it was another project" and "I participated in the project but I did not get any benefits from

it". Women are more positive with this statement. Above all, they find themselves benefit much from what the project has brought about. It reduce their life's burden, increase health for them and other family members, enable them to have an easier life, with other more improved assets.

Those people having low opinion about project benefits can be counted through the survey, In MD, there are some people, whose houses are located in the planned areas and thus, the project is not implemented there. They can not even improve their housing condition. More people in MT neighborhood perceive low about the project, because despite the fact that they get benefits from the project, they are frustrated because they had a part of their house surface expropriated for street enlargement without receiving the adjusted land tenure certificate so far and this has caused many troubles for their life. Talking with the ward authority representative, I learnt that, the city knew about this situation, tried their best to solve, but this was related to the whole mechanism of collaboration between sectors.

Some other people are not satisfied with the pavement or street surface in front of their houses. When being asked about if "I can gain more benefits in another project" or "this project is beneficial for other people, not for me" or "I participated in the project without getting any benefits", while most people provided strongly disagreement or disagreement, those people provided neutral answer.

Test among the whole group of people in both neighbourhoods shows that working people tend to be more neutral with answers to statement "I would have had a lot of benefits if it was another project or The project may have good benefits for other people but not me". They see the project bring benefits to them, based on local needs and concerns, but are not totally sure. Some people in MD neighborhood said to me that, all the projects carried out by the government are welcome and once they are initiated by the Government, they must bring benefits to the people"

In general, people agreed that the community got benefits from the project, which changed basically their general living condition in terms ofstreets system, environmental sanitation, as respondent said. In this case, qualitative analysis help draw a clearer picture because the author had the chance to go to each neighborhood, talking with people there and see the site in sight.

Before, the public toilets were terrible. The rain and waste water was stagnant, causing flooding with knee level water after heavy rain and polluted environment with garbage and discharges in the water. So far, the people believe in the project" MD community leader

"The people were very happy to have the project. They are all poor people. The project help them to have better housing, enlarged streets, opened terrace so that they can generate more income for daily life from retail stores. The living style is also improved to be more cultural, civilized. No more knee level flooding" MT community leader

Talking with me, the ward representative confirmed about positive changes that people in the ward benefit. He said that before the project, the street system was horrible. But now very good. The drainage and sanitation system smelled but now are much improved. No more flooding in the whole neighborhood. After a heavy rain, the city was flooded but Van Mieu ward is not. Public toilet are much better (before, people using the toilet had to bring two hats along. Now, thanks to the economic development, people build more private toilet. The public toilet is upgraded so it is more up to sanitation standards .For some houses, the coffin was taken out of the house vertically due to low door. But now, all these things have gone. People were encouraged to contribute part of their terrace for the project without compensation. This was thanks to the active contribution of

community leaders who played an active role in mobilizing the people, Many meetings were organized. Within the credit program in the project, through women union channel, people could borrow money for improving their housing condition and generate income so the neighborhood looks better and more spacious. And regarding the lightening system, of course, not all parts are lightened but now it is much better than before, when everywhere was very dark.

These above benefits are also admitted by the community leaders in terms of no more flooding, environmental pollution, better health, enlarged pavement. Poor families have overcome their situation with better living condition (income activity generation, credit program).

Benefits of the project are undeniable. However, there remains some shortcomings related to the quality of construction quality, and related mechanism among different sectors. To see more general perceptions of project benefits by different groups of men and women in each neighborhood, please refre to the following table.

Table 8: Difference in benefits perceived by the people in two neighborhoods.

Differences	Benefits gained by MT community			Benefits gained by MD community		
	Change	Scale of change	Quality	Change	Scale of change	Quality
Internal street	+	++	-	+	+	-
Housing improvement	+	++	+	+	+ -	-
Neighborhood scenery	+	++		+	+	
Public lightening	+	+ -	-	+	+ -	-
Public toilets	+	+	+ -	+	+	+ -
Pavement	+	+	-	+	-	
Water drainage system	+	+	+ -	+	+	+
Income improvement	+	+	+	+	+	+
Water supply	+	+	+	+	+	+
Environmental sanitation	+	+	+ -	+	+	+

Looking at the table, we can see that, the project has been indicated to bring change into both neighborhood. Like what is said by the ward authority and community leaders, on one hand, it has basically changed people's living condition. However, the scope and quality of change to different neighborhood and different group of people are different. MT neighborhood tend to benefit more from the project with larger infrastructure improvement scale, housing improvement. They have better socio economic situation so they are in a better position to improve their life quality. MD neighborhood also benefit much from the change. However, the areas is crowded with smaller internal road system. The same items of upgrading are implemented, but at smaller scale. On the other hand, there exist things to be improved in the project. Some project items haven't been finished yet like the lightening system, public toilet, which have been much improved in terms of sanitation standard, but with broken glass door. The quality of construction in some areas remains to be discussed. People don't suffer from flooding any more, but MT people are now suffering from the new dusty street, which is covered with very thin bitumen and macadam. A part of MD people are still waiting for the city's plan, not being able to improve their housing condition because they may be evicted anytime.

This above section talks about the benefits perceived by the people. In general, people in each groups benefit from the project but of different level. The next question posed is regarding the project's meeting their urgent needs. They may benefit from the project, but is it responsive to their urgent need? The author hopes that in the next heading, the answer will be found out.

4.6.2 Does the project meet people's urgent needs?

As explained above, this item is based on the output of questions about people's urgent needs at the time before the project (7years ago) and after the project (now). These perceptions are counted by quantitative analysis and presented as follows. After that, perceptions on project's meeting people's urgent needs are measured by scale questions on their agreement about if it meet their urgent needs. Those different questions are checked with internal reliability again and come up with a common variable of project urgent needs. Result of this will be presented also in this part.

Urgent needs of community and individuals before and after the project.

Again, most of the people in all groups agree that the project deals with their urgent needs. Looking at the common urgent issues perceived by different

One of the respondent said that they had to suffer bad life condition for a long time and the project really changed our life. The project was really urgent and necessary. "I see the project brings many benefits, no more flooding. It is very urgent in comparison to other project like income generation or employment. Once the streets are upgraded and the transportation is easier, it will promote other things. I think the project has solved all the urgent needs and problems."

groups in two point of time (7 years ago) and now, a lot of their urgent needs have been solved like street system, waste collection, water drainage system, market, school, health facility, public toilets, lightening, ect. However, the quality of improvement is not good, this makes some of these items like internal access road, lightening (in both MT and MD neighborhood), public toilet (in MD neighborhood) still appear in the community current needs. In related to individual needs, the people tended not to repeat their needs related to the community in their individual needs, among which are also addressed by the project. However, there are some individual needs staying the same or just slightly reduced before and after the project. The reason is that these items are not addressed within the framework of the upgrading project. Other needs are mentioned by the respondents are mainly related to their wish family business development, children education and growth,

social security, advocacy training, planning, cultural house "This is one of the current urgent issue to organize communal meetings. Now they are organized in large individual house", ect

Chart 17: Community needs seven years ago (before the project)

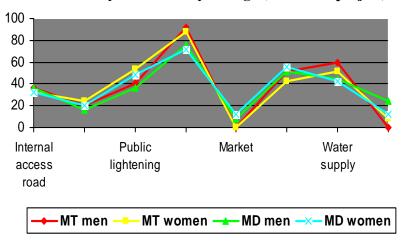


Chart 18: Current community needs (after the project)

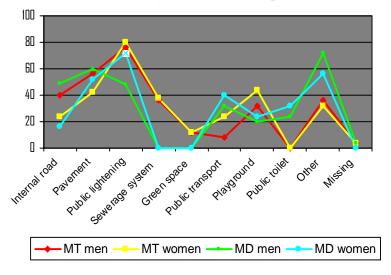


Chart 19: Individual needs seven years ago (before the project)

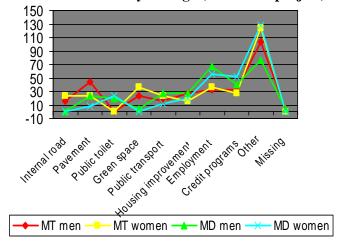


Chart 20: Current Individual needs (after the project)

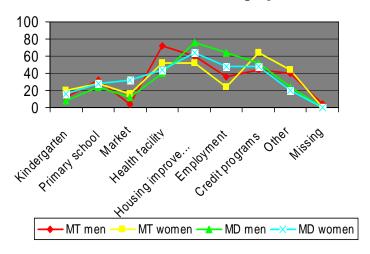


Figure 8: Market in the neighborhood before and after the upgrading project

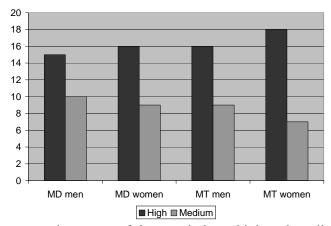




The noticeable point is that in MD neighborhood, the urgent need of housing improvement of some households are not addressed in the project due to they belongs to the planned areas in master plan and can not be touched by the project. (The difference between two neighborhood is referred to the table 4.3)

Any way, most of the people determine that the items addressed in the project are essential and urgent. They understand that not all their needs can be addressed in one project.

Chart 21: Perception on the project's meeting people's urgent needs by different gender groups



From the people's perception, most of the people have high and medium opinion on the project's meeting their urgent needs. We can see more number of women have high opinion about the project, and more MT people have high opinion. This is explained by the fact that, women is the people mainly taking care of house living condition, family health and house work. Once the living in the neighborhood is improved, they are the one to benefit more, with better water supply, transportation system, closer school and market. People in MT neighborhood have better level of urgent need dealt with because a big number of them have housing condition improved through the compensation for street enlarged. They can also make profit from the credit programs for income generating activities.

With the new common variable of project urgent need, among education groups, people with higher background seem to be more pleased with the project in meeting their needs. It happens the same to income groups, those with higher income groups seems to be higher opinion (see figure 17-18, annex 5) This is because there are a group of poor people in MD area, who also have low education and thus low level of income, still facing difficulties with their housing condition in the planned area. There is also some people of higher education having medium opinion, because they are having problems with the land tenure. However, the number is not remarkable. People of high school have the highest level of high opinion, because they have biggest number among the total respondents in both neighborhoods. While the secondary school people are more popular in MD neighborhood, and have more medium opinion, For some of them, housing condition or public toilet are still in urgent needs, which are not really completely solved.

Among working groups, people retired have higher opinion than working and unemployed people. The fact was that no one declined that the project met common urgent needs, however, among the unemployed people and working people, they tend to be neutral. For unemployed people, besides common urgent needs, they mentioned more

about needs for jobs or vocational training. For working people, many of them mention about their children's development, study, besides that making money, doing business and big credit program are their concerns.

4.6.3 What are the constraints of people when participating in the project?

Through the survey, it was learnt that there were no constraints related to permission from the project or community leadership side. It was shared by both project staff and community leaders that all the people were fully welcomed to participate in the communal discussion and meetings. However, during the survey, it was understood by some respondent in MD neighborhood that only those of responsibility should participate in the project. This embeds the feeling of not being permitted to the process.

The sharing of both project staff and the ward authority about the difficult beginning when people were not aware of such participatory project, they did not participate actively until they were explained and encouraged. This hints the constraint of experience. Both MD and MT had constraint relating to previous experience but they would then be encouraged and communicated to understand clearly about the project.

Some training sessions organized by the PMU and ward authority for planning groups were organized without the attendance of the people, no one said the reason of their not participating in the project was no invitation. Their reason for not participating is limited time and opportunity cost because they have to work and earn their livings. Through the survey, people in MD neighborhood face more constraints on the time, knowledge, opportunity costs. In terms of invitation, the constraints about their time and opportunity led to the limitation of not being invited to participate during the participation of communal meetings with the community leaders. All the people are encouraged to participate, but it depends on their own situation to decide. Among working groups, it's easy to recognize that retired people, meaning more aged people have more strength in participating in communal meetings while working people face the lack of time. Younger people tend not to participate much in communal work, because they are more busier with their work and also family work.

Poorer people, besides the constraints of time and opportunity cost, tend to face more difficulties in contributing the payment. With lower education, it is also more difficult for them to understand about the nature of project easily. While those with better education and level of income, have no problem in financial payment or understanding about project instruction.

In summary, the difference in constraints of different groups can be summarized in following table. They reflect the gender

Table 9: Constraints of each groups.

Item	MT men	MT women	MD men	MD women
Time	-			
Opportunity cost	-			
Permission			-	-

Experience	-	-	
Access to information	-	-	
Invitation	-		
Knowledge	-	-	

Note: - : Low constraint

-- : Medium constraint

--- : High constraint

Blank: Not mentioned

To illustrate for the above table, inputs of respondents are quoted according to each factors.

So that readers can have clearer overview of the situation.

Box 2: Quotes of people regarding their constraints

Time: "I have to go to work. My father is retired so he has more time and he is our family representative to participate in the meetings. We then will discuss among the family members", "I participate when I have time, If I don't have time, then I don't attend the meetings"

Opportunity cost: "The people are too poor so they still care about before hand interests and benefits, directly related to their daily living" City mayor, "I'm busy going to work, do not care much, no needs for the community now, just paying attention to the family's income", MD respondent.

Permission: "I think that the participation is the responsibility of authorized and assigned people, not the normal community members" MD respondent.

Experience: "The street Giai Phong was said to be enlarged since 1982 but has never been done. This makes us doubt about the fact of the project because we are used to unimplemented promises"

- "For the first time there has been such a comprehensive project like that. In the beginning, people did not believe in such a project. They did not expect there would be a real project like that so they don't" Ward authority representative
- "The people's psychology is that they don't like to attend the communal meetings because it means that they will have to pay some money. But from her experience, once we make the people understand and like the activities, they will be very active, willing to discuss, supervise and participate very strongly" Community management program manager
- "In the first phase, the community did not trust in the project. Their participation level was limited. They did not feedback to many activities. But when the project started, they increased their awareness and participate actively in the project" Project staff.

Access to information: "We just know the design upon implementation so that we can not comment or claim" MT respondent; "Why I have to pay the money? It is a sponsored project?" MD respondent.

Invitation: "If the people are allowed to supervise from the beginning, it would be much better. The people should have participated in the identification of construction solutions in the beginning, project design so that they could have commented and provided more precise inputs. This experience should be learnt to make people participate from the beginning" MT community leader

Knowledge: "Talking about the program and the role of the people, she said, it was very hard in the first beginning. The people's capacity and awareness is very limited" Community management program manager"; "The people did not participate in the specific design due to limited capacity, time, willingness, awareness

4.6.4 Summary

Above is the last section of the section 4.6, in which project outcomes have been discussed in terms of perceived benefits, urgent needs and constraints that the people face in participating in the project. Sharing about the difference between women and men, both the ward representative and community leaders indicated that the project brings about more benefits for the women (market, streets, schools, medical station, ect). But actually, their participation is less than men's. Communal work is mainly implemented by men. This has been reflected in the comparision of people's contribution in previous section. There is no remarkable difference in enthusiasm and cooperation between the poor and the better off. However, for the better off, it is easier for them to understand about the project, the responsibility of paying the correspondence fee of 3%. They have more condition to improve their housing situation and more available to have part of the terrace expropriated to enlarge the streets. They understand about the project more quickly and more clearly. This enables them to participate more easily and actively. Regarding the perception about feeling of having influence on the project, there is significant difference between MT men and MT women. In fact, MT men's participation

in the project monitoring helped to improve the quality of some construction items when they discovered about the bad quality of bricks or the replacement of the health post. Their participation in digging the sewerage line wider to create smoothly floating waste water, which was then highly appreciated by the PMU, did improve the situation. Thus, the rate of MT men feeling they have influence is higher.

Before going to the next chapter, readers and the authors, we should take a break thinking about all the recent updates and the research questions to see if it is enough to get the answer.

4.7 Conclusion

In the total chapter, we have gone from the National to local context, where the project is implemented. We took a look at the research areas with two neighborhoods of study, to see their local diversity. It was not up to the author's expectation before going on the field trip to have two comparable neighborhoods. But it was also interesting to see two neighborhoods, one of which was poorer than the other and thus, have more limitation in terms of education, housing and working situation. In the next section, Project policy was mentioned. It is based on Beneficiary country's development strategy and the sponsor Bank's direction. However, it is not totally as what is said in other participatory projects but already applied in local context. Project performance are then mentioned so that readers had some first insight between what was said in the project document and what was turned into practice. In this part, the project performance towards people's participation and staff's performance were discussed. This was the level of project, which could create some influence on the implementation of text in practice. The other factor was very special intermediary level between the project and the community. It is the community leadership. Insights on the type of leadership, and the leaders' performance were provided. Then the project outcome were described as the last point of the conceptual framework.

These above are all the fieldtrip's findings and analysis. So far, based on the result, the research questions have achieved the answers which will be described in the following chapter. The author hopes that so far readers can have a much clearer point of view on the whole research problem and have for each one their own conclusion and think of the solutions to make things better. For the author, reaching this step has learnt her so much in terms of doing a research, writing a thesis. The last but not least step that still remains here is the author's own conclusion and recommendations on the body of the research theory as well as practice. These can be found in the next following chapter.

Chapter 5: Conclusion and Recommendations.

5.1 Conclusion

In the face of existing development challenges, people's participation becomes the central issues. After a long history of development, it is more and more seen as a tool for development projects to reach the poorest, who share both costs and benefits of the development. This is what has been really vocal and prescriptive in text and has got sufficient support from international agencies through central government and local government organizations as being pivotal in poverty and inequality reduction. From the point of view of different scholars and researchers, who understand what is said in text, but look the real implementation of participatory programs and initiatives, it is discovered that it is not easy to turn the text into practice. There exists challenges at different levels from project functional approach, the organizational culture inside the project organ, to the the myth of a uniformed and collective community. This is called in the theoretical part the critical trend of thinking

The research is implemented based on this starting point, in which the author looks at the interrelationship between what is said in project policy and what is implemented in real practice. It aims to research an Urban upgrading project, implemented at neighborhood level.

In practical context, community participation's importance has been recognized for a long time in Vietnamese history, which is embedded in the motto "people are the root" and "people know, people do, people discuss, people supervise". People are encouraged to participate in a wide range of activities of the community. The Upgrading project in Nam Dinh city is part of Government's above effort. It has a highly social nature, with outcome expected to improve people's life, promote local economic development. However, as highly mentioned, the way between what is expected in text and what comes true remain a distance and leaves things to be considered. To study about these remaining challenges, the author put three questions for the research:

- 1- How are different groups of the poor, better off, men and women in the community involved in the urban upgrading project?
- 2- How benefits of being involved in the project cycle perceived by those different groups?
- 3- What factors create the different participation of these groups?

In the following part, in section 5.1.1, the author is going to answer each questions based on the summary of the whole findings and analyzed come up with in the chapter 4. Then in section 5.1.2, the author will come back to the theoretical framework, to compare the research findings with what has been said in theory and the research's contribution to the existing theoretical system. Finally, a general conclusion will be made in referring to the relationship between Policy and Practice, as a coherent structure of the thesis.

5.1.1 Total picture of Community participation in the Urban upgrading project.

How do different groups participate in the participatory project

The project is conducted based on a multi-sectoral package of tertiary infrastructure and service improvements for low income areas. These items to be improved are already identified based on the existing proposed researches and poverty reduction program. However, the people are encouraged to participate in the project preparation, execution and management. Without the framework of an neighborhood upgrading project,

community participate to prioritize updated items and the rehabilitation of other social infrastructure like markets, public toilet facilities, health or education facilities can be included. This shows that community participation is not to identify what kind of project they want to have, what sector they want to improve, but to identify priorities among those items indicated in the kind of upgrading project.

To conduct the community participation, both project policy and practice aims to create an intermediary system (Planning groups) to help communicate with the people. Most of the conversations were organized with the community's representatives, who will then be the one to consult and talk with the people. Information and instruction about project is also mainly transferred through this networks. Community members are encouraged to participate, discuss and express their opinions on the project planning to their community representatives, mainly through communal meetings. These inputs are to be reported to the project team. However, the quality of communication through this channels is not ensured due to the limited qualified grassroots officers and inadequate resources for them. While the use of other channels like leaflet, public radio, posters are not maximized. Thus this led to inadequate transparency and formalized consultation with the community.

People participate in the project mainly by spending time for communal meetings and financial contribution are the most part people. Regarding time contribution, the men group tend to participate more than women group because of their more free position in the family. However, as gender equality is not a big issue, and in Vietnamese culture, women tend to be more in charge of financial issues, they take more care for meetings about financial contribution. Women also become the family representative to participate when their husband is busy, sick or pass away. This makes the rate of women attending communal meetings not too much lower than men's. Looking at the two neighborhoods, better off people have higher rate of participating in project discussions than poorer people, because their time is better arranged and the life is easier for them to care about communal work. Among working groups, the interesting in the research is that the majority of people participating in the neighborhood meetings are retired people rather than younger and working people. They are of highest age in the family, and have more time than their children who have to take care of the house and the grand children. This also reflect the culture of multi generation family, where the oldest people are family representatives in communal affairs.

Regarding project phases, the rate of participation in project planning is relatively high, with higher rate of MT men. This is what is mentioned above, the participation in communal meetings. No rate of participation in decision making is perceived by the people, this has been interpreted in three possibilities that the people may not be aware of their participating in project decision making during the planning sessions, or they see their contribution is for nothing because design has been pre cooked, or due to the lack of measurable survey questions. In execution phase, because project construction is bided, people don't officially contribute labor. But at some level, people work together with the workers or do necessary things after the completion. This is done mainly by young working or unemployed men in both neighborhoods, with higher rate of MT men. MT people in general contribute more material (land) for project execution people. One more time, the contribution of local expertise in project planning is not perceived by the people. It is only understood as the contribution of supervision on construction items, which is mainly shared among men groups, with higher rate of MT men. In general better off groups tend to be more aware of their contribution in the project because they understand it better, and have more benefits related (expropriated land) so they

participate in the project more frequently and actively in terms of expertise (local supervision, recommendation for the design to fit with real situation).

The contribution of finance is perceived by all the groups. However, the rate of payment in MT neighborhood is higher than MD neighborhood because the better off groups are in easier position to contribute while the poorer are still confused. The nature, benefits and responsibilities about project are more easily understood by more educated and higher income group.

This above is the total picture of how the people in two different neighborhoods, in terms of gender, working, income and education situation participate in the project. From their different level of participation, it is necessary to conclude the level of benefits perceived by them.

How are benefits perceived by different groups in the participatory project?

In regards to project benefits, the majority of people appreciated that the project benefits can not be denied. They are mostly happy with better living conditions in terms of improved infrastructure, environment and basic services in the neighborhoods. Among gender groups of both neighborhoods, more women have high opinion on the project benefits than men. More rate of low income and educated people have low opinion about the project because they live in the planned areas of the neighborhood, where the project is not implemented. Retired people also perceive project benefits more while others have higher rate of being neutral because they think all projects have benefits. Between MT and MD neighborhood, observation shows that MT neighborhood benefit more from the project with larger system of infrastructure improved. This is based on the required planning, not the vocal recommendation of the better off group. But quantitative shows that less MT people both men and women perceive high about project benefits. The problem is that they contribute more material by having land expropriated for the project without getting the adjusted land tenure certificates, which cause a lot of trouble to them in daily life. The quality of some construction item also make them more frustrated.

In terms of urgent needs, though most of people accept that the project really deals with neighborhood priorities and concern, the level of perception varies among different groups. MT people perceive higher than MD people, because they have no more problems with public services like public toilet, or water supply, ext. The rate of people can improve housing situation from the street extension is high, whereas, more people in MD neighborhood still complain about the quality of public toilet or housing situation. Among working people, retired people tend to agree more on the project's meeting urgent need than working or unemployed people. This can be understood as the correlation between the aged and younger people. It is because those younger working or unemployed people may have more urgent needs in terms of job, or children plans or doing businesses. Higher income and more educated people also tend to have higher perception on project's urgent needs than those of lower income and education. For them, the urgent needs may remains in credit programs or having a job, ext. The quality of some construction items also affect their impact in solving people's urgent needs like the public toilets' door or lightening system. Among gender groups, women have higher opinion about project benefits than men because they are the ones who are more involved in daily work in the neighborhood so improved water supply, no more flooding, better streets have created more impact on their life and make it much easier. Women's position is also improved for being involved in project activities discussion.

In general, the project is perceived by the people to have benefits and meet communal urgent needs. No one perceive low opinion on the project outcome because the fundamental and active change that the project brings about is undeniable. However, the level of benefiting and having urgent needs solved differs from people to people and from groups to groups as concluded above. In the section below, the author is going to conclude on the factors that affect the different level of participation and project outcomes perceived by these groups.

What are the factors influencing their participation in the project?

In her research, the author studied 3 types of factors including project practice, community leadership and the local diversity. In the following part, the influence of each of these factors on community participation will be concluded. Firstly will be Project practice, then community leadership and finally is the local diversity.

Project practice

Project Management Unit is organized under directly the city authority. They have qualified staff with good education background. They have serious and cooperative attitude and see the importance of community participation in the project. However, the change of staff during the years, the limited working condition (space and equipment), as well as limited number of staff in charge of communication work are difficulties influencing their performance. They do not have enough staff to work with individual household and not all staff are provided special training on community issues in realizing the project. Project information and instruction are mainly implemented through the local ward authority and community representatives. There is no office at the project site. People's communicate directly with the community leaders about their issues in the project. All of these factors create distance between project staff and community members, thus influence on community participation in the project, in sharing directly their opinions, asking for accurate information about the project, ext. Most groups showed in the survey that they rarely meet the project staff during the project implementation. People knowing the project staff is are those who attend the planning meetings in the first phase where project staff attended. Among the groups, men, better off and retired groups have higher rate of knowing and communicating with project staff because they tended to participate more in meetings at the beginning phases of the project, which were organized with the attendance of project staff and consultants. Project staff capacity and commitment are mainly perceived through people's communication with them during this phase, and based on their individual thinking about the requirement of project, not really based on their direct interaction with project staff. Thus neutral opinion counts high rate. High opinion on project staff capacity and commitment belongs to those who had chance to meet and work with project staff during the planning sessions.

Community leadership

Community leadership play key importance in mobilizing people's participation in the project. They are elected by the people to be their representative on two year term and can be reelected until they can not continue. Thus they have prestige and supported by the people. These leaders are enthusiastic and self motivated people. They have close contacts with all community members and are committed to people's participation. Both community leaders – the key component of neighborhood planning groups are assigned main tasks to communicate with people about the project, their benefits and responsibilities in the projects, as well as reflect their opinions to the project. The survey shows that mostly all people know about the project through their community leaders.

They discuss about concerns for the project to the leaders. Nevertheless, this above mainly happens to those who actively participate in the communal meetings or discussions, most of them are considered family representative, mainly retired and old men or women. The communication between people and project was actually implemented actively by enthusiastic community leaders, but the adequacy and quality of information really depends on the knowledge and working tool of community leaders.

Whereas, the fact shows that the function of community leaders is not professional. They are mainly retired and aged people, and have to solve so many different issues in the community at the same time. They are party members and tend to express their exemplary spirit to obey upper level's directions rather than being objected to them. Besides that there is not yet a clear mechanism and good resources for community leaders' performance. They don't have office, or any working tool.

In the research study, MT community leader (the better off neighborhood) is a special case among other community leaders in the ward, because he is more educated and is member of the ward council. He showed his more active participation in mobilizing the people to participate in the project. MD community leader is also an experienced leader for long time but has lower level of education. During the interview, he showed more supportive rather than critical attitude about the project.

Local diversity

MD neighborhood is crowded, smaller and poorer than MT neighborhood. From historical context, their education, employment, income, housing condition are more limited than MT neighborhood. This remarkably affect their life condition and thus their knowledge as well as awareness about development initiatives.

Among gender groups, it is easier for men to participate in both community meetings and project contribution of labor or construction supervision expertise. This is related to the tradition of women's taking care of house work and the masculine factor in doing heavy and technical work. Despite this, the rate of retired women in both neighborhoods participate and discuss in communal meetings is just slightly lower than men, but relatively high in comparison with many other cases.

People with limited education have more challenges to perceive the information about project, to discuss actively, and to supervise the project and thus participate in the project more passively. People with lower income face more difficulties in their life and have less time for communal affairs due to more burdens of earning the living. This also affect their participation in the project financial payment, while people with higher income and more education find it easier to understand about project requirements and have no problem of contributing the fee. Among working people in both neighborhoods, the rate of retired and old people participate more frequently. Young working or unemployed people normally do not participate in communal meetings because they already have another family representative member to participate and because they are busy to work and take care of the family, children. In related to constraints of experience, both neighborhoods have the same experience of not undertaken projects and planning, which affect their participation in the beginning. About permission, more people in MD neighborhood think that they are not officials so it is not their tasks to participate in the project, while MT people, with more motivation of participating in project monitoring, see their constraint of not being invited to participate in this phase.

In summary, we can see that better off people, with more educated and higher income people tend to participate more actively than the poorer, lower educated and income

people. Their urgent needs are also dealt better in the project. This means that between two neighborhoods, MT participate more actively in the project than MD neighborhood. It was also concluded that MD neighborhood perceive about project's benefits better than MT neighborhood, while MT neighborhood perceive about project's urgent needs better than MD neighborhood. Because both neighborhoods and groups of people participate in the same project with the same way of performance, the level of its influence on different groups' participation is equal. However, as analyzed and mentioned in chapter 3 and 4, the different of local diversity of two neighborhoods as well as the different of community leader's back ground and motivation make the author difficult to conclude which is the main factor that enable more people's participation. Nevertheless, it must be confirmed that, all these above factors have somehow negatively or actively affect the people's participation. The emergence of various strong factors will enable more people's participation. In the following part, based on the above conclusion, the author will discuss about the contribution of the research to existing theory.

5.1.2 Contribution of the research in the related existing theory.

Community participation is essential in development project policy.

It has been said in the research's theoretical chapter that, being orthodoxy of development process, Community participation has received enough attention of powerful development agencies in the world, who strongly advocate for inclusion of the poor and vulnerable people in development initiatives. With a long historical development since 1970s until now, the "vogue" discourse has been more and more approved to be a tool in engaging people, especially the poor and vulnerable, ensuring social equity, project efficiency, effectiveness and sustainability. As one of strongest international organization, the WB with participatory policy in its lending tool has been attempting to overcome the "external expert stance" and only "cost sharing" dimensions to reach a more comprehensive participatory process, in which all stakeholders including the disadvantaged, women and the poor, participate, define their own development actions and allocate their own resources. This would enable people's empowerment, project quality and long term development, as said in the annual World Development Report.

Funded by the WB, the research's studied project has participatory approach as one of strict requirement of the sponsor. The policy is to build capacity for the people, create most favorable condition for the people to participate in all project stages from planning, decision making, till project's post stages after its completion. This participatory process has been understood by all key actors in the project and acknowledged by them as the essential tool to improve the project sustainability, empowering the people to master their own project. From the Local Government point of view, the participatory project policy is important in creating more transparent and accountable authority, making people more responsible for development project and thus lessening burdens for management agencies. From the community side, they have been so used to the top down approach, passively receiving what the government do for them, without giving any feed back or commenting for nothing. This has created ignorant attitude to the work, no sense of ownership, no sense of belonging. Now, for the first time they've ever known about such participatory project, sit down and discuss together about solutions for their living areas. They partly understand their rights and responsibilities, taking more part in the process and had some level of influence on the project outcome. People involved may be men, women, the poor and not so poor. Women now can sit down together with the men, discuss about common issues, raising their needs for neighborhood improvement. They feel their position change. They can talk with project or ward authority in communal

meetings. This one more time confirm that community participation is a right trend and indispensable for development course. It helps to increase people's awareness to development activities and take more active role in this process.

Without doubt, community participation is right, and is worth being advocated. However, as always said, the ideals exist only in paper. No one can deny great potential benefits that community participation can bring about, but the real implementation of community participation never takes easy because it has to face different impediments at different levels of interactions. This is where the critical point of view on community participation stand. They look at its' less evident practice beyond the vocal rhetoric. In the next heading, the author will discuss about the study's contribution in the existing critical point of view.

The implementation of community participation face different challenges

Within the framework of this research, the author would like to share about related challenges which were concluded to be the factors influencing the practice of community participation. They are firstly the project performance, community leadership and local diversity as according to the order of chapter 2 and chapter 4

Project performance

Participatory approach is criticized by Frances Cleaver (2004) for being functional and narrow with defined enterprises, limited budget and time, quantifiable costs and benefits. This leads to the structure of community participation with limited attention to people's concern in the project and project outcome efficiency. This also leads to the confusion between the real empowerment and efficiency. Empowerment effect is faded by the overriding imperative toward efficiency. In his research, Bebbington (2007) look at the empowerment notion among different organizations involved in the Bank's programs. The lack of interests due to heavy work pressures, the interrelationship between different individuals and levels of Project Team, organizational culture among hierarchical administration positions are obstacles of the common empowerment objective toward the target groups. It was then concluded that a straight forward from Bank's textual commitments to real empowerment hardly exists.

In this body of research, the author also looks at the level of project performance. Looking at the project unit, what is said in theory seems is well applicable. The lack of working equipment, working space some how affect the effectiveness and quality of project staff's work. Costs and benefits calculation in bidding projects have actually influenced the project construction quality and caused dissatisfaction in the community. The outcome of project thus has been affected. Like it is said in the above conclusion, due to limited budget, the project unit face the lack of staff, who can have more time and closer contacts with community members. What is done in the project is the making use of community representative system to be in regular contact with the people. This led to the fact that, people who missed the first communal meetings where the project staff attended, never know who project staff are. Project office is based in City's hall, with different hierarchy levels and procedures may intervene the flows of work, and make project level out of community's reach. All their requirements, concerns or complaints go to the community leaders and they don't know if these can finally reach the project level adequately. Instructions and explanation thus are mainly implemented by community representatives, who may have unequal background and are not really trained well enough to deal with new participatory approach. This has created obstacles for the empowerment objectives

Local diversity

It was studied in the case study, presented in the chapter two that, disadvantaged people including the poor and women are hindered and not active in the participatory project. Their knowledge and concerns are hardly ever put into the process. Mostly, in the participatory approach, those elite people like men, with better jobs, education and contacts tend to affect the decisions related to the whole neighborhood. In the case of Joint Forest Management by Cornwall (2003), it is shown out that, even those very participatory and transformative project turn out to be women exclusion. Despite certain success in engaging equality among beneficiary households, the project was not well implemented in overcoming women's barriers to participate and thus remain inequitable for women. In this case, representative of each household were mostly men and the rate of women is low, which then led to the situation that they did not dare to speak out, or if yes, their voice was not heard.

In the case of the this research, the real situation of women's participation is not that bad. It can be said that gender issue in Viet Nam in general and Nam Dinh city in particular is relatively advanced with high rate of equality and women's participation in social affairs. In this research, the rate of women participating in the communal meetings is higher than 50% of respondent asked. Though the tendency is still that men is family representative, and the rate of women's participation is lower than men's, the difference is not a big distance, many cases, women participate instead of their husband for the fact that their husband are busy working away from home, passed away or being sick. However, it is a truth that women face more barriers to get higher rate of participation in the project and in all cases, they seems to be less active than men to take part in communal affairs. Besides work, they have other tasks and duties at home to take care of the house work and children's feeding as well as their study. They tend to be more relevant to social rather than technical aspect, and this leads to the low rate of women's participating in the project construction monitoring or execution.

In related to the poor, it is similar to what is said in theory that these people tend to face more constraints of time and are more worried to earn their living than to participate in communal actions. The rate of poorer people participating in the project is lower than more higher income people. It is true too, in related to education level. Among those participating in project planning and monitoring phase, those of higher education background participate account more. They inevitably participated more actively in project discussion and criticizes more on construction quality.

A new aspect discovered in the research study is relate to the working situation, and the age level. In both neighborhoods research, retired people tend to have more time to participate than working people, meaning younger people. At their age, they don't bother much with the care of children and family work, because they are in the position of relaxing and their children, meaning grown up or married people are the one to take the job. This also results from the multi generation living culture in Viet Nam, in which a family may includes more than two generations and the oldest people tend to be family representative to deal with common affairs. They have more time, while the younger generations have to earn the living or study.

Community leadership

Formulating part of the research conceptual framework, the theoretical part on community leadership was presented in the form of a case study by Desai (1994), in which the "popular participation" in three different slum settlement in Bombay is

discussed in relationship with community leaders' positions. In this body of theory, the community leaders play the role of initiators, on behalf of the slums contact the political levels. They are better off, of higher education, employment. Towards the community, They are not easily found for being busy with well paid permanent job, and have a system of mediators' support. To conduct participatory approach, a community office is set up, including both political people, community officers and the community leaders. They stand in the post consistently and the community neither want to go forward to the vacant posts nor are interested in selecting their representatives.

In the research study, the situation is relatively different. It is not totally different because in this case, community leaders also play on behalf of the community members, have close contacts with the political levels, which are the whole ward authority and the project unit at city level. But as clearly analyzed in the section 4.5, community leaders of the research study are elected based on their prestige toward community members. Most of them are retired people, have more free time for communal work, and take care of people's concerns and interests on enthusiastic manner. Both community leaders in the research areas are close and very accessible to the people. They get high support from the people and are the closest contacts for people to share their issues or complaints. They are not always the better off, higher education and retire from good employment. In the case of study, the community leaders are experienced people, respected men, but not the most better off or most highly educated in the neighborhood.

To implement the participatory project, an institution is also set up, called planning group, including mostly community representatives from unions, social organizations, where the community leader play the key role. This channel have acted actively on behalf of the project unit to engage people in the participatory process. With guidelines and training from the project unit, they organization communal meetings to discuss about project issues. It is different from the case study introduced, people who attend meetings with the planning groups discuss actively about their point of view and know what was talked about. In the study, they are the most popular channel of project communication to support people's involvement, from planning phase to the project post stages. This is different from what is found out in the case study that "the representative system in the areas were not seriously taken by both community members and leaders" (Chapter2, section 2.4.2)

Another different that the author found in her research is that, both community leaders have high perceptions on the people's contribution, not distinguishing men or women, the poor or better off. They respect the people's role as well as communicate well with all types of members in the neighborhood, from the young, to the aged, men to women, not like the situation of the case study, where community leaders do not talk with their wives, men talk with men, women talk with women. This also reflect the gender situation in the research areas.

However, the fact shows that, because the community leaders are retired people and come from different background, they do face challenges in supporting the participatory process inspite of their kindness and voluntary enthusiasm. Those difficulties are in terms of health situation, limited time budget for having to solve all types of communal affairs, limited related capacity. Limited resource for those grassroots officers with no office, no working tool and equipment is also affecting factor to their effective performance. In terms of the participatory process, resulting from the fact that normally one family representative participate in the communal meetings, community leaders have closer contacts with these people and tend to ask for their opinions and invite them more for the

participatory process. It is easy to understand because these things happen during the communal meetings. They can not reach all community members. Despite this, the exception was found in MT neighborhood. MT community leader invite people and discuss with them more outside of communal meetings when dealing with construction items in the areas. This is something that was not shown in the case study.

Now, before ending the conclusion part of the research, let's take a look back at the correction between what is said in "Text" and what is done in "Practice". Community participation is empowering the people, including the most disadvantaged and vulnerable, making them decide and manage their own development action and resources, ext. This is what the Text says and looking at the whole above community participation in practice, we see challenges still remains to a perfect community participation, especially to the less advantaged groups in the society like the poor, with lower income and education. The interaction between different levels in the participatory approach implementation system also raise many obstacles to overcome. The idea is good, but it is not easy to turn the rhetoric into evident. It is really a long process, that need the continuous effort and willingness of all relevant stakeholders. Let's hope that it will not take long, and the distance between "Text" or "Policy" and "Practice" will be gradually narrowed down.

5.2 Recommendation.

Here in this section, the author does not intend to call what comes below big and important recommendations. It is just the point of lessons that the author draws during the research process for the specific study areas.

Wider context

For the past time, people's inputs are not respected to. Many plans and projects have been just existing on paper, which have caused many troubles to the people and make them loose trust in local government's promise. They don't want to participate in meetings, feeling ignorant. The overlapping in functions or incomprehensive policy of different sectors and levels also have created inconvenience in the local government's performance. To recover these above shortcomings, there is requirement of reforming the administrative system. A service-oriented public administration with an effective, efficient state apparatus and clear assignment of responsibility and commitment of different sectors and levels is essential to create the most convenient environment for community participation

Project practice and related performers

Because the PMU is the main actor hosting the project. They need to have their capacity strengthened in both material facility and personnel. Having good working condition, the staff will be enabled to contribute more to the work. From the point of personnel working with the community, based on the lessons that I learn through the course, I would recommend a separated unit be established at the project site. It is essential to have an office out of the bureaucracy, acting at the site so that they would be the direct player in cooperation with local representatives to get people involved, listening to them and feeding back to them promptly. Those people working with community need to receive adequate related training, skills and methods in working with the diversified community, creating trust in the people and getting them involved in the project to ensure the most project effectiveness and sustainability

Different means of communication like training, leaflets, festivals, panels, public broadcasting etc should be made the best use. This needs more synchronized, effective, investment in necessary media/information equipment and facilities for the improvement of information dissemination quality.

Capacity of local grassroots officers who are the community representatives also need to strengthen their capacity and working methods. They play very important role in daily communication with the people, best understand their concerns. So skills for them to mobilize community members, update and report their needs to upper levels need to be improved. Salary mechanism should be reformed to commensurate their contribution. This will help encourage their performance.

Community members are the main target as well object of the participation process. Local people's capacity and knowledge is limited, especially those in low income areas. Thus, they should be provided opportunities for building their capacity, strengthening their confidence. People should be provided with full information to understand clearly about their tasks and responsibilities and benefits. Once we make them understand, see their interests and benefits attached, they will be very willing to take part self consciously and become the most active player in the field. This is well mentioned in the National ordinance of Grassroots Democracy as the principles of creates conditions for citizens to exercise their rights: to be informed of government activities that affect them, to discuss and contribute to the formulation of policies, to participate in local development activities, and to supervise government performance

Because the project is the pilot phase and the seventh component of the whole program will be the development of Nation Urban Upgrading Program, the author hopes that those above recommendation will help recover the current difficulties and enable better community participation.

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Annex 1 Questionnaires

This questionnaire is aimed for academic and research purpose. All the information related will be kept confidential.

BA	BACK GROUND INFORMATION				
Da	Date of interview:				
Tiı	Time of interview:				
Pla	Place of interview:				
Ag	Age:				
Ту	pe of Housing				
Loc	al Diversity - gender				
	1. What is your gender?				
1	□ Female				
2	□ Male				
Loc	al diversity – Socio economic condition 2. What is the level of your education				
1	□ No education				
2	□ Elementary school				
3	☐ Secondary school (junior high school)				
4	☐ Senior high school				
5	□ University				
6	□ Others				
7	□ No answer				
	3. Are you working?				
1	□ No, I'm unemployed				
2	□ No, I'm retired				
3	☐ Yes, I'm working				
4. What type is your work?					
1	□ Working as State civil servant				

2	☐ Working for companies based on long term contract				
3	☐ Working for companies based on short term contract/no contract				
4	☐ Self business with employee				
5	☐ Self business without employee				
6	☐ Doing contract work at home				
7	□ Others				
8	□ No answer				
5. How many hours do you work a day?					
1	☐ Less than 4 hours				
2	☐ From 4 hours to 8 hours				
3	☐ More than 8 hours				
4	□Other				
5	□No answer				
	6. Where do you work?				
1	☐ In the neighborhood				
2	☐ In the ward				
3	☐ In the city				
4	☐ In the outskirt of the city				
5	□ Others				
6	□ No answer				
	7. How much do you earn a month?				
1	☐ Less than 800,000 VND				
2	☐ From 800,000 VND to less than 1,500,000 VND				
3	☐ From 1,500,000 to 3,000,000 VND				
4	☐ More than 3,000,000 VND				
5	□ No answer				
-	8. How often do you buy rice for daily life?				
1	☐ On daily basis				
4					

2 □ On weekly basis 3 □ On a fortnight basis 4 □ On a monthly basis 5 □ Other 6 □ No answer 9. What is material of your house roof? 1 □ Concrete 2 □ Tile 3 □ Temporary material 4 □ Other (
4 On a monthly basis 5 Other 6 No answer 9. What is material of your house roof? 1 Concrete 2 Tile 3 Temporary material 4 Other () 5 No answer 10. How many members are living in your house? 1 Less than 3 2 From 3 to 5 3 From 6 to 7				
5 □ Other 6 □ No answer 9. What is material of your house roof? 1 □ Concrete 2 □ Tile 3 □ Temporary material 4 □ Other (
9. What is material of your house roof? 1				
9. What is material of your house roof? 1				
1				
2				
3				
4				
5 No answer 10. How many members are living in your house? 1 Less than 3 2 From 3 to 5 3 From 6 to 7				
10. How many members are living in your house? 1				
1				
2				
3				
4				
5 \text{No answer}				
11. How many rooms are there in your house?				
1 One room				
2				
3				
4				
5				
6 ☐ Six rooms				
7				
Project policy –Participatory approach 12. What were the most 3 urgent problems in the neighborhood 7 years ago?				
1 ☐ Internal access road				

_						
2	☐ Waste collection spot					
3	□ Public lightening					
4	☐ Water drainage system/sewerage system					
5	□ Pavement					
6	☐ Kindergarten					
7	□ Primary school					
8	□ Market					
9	□ Public toilet					
10	☐ Green areas					
11	☐ Health facility					
12	□ Water supply					
13	□ Electricity					
14	☐ Public transport					
15	□ Play ground					
16	□ Other					
17	□ Other					
18	□ Other					
19	□ No answer					
	13. What are the most 3 urgent problems in the neighborhood now?					
1	☐ Internal access road					
2	□ Waste collection spot					
3	□ Public lightening					
4	☐ Water drainage system/sewerage system					
5	□ Pavement					
6	☐ Kindergarten					
7	□ Primary school					
8	□ Market					
<mark>9</mark>	☐ Public toilet					
10	☐ Green areas					

11	☐ Health facility
12	□ Water supply
13	□ Electricity
14	☐ Public transport
15	□ Play ground
16	□ Other
17	□ Other
18	□ Other
19	\square No answer
	14. What were your interests/needs seven years ago?
1	☐ Internal access road
2	☐ Waste collection spot
3	□ Public lightening
4	☐ Water drainage system/sewerage system
5	□ Pavement
6	☐ Kindergarten
7	□ Primary school
8	□ Market
<mark>9</mark>	☐ Public toilet
10	☐ Green areas
11	☐ Health facility
12	□ Water supply
13	□ Electricity
14	□ Public transport
15	□ Play ground
16	☐ Housing improvement
17	□ Employment
18	☐ Credit programs
19	□ Insurance

20	□ Other				
21	□ Other				
22	□ Other				
23	□ No answer				
	15. What are your current needs/interests?				
1	☐ Internal access road				
2	□ Waste collection spot				
3	□ Public lightening				
4	☐ Water drainage system/sewerage system				
5	□ Pavement				
6	☐ Kindergarten				
7	□ Primary school				
8	□ Market				
9	Public toilet				
10	☐ Green areas				
11	☐ Health facility				
12	□ Water supply				
13	□ Electricity				
14	□ Public transport				
15	□ Play ground				
16	☐ Housing improvement				
17	□ Employment				
18	☐ Credit programs				
19					
20	□ Other				
21	□ Other				
22	□ Other				
23	□ No answer				

Community activities

	16. What community initiatives/organizations do you know?					
1	□ Religious					
2	□Women Union					
3	□War veteran association					
4	☐ Association of the old					
5	□ Neighborhood upgrading project					
6	□ People Inspection					
7	□ Others					
8	□ No answer					
	17. Are you active in these community initiatives/organizations?					
1	□Yes					
2	□No					
3	□No answer					
٠	1 TO diswer					
	es: If the answer is yes, go to the question no 18, if the answer is no, go to the question no 2. 18. What do you do in these activities?					
	es: If the answer is yes, go to the question no 18, if the answer is no, go to the question no 2					
Not	es: If the answer is yes, go to the question no 18, if the answer is no, go to the question no 2. 18. What do you do in these activities?					
Not	es: If the answer is yes, go to the question no 18, if the answer is no, go to the question no 2 18. What do you do in these activities?					
1 2	es: If the answer is yes, go to the question no 18, if the answer is no, go to the question no 2 18. What do you do in these activities? Communal working					
Not 1 2 3	es: If the answer is yes, go to the question no 18, if the answer is no, go to the question no 2 18. What do you do in these activities? □ Meeting □ Communal working □ Ceremony					
1 2 3 4	es: If the answer is yes, go to the question no 18, if the answer is no, go to the question no 2 18. What do you do in these activities? Meeting					
1 2 3 4 5	es: If the answer is yes, go to the question no 18, if the answer is no, go to the question no 2 18. What do you do in these activities? Meeting					
Not 1 2 3 4 5	es: If the answer is yes, go to the question no 18, if the answer is no, go to the question no 2 18. What do you do in these activities? Meeting					
Not 1 2 3 4 5	es: If the answer is yes, go to the question no 18, if the answer is no, go to the question no 2 18. What do you do in these activities? Meeting					
Not 1 2 3 4 5 6 7	es: If the answer is yes, go to the question no 18, if the answer is no, go to the question no 2 18. What do you do in these activities? Meeting					
Not 1 2 3 4 5 6 7	es: If the answer is yes, go to the question no 18, if the answer is no, go to the question no 2 18. What do you do in these activities? Meeting					

5

 \square Other

☐ No answer

Notes: Please go to the question no 21

	20. Why are you not active in these organizations/initiatives? (If answer 18 is no)	
1	☐ I have no time, I have to work	
2	☐ I don't have money	
3	☐ I am not permitted	
4	☐ I am not invited	
5	☐ I don't receive information about them	
6	☐ Some one else in the family is participating	
7	□ Others	
8	□ No answer	
	es: If the answer is no 6, please go to the question no 21 and 22 If other answer, then stion no 23	ı go to the
	21. Who in your family is participating?	
1	☐ The grand father	
2	☐ The grand mother	
3	☐ The husband	
4	☐ The wife	
5	☐ The uncle	
6	□ Others	
7	□ No answer	
	22. Do you discuss about before the participation in the meeting?	I
1	☐ No, I never discuss about this	
2	☐ Yes, I discuss with my husband	
3	☐ Yes, I discuss with my wife	
4	☐ We have family meeting before the community meeting	
5	☐ It depends on the subject	
6	□ Others	
7	☐ No answer	
	23. Do you know about the "neighborhood upgrading project" in your neighborhood	?
1	□Yes	

2	\Box No	
3	□No answer	
	24. How do you know about the project?	
1	☐ Through big community meetings	
2	□Directly from the project staff	
3	☐ Through the community leader	
4	☐ Through another member of the family	
5	☐ Through the neighbor	
6	☐ Through the newspaper/radio/TV	
7	□ Others	
8	□ No answer	
	25. Do you participate in the project? (if the answer is yes)	•
1	☐ Yes I do participate in the project	
2	□ No I don't participate in the project	
3	☐ I participated in the past but not any more	
4	□ Other	
4	□ No answer	
	te: If the answer is 3, then come to question no 26, answer no 1 come to question no 27, to ome to the question no 31.	he answer i
	26. Why don't you participate in the project any more?	•
1	☐ My idea is not taken into account so I don't want to participate	
2	☐ I don't find my self not knowledgeable enough to contribute	
3	☐ They ask too much time of my participation	
4	□ Other	
4	□ No answer	
	27. In what phases did you started to participate in the project ?	•
1	□ Project planning	
2	□ Project decision making	
3	□Project execution	

4	□Project monitoring				
5	□Project maintenance				
6	□Others				
7	□ No answer				
	28. In what following phases do you participate in the project?				
1	☐ Project planning				
2	□Project decision making				
3	□Project execution				
4	□Project monitoring				
5	□Project maintenance				
6	Others				
7	□ No answer				
	Notes: More than one answer is possible				
	29. Among the followings, what do you contribute in the project?				
1	□ Labor				
2	□Time				
3	□Expertise/Knowledge				
4	□Material				
5	□Finance				
6	□Some of the above like				
7	□ No answer				
	Notes: More than one answer is possible				
	30. Do you discuss previously about the decisions to be made about the project?				
1	☐ No, I never discuss about this				
2	☐ Yes, I discuss with my husband				
3	☐ Yes, I discuss with my wife				
4	☐ We have family meeting before the community meeting				
5	☐ It depends on the subject				
6	□ Others				

7	□ No answer			
31. Why don't you participate in the project? (If the answer of question 23 is No,)				
1	☐ I don't have enough time			
2	☐ My financial condition is limited			
3	☐ I'm not permitted			
4	☐ I'm not invited			
5	□Not receiving information			
6	☐ Some one else in the family is participating			
7	□ Others			
8	□ No answer			
Notes: If the answer is no 6, then come to the question 32 and 33, others come to question 34				
	32. Who in your family is participating in the project?			
1	☐ The grand father			
2	☐ The grand mother			
3	☐ The husband			
4	☐ The wife			
5	☐ The uncle			
6	□ Others			
7	□ No answer			
33.I	Does she/he discuss with about decisions made during the participation in the project			
1	□ No, he/she never discusses about this			
2	☐ Yes, my husband discuss with me			
3	☐ Yes, my wife discuss with me			
4	☐ We have family meeting before the community meeting			
5	☐ It depends on the subject			
6	□ Others			
7	□ No answer			

Participatory Project performance

	Statement	1	2	3	4	5
Order		Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Not agree at all
34	You were fully informed about the project during the whole process					
35	The staff provided adequate instruction about project when you participate in the project					
36	Project staff consult with you about the project activities					
37	You feel you have have real influence in the project					

Staff capacity

	Statement	1	2	3	4	5
Order		Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Not agree at all
38	The project staff really knows their tasks and duties					
<mark>39</mark>	I feel the project staff really explains well our complaints					
40	The project staff is not capable of running this project					
41	Project staff understands clearly about the requirement of the project?					
42	Project staff can answer all the questions you ask?					

Staff commitment

Order	Statement	1	2	3	4	5
		Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Not agree at all
43	Project staff is never late at meetings					
44	Project staff is cooperative and open to your opinion					
45	Project staff spend a lot of time at the spot					

46	I can hardly ever see the project staff in the community			
47	Project staff stays in his/her office all the day long			
48	Project staff walk to each household to talk with people			

Type of leadership

49. How does one people become the leader in your community

1	☐ He/She is elected by the community members
2	☐ He/she is placed by the Government
3	☐ He/she is designated by the Ward People's Council
4	☐ He is self imposed
5	☐ He continues his family members'job of being leader
6	☐ He is requested by the community
7	☐ He is requested by the upper level government
8	□Other
9	□No answer

50. How long does the community leader last his job term?

1	□4 years
2	Until he can not continue the job
3	Until some one else is designated
4	Other
5	□No answer

Community Leader performance

51. What do you think about the community leader's role in the participatory project?

1	□Very important
2	□Important
3	□Neutral
4	□Not really important
5	□Not important at all

52.	What	is	your	general	opinion	about	the	community	leader's	performance	in	the
	partici	ipat	ory pr	oject?								

1	□Very good
2	□Good
3	□Neutral
4	□Not really good
5	□Not good at all

	Statement	1	2	3	4	5
Order		Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Not agree at all
53	You can communicate easily with the community leader					
54	You talk about your interests or needs with the community leaders					
55	The community leader is not interested in your problems in the upgrading project?					
56	The community leader asks for your opinion about the upgrading project?					
57	The community leader invites you to participate in the upgrading project?					
58	The community leader contacts you closely					
59	You can not find the community leader when I need to approach him/her					
60	The community leaders take your interests/needs into account					

Project outcome: Benefits/assets improved

Order	Statement	1	2	3	4	5
		Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Not agree at all
61	What have changed in the neighborhood really makes me happy					

62	I gain a lot of benefits from the upgrading project			
63	I would have had a lot of benefits if it was another project			
64	The project may have good benefits for other people but not me			
65	I participated in the project but I did not get any benefits from it			

	Statement	1	2	3	4	5
Order		Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Not agree at all
66	The project design is based on the local needs and priorities					
67	The project really meets our concerns and interests					
68	The project brings about benefits for me but not to my urgent needs					
69	The project can be done in some more years while there are other projects that should be done right away.					
70	There are things that you wanted to be improved, not solved by the project.					

71. Do you think about any other project that's more urgent?

1	☐ Internal access road	
2	☐ Waste collection spot	
3	□ Public lightening	
4	☐ Water drainage system/sewerage system	
5	□ Pavement	
6	☐ Kindergarten	
7	□ Primary school	
8	□ Market	
9	□ Public toilet	
10	☐ Green areas	

11	☐ Health facility
12	□ Water supply
13	□ Electricity
14	□ Public transport
15	□ Play ground
16	□ Other
17	□ Other
18	□ Other
19	□ No answer

Annex 2: Interview guide

1.	Interview	guide	for	Project	staff

Name of organization:
Designation:
Gender:
Education:
Time of working in the project:

1.1 Project policy

- 1. Can you tell me about the participatory approach applied in the upgrading project? (goal, objective, role,vv)
- 2. Why is the participatory approach needed?
- 3. Who participate in the project?
- 4. When do they participate in the project?
- 5. What do they do when participating in the project?
- 6. Are there any one that don't participate in the project?
- 7. What do you do to enable them to participate?
- 8. How are planning and decisions made in the project?

1.2 Project Practice

Participatory approach

- 9. What **do you do to get people involved** in the project?
- 10. How do the people know about the project?
- 11. What do you do if the people do not understand?
- 12. What do the people contribute to participate in the project?

1.3 Project staff capacity

- 13. What is your back ground?
- 14. How did you get this job?
- 15. Were you offered any specific training to work with local community?

1.4 Project staff commitment

- 16. How do you perceive about community participation in the project? Is it worth your time and effort?
- 17. How often do you meet them?
- 18. What do you do to get women or the poor's participation?
- 19. How often do you organize meetings with the community people?
- 20. If the meeting is not well attended, do you organize the meeting again or you continue with the schedule?
- 21. How is your relationship with the community members?

2. Interview guide for Community leader

Name of organization:
Designation:
Gender:
Education:

2.1 Type of leadership

- 1. What is your role in the community?
- 2. How long have you been in the position?
- 3. How did you get into the position?
- 4. Do you know since when your kind of position exist?
- 5. Do you work fulltime or part time as the community leader?
- 6. What is your relationships with the upper levels of authority?

2.2 Community leader performance

Functions and tasks

- 7. What are your main functions and tasks as the community leader?
- 8. What do you do in related to community participation?

Communication

- 9. Do you know all the people in the community?
- 10. How do you communicate with the community members?
- 11. How do the people meet you

Accessibility

- 12. How often do you go to the community?
- 13. Are you well known through out the neighborhood?
- 14. What do people do if they want to talk with you?
- 15. Do people have to make appointment with you in advance?

Commitment to people's participation

- 16. Do you know about the upgrading project?
- 17. Can you tell me about the participatory approach in the upgrading project?
- 18. What is the objective of the participatory approach in the project?
- 19. What is the role of community participation in the project?
- 20. How do they get involved in the project?
- 21. How do you perceive women's participation in the project?
- 22. How do you support people's participation in the project?
- 23. What do you do to facilitate the community participation?
- 24. Who in the community are the most active in participating in the project?
- 25. What do you do if people don't participate in the communal initiatives?

3. Interview guide for Municipal officials

Name of organization:
Designation:
Gender:
Education:

3.1 Role

- 1. Do you know about the upgrading project?
- 2. What is your role in the participatory approach project
- 3. What do you do to undertake that role?

3.2 About the participatory approach

- 4. Can you tell me about the participatory approach in the upgrading project?
- 5. What is the objective of the participatory approach in the project?
- 6. What is the role of community participation in the project?
- 7. How do they get involved in the project?
- 8. When do they participate in the project?
- 9. How do you perceive women and the poor people's participation in the project?
- 10. Do you think the project meet people's concerns and needs?

Annex 3: Report of the field trip

- 20-6: leaving Rotterdam for Ha Noi
- 21-6: arrive in Ha Noi mid night
- 22-6: settling down back in the family, putting everything in order again
- 23-6 26-6: completing the final proposal and submit it in time,
- 29/6: Visit ACVN office and ask for support for the field trip
- 30/6 2/7: Participating in the assessment trip on the implementation of GRDO in Nam Dinh city (the EU funded project on the people's participation in city planning and decision making process, the implementation of GRDO)
 - Meetings and dialogues with
 - Nam Dinh chief administration officer

- o Nam Dinh mayor
- o Representatives of Nam Dinh union of Women, union of Veteran, Father Front and the Project on Community management.
- ⇒ good inputs for the study topic,
- ⇒ Good chance to meet key respondent of Nam Dinh city and interview them about the research project: Nam Dinh Urban Upgrading Projects
- ⇒ Contacting important people and preparing for necessary procedures for the researcher's survey
 - o Meeting representative of Nam Dinh Provincial Construction Department
 - Being introduced to the Director of Project Management Unit of Nam Dinh Upgrading Project
 - Asking about the required procedures

3/7: Being back in Ha Noi, going to ACVN office, getting the official paper to ask for support for the survey and then going to Nam Dinh on the same day, submitting to the Director of the project task force (Project management unit) at the end of the day.

(Tried to complete everything before the weekend to be able to start the survey early next week)

Monday, 6/7/2009:

- The first day of the week is the time for new week handing over meeting of the whole PMU so it was not a good idea to come there on the day.

Tuesday, 7/7/2009

AM

Travelling from Ha Noi to Nam Dinh

PM

- Visiting the Project Management Unit
- Interview the Project staff,
- Not being able to interview the PMU leaders, who is in charge of community work because he was on his business trip away
- Referring to the available material, doing the photocopying

Wednesday, 8/7/2009:

AM

- Meeting with the City Administration Chief Officer to complete the city's procedure to be introduced to the ward level for being supported to complete the field work at the research study site.

PM

- Meeting with Vice Chairman of Van Mieu ward, who is in charge of the upgrading project at local level so understands it very clearly.
 - o The meeting was intended to submit the introduction paper,
 - o Appointing the interview time with himself

- Asking for support for the survey in the ward areas. Two main neighborhood of Van Mieu and May To were introduced to be the two main areas of the upgrading project.
- The difficulty was that he could not contact the two leaders of the two neighborhood because they were going on the summer holiday which is organized by the city's association of the old aged.
- Finally, the interview with Mr Nguyen Van Lai and the meeting with the two leaders was appointed to be in the weekend (Saturday, Junly 11th, 2009). This made the schedule of conducting the survey on two days of the weekend delayed.
- The good thing was that, the ward's vice chairman is the key person of the ward to take charge of the project. He is very supportive and open to share and help the researcher. (Saturday of that week was not his duty to take care of the office, but he was willing to come and work with me)
- Going back to Ha Noi in the evening

Thursday (9/7/09) - Friday (10/7/09):

- Staying in Ha Noi, reading the project document which was collected and provided by Community staff of the Nam Dinh PMU
- Meeting with the assistant to introduce and train about the questionnaires

Saturday, 11/7/2009

AM

Travelling from Ha Noi,

PM

- Interview with Ward representative
- Being taken to the two community leaders' houses
 - o Contacts were already made and reasons were introduced
 - o The two interviews with the two community leaders were conducted individually on the same day
 - O They were very willing to support the researcher and agreed to inform the people in the neighborhood about the survey to be started on the next day Sunday 12/7/2099
 - The pre test questionnaire was asked with two women labour of the leader, and some revision was undertaken.

Sunday 12/7/09

- Expected survey
 - O The survey should be ideally conducted on Weekend so that everyone is potentially at home and also because the researchers's assistants only can help on weekend
 - - The trend of going to university to get a better future
 - Young population and high density

- ⇒ So the survey was expected to be conducted at two weekend Sunday (12/7/09) and Satuday, Sunday (18-19/7/09). It depends on the real situation to continue on more days. Data collected will be updated along with the time
- The researcher stays in Nam Dinh from the previous day and waiting for the assistants to come early in the mid morning the next day. The revision and printing of the questionnaires was done at the same time.

Assistants

- Nguyen Thi To Nga Ma on Biology Technology, National Institute of Natural Science (The researcher's sister)
- Nguyen Huu Cuong Dr on Enzim Technology, National Institute of Natural Science (The researchers' brother in law)
- Do Hoang Ha Student of Mr Cuong, contracted staff of National Institute of Natural Science
- Tran Thi Bao Dung Student of Mr Cuong, contracted staff of National Institute of Natural Science
- Nguyen Quang Anh Architect (The researcher's younger brother)
- Nguyen Thi Thu Thuy The researcher

o Plan

- The training for the assistants were implemented on Friday afternoon 10/7/2009
- Each of the assistant should ask 30-35 family (including half men and half women)
 - Nga, Cuong and Ha look for better off families
 - Dung, Quang and Thuy look for poor families
- The survey is expected to be done in each neighborhood in turn

o Real situation

- The assistants left Ha Noi early at 6 am and arrived in Nam Dinhr at 9h00.
- The survey started at 10 pm in the rain
- It started to rain hardly one hour later
- By lunch of the day, each of us tried to ask around three respondents.
 - Heavy rain
 - Late starting,
 - Getting used to asking the respondent by the researcher among the whole group.
- After the lunch, we continued the survey but then the storm was so hard with wind and very very heavy rain so it was decided to be stopped when each of us tried to interview about two families.
 - The storm was predicted to last long and the flood on the way to the city center takes days to disappear.

- We had to leave back to Ha Noi without being able to get in to the centre of the city to say hello or goodbye to our relatives, because it was so flooded
- The motorbike that I borrowed my cousin had to be left in Mr Minh's house with the key,
- I was brought by the car to the station to leave for Ha Noi in public bus, (due to limited seat on the car), being wet to the skin, leaving all case stuff at my cousin's.

The first impression on the survey

- May Det neighborhood is very poor and it is very hard to find the equal number of families which is better off than others
- This raise the questions about the comparision between two neighborhoods May Det and May To

Tuesday 14/7/2009

AM

- Travelling from Ha Noi to Nam Dinh

PM

- Going to the PMU office
- Interview with PMU leader, in charge of the community work from the beginning
- Getting important document and maps of Van Mieu ward
- Asking about the real situation between May Det and May To

Wednesday 15/7/09

AM

- Meeting with the Representative of the Women's union of Van Mieu ward
 - o Important input about the role of "planning group in the project"
 - Understand more clearly about the real situation and difference between May Det and May To

PM

- Interview with Manager of Community Management Project of Nam Dinh city
 - o The contacted was made during the first meetings in the frame of the Assessement trip of the EU project on Community participation
 - She understands very clearly about the community situation in the city, especially the poor communities with 5 years of working with them on the self help and management project.
 - She also understand the real situation of communication between the government and the citizens.

Thursday 16/7/09 - Friday 17/7/09:

- Working in Ha Noi, updating the collected questionnaires
- Reading the collected material
- Looking for information on the Van Mieu ward

Saturday - Sunday: 18 - 19 /7/09

- The scheduled plan is changed based up on the real situation
 - o Difference between May Det and May To: the May To neighborhood is better than May Det (even with the community leader)
 - o Can not compare 4 groups of two neighborhood
 - The idea is to compare among the 4 groups only (poor men and women in May Det area and better off men and women in May To neighborhood) and the influence of the community leader on the people's participation: with 25 people of each group

Monday 20/7 – Friday 31/7

- collecting the information, writing down all the interview (some in English, some in Vietnamese)
- Updating the quantitative data in preparation for SPSS analysis
- Preparing for the trip back to Rotterdam

Difficulties

- Summer holiday time
- Working culture
- Extra oridinarily terrible weather of this year: with very hot day of 40°c (first time in the history) and storm season
- Travelling time, frustrating and tiring traffic jams
 - o between Ha Noi and Nam Dinh
 - o Inside Ha Noi when going to ACVN office, preparing the papers, going
- Examination season
 - o Education tradition and movement

Annex 4: Pictures of the field trip



Photo1: Meeting with the city Government



Photo 2: Meeting with the mass organizations



Photo 3: Focus group discussion



Photo 4: Interviewing the ward authority



Photo 5: Interviewing community leader



Photo 6: Interviewing project staff



Photo 7: Discussion among survey assistants



Photo 8: MD housing condition



Photo 9: MD neighborhood



Photo 10: MT neighborhood



Photo 11: Community survey



Photo 12: Community survey

Annex 5: SPSS analysis result

Figure 1: Consultation by project staff as perceived by different groups

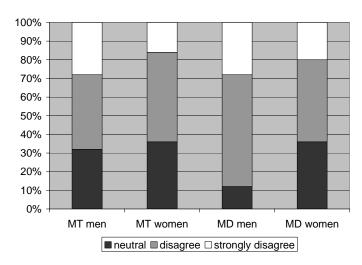


Figure 2: Consultation by project staff as perceived by two neighborhoods

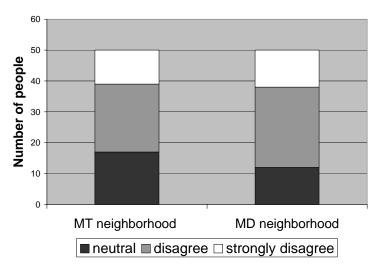


Figure 3: Having influence on the project as perceived by different groups

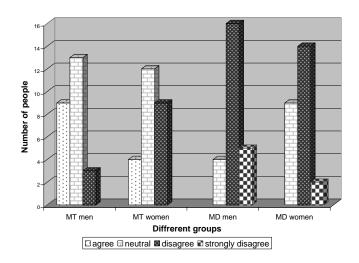


Figure 4: Having influence on the project as perceived by two neighborhoods

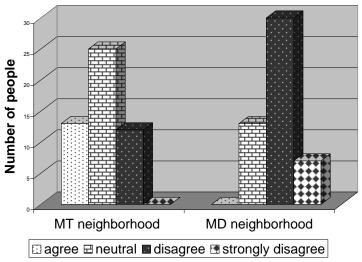


Figure 5: Project information perceived by different employment groups in MD neighborhood

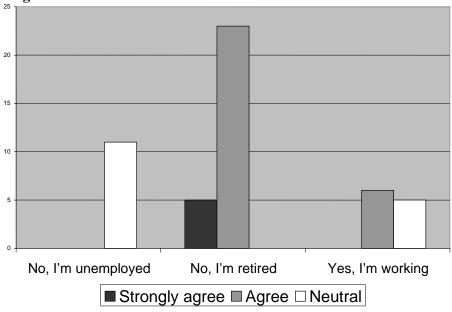


Figure 6: Project information perceived by different employment groups in MT neighborhood

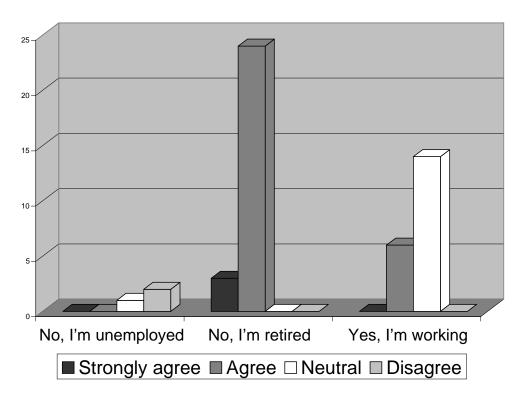


Figure 7: Project staff capacity perceived by gender groups in each neighborhood

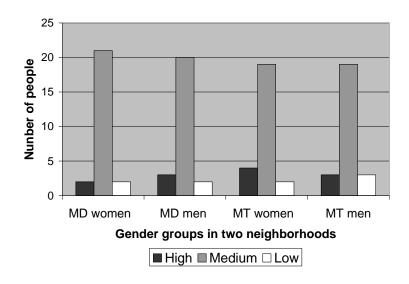


Figure 8: Project staff capacity perceived by MD employment groups

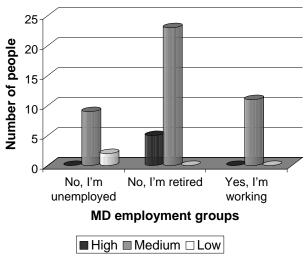


Figure 9: Project staff capacity perceived by different MT employment groups

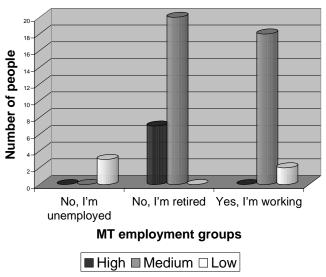


Figure 10: Project staff capacity perceived by different education groups in both neighborhoods

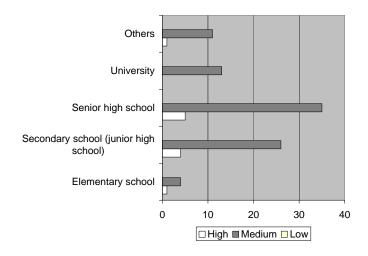


Figure 11: Project staff capacity perceived by different employment groups in both neighborhoods

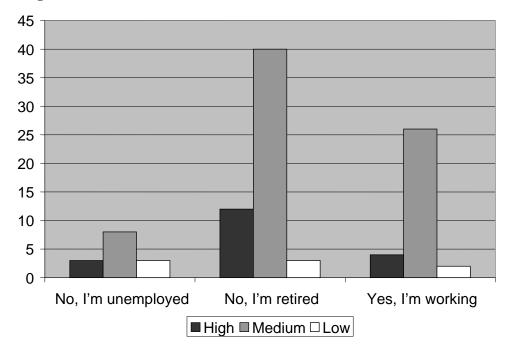


Figure 12: Project commitment perceived by gender groups in each neighborhood

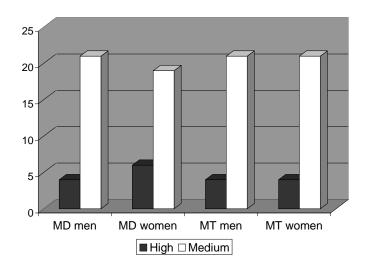


Figure 13: Project staff commitment perceived by different employment groups



Figure 14: Project staff commitment perceived by different income groups in both neighborhoods

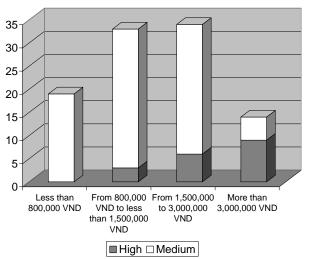


Figure 15: Community leader commitment to community participation perceived by gender groups in each neighborhood

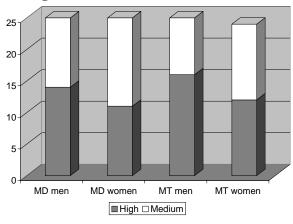


Figure 16: Community leader commitment to community participation perceived by education groups in each neighborhood

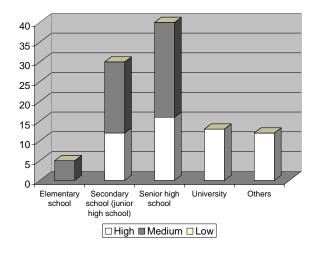


Figure 17: Community leader commitment perceived by different working groups

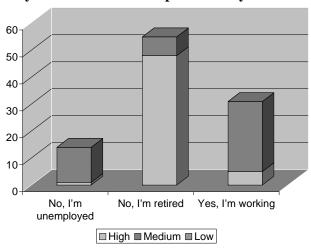


Figure 18: Community leader commitment to community participation perceived by different income groups

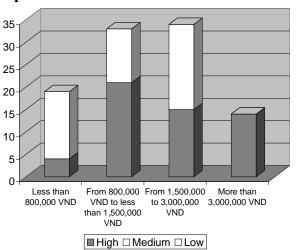


Figure 19: Project benefits perceived by different income groups in MD neighborhood

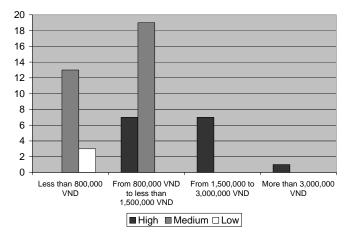


Figure 20: Project benefits perceived by different education groups in MD neighborhood

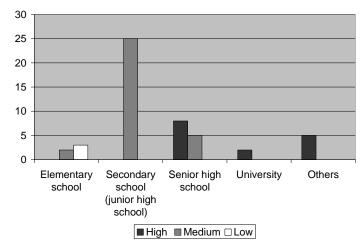


Figure 21: Project benefits perceived by gender groups in each neighborhood

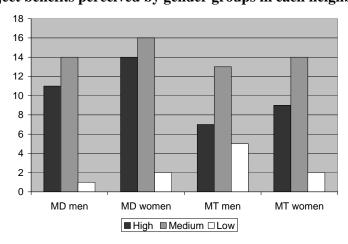


Figure 22: Project's meeting people's urgent needs as perceived by gender groups in each neighborhood

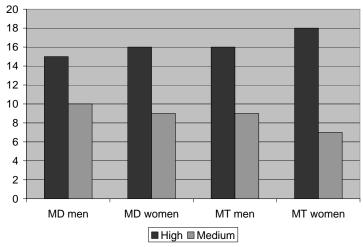


Figure 23: Project meeting urgent needs as perceived by different education groups in both neighborhoods

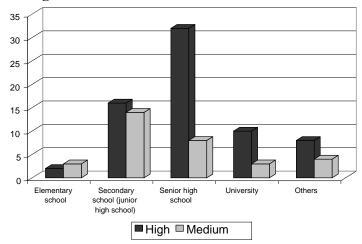


Figure 24: Project meeting urgent needs as perceived by different working groups

