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Running Head: AN ASSESSMENT OF COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN UPGRADING



Assessment of Community Participation in Slum Houses Upgrading Program in Addis
Ababa: The Case of IHA-UDP Neighborhood Upgrading Projects in *Kirkos* Sub City

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Abstract

The purpose of this study was to assess the mode and the level of community participation as well as motivating factors that make community members participate in the upgrading program of rundown houses in the Kirkos sub city of Addis Ababa. The participants of the study were community members from the neighborhood groups, arbitration committee, facilitators and the ordinary residents. The study was descriptive and explanatory in nature, and cross-sectional study design was applied. The primary data was collected from four categories of people using qualitative data collection tools of interview, FGD and observation. The findings of the data show that community members from above categories have different forms of participation in the program, and are participating as facilitators, supervisors and daily laborers. The neighborhood groups, parting from the family to the kebele levels are more engaged in the identification of dilapidated houses for the upgrading program, prioritization, supervision of activities of other groups and mediation of conflicts. The arbitration committee mainly involved in the arbitration of conflicts in the community together with the neighborhood groups. The majority of the poor members tend to participate as daily laborer while the well-to-do residents of the community occasionally assist the daily laborers and facilitators. The studied groups also participate in the meetings arranged for different purposes. The motivating factor that makes the ordinary residents participate as daily laborer seems situation of their poverty and level of education while those neighborhood groups and elderly people motivated by public respects for working on behalf of the community. Besides, social services that arbitration committee obtaining also pushes them to participate. Contrary to this, the level of education, where majority of them didn't complete even elementary level of education, restrain them from involvement in the crucial processes at the planning and decision making stages. All in all, the study found that none of the community members (whether elderly, youth, Illiterate, educated, or men and women, and so forth) are denied to take part in the program though they mainly participate in the implementation stage. Furthermore, none of these groups dominated the process of the upgrading program of the rundown houses. Rather, all categories of community members are working as facilitators of the implementing organization that controlled the key processes of planning, decision making and designing of the program.

Background

The urban areas are viewed as center of development and innovation; and urbanization is also taken as manifestation of modernization and development (Potter & Lloyd-Evans, 1998). Contrary to this assumption, however, urban areas especially in the developing countries are centers of poverty, unemployment and underdevelopment. The unbalanced nature of urbanization and lack of infrastructure contributes to an increase in the number of homeless and poor people residing in slum neighborhoods. According to the UN-Habitat (2003), by the year 2001 approximately 924 million people lived in the urban slums of the world. This figure implies that 32 % of the total world urban population lives in slum areas and 78 % of this exists in the least developed regions like sub-Saharan Africa. According to the report of UN-Habitat (2002), due to the rural-to-urban migration the problem is expected to be 1.1 billion in the verge of the third millennium.

Ethiopia has large number of its urban population living in slum neighborhoods in unhealthy life situations (Daniel, 2001; Alebachew, 2001). Similar to other countries where slum residents are minorities and disadvantaged people(Delgado, 2000), inhabitants of slum neighborhoods in Ethiopia are hardly provided with basic services like shelter, potable water, latrine, sanitation facilities and

other crucial social services. The UN-Habitat (2002) noted that thousands of people are living in hazardous situation of life.

The UN-Habitat (2004) in its recent report signifies that most of the sub cities of Addis Ababa are slum settlements; and more than 90 % of the residents of the city are living in the slum neighborhoods. In addition, under the *kebele* administrative system housing units which were initially constructed using low quality materials, have never been repaired (Solomon, 2005). The current urbanization process, which by far exceeds the provision of housing and other infrastructural facilities, overburdens the existing meager public facilities and increases informal squatter settlements in many sub cities of Addis Ababa (Solomon, 2005; Gebeyehu, 2001). Gebeyehu further argues that the provision of basic amenities is highly incompatible with the rate of population growth in Addis Ababa:

The majority of houses ... are below qualitative standard and ... [the] extent of provision of water supply, electricity, and drainage is very minimal. The level and health of people living in housing of such poor quality and with such inadequate...sanitation...are under continuous threat...and...number of people living in such condition is increasing every year (2001, pp. 2-3).

The renewal of slum neighborhoods has the long history in urban areas of developed countries, and it has been popular in many parts of the world since 1970s and 1980s (United Nations, 1971). Recently, African governments in the Durban conference underlined the essentiality of upgrading slum neighborhoods as one of the targets of development that have to be met in urban areas (UN-Habitat, 2006). The agreement is to renew slum neighborhoods and address the problem of housing in urban areas which is most challenging mainly in the eastern part of the continent (Graham & Kenneth, 1991). The main factor challenging governments besides their

decision and commitment as Graham & Kenneth (1991) stated is the cost of construction of the houses. The suggested solution is mobilizing local resources and involving community members in the projects. Accordingly, the beneficiaries of the project are expected to contribute at least 40 % of the cost (UN-Habitat, 2006).

At this time in Addis Ababa, as report of the municipality indicates there is a massive engagement of government to upgrade slum neighborhoods and construct low-income houses for the poor dwellers (2004). However, in this program of slum upgrading and construction of low-income houses, the poor have little participation though their involvement was suggested by the Durban Summit. In addition to the government sponsored projects, there is also involvement of some NGOs in the program of urban renewal and the physical upgrading of deteriorated houses in slum neighborhoods side-by-side with provision of social services for the needy. Most of the time, however, it is in the NGO initiated development interventions, both in physical upgrading and provision of social services that the beneficiaries and other community members actively participate. Though many studies conducted on the participation of the community in the development programs, there is a knowledge gap of at what levels the beneficiaries participate in the slum upgrading and other social development programs. In addition, factors that motivating community members and/or beneficiaries of the projects to participate and deterring them from involvement in the key processes of programs aren't known yet.

This research is about the assessment of community participation in the upgrading of slum housing projects undertaken in one of the sub-cities of Addis Ababa, *Kirkos* sub city. The implementing organization, Integrated Holistic Approach Urban Development Project (IHA-UDP) has involved in the slum upgrading program

since 1999. The program has being undertaken in the former *kebele* 08 and 09 of the sub city where the most of the houses under the kebele administrative system are rundown. Even though this organization is involved in holistic community development activities, this study focuses on the mode and the level of participation of the community members in the physical upgrading of slum houses and other related infrastructural developments undertaken by the organization.

The paper is organized in to six main parts of introduction, theoretical framework, research methods, data presentation and analysis, and summary and social work implication. In addition, some part of the paper next to the theoretical framework is describing the historical development of IHA-UDP and the development activities and major departments of the organization. The introduction section includes the background of the study which emphasizes the magnitude of the problem, objective of the study, significance of the study, research coverage, overall research process, limitation of the study and operational definitions. The theoretical framework discusses the theoretical models of development and ideas about community participation. The third section is an overview of the organization implementing the project under study. The research method which covers the sources of information, procedures used in sampling, data collection and method of data analysis is next followed by the presentation of study findings, analysis and discussion of the findings. The finally section of the paper includes summary of the findings, and its social work implications for the future intervention.

Objective of the Study

General objective

As a general objective, this study is concerned with assessment of community participation in slum houses upgrading program that taking place in the former *kebele* 08 and 09 of *Kirkos* sub city of Addis Ababa by Integrated Holistic Approach Urban Development Project (IHA-UDP).

Specific Objectives

The study specifically intended to:

- 1 Describe community development strategies and poverty reduction attempts of Integrated Holistic Approach Urban Development Project (IHA-UDP);
- 2 Asses extent and mode of community participation in the slum houses upgrading program;
- 3 Examine underlying causes motivating community members to participate in the project;
- 4 Examine factors (if any) deterring participation of the community in the project;
- 5 Assess situation of gender and age in the participation of the community members in this development program.

Significance of the Study

The assessment of community participation in upgrading of slum houses as a focus of this study has many advantages. The problem of housing becomes main challenge of residents in urban areas, and the number of people living in slum neighborhoods is growing at an alarming rate. Consequently, studying problems of these people consequently might suggest alternative ways to address the problem of people living in rundown houses in the slum areas of the city.

Participatory development has advantages in terms of increasing performance and sustainability of the projects even though it is some times challenging to attain objectives of the development programs using this approach (Midgley, 1986). Thus, studying the situation of community participation in slum upgrading, therefore, is important to understand how far this approach is tackling the problem which is beyond the capacity of government and other philanthropic organizations. The result of this study might also be worthwhile for other organizations engaged in urban renewal mainly government to consider involvement of the beneficiaries as main development strategy.

The National Association of Social Workers (NASW) in its Code of Ethics avowed that participation of people in decisions concerning them is their right (Miley, 1997). Nevertheless, findings of some studies indicate that the most of the poor slum dwellers, despite their labor or financial contribution say nothing, "...in decisions which affect [themselves and] their community" (Desai, 1995, p. 300). Rather, powerful political elites and community leaders who benefit more became the ultimate decision makers. Therefore, finding of this study contributes to social works knowledge understanding of how far the rights of the poor are respected. Is their voice heard? Are they given opportunity to decide on and control over their decision on NGOs initiated development projects in their neighborhood?

The study is also significant for IHA-UDP, the organization involved in urban renewal and upgrading of slum houses so as to understand its virtues as well as problems of participation. Above all, this particular study might be a cornerstone for future research and further investigations on the topic.

Research Coverage

The implementing organization, IHA-UDP consists of four organizations in which three of them are engaged in extensive and all-rounded community development activities. The development interventions are undertaking in two sub cities of Addis Ababa- *Lideta* and *Kirkos*; and all of the activities of these organizations are divided into three major departments of physical upgrading, community development and health. This study focuses on development activities of physical upgrading department mainly slum houses upgrading program of Addis *Hiwot* Integrated Sustainable Development Organization (AHISDO) and Extension project taking place in *Kirkos* sub city since 1999.

Research Process

The study was conducted following guidelines and procedures from the identification of the area of the study at the initial point to writing the final report. Based prior information about the slum upgrading and other community development activities that IHA-UDP is undertaking in the current research site, the first draft of research proposal was developed from June to October 2006. After approval of the topic by the academic committee of the school, the research proposal was finalized after three months. In order to undertake the actual study, the next step was allocation and release of the school fund essential for the field work and report writing.

So as to further familiarize myself with the study community and understand the activities of each of the departments are undertaking in detail, I worked in a field placement in the organization for four months from December 2006 to March 2007. Besides responsibilities of accomplishing assignments for the field placement,

attempts were made to understand as much as possible about the community, mainly those members who have close relation to the development activities of the organization such as neighborhood groups and other groups and extension education workers.

The field work activities of sample selection and data collection are completed during this time. The extension education workers are also involved in identification of the respondents and actual data collection process as facilitator and guider. The first draft of the paper was written immediately after completing the field work in April 2007 though it made the researcher repeatedly return back to the community and organization for certain technical issues. The final draft of the paper was completed at the end of June 2007.

Limitation of the Study

Studies with this broader topic need to assess overall situation of community involvement in the slum upgrading program; and comprehensive information from various stakeholders who have relation to the program is also needed for this reason. In addition, enough time to understand the situation of the study population and the program understudy is essential. However, due to time and other related problems this study was completed including its shortcomings.

The first problem observed in this case is shortage of time since actual study of this research was conducted within four months. Due to this reason, the study unable to include government officials in the sample selected, and not included current government slum upgrading program in the literature. Time related constraints also resulted in reduction of number of sessions needed for observation of researcher

activities that each of the community members are undertaking. In addition, time factor also made researcher select smaller sample population as a participant to deduce about the situation of community which possibly affects the reliability of the findings.

During the actual data collection stage, some of the participants especially in the interview attempted to provide biased information about their participation for unknown reasons. Therefore, existence of such kind of information in the study badly affects the accuracy of the research result. Even though researcher attempted to cross-check through triangulation deploying more than one data collection tools, absence of other research findings in the topic conducted in the country made comparison across results difficult.

Operational Definitions

Community: A synonymous term with that of neighborhood, community is "... a group of individuals who have learned how to communicate honestly with each other, whose relationships go deeper than their masks of composure, and who have developed some significant commitment to 'rejoice together, mourn together,' and to 'delight in each other, make others' conditions our own'" (Homan, 1999, p. 110) as cited from Peck (1987). This term also "...implies connection: some combination of shared beliefs, circumstances, priorities, relationships, or concerns." (Chaskin, 1997, p. 522) These definitions connote that the geographic proximity or boundary is not essential component of the definition of community, but social relation and connections. However, in this study, community refers to residents of a particular

geographical boundary irrespective of their social, cultural, functional, and circumstantial connections; and shared cultural value.

Community Development: The concept of community development is refers to all-round social and economic development where people are actors of the development process in their locality. The economic or material facet of community development such as construction of community centers, schools, clinics, roads, sanitary and water supply projects while social aspect of the community development consists of enhancement of identity of the community, strengthening political participation, good governance, and fostering self-help and self-determination (Chambers, 1997; Homan, 1999). The term in this case implies multifaceted development interventions in geographically delimited areas.

Community Participation: After analyzing definitions of various organizations and individuals, Imperato & Ruster, (2003) came up with their own definition of the term community 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, designing, implementation, evaluation, and post-implementation stages of development project” (2003, p. 20).

Development: The notion of development is a confusing and debated term in the field of social science. Some argue that development implies economic aspect of improvement, though it is criticized for its limitations. However, it also “...has welfare connotations which suggests that development enhances people’s incomes and

improve their educational levels, housing conditions and health status” (Homan, 1999, p. 2).

Neighborhood: A term neighborhood refers to “... spatial constructions denoting a geographical unit in which residents share proximity and the circumstances that come with it” (Chaskin, 1997, pp. 522-3). Downs as quoted by Homan also explained this term as “a region or locality whose inhabitants share certain characteristics, values, mutual interests, or styles of living” (1999, p. 359). Despite variations in these statements, the geographic boundary and proximity of interacting people who share certain values in common that bind their relationship and interaction are essential components incorporated in both of the definitions. However, unlike community, neighborhood refers to a limited territorial area within the larger geographic boundary irrespective of size of people and quality of their relationship.

Slum: A meaning of the term slum implies the inner-city where most of the areas are overcrowded, and more specifically condition of housing units in a bad situation and not conducive for healthy living (Microsoft Encarta, 2007).

Social Development: Social development implies a philosophy related to positive, people oriented development that promotes social justice and equitable distribution of resources, enhancement of dignity and equity of people through improving their living standard mainly health, housing, education and nutrition (Midgley, Hall, Hardman, Narine, 1986; Midgley, 1995). Besides the enhancement of the living standard of the people and the building of self-sufficient community, social development is about how to eradicate poverty.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The theoretical framework reviews existing theories of development suggested by different scholars from various schools of thought. The theories incorporated in this case are broadly categorized into liberal views of mainstream development, mainly modernization theory and the recent approaches such as alternative development

model. A review gives special emphasis to participatory community development and other related issues. Furthermore, research findings undertaken on the situation of participatory community development interventions in different countries are also examined.

Theoretical Models of Development

Existence of poverty and other social problems, persistent augmentation of inequalities between the rich and the poor and failure to bridge the gap bothered many people and made them think ways out. So as to change this situation, scholars from different field of studies suggested some possible ways (Serr, 2006). These perceptions and ideologies resulted in development of broader schools of thought with various contradicting viewpoints or theories on the issue of development (Clark, 1991; Midgley, 1995). There are many theoretical perspectives of development. The dominant and somewhat opposing each other are the modernization theory that takes universal principles for all development interventions and the alternative development models currently adopted as a substitute of the former. The modernization approach explains about the economic aspect of development that considers intensification in gross national product (GNP) as indicator of development (Potter & Lloyd-Evans, 1998). Contrary to this, alternative development model focuses on the social aspect of development.

Alternative Development

The alternative development model is proposed as a substitute of the “distorted development” (Midgley, 1995, pp. 74 -76) approach, a modernization theory. The doctrine of this model of development is that any development intervention has to

address grass root needs, and there has to be decision-making and involvement of people in the development interventions. The foundation for this theory is the philosophy of utopian socialists who seek structural change and new arrangements (Serr, 2006) in to attain major needs of the community members.

The alternative development model which gains momentum since 1970s and 1980s says that development interventions have to be people-centered, sustainable, environmentally sound and locally planed whereby beneficiaries have direct control over the process (Mansuri & Rao, 2003). The ultimate objective of development is to respond adequately for the basic needs and improve the quality of living standard of all beneficiaries (Chambers, 1997). The indicators of development, therefore, are not an increase in the gross national product or economic development, but improvement in the life of people. This is social development.

The assumption of this model of development is that the needs of local communities are different based on variation in their cultural values and traditions. In order to understand local needs, changing the conventional approach of development from top-down to bottom-up is necessary. The rationale for adoption of decentralized approach of development as Walter Stöhr discussed, cited by Potter & Lloyd-Evans is that development intervention is "...closely related to specific socio cultural, historical and institutional conditions" (1998, p. 48) of the community and the mobilization of indigenous natural and human resources is essential to attain the objectives of the intended project.

Participatory Community Development

The literature on community development indicates that the outcomes of development interventions across the world are characterized by successes as well as failures (Chambers, 1997). The underlying problem in most community development projects is the very nature of the way that development projects were implemented. The failure stories made people search for alternative way to address the problems observed in the development interventions. This situation made many people to consider the participation of community members in every part of the development projects undertaken in their neighborhoods as indispensable (Mansuri & Rao, 2003).

The concept of community participation began in 1980s and late 1990s, and that time was specifically known as the decade of participation (Chambers, 2005; Desai, 1995). It was common to hear the term “participation” as a prominent motto in every development discourse. The foundation for participatory community development besides apparent failure of conventional top-down development model to tackle social problems was the 1980s depletion of common pool resources and environmental degradations (Mansuri & Rao, 2003). The assumption of proponents of the alternative development model is that participation of community makes development programs successful and environmentally sound. Their assumption also is that local management of public resources is solution to avoid misuses and abuses of resources.

The argument of this development approach is not only about the participation of local communities in the development interventions and mobilization of existing resources, but also changing the paradigm of development from conventional approach of top-down to decentralized system of intervention (Midgley, 1995; Narayan, 1993). Involvement of community members in every aspect of a project is prerequisite (Homan, 1999). They have to participate from the very beginning of

program development, planning and designing stages to the final implementation and evaluation of outcomes as advocates said.

The more radical among proponents of the idea believes that the participation of community members is right of people to say something and their voice to be heard, and are control over their decision in the development programs (Imparato & Ruster, 2003). Taking this idea into consideration, Homan discussed what genuine community participation means: “Community members do not just approve plans, they create them. Community members do not just provide inputs, they make decisions. The community decides what to do and how to do it.” (1999, p. 38). This argument is that the involvement of community only in the implementing stage is not authentic participation; unless they take part in the planning stage and decide on the process and ultimate outcome of the development intervention.

Advantages and Drawbacks of Community Participation

The purpose of participation of the community members in the development interventions is to make the projects sustainable (Opsal, 1994). Studies further investigated that the development projects undertaken through the participation of community are cost effective besides its sustainability (Rao, 2000). The essential issue for the sustainability and effectiveness of the participatory projects is that members of the community mobilize their resources and knowledge and devote more time for the success of these projects.

The participation of the local community, in addition to its cost related effectiveness gives opportunity to take local conditions and the interests of the beneficiaries in to consideration. The needs of the local community differ depending on

their cultural values; and hence their involvement makes the projects respond to their needs (Potter & Lloyd-Evans, 1998). Furthermore, the projects designed locally create sense of ownership among the poor residents of the community, and avoids risk of imposing interests and ideas of outsiders on the needs of the members of local community (Cox, 2006; Narayan, 1993). However, due to variations in socioeconomic background and other factors, participation of community members is not always effective and carries positive outcomes reported above.

Studies stated that resource mobilization at the grassroots level and involvement of indigenous knowledge may not be practical (Rao, 2000). The first problem is that of misunderstanding and perception of development workers and fear of losing their job due to participation of the community members deter involvement of indigenous skills and resources. Furthermore, studies conducted in the participatory community development interventions investigated that in the case of representational form of participation, benefits of development go to those working on behalf of the community (Chambers, 2005; Desai, 1995; Homan, 1999). Therefore, it is essential to review studies on participatory development to understand factors that motivate and deter participation of community members in development programs. To this end, three research findings on participatory development undertaken in other developing countries were assessed.

Review of Research Findings: Types and Forms of Community Participation

The studies conducted in other countries investigated that practical situation of participatory community development has many problems. Focusing on the background of residents participating in development interventions and the level as

well as the mode of participation, these studies investigated the existence of different forms of community participation. Accordingly, among residents of local community some of them were deliberately put aside to participate and decide on fates of development interventions (Desai, 1995; Imparato & Ruster, 2003).

Desai (1995), she studied slum upgrading programs in three districts of the city of Bombay in India and published a book called *Community Participation and Slum Housing* came up with various findings. The research method she used includes both quantitative and qualitative, and she used the same 135 household heads from three districts of Bombay both in the household survey and interview. However, there is a gap of two years between both sources of information. The household survey as she said was to gather socioeconomic and demographic data while the interview was to insight on issues related to community participation. Finally she came up with findings indicating the various forms of community participations.

According to her study, in development interventions some members of the community, mainly currently retired former community leaders, women and the youth were marginalized. The marginalized members made out of the game of participation in slum upgrading program particularly in attending public meetings and decision making processes. Taking level of participation of community members into consideration, Desai divided the entire community into exclusive categories of: initiators, mediators and the general community. The initiators were also known as community leaders who instigated the development idea and took responsibility of controlling entire process of the project. These people were not working alone; they rather were assisted by mediators. The mediators were among residents of community who contributed their time and occasionally their resources for the community (Desai,

1995, p. 206). They were also bridging efforts of initiators and the general community, a mass which most of the time were passive in participation. The success and failure of project according to Desai, was in the hands of the mediators who took responsibility for mobilizing local resources.

Discussing underlying cause for the existence differences in the level and mode of participation, Desai forwarded following points. As she stated, reasons that motivate community leaders or initiators to play a decisive role, and make them control the entire process were the benefits they acquired. They manipulate the program to make money and secure public votes in the political arena. In order to attain their objective, community leaders who were, "...better educated, better employed, and more prosperous than most members of their community..." (Desai, 1995, p. 206) deliberately excluded women, youth and other marginalized groups from participation in the process of decision making and program designing. This was in addition to the misuse of the community initiatives and meetings for the political ideology by the political elites in the community.

Another research on participatory community development is the book called *Slum Upgrading and Community Participation* by Imparato and Ruster (2003) on renewal of slum houses and other community development projects. Undertaking the World Bank sponsored evaluative research on community participation in five Latin American countries, they came up with findings indicating the existence of variations between theory and the practical situation of community participation. Discussing on their findings, "In all of the cases we studied, we found at least one actor among the project participants that carried out the strategic function of articulating and mediating

between the requirements of the project's promoters and those of the community.”

(Imparato & Ruster 2003, p. 98)

Taking findings of others, these researchers further divided the life-cycle of projects from the identification stage to the implementation stage as higher to lower level of participation. They further say, “We found no cases in which there is no participation or in which the community exercises full control” (Imparato & Ruster, 2003, p. 24). Thus, there is close relationship between participation and interests of the community members in the project, and they concluded as “...the participatory approach is directly linked to the very nature of urban upgrading and shelter projects, and to the reason for undertaking such projects in the first place” (p. 34). This is to say that those interested in the project portray higher levels of participation than anybody else.

Their finding also indicates that despite certain similarities to that of Desai mainly in mediators, there was no deterring factor of community participation based on the age, gender and other socioeconomic backgrounds except their personal interest to participate or not. In most of the demand responsive development projects, they investigated that almost all of residents of the community participate without limitation, and upgrading and construction of shelter houses and potable water were among projects that motivated people to participate. Finally they concluded that if the intention is to engage the majority of the people and make a project sustainable, there has to be prior information about the interests and the pressing needs of the community members.

Mark S. Homan (1999) produced a book with the title of *Promoting Community Change*. Discussing his experience of working with local communities in both rural

and urban areas, he said that there is no deliberate exclusion of residents from participation in the development projects due to their socioeconomic characteristics. However, based on variations in the level of engagement he identified around six groups among residents of the community. These groups were: initiator, workers, assisters, on-shot participants, advisors and inactive general supporters. According to him, core groups were those individuals:

...who worry more, plan more, and provide more direction for the project than others, offers the most active level of participation...Even when alone they think about it, trying to understand more of the dynamics of the situation and what should be done to deal with them. These are the people who keep in close contact with one another to talk about what is going on. They meet frequently than required by the routine schedule. They expect to participate in meetings, not just attend them...make many of the decisions about what need to be done... These are the people for whom the organization and its agenda really matter, who want to keep things alive and moving. It is they who feel anxious about the organization's support and strength and who feel real sense of loss should the effort dwindle and die (Homan, 1999, pp. 182-183).

The *ongoing active participants (workers)* were the second groups next to the core groups who also participate, but they prefer not to take part in all aspects of the project. Similarly, the rest of the categories of people, other than core groups who have overall understanding of the activity and participate in all decisions as well as meetings, workers have relatively scant understanding of the goal of the project. The participation of those other than core groups also varies according to their level of understanding. According to him, except advisors who provide worthwhile technical assistance, both one-shot participants and assisters participate occasionally when they were requested and quit participating when things they engaged in challenging activities.

The research results reviewed above carry contradicting ideas on the mode and level of participation of community members in development interventions. Desai taking Indian experience argues that exclusion of certain groups of people and the domination of powerful groups of entire process was due to their personal benefit from the project. In the contrary what motivate or deter community participation according to Homan (1999) and Imparato & Ruster (2003) was personal preference, and preferences differ depending on the nature of the projects. As a mediator on the other hand, Chambers in his recent work argues that genuine community participation only works in the egalitarian society where everybody is equal in status (2005, p. 93). In addition, taking side of Desai he argues that practical situation of participatory community development is unfair in many ways; the poor and disadvantaged groups contribute their labor while "...those already well off approve projects and programs which favor and support those who are already well off." (Chambers, 2005, p. 93)

**INTEGRATED HOLISTIC APPROACH URBAN DEVELOPMENT
PROJECT:
An Overview**

The concern of this part of the paper is discussing an overview of implementing organization (Integrated Holistic Approach Urban development Program) particularly its historical development and community development activities including slum houses upgrading program. The information in this case was collected from both reviewing existing published and unpublished materials about the organization and interviews obtained from department heads of the organization.

Historical Background: An Overview

IHA-UDP is one of the non-governmental organizations engaged in massive slum upgrading program in Addis Ababa. The organization was established in 1989; and its establishment has connection with the phase-out of an international NGO known as Redd Barna. Redd Barna was providing social services for the poor in the former kebele 41 of *woreda* 4, usually known for the name *Taklehaymanot* (a surrounding area of St *Taklehaymanot* church). Initially, Dr. Jambar, a woman among the former employees of Redd Barna undertook an evaluative research study on the strengths and weaknesses of the activities of the organization, and her findings suggested essentiality of continuing the project. After obtaining endorsement of international philanthropic organizations to carry on the activities and secure funds, she decided to establish the organization (IHA-UDP, 2004). Right after its establishment, the

organization further increased its development activities and incorporated the poorest of the poor from deteriorated neighboring *kebeles* of 30, 42 and 43 in the same *woreda*.

The organization, since its establishment in 1989 up to the end of 1997 provided services in three major community development interventions areas for more than 42, 000 the poor among residents in the four *kebeles*. Working for years with the poor in the former operational area, IHA-UDP handed over the development projects to the community so as to replicate the same program in current research site. Since 1998, the organization is undertaking the same community development interventions targeted the poorest of the poor in the *kebele* 08 and 09 in *kirkos* sub city.

As a guiding principle, IHA-UDP in its development projects targets the poorest of the poor, and vulnerable groups of the community who fail to meet their basic needs and those who are in a miserable life situation. The mission and vision statement of the organization also indicates that the main concern of the organization is to reduce poverty, reinstate dignity and self-worth for helpless as well as despaired poor people in urban areas. In order to break root causes of cycle of poverty and to achieve its mission, IHA-UDP is attempting to empower and build the capacity of the poor so as to enable them to solve their own problems. In addition, the community is participating in the development projects. Though the ultimate objective of this strategy is to address current problems of the poor, their participation gives them opportunity to learn how to run and manage communal resources.

Sub Organizations

IHA-UDP consists of four separate sub-organizations working in different geographic areas, but the educational institution is not limited to a geographic area. The sub organizations indicated in Figure 1 are those organizations under IHA-UDP assigned to undertake development activities in different *kebeles*. The oldest among these sub-organizations is Community Based Sustainable Integrated Development Organization (CBSIDO). The establishment of this sub-organization is to ensure sustainability of development projects that IHA-UDP completed and handed over to the community in four *kebeles* of former *woreda* 4; *Taklehaymanot* area. As its name indicates, the organization is integrative in nature. The management system of the projects has been given to residents of the community except support from IHA-UDP for technical assistance and supervision of some of the activities of community members.

Addis *Hiwot* Integrated Sustainable Development Organization (AHISDO) is also organization under IHA-UDP which took over responsibility for controlling development projects in the former *kebele* 08 of *kirkos* sub city. Similar to that of CBSIDO, establishment of AHISDO is to replace IHA-UDP and ensure sustainability of development projects left for the community and to handle ongoing social service provisions in the area. The EXTENSION project implies the one that IHA-UDP is currently undertaking a usual development intervention of upgrading slum houses and other community development activities in the neighboring *kebele*. As its name indicates, this is the extension of the *kebele* 08. Institute of Urban Workers (IUW) is institution that providing Certificate and Diploma level training for urban workers. This institution is future focus area of IHA-UDP when it relinquishes its current development interventions.

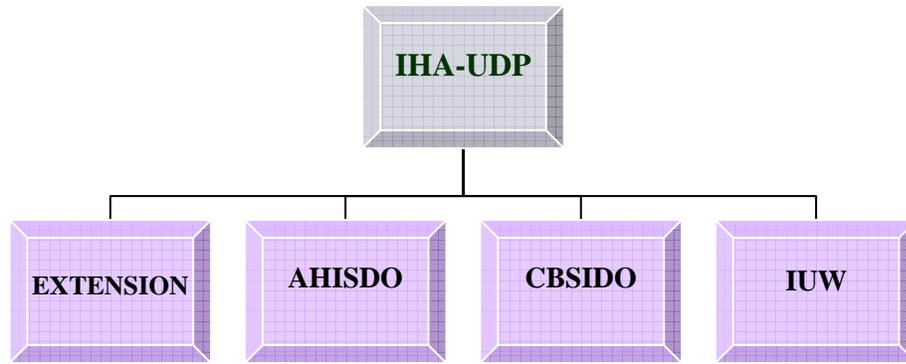


Figure 1,

Structure of Organizations under IHA-UDP

Development Activities of the Departments

In three of the sub-organizations (AHISDO, CBSIDO and EXTENTION), IHA-UDP has involved in holistic and participatory community development intervention that reaches all categories of people from children of under age of 5 to elderly people. The development activities of the organization are categorized into three major departments where each department consists of number of programs intended to address social problems of the community. These departments are: physical upgrading department, community development department, and primary health care department.

The development programs of the physical upgrading department, which is the main focus of this study, are upgrading of slum houses, construction of temporary shelter houses, kitchen, and communal as well as private latrines. Since its establishment, IHA-UDP undertook major and minor repairs for more than 1500 houses and for thousands of kitchens, toilets, and also constructed many temporary shelter houses in the former *woreda* 4 and *kirkos* sub city. Previously, the organization was undertaking major and minor repair for the dilapidated houses for individual residents in both *Taklehaymanot* and former kebele 08 of *kirkos* sub-city. As a result

of current government urban houses development plan, however, IHA-UDP shifted its slum houses upgrading program from construction of private villa houses to communal condominium houses where a building consists of many households.

In addition to shelter houses, this department also engaged in construction of both private and shared toilets and kitchens. The private toilet and kitchen is constructed to those households who lost their rented houses due to proclamation number 47/1975 of the military government that nationalized urban land and extra houses (Solomon, 1999). These people are currently sharing their compound with households living in kebele administrating houses. In a particular compound, around four to six households living in the kebele administering houses are using a shared toilet and kitchen constructed for them by the organization.

The second largest department, community development consists of many programs in which all of the sub-organizations are engaged in their geographic area. The major components of community development department are: a) child and youth program which includes sponsorship for school aged children, providing scholastic materials, school fee, food, and uniform, youth recreation center and training workshop and various youth clubs, b) training and awareness raising seminar for the community, and c) community library. The elderly programs includes food program, recreation services in the day care center, home visit of bedridden senior citizens, provision of cloth, and medical treatment. This department also includes income generating program that has two sub-programs of loan schemes for the poorest of the poor who have no collateral and technical assistance for saving and credit associations.

The health department is providing primary health care and sanitation services for the community. The development programs include provision of potable water for

the poor, building public shower and communal cloth washing pool, construction of condemned public latrines, suction of inundated and full dry pit latrines, and provision of dry waste disposal barrels at the street corners. This department also provides vaccination for pregnant women and children under 5, and controls communicable diseases like TB, skin and eye related diseases. Using community development facilitators, this department also provides health education and training for the general public on personal and environmental hygiene through home visit and arranging public meetings.

RESEARCH METHODS

Research Design

This study deployed cross-sectional study design so as to examine the mode and the level of community participation taking residents of the *kebele* 08 & 09 in *Kirkos* sub-city of Addis Ababa where IHA-UDP is upgrading their dilapidated shelter houses.

In order to generate necessary information and respond the objective of the study, both quantitative and qualitative data collection methods were used. Since the study is more of descriptive and explanatory in nature, more emphasis was given to the qualitative data though quantitative data was used to quantify background of the respondents.

Research Site

The study was conducted in one of the ten sub-cities of Addis Ababa. A 117 years old city, Addis Ababa is a capital and the biggest city in Ethiopia located in the central plateau of the country at an altitude varying from 2200 meters to 2800 meters casing a total area of 200 square kilometers. The official statistics indicates that total population of Addis Ababa is estimated be around 4 to 5 million (Central Statistical Authority, 2004). However, taking sharply increasing population growth rate, the total population of Addis Ababa might be beyond this estimated figure.

The ten sub cities of Addis Ababa also in turn further divided in to the smallest administrative unit called *Kebele*. The statistical report of the city administration (2004) indicates that currently there are around 100 *kebeles* in the capital. In most of *kebeles* like *Kirkos* there are many slum neighborhoods where majority of the residents are residing in overcrowded housing units. In *Kirkos* sub city basic infrastructural facilities like roads, schools, public toilets, shelter houses supply of potable water, sanitation facilities, drainage etc, are among major social problems. In addition, a survey recently conducted indicates lack of health institutions, health posts, clinics, hospitals; prevalent youth unemployment and delinquency are also major community problems (IHA-UDP, 2004).

The research site which is literally called *Sar-bate* (Amharic translation of grass house) is the *kebele* 08 and 09 of *Kirkos* sub city. Geographically, the area is roughly delimited by the Addis Ababa Evangelical College in the North-West, African Union in the North, the main abattoir or slaughterhouse of the city and River Saris in the East, and Dill (Victory) Cotton Factory in the South-West.

Study Population

The study population for this research is the residents of the *kebele* 08 and 09 of *Kirkos* sub-city of Addis Ababa. A survey conducted by IHA-UDP at the end of 1997 depicts that total population of the *kebele* 08 which is known as *Azaj Sefer* was estimated to be around 6,000, and total population of the former *kebele* 09 is estimated to be around 5250 (IHA-UDP, 2004). The current size of the population of the *kebele* 08/ 09 is estimated to be around 15,000.

Even though general population of the *kebele* is more than above figure, the target of the study are those community members who have both benefited from and participated in the slum houses upgrading program. Since commencement of the project, more than 400 households benefited from the program and members of the households are also participating in the program organizing themselves in many groups. Among these people, the participants of the study are neighborhood groups organized to facilitate the project, the community development facilitators, the arbitration committees, and the ordinary members of the community or households. The study population represents both elder and youth groups.

Sample Size and Sampling Procedure

The overall sample size and type of respondents were determined by the objective of the study. Taking people listed above as study population, total of 23 individuals who either benefited or participating in the program were purposively selected as key informant. Among the members of the sample, three of them represent three departments of the implementing organization.

The main focus of the study is to examine the level and the mode of participation that each category of people (elderly, youth, men, women, ordinary residents and community leaders) has in the slum houses upgrading program. Furthermore, the time variation in repairing houses was also another variable since slum upgrading has been started before seven years. Accordingly, the entire study population was divided in to various strata of neighborhood groups, extension education workers, arbitration committee, and ordinary members of the community. The strata also included gender, age and beneficiaries from 1999 to 2006. Finally, 23 individuals (12 female and 11 male) from neighborhood groups, arbitration committee, the implementing organization and the ordinary residents were purposively selected. Even though the study population was divided into such strata, with in each category respondents included in the sample were those who can provide adequate information. In addition to the informants involved in the interview, around 22 community members from neighborhood groups, ordinary residents and the extension education workers were participated in the FGDs.

Sources of Information

The study comprised both primary and secondary sources of information. The primary data was collected from above categories of people using different instruments appropriate in collection of qualitative data. In order to substantiate the primary data, secondary sources of information including various materials were reviewed and incorporated in the analysis.

Data Collection Methods

This study used both qualitative and quantitative methods of data collection. The qualitative method of data collection strategies were used to generate primary information. As prior research findings suggested, application of qualitative method of data collection strategies is "...extremely useful in situations where either in-depth information is needed or little is known about the area" (Kumar, 1999, p. 109). The quantitative data was used to produce and quantify demographic and socioeconomic background of the participants of the study. The instruments used in the collection of primary data are interview, focus group discussion and personal observation.

A) Interview

The interview incorporated more than half of the respondents participated in the study. The in-depth interview as key informant was conducted with the 23 respondents, 20 of them selected from the ordinary residents of the community, neighborhood groups. The rest 3 respondents were from the officials of the organization representing three departments (physical upgrading, community development and the extension project). Other than the officials of the organization, discussants selected from the community were those residents of the neighborhood who either participated in or benefited from slum houses upgrading program of the organization.

A semi-structured interview guideline consisting of a list of questions was prepared and used in the interview. For respondents coming from each category of people (officials of the organization and members of the community), three kind of interview guideline were prepared. The main focus of the interview was their overall understanding of the program, the mode and the level of their participation, factors that motivating them to participate and quit their involvement, and their feelings and also challenges participating in the slum houses upgrading program.

B) Focus Group Discussion

The main purpose of focus group discussion in this case was to substantiate the information gathered using interview. Four focus group discussions consisting of five to six members were conducted. The focus group discussions were made with the neighborhood groups, ordinary residents and extension education workers based on their homogeneity of age, sex and responsibilities assigned for them in the slum houses upgrading program. Accordingly, two groups from neighborhood groups consisting of six male and six female, one group of education extension workers where all of them were female and a group of five ordinary residents participated in the discussions.

As indicated in the table 1, among neighborhood groups who participated in the discussion, half of them (three male and three female) were from *kebele* 08 and the rest of them were from *kebele* 09. The ordinary residents were also selected from both *kebeles* while those extension education workers where all of them were female, were selected from those working on development programs undertaking in the *kebele* 09. For each focus group discussions with each of the categories of people, separate

checklists were used. The items incorporated in the checklists were activities that each of them undertaking, benefits they get working with the organization, factors motivating and deterring their participation, their role in each stages of problem identification, planning and intervention, and so forth.

CATEGORY OF DISCUSSANTS	SEX		AGE			KEBELE		Total
	Male	Female	24-30	31-50	≥ 51	08	09	
Neighborhood Groups	6	6		8	4	6	6	12
Grassroots	3	2		4	1	3	2	5
Extension Education Workers	-	5	5	-	-	-	5	5
Total	9	13	5	12	5	9	13	22

Table 1, Characteristics of Discussants in the FGDs

C) Personal Observation

In all methods of data collection, interview and focus group discussions, there was systematic observation of overt and covert body languages and related behavioral communication methods as additional sources of information. The personal observation in this case, however, is about the observation of activities and level of participation that ordinary residents and other groups have in each stages of slum upgrading program. Accordingly, two public meetings were attended to observe how far the ordinary residents influence ideas of neighborhood groups and officials of the organization. In addition, categories of people dominating the meetings, agenda of discussion and frequencies in which ordinary residents raise and forward ideas etc were main focuses of observation.

In addition to participation in public meetings, the researcher was in kebele 09 of the sub city for two days to observe some of the activities that daily laborers

underrating in the actual slum upgrading program currently undertaking. Furthermore, handing over of temporary shelter houses for the beneficiaries of current slum houses renewal program in the *kebele* where neighborhood groups control the process, check the family size and width of the shelter house; and manage claims of residents in collaboration with officials of the organization was part of the observation.

Retrospective Review

The mission-vision statement of the organization, annual and quarterly reports and other project proposals and action plans that IHA-UDP developed were among main sources to undertake review of the secondary data. In addition, published and unpublished books available in the library of the organization, electronic data sources, national urban development policy, strategic document and guidelines used by NGOs involved in slum upgrading and infrastructural development were thoroughly reviewed. The baseline surveys conducted by IHA-UDP on socioeconomic, infrastructural facilities and situation of maternal health in the community were main targets of document analysis made to understand socioeconomic and other related characteristics of study population.

Procedures of Data Collection

After identification of the sample households the actual data in the case of interview was collected through personal visit of the households. By the help of facilitators from extension education workers, researcher requested willingness of heads of households to give the interview after detail information and other related issues about the research were provided. Those households enthusiastic to participate in the study were appointed for suitable time based on their interest. Following the same trend, entire

respondents were identified and interview which took average of an hour and half was conducted. Representatives from the arbitration committee were selected from those who were available and frequently came to the organization for different purposes.

The participants of focus group discussions were identified following the same procedure in the case of interview. However, they were appointed for the time when all of them were available. According to the guiding principles of focus group discussion, age proximity, similarity in gender and homogeneity in socioeconomic background of participants to acquire reliable information taken into consideration. The participants in this case were selected from population having analogous characteristics of sex, age and specific responsibilities of work assigned for them in the process of slum upgrading program. The participants of the focus group discussions were ranging from age of 25 to 52 where male participants were relatively older than female even though difference is insignificant.

All of the focus group discussions were conducted in the premises of IHA-UDP on three Sundays as per to the interests of the participants when almost all of them were free to provide detail information about their activities in the slum upgrading program. The average time taken for each discussion was about two hours where researcher facilitated the process based on the checklists to manage direction of the discussion and control dominant speakers so as to obtain reliable information through involving all participants of the discussions. In this case, note taking responsibility was given to the assistants.

Data Analysis

The primary data obtained using above data collection methods was analyzed using relevant methods of data analysis after necessary coding scheme was completed and then findings of the data presented. The coded data was arranged based on categories of people that have relation to the slum upgrading program of the organization. The background information of the participants that quantified and presented using frequency distribution was analyzed qualitatively in relation to the themes that identified and used in the analysis.

The mode and level of participation that participants of the study have in slum upgrading program were described and analyzed across the categories of people described above in the sampling process. The themes of the analysis were gender and age based variations in participation, factors that motivating as well as deterring participation of each category of people, and mode of participation or activities that each of the categories of people were undertaking in the program. Finally, after description of the data in each category, intra and inter category analysis was made in order to understand relationships and variations exist among respondents in their participation in the slum upgrading program.

Ethical Standards

The participation of the respondents in the sample was followed procedures of social work ethical considerations. Once target population was identified and size of the sample to be selected was limited, through home visiting, a researcher using assistance of facilitators from the community gave detail information for potential participants about the purpose of the study and its future contribution for the development of the community in urban settings.

Residents were informed that the study was focused on assessment of community participation in slum houses upgrading program in their neighborhood, and only limited number of the community members were intended to be involved in the study. However, participation in the study was based on their free will and told that they can quit their deal as they want even at the middle of the interview and discussion when they feel uncomfortable. In addition, potential participants were informed that since only a researcher knew their responses of either to participate in the study or refrain from doing so, there will be no negative consequence from any institution or individual for their disagreement to participate.

Once they agreed to participate, respondents were assured that their responses would be kept confidential, consequently giving any kind of information carry no consequence because their personal details including names won't be incorporated in the interview. As reporting would be done using aggregate data, participants were told that no information that putting them at risk would be made public without their consent. For further information, potential participants were told to contact physical upgrading department of IHA-UDP that undertaking the slum upgrading program. Furthermore, participants were informed that they will receive a payment of 40 Birr for their participation in the study.

PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS AND DATA ANALYSIS

This is summary report of primary data generated using interview with 23 key informants, personal observation and focus group discussion with group of people from the community about their participation in the slum upgrading housing program. The summary report consists of presentation and analysis of demographic and socioeconomic data of participants of the study according to the categories of people they were recruited from. The main focus of this part of the paper, however, is the report and the analysis of qualitative data that collected from various categories of people focusing on various issues of their relationship to the slum houses upgrading program in their neighborhood.

This part of the paper consists of presentation of the findings, and analysis and discussion. The data presentation of data findings covers demographic, socioeconomic background and other related findings. However, the figurative presentation of the background of the participants using percentage and contingency table was attached in the annex section of the report. The second part, data analysis scrutinizes the relationships and differences observed in the data collected during field work through above three methods.

Findings of Data

Demographic Data

According to the data, participants of the study have diverse demographic and socioeconomic backgrounds of age, sex, level of education, income and other related characteristics. The age and sex distribution of data indicates that the respondents

selected relatively represent almost all categories of people with age limits and gender. Accordingly more than 55 % of the respondents participated in the study; both in the interview and FGD were in between age limits of 25 and 44 that normally known as economically active and the productive part of the society. Among participants of the interview, those their age was below 24 and above 55 age limits were almost equal in number where each of them consists of three individuals. The rest four of the respondents laid in between the age categories of 45 and 54.

The age and sex distribution of the interviewees also indicates that female respondents are slightly greater than the male (13 of the total 23) while the rest 10 of them were male. The age and sex distribution of data in combination also reveals that either female or male participants dominated some categories of age limits. Accordingly, there was no representative for female respondents above the age of 55 where male participants account for 100 % of the total of both male and female respondents in this age category. Furthermore the data indicates that male interviewees between the age limits of 45 and 54 were almost double of the female though female respondents were dominant in between age limits of 35 and 44 (8 female and 1 male). Though there was equal distribution of female and male respondents in between age limits of 25 and 34 and below 24, about nine of the 12 female interviewees concentrated in between ages of 25 and 44 where male equivalents were only three.

The demographic data portrays that among the total respondents significant percentage (10 of 23) of them were married. Among total interviewees, seven and four of them were single and widowed respectively. In addition, two of the interview reported that they were separated and one divorced. Despite slight variations, their demographic characteristics also indicate the proportional distribution of data among

married, divorced and separated respondents of both sexes. Taking widowed interviewees in to consideration, however, female interviewees were almost dominant (three of four) while male dominance was the case for single respondents that carries five of seven.

Socioeconomic Data

Socioeconomic survey conducted in this community by the implementing organization depicts that significant proportion (almost one third) of the residents of the community especially heads of the household are illiterate and have no marketable skill (IHA-UDP, 2004). The educational background of the participants depicts that situation is still unchanged even after three years. Accordingly, around 29 % of the total (one fourth of male and one third of female) are illiterate and figure rises to 58 % including those who completed grade 4. Furthermore, three fourth of the total interviewees have educational background of below grade 8 and those who completed grades 9 and above accounts the rest one fourth of the total. The most of the discussants of the FGD also reported their illiteracy.

The socioeconomic data also indicates that almost all of the female respondents who have educational background of 10+2 or 12 are the youth. Among female interviewees, those who have educational background of above grade 12 are both officials of the implementing organization and the neighborhood groups. The educational background of the participants indicates that unlike other variables, there is a proportional distribution of level of education for male and female respondents in each age category though most of them don't complete elementary level of education.

The baseline survey conducted in this community indicates that around 37 % of the households of the community are earning less than 100 Eth Birr a month to support basic needs of their family members (average 5.9 per household), and about 65 % of the residents earn monthly income of less than 250 Eth Birr (IHA-UDP, 1997, 2004). According to the findings of the study, the changes or improvement in their living standard is almost insignificant. Among total of 23 participants, eight of them make less than 100 Eth Birr a month and 12 of them disclosed that their monthly income is between 101 and 200 Eth Birr. The rest three of the participants are also earning monthly income of between 201 and 400 Eth Birr, but none of the interviewees earn an income of more than 450 Eth Birr per month. Furthermore, the majority (around 87 %) or 20 of 23 are earning an income of less than 200 Eth Birr a month.

The distribution of monthly income of the interviewees across their age and sex indicates that majority of them mainly those above the age of 55 are making less than 200 Eth Birr a month. In addition, 11 of 12 female and eight of 10 male interviewees are earning less than 200 Eth Birr per month. Most of the respondents earning above 200 Eth Birr a month are the youth (both male and female) below the age of 28 who usually work out side the community. The main sources of income for the majority of the households earning around 100 or 150 Eth Birr includes selling food and fuel wood in the local market (*guilt*), pension, casual work as daily laborer and support form their children.

The ownership of housing units reveals residents (owning private or *kebele* house) participate more in the *slum* houses upgrading project than the rest. Among the participants of the study, more than 15 of them are living in the *kebele* administering houses and the rest eight in the privately owned houses. In spite of variations in the

ownership of the houses, the socioeconomic background of the participants indicates that most of those living in *kebele* administering houses have relatively lower level of income compared to those living in the private houses. Since poverty is all-encompassing in this community, as FGD discussants also stated, this variation doesn't mean that residents of the community owning private houses are earning enough monthly income though it is relatively better than those living in the *kebele* administering houses.

Categories of People Participating in the Project

Studies undertaken in many countries investigate the existence of differences between theory and rhetoric community participation in development programs at the local level. Furthermore, community participation varies from country to country and depending on the very nature of projects as well. This study also shows the existence of differences and similarities in the level of participation of the community members in the slum upgrading program. In the organization, there is a systematically organized and structured system of community participation whereby everybody understands the purpose of the consortium, when and where he/she can provide expected assistance.

The implementing organization, Integrated Holistic Approach Urban Development Project (IHA-UDP) categorized and organized community members enthusiastic to participate in the project into neighborhood groups (NHG), arbitration committee (group of elderly people mediating conflicts in the community), community development facilitators (CDF) and the rest ordinary residents participating in the project either through partial volunteer daily laborer and/or those providing a free

labor contribution to the organization. Even though these groups were assigned to undertake specific activities, most of their work is interlinked in several ways; and the lagging behind of any of these groups affects the performance of the others. The specific activities of these groups and the community at large, their mode and level of participation in the project are presented as follows.

A) *Neighborhood Groups (NHG)*

The neighborhood groups in this community are residents of the community who have close relation to and are actively participating in every aspect of community development activities that IHA-UDP is undertaking including slum houses upgrading program. Other members of the community are also participating in the program, but what makes neighborhood groups different from the rest is that they are not participating haphazardly. Rather, they have their own structure in which each member of the neighborhood groups carries out specific activities at different levels of arrangement to facilitate the smooth running of the slum upgrading. Unlike other residents, the neighborhood groups are more responsible for the successful accomplishment of the community development and slum houses upgrading programs that IHA-UDP is engaged in.

The neighborhood groups in this community are organized according to different levels of arrangements based on the geographic settlement structure and networks of feeder roads. The arrangements as presented in Figure 2 are family level, sub-zonal, zonal and *kebele* level. The arrangement of this community is totally opposite to the municipality arrangement of the city where zone in the formal arrangement is above *kebele*. However, the variation in the arrangements of the

municipality and the organization doesn't have any kind of impact on the participation of the community members in the slum houses upgrading program.

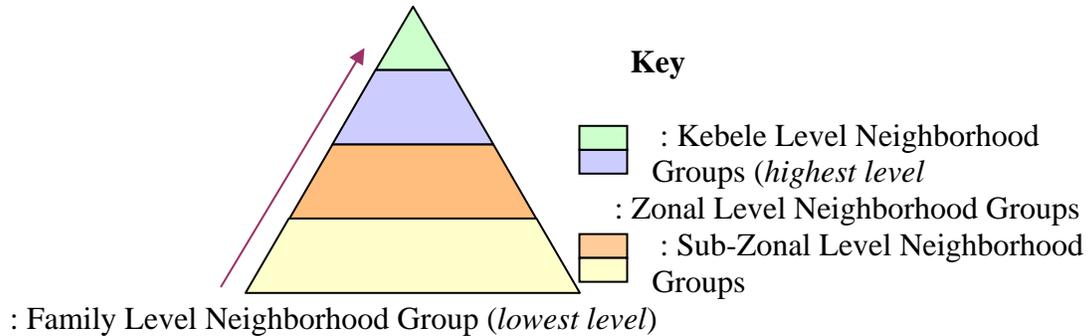


Fig 2, Structure of Neighborhood Groups

The arrangement of the neighborhood groups also follows the structure of community. Based on spatial proximity, the entire community was divided in to two big *kebeles* (*kebele* 08 and 09) consisting of 18 zones and 90 sub-zones. In addition, each sub-zone consists of around 20 or 25 compounds with many households. The lowest level of community arrangement, the family level, refers to the group of households living together in a compound, usually consisting of four to six households. The residents of each compound select at least three individuals, either from heads of the households or elder sons or daughters, as their representative in the three development departments of the organization. In addition, households have to select two youths so as to supervise the overall process of development projects targeted to avert problems of the youth in the community. Based on this selection process, a total of 1350 neighborhood groups (around 750 in *kebele* 08 and 600 in *kebele* 09) are selected to work at the family level arrangement of neighborhood groups.

The neighborhood groups selected from each compound to work at the family level arrangement become sources for the selection of the neighborhood groups going to work at the three levels (sub-zonal, zonal and *kebele*). Once the community selects neighborhood groups at the family level through public voting, the members of neighborhood groups themselves at this level select representatives to facilitate the development process at other levels. According to this format of the selection process, each sub-zone selects three neighborhood groups among family level representatives representing three departments of the organization and one youth representative. The 90 sub-zones of the community (selecting 4 representatives) finally have total of 360 neighborhood groups working at this level.

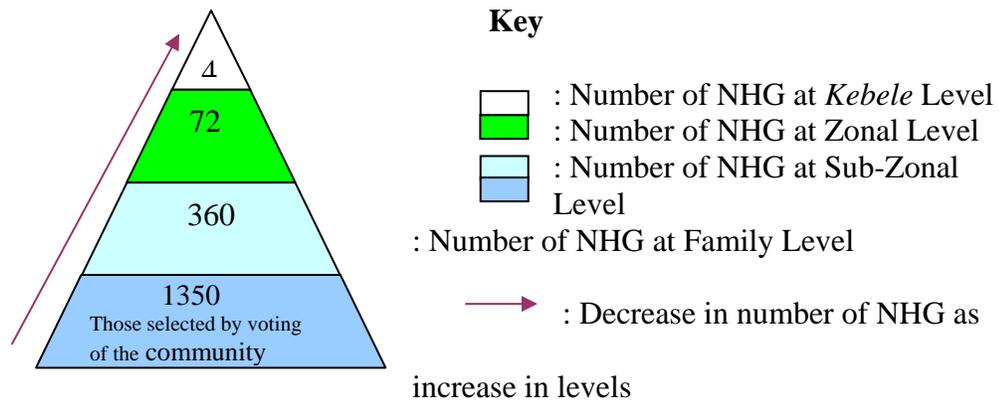


Figure 3, Total number of Neighborhood Groups at each Level

The arrangement of the neighborhood groups looks like pyramid in shape as presented in Figures 2 & 3. The rationale for having this kind of shape for the diagram is number of neighborhood groups decreases as one goes up in the diagram or levels of arrangement. The next level of neighborhood groups, the zonal level, consists of

around 72 neighborhood groups (4 representatives for each of the 18 zones) selected from 360 neighborhood groups working at sub-zonal levels. The highest level of the arrangement, the *kebele* level, which represents the entire community, has four neighborhood groups selected from those working at the zonal level. Unlike other neighborhood groups, those working at the zonal and the *kebele* level are participating in the most of the activities assigned to neighborhood groups in the process of slum houses upgrading.

Criteria for Selection of Neighborhood Groups

The neighborhood groups are selected by the general public to facilitate development programs. Based on the technical assistance of implementing organization, residents of the community ratified about eight criteria to identify potential neighborhood groups work on behalf of the community. Information obtained from participants of interview and focus group discussions indicates that potential nominees must not be dealing with any kind of drug and free from crime records. They must clearly understand the pressing needs of the community (at least concerning their neighboring households), must have good community reputation, be willing to work voluntarily, and have experience of working with communities in participatory approaches. Even though community members didn't include socioeconomic background of the nominees in the lists of criteria, some of the participants disclosed that, currently, members are taking the socioeconomic background of the potential neighborhood groups especially their level of education into consideration in nominating them. Among the lists of criteria, however, main priority is given to public reputation and achievements of candidates in their previous endeavors on behalf of the community.

With the list of criteria in place, the selection of neighborhood groups depends on both the approval of the majority of the residents and willingness of the nominated individuals. The selection of neighborhoods was undertaken by the community at public meetings arranged for this purpose in which entire population of neighborhood was allowed to take part in the process. Using extension education workers, the implementing organization, IHA-UDP initiated the process and called the entire community for meetings at the public hall in the *kebele*. Through a long process of nomination and the evaluation of the background of the nominees, community members selected neighborhood groups through a democratic system of voting for the nominees. Any member of neighborhood group selected through this long process has right to quit his/her public responsibility at any time without permission of the community when he/she feels uncomfortable.

B) *Arbitration Committee*

In addition to neighborhood groups that the community members selected as their representative, IHA-UDP also selected some people and organized them to facilitate the slum upgrading program and other development activities. The arbitration committee refers to the group of elderly people in the community who are influential for their age and public reputation. In addition to their duties of adjudication and the resolution of conflicts that arise in the community, IHA-UDP organized them to manage conflicts arise in slum upgrading program. The members of the committee, who are selected from all zones of the community, have extensive information about their community and are more experienced in solving disputes than anybody else. This committee, in collaboration with the zonal and the *kebele* level neighborhood groups,

intervenes and solve conflicts that have the potential of deterring activities in the slum upgrading program. The most of the members of the arbitration committee are beneficiaries of the organization in the elderly program while for others; their children are sponsored by the organization.

C) *Extension Education Workers*

Extension education workers, also known by the name community development facilitators, are the young women residents of the community who hired permanently by the organization. The focus group discussion with their representatives and interview result from the officials of the organization indicate that they have crucial role in the development interventions of the organization. As their name indicates, they are facilitating development and slum upgrading programs at the community level and are playing a mediating role between the residents of the community and the implementing organization, IHA-UDP.

The selection of community development facilitators is similar to that of the professional workers of the organization and follows extensive recruitment procedures. Besides passing an entrance exam, the organization listed being female, a resident of the community, completing grade 12, and age more than 18 and below 30 years as criteria. Unlike the case of neighborhood groups, however, community has no involvement in selection of the facilitators and the arbitration committee. Furthermore, community development facilitators, unlike the arbitration committee and neighborhood groups who are working voluntarily, have a fixed 192 Eth Birr monthly salary. Even though they are employees of the organization, they are considered as

par time volunteers by the officials since their salary is almost equivalent to a minimum payment for the volunteers and daily laborers.

Mode and Level of Participation

The finding of the study indicates that most of the community members are participating in the slum houses upgrading program and contributing what is expected from them. However, analyzing the specific activities that residents from each category of people are undertaking, there is variation in their mode and level of participation. The detail of the activities that assigned for the neighborhood groups, the arbitration committees, the extension education workers and daily laborers are presented as follows.

A) Activities of Neighborhood Groups

The neighborhood groups who participate in both focus group discussions underlined that they are involving in every aspect of the slum upgrading program. They spent most of their time working in the project than their own personal duties. Accordingly, since commencement of the program of slum upgrading, particularly in early 1999 and late 2000 when the slum houses upgrading program was a new phenomenon for the residents, neighborhood groups were busy in attending meetings twice a week, on weekends, and sometimes at night to discuss major problems of the community.

Following the identification of dilapidated and hard-to-live houses and other pressing needs of the community, the first task of the neighborhood groups is submitting to three development departments of the organization. Among the neighborhood groups, selection of dilapidated houses for both major and minor repair is the responsibility of those assigned to work with the physical upgrading department.

Furthermore, these groups also engage in the selection of a free labor service providers from the community, control activities of daily laborers, and are also expected to participate in meetings arranging occasionally to tackle problems arise in the slum upgrading program. Both interviewees and discussants of FGD from this group mentioned that another task that still challenges them a lot is supporting the arbitration committee in mediating conflicts which arise in the process of demolishing and reconstruction of houses.

Currently, the organization shifted from construction of private villa houses to communal condominium houses due to the current urban housing policy of government. Accordingly, activities of the neighborhood groups, mainly those working at the zonal and the *kebele* levels also changed. The working system of this group is that neighborhood groups at the family level identify the most deteriorated houses from their compound and submit the lists of potential beneficiaries to the sub-zonal and zonal level neighborhood groups. In the identification of rundown houses, the family level neighborhood groups have the assistance of community development facilitators. The main task of the sub-zonal level neighborhood groups is prioritizing among the list of houses collected by their associates at the family level for immediate minor or major repair.

The neighborhood groups at the higher level are responsible for many activities in the process of slum houses upgrading program. The final process of prioritization and the decision on houses for the repairing program, the selection of volunteers, controlling daily laborers and other related tasks, are left for zonal level neighborhood groups. However, in the selection of the volunteers and the identification of par time volunteer daily laborers, there is involvement of some of the neighborhood groups at

the family level. Informants stated that in the beginning of the program, neighborhood groups were busy supervising the daily routine of other groups and also controlling the activities of the contractors. A female discussant of focus group discussions, she involved as neighborhood group at zonal level from 2000 to 2003 reported, “Some times we threw the construction bricks to check its strength. When we believe that the contractor is using low quality construction materials, we stop the construction process and report to the organization especially physical upgrading department.”

In the slum upgrading program, the *kebele* level neighborhood groups are more involved in the crucial issues though they are participating in the prioritizing process as the zonal level neighborhood groups do. The main task of the *kebele* level neighborhood groups is controlling and mediating conflicts that arise in the process of slum upgrading together with the arbitration committee arranged for this purpose. Among the FGD discussants, a man working since 2004 in a neighborhood group at the *kebele* states:

Though things sometimes are challenging, as *kebele* level neighborhood group we participate in most of the meetings arranged to deal with community problems and work on slum houses prioritization process. Working with this organization, a serious problem that challenging us is quarreling with our neighbors in mediating disputes between former owners of house who claim a return of their house and those living in the house renting from the *kebele*

The neighborhood groups at four levels of arrangement are working on the activities that IHA-UDP is undertaking in the slum houses upgrading program. The main processes that have to be taken into consideration are identification of the basic needs of the community, prioritizing among the list of the problems, deciding on the implementation plans and interpreting the program into practice or program implementation. In this program of slum houses renewal program, neighborhood

groups representing their community are participating in the problem identification, prioritization and finally in the implementing the program. Furthermore, they also participate in the problem solving meetings arranged by the implementing organization and mediating ongoing problems.

Even though neighborhood groups are providing services voluntarily to the community without any compensation, the most of them persist in working despite challenges they encounter. However, burden of work and challenges are currently decreasing for the neighborhood groups following change in the slum houses upgrading program from the construction of villa houses into the condominium house. In the current program, the neighborhoods select and prioritize among deteriorated compounds and/or sub-zones which consists many rundown houses.

B) Activities of Extension Education Workers

The activities of the extension education workers are not as sophisticated as those of neighborhood groups. In the slum upgrading program, the extension education workers are responsible to support family level neighborhood groups in identifying slum houses, and facilitating meetings arranged by the organization. In addition, they are expected to participate in demolishing and handing over of shelter houses for the community together with the *kebele* and zonal level neighborhood groups. However they are not involved in specific activities of prioritization of houses for the upgrading like the neighborhood groups. Furthermore, they are also responsible to write reports to the organization on activities of other groups except the daily laborers that are participating in the community development and slum houses upgrading program of the organization.

The extension education workers, they are also working on the mediation of the problems occurring in the program assist the *kebele* level neighborhood groups and arbitration committees. Their participation in the slum houses upgrading program is that organization recruited them based on their willingness to work voluntarily. Furthermore, as some of FGD discussants stated they are working in the challenging conditions and are facing many problems from the community members like assault working during weekends and night. However, the payment they earn is not comparable to the amount of work burden imposed on them.

C) Activities of Arbitration Committee

The arbitration committees, who selected from each zones of the community, are playing a key role in the slum houses upgrading program. The only task they engaged in assisting the organization is mediating conflicts which arise in the community. The arbitration committee has power to enforce households renting the *kebele* administering houses when they prefer not to get their houses repaired. Despite the deterioration of their houses, the main reason people hesitate to get their houses repaired is that they are uncertain about intention of former owners of the house who repeatedly tried to return their houses. An army officer currently working as attorney for three *Iddirs* (social institutions for mourning) in his neighborhood and member of the arbitration committee states:

Arbitration is respectful work that we get it due to our age. However, working with this organization tremendously affected our social interaction with some of our neighbors. We are handling and mediating conflicts coming from residents claiming about size of newly constructing houses, quarreling about the position of windows and doors of houses of their neighbors. Sometimes previous owners of the houses attempt to refute the existence of households in their compound renting the *kebele* administering house after demolishing and/or repair.

In the slum upgrading program, the activities of arbitration committee indicate that members are not taking part in problem identification, prioritization, decision making and/or implementation programs as other groups do. However, their participation is decisive since entire process of the slum houses upgrading program can't be undertaken without addressing ongoing problems.

D) Tasks of General Public in Slum Upgrading Program

The results of interview and FGD indicate that community members have strong involvement in the slum upgrading program of IHA-UDP. The participants stated that the poor and rich, women and men, young and elderly, those living in the *kebele* administering houses and in their own private house have some kind of attachment to at least one part of the slum renewal program since onset of the project. However, this doesn't mean that all of them have an equal level of involvement. It is, therefore, necessary to describe the detail of the specific activities that each member of the community is undertaking in the slum upgrading and other community development activities of the organization.

The data obtained through interview, FGD and observation show that majority of the poor members of the community have strong involvement mainly during the actual stage of slum houses upgrading (construction) compared to participation in the planning and designing stages of the program. The latter stages are totally the businesses of the experts of the organization. The underlying cause of their

negligence to attend meetings in the planning stage was reported as that they think that neighborhood groups representing them can do whatever is necessary for community. However, there are some members of the community participating in public meetings as well. The ordinary members of the community who are actively participating in the program can be divided into paraprofessionals and daily laborers based on their wage payment and overall activities they are working.

Daily Laborers. The daily laborers are among ordinary members of the community working in the program. This category includes those household heads and the youths participating and working during the actual stage of slum upgrading program. The amount of wage payment for these people is ranging from five to eight Eth Birr a day. They are working for 15 days a month which they call “half month retirement”, a policy of the organization requiring the participation of all of the registered daily laborers. Unlike the neighborhood groups, the arbitration committee and the community development facilitators, for the daily laborers there are no specific activities. Rather, they work in any of the activities where labor is in scarce supply.

Paraprofessionals. Paraprofessionals are also ordinary members of the community taking part in the slum houses upgrading program of IHA-UDP. They are working as carpenters, foreman and so forth earning wage payment ranging from 15 to 35 Eth Birr per day depending on their qualifications. In addition, paraprofessional workers are assigned to undertake specific kinds of work and they know the extent of their responsibilities. The paraprofessionals unlike the “half month retirement” daily laborers are working the whole month.

Other than paraprofessionals and daily laborers, there are also residents of the community especially students from a poor family background who are occasionally participating in the project. One student said, “From 2002 to 2005, during end of the year and midyear breaks, I had worked in the project getting 6 Birr a day. Though work was tiresome and boring, working there was the only solution to complete my education.” Two informants working in the program stated that day labor became a source of additional income for some of the youth, especially females who usually selling fuel wood and wash clothes in their neighborhoods for a minimum payment. However, those residents of the community working in the government and private organizations provide free labor contributions during weekends without any kind of reimbursement.

Taking the socioeconomic background of the interviewees, the results show that majority of the economically well-to-do community members participate casually in the slum houses upgrading program. The FGD discussants also mentioned that these people participate when the extension education workers and the neighborhood groups ask them for help during the demolition of houses in their compounds. Residents participating casually in the program are reluctant to participate in public meetings as well. On the other hand, some of the members of the community who worked as daily laborer in the program for an average of two years quit their involvement after securing an alternative job and getting houses of theirs, relatives and/or their parents repaired.

Perception of Community Members about their Participation

The purpose of assessing their perception towards the nature of their involvement in the slum upgrading program is to understand the motivating factor that make them take part in the program. Majority of the participants of the study both in the interview and FGD have a positive perception towards their participation in the renewal of their community and their contribution. However, the data also indicates that perception of the participants of the study differs depending on their socioeconomic and demographic background. Accordingly, the poor explained their perception of taking part in the slum houses upgrading program in terms of benefits they obtained mainly financial gains and getting their houses repaired and/or reconstructed.

The neighborhood groups and other ordinary members of the community, especially those blaming organization for hesitating to incorporate their interests into consideration said that their participation in the program is not worthwhile. A woman participated in the program as daily laborer said, "...my husband and I worked in the program for the three years and we have benefited by the program in many ways. However, I am not happy in my participation. The reason is that look the roof of the house, it is so short compared to the roof of the old house." In addition, some of the neighborhood groups are frustrated by the interference of the organization in their work and negligence form the organization to take their worries into consideration.

Even though some of the ordinary members are proud of their involvement in the renewal of their neighborhood, they are not interested in some of the activities of neighborhood groups and the organization. The problem mentioned by these people was that neighborhood groups and officials of the organization sometimes reject the ideas and grievances of the community in the slum upgrading program. As one interviewee working as daily laborer in the program since 2002 stated:

...officials of the organization invited us to select our representatives and work together with them, and we attended many meetings. Most of the time, however, the neighborhood groups and officials of the organization dominate the agenda of meetings; they quarrel with each other in discussing their ideas. We residents just hear issues raised by them up to the end of the sessions saying nothing at all about our concern.

Though some of the studied groups mentioned that the program consists of problems, and others quit their participation due to various reasons, most of them persist in taking part in the program.

Analysis and Discussion

The main emphasis of this part of the paper is analysis of findings of the data specifically relationships and differences observed in the qualitative and quantitative aspects of the information. The qualitative data, as main focus of the study, was described and analyzed within and across the categories of people using themes of analysis as a basis. Themes of analysis included the rationale for the occurrence of such kind of similarities and differences among categories of people in participating in the slum upgrading program, their mode of participation, motivating factors and situation of participation in the decision making process.

In addition to analyzing the data across the categories of participants, the study also attempts to relate findings of the study to the theoretical frameworks of participatory community development and the research findings investigated by other researchers in different countries that reviewed above. In this case, main focus is to compare situation of community participation in the case of NGO initiated and government sponsored projects based on similarities and differences in the research findings.

Development Approach of the Organization

The review of secondary data, mainly the mission and vision statements, annual and quarter reports of the organization and responses obtained from officials of the organization indicate that development approach of (IHA-UDP) is somewhat similar to the philosophy of the alternative development model. The finding of the study also indicates that this organization engaged in all encompassing development programs ranging from physical upgrading of deteriorated shelter houses and development of infrastructural facilities to social development of improving quality of life of the poor in the operational area.

According to alternative development model, the ultimate objective of any development intervention has to respond to the needs of local people. In addition any development project must be sustainable and environmentally sound. The philosophy of this model also considers residents of the community as the one to participate, decide on and control over the entire process of the projects. What makes approach of the development intervention that IHA-UDP uses similar to the philosophy of this model is that there is an attempt to improve living standard of the residents and ensuring sustainability of through handing over administrative system of some of the projects to the community. The credit and saving schemes also signifies the existence of efforts to create a self-sufficient community rather than making the poor depend on the social services of the organization. However, the actual process of development

projects and slum upgrading programs are not given to the community at the very beginning.

Characteristics of Participants

The socioeconomic and demographic data signify that all categories of community members participated in the interview, male and female, youth and elderly, and the poor as well as the rich have some kind of involvement in the community development and slum houses upgrading program in their neighborhood. However, in looking at the specific activities assigned for each category of people, the data shows that some of the residents of the community are more engaged in the program than others.

The findings reveal that there is relationship between socioeconomic background of the participants and their mode as well as level of involvement in the slum upgrading program. The poor and illiterate respondents stated that they have worked and are still working with the organization through participating as daily laborers. The neighborhood groups who are similar to the poor ordinary people in their socioeconomic background are also participating as daily laborer besides facilitating the program. Unlike the socioeconomic data, there is no such a clear relationship between demographic data and mode of participation. Nevertheless, taking overall background of the informants as investigated by the study, it is possible to say that socioeconomic background of people contributes for the occurrence of variations in the mode as well as level of participation in the involvement of community members in the development programs.

Mode and Level of Participation

The literature on the alternative development model states that community participation is not one time intervention. Rather, it is a process in which underprivileged community members take part in the identification, policy formulation, and implementation of development programs in their locality (Imparato & Ruster, 2003; Midgley, 1995). In addition, participation goes beyond and includes involvement in different levels from the initial point of program development to post-implementation evaluation of the performance and sustainability of projects. The level of participation in this case is not about participation in nationwide policy level but rather about the simple project level labor contribution and participation in the planning, and designing stages of particular development project.

The very definition of community participation especially at the project level indicates that genuine participation implies involvement of community members through the overall process and influence the direction of development projects in their neighborhood including evaluation of its output at the end (Imparato & Ruster, 2003; Homan, 1999). However, similar to other research results, community participation in this case indicates that majority of the residents of the community participate mainly in the implementation stage. Comparing their involvement with the definition of Imparato & Ruster (2003), it is possible to say that participation community members in this project doesn't go to the extent of controlling and directing the entire process of intervention, but simply contributing their labor. This is not to refute involvement of some of the community members at the planning stage particularly neighborhood groups and attendance of community members some of the public meetings. However compared to the definition of the term community participation, participants in this case never exert any kind of influence to bring

change in the project as per to their interests through participating in the program implementation and attending meetings. Rather, participation in the meetings at this stage may be to solve problems may potentially sideline the project.

As study indicates the entire community has been divided exclusively into neighborhood groups, community development facilitators and the general public. Even though all of them are assigned to work on specific activities, their activities are not that much different. Unlike research reports reviewed above, despite the existence of various levels of participation in the slum upgrading program, there is no meaningful gender and age based variation among participants of the program in each of the categories of people. Therefore, it is possible to argue that unlike the findings of Desai, where the community leaders are dominant and control overall process, in this study, none of the studied groups totally dominate the project and none of them also are out of the process at least during the implementing stage.

A) Participation of NHG and Arbitration Committee

According to Desai and Homan, community leaders or core groups, who usually are better educated than others initiate the idea of development, decide on and have control over all process of the project. They provide their time and resources other than anybody else due to their benefit from attainment of the objectives of the proposed development project. Neighborhood groups, unlike the community leaders, are not different in socioeconomic and educational background from other members of the community. In addition, they are not dominating development interventions for their benefit since they have no personal relationship to the government officials and civic organizations in the community and are working voluntarily.

In the slum upgrading and community development interventions of IHA-UDP, neighborhood groups are not initiating the very idea of the projects, but they are facilitating development programs initiated and funded by outsiders who worry about the living situation of the community. Unlike the core groups who initiated and motivated to address community problems, the neighborhood groups in the slum upgrading program have been given this responsibility to work on behalf of the community. Even though they are assigned to participate in the identification of deteriorated houses and other problems, they are not in a position to decide on what and how of the program. Thus, it is possible to say that they are not playing a meaningful role, especially in the planning and decision of the slum upgrading program.

The studies reviewed above indicates that the reason that usually makes community leaders active and control the entire process of development projects in their neighborhood is their educational and socioeconomic status. However, neighborhood groups in this case are not different from the mass in their socioeconomic background. When we see the criteria for selection of neighborhood, one of the criteria is their knowledge of the problems of the community that nobody except those living in the situation in the community understands these problems. Therefore, this point gives ground to argue that among the reasons that make them out of the game of decision making process in the slum houses upgrading program is their educational background, since decision making and handling planning process is based on merit rather than experience of the problem.

Similar to other research findings and very definition of community participation, neighborhood groups in this case frequently attend meetings arranged

either for the general public or exclusively for them. In addition, members of the group at different levels have close contact with one another so as to discuss on how the program is going. However, unlike community leaders discussed above, who arrange meetings by themselves, neighborhood groups are attending meetings arranged by the implementing organization and agenda of discussion most of the time comes from the organization. Furthermore, they don't know the next schedule unless facilitators and officials of the organization inform them.

The discussants from neighborhood groups that participated in the focus group discussions state that even though they are working diligently on behalf of the community in the slum houses upgrading program, officials of the organization sometimes interfere in public issues assigned to them, and neglect their issues in the meetings. This implies that even neighborhood groups have no power to control over and decide on their activities and their voice is not heard by the organization. Their marginal position in the decision making process can be explained in terms size and design of the houses. The most of the studied groups mentioned that the size and design, especially shortness of the roof of newly constructed and/ or repaired houses as major problem. It is also possible to say that neighborhood groups simply identify problems of the community, provide the list of problems to the organization, and together with officials discuss sources of the problem. Finally, the organization alone plans how and when to solve these problems and incorporate other groups in the implementation stage.

The members of arbitration committee on the other hand are told by the officials of the organization to handle conflicts together with neighborhood groups working at the *kebele* level. The members of arbitration committee, even they participate in public

meetings participating in decision making and planning process, their participation is not similar to the neighborhood groups. Unlike the neighborhood groups, members of the arbitration committee never take part in the actual slum upgrading program. In addition, the occasional nature of their work implies that these groups have no role in the activities of the organization when conflicts challenge the organization in the upgrading slum houses cease to occur.

B) Participation of Education Extension Workers

The community development facilitators are also among members of the community taking part and contributing their labor in the slum upgrading program. Their equivalent in the case of Desai and Homan are mediators and ongoing active participants or workers respectively. The mediators as discussed above have significant contribution and influence on the work of initiators since resource mobilization and publicizing the idea of the project to the local community depends on efforts of the mediators. Though community development facilitators in this case are acting as bridges between the organization and community and assisting neighborhood groups, they never influence the performance of the neighborhood groups. The reason is that, unlike initiators who initiate the idea of development, neighborhood groups in this case are not controlling the entire project including its budget. In addition, except a free labor, the entire fund of the project to run the project is coming from out side of the community.

Specific task provided for extension education workers is to facilitate the slum upgrading program at the grassroots level mainly in identifying houses for repair with neighborhood groups. In addition, they participate as eyewitnesses in the demolishing

of the old and handing over of the repaired houses. Handing out invitations for the residents to attend meetings and writing a quarterly report about their and other groups to the organization are also some of their activities. Since they are employees of the organization, it seems that in their participation in the program, they may not reflect the interests of the community and/ or work on behalf of the community. Nonetheless, taking amount of their monthly payment, which is almost half of their labor; it is possible to say that they are in the process of participation. In addition, unlike other workers of the organization, they are working in weekends and at night after office hours without any kind of overtime payment. The criteria in selecting them also indicate that they are willing to contribute half of their labor to the development of their community.

The mediators as discussed above were acting as bridge between initiators and the community and committed to contribute their time and resources to the community. The position of facilitators in this case is similar to mediators specifically in bridging the implementing organization with the general public. Since they are working as par-time volunteer daily laborer earning only 192 Eth Birr a month for their tedious and boring work and working even on weekends, they are contributing their time and resource to the improvement of the life of the residents. However, what they bridge is not the initiators and community as mediators did, but the implementing organization (NGO) and the community.

The extension education workers, unlike other ordinary members of the community have a representative in the board of directors of the organization. However, they never exert any kind of pressure on the policy of the organization, and

also unable to raise the amount of salary they earn that most of the discussants claimed it is not related to the burden of work imposed on them.

Homan found that assisters and ongoing active participants who prefer not to take part in all aspects of the project have relatively scant understanding of the overall program. However, their equivalents, extension education workers, since they participate in all activities of slum upgrading and other development programs they may have better understandings. Furthermore, extension education workers are taking part in daily routine of the organization more than all of the groups participating in the slum upgrading program. As their activities indicate, and it was also observed, community development facilitators have no say in the planning and decision making process. Even in the community meetings, the main tasks assigned for them are recording and facilitating rather than actively taking part so as to challenge ideas raised by officials and community members. This is not to discredit their labor contribution to the renewal of community and addressing other social problems in the community.

C) Participation of Ordinary Members of the Community

The overall participation of community in the slum houses upgrading program of IHA-UDP seems that community is participating through its representatives, neighborhood groups. However, the background of the respondents indicates that community members themselves also participate in the program mainly as daily laborers. The statistics indicate that for those members of the community earning less than 200 Eth Birr a month, the main source of income is either working in the program or as petty trader. These members are actively involving in the program. This is direct

opposite of the finding of other studies where majority of the community members participate only when requested by the mediators or initiators to do so.

Literature on participatory development projects investigated that marginalized groups like women and youth usually neglected and deliberately kept apart. However, the demographic data reveals that more than half of the studied groups are females. The discussants of FGDs also stated that women and youth in the community participate in the slum houses upgrading program of IHA-UDP. This implies that gender and age based exclusion doesn't exist in this case.

The majority of interviewees and discussants of FGD from the ordinary residents of the community state that they are participating in the slum upgrading program mainly as daily laborers, and occasionally participate in the public meetings. Their participation other than implementation stage as daily laborer is mainly to select neighborhood groups. However, their involvement in this stage doesn't bring meaningful change in the program of the organization to make development intervention address their pressing needs and interests. The findings also indicate that the majority of the poor especially women and youth are more concentrated in the actual work of construction. In this case, in their participation rather than challenging the decision making process, the poor members of the community get the opportunity to generate income.

The main reason for the absence of variation in participation of the community members unlike other research findings may be that of the objective of the organization. An intention of the organization in participation of the poor, especially women as its mission and vision statement reveals is to enabling the poor and women

headed households support themselves. Another reason may be that the implementing organization prefers participation of more women than men among the daily laborers.

Among participants, the majority of the poor even from the neighborhood groups are working as daily laborers. The reason for their negligence to take part in the meetings, planning and decision making process may be domination of the neighborhood groups and officials of the organization. Some of them reported that during meetings they casually attending, the officials and neighborhood groups sometimes ignore the ideas of the residents. Since neighborhood groups emphasized the dominance of officials in the planning and decision making process, the issues raised by ordinary residents and neighborhood groups may not be generalized.

Motivating and Deterring Factors

The major question next to the mode and the level of participation is about motivating factors that initiate community members to participate in the slum houses upgrading program in their neighborhood. The finding of Desai (1995) indicates that the multiple benefits they obtain from their participation motivate community leaders to give much of their time for participation in public issues. On the other hand, the level of understanding for Homan (1999) and personal interests as Imparato & Ruster (2003) state determine the participation of residents rather than benefits they obtain. Thus, motivating factors that making people participate in development projects differ depending on differences in the groups of people participating in the program and projects as well.

Participation of Neighborhood Groups and Other Groups

The findings of this study as reported above indicates that neighborhood groups are participating in the community development interventions and controlling activities of ordinary people in the slum houses upgrading program. The findings of Desai that multiple benefits motivate participation of community leaders never explain the participation of neighborhood groups. The reason is that neighborhood groups get nothing for working on behalf of the community. What inspire neighborhood groups to participate in the program may be their desire to acquire a good public reputation for their future life and respect. In addition to this, conflict of interest between members of arbitration committee and neighborhood groups to become leader and represent the community in communal issues with other communities may stimulate the neighborhood groups to persist in working with the organization.

The implementing organization interferes in some of the activities of neighborhood groups, but they insist on working on behalf of the community. This indicates that the members of neighborhood groups participate in the slum upgrading program regardless of challenges they encounter. Working in such challenging situations without any kind of payment implies that they may take their involvement as experience working on public issues. The future benefits they obtain working on behalf of the community may motivate these people to participate regardless of challenges they currently faced.

Although they are participating in the actual implementation stage of the program, the neighborhood groups are still marginalized in the decision making and planning stages. Contrary to the motivating factors, there are also other factors restraining them from participation in the decision making processes to challenge design and plan of the organization in slum upgrading program. The most crucial

among reasons may be their educational background. Unlike community leaders in the case of Desai, almost all of the neighborhood groups have no reasonable educational background to participate in the planning and decision making stages of the program, and they have almost similar socioeconomic status to the other community members.

The findings indicate that most of the members of the arbitration committee are beneficiaries of the elderly program provided by the organization. Since they don't have adequate income to support themselves, the factors that are motivating them to participate may be nutrition, clothing, medication and other related service they and their children obtain from the organization. The second reason may be that elderly people who are currently not included in the elderly program may consider their participation as eligibility criteria to be selected to obtain these services in the future. Another issue that has to be mentioned here as motivating factor is that working on behalf of the community for elderly people is renaissance of respect of the community that they lost due to their age. Thus, a stimulus that makes arbitration committee may be psychological satisfaction they get doing so.

The situation of the extension education workers who are participating and facilitating the entire process of development intervention of the organization implies that their economic and educational background motivate and also influence them to accept challenges. These young women have no education more than grade 12. For this reason they have no skill to secure a job elsewhere. In this situation, it is possible to say that their educational background and situation of poverty motivate them to work earning only 192 Eth Birr per month. For the extension education workers, participating in the planning and decision making process so as to forward their

feeling is impossible since they fear loss of job they currently have obtained working in the project.

Situation of Participation of Ordinary Members of the Community

The research findings investigated that the poor members of community systematically exclude by those well-to-do community leaders who control every aspect of the development project. However, the opposite is the case in which the poor members of the community participate more than anybody else. The socioeconomic data reveals that it is that of the poor especially women and youth participate in the slum upgrading program mainly as daily laborer. The inspiring factor that makes the grassroots to take part in the slum upgrading program is different from the finding of other researchers. According to the findings of Imperato and Ruster, (2003), type of the project motivates the poor residents to participate. The motivating factor in this case may be situation of poverty that majority of the residents are living in. What justifies this argument is amount of monthly income that the most of the residents are earning. According to the socioeconomic data reported above, one third of the households are earning less than 100 Eth Birr a month, and about two third of the residents get less than 250 Eth Birr a month. The data also indicates that the number of participants of the study earning more than 400 is so small.

In addition to the situation of poverty, the policy of implementing organization which considers participation of the poor as its development strategy may motivate the poor actively participate mainly in the areas enabling them generate money. Though problem of housing is among pressing problems, it is not their interest in the project

but their poverty initiates the poor to take part in the program and work in a hazardous situation. So, it is possible to conclude that participation of the poor in the slum upgrading program is a kind formal work that enabling them generates income rather than mental satisfaction as some of them mentioned. If they are participating due to their interest in the program, they may not request for increment in the wage payment and keep nagging supervisors to allow them work a full month. The participation of those residents living in the *kebele* administering houses may be a way of justifying their ownership that they are still uncertain about their houses and fear return for the previous owners.

Even though the poor, women and youth among residents actively participate unlike findings of Desai and other researchers, their participation is not as such meaningful in terms of challenging plan and decision of the officials. Here we can list many things as deterring factor why the poor residents of the community refrain from participating in the decision making process. The first and important reason may be their current economic situation. According to the data, majority of them have no enough sources of income except working as daily laborer in this organization. For these illiterate people, participation in the planning stage and challenging the officials may mean loss of current job. Even they obtain the advantage to participate in the higher level, their educational background where almost one third of them are illiterate and almost all of them never go beyond grade 8 may hamper their motive to participate in the planning stage.

Imparato & Ruster, (2003) evaluated participatory community development projects and finally concluded that no group was excluded and also controlled the entire process of development interventions. Similarly, the finding of this study

implies that community members are not totally ignored and also are given opportunity to control the entire slum upgrading program.

Summary of Findings and Implication for Social Work Intervention

Summary of Findings

Previous studies found that practical situation of participatory community development carries some problems. The problem is that majority of the community members denied to take part in the development interventions that concerning them. Rather, community leaders and individuals who have special interests dominate the entire process of the projects (Chambers, 2005; Desai, 1995). This study deployed cross-sectional research design in order to describe and explain the mode and the level of community participation in the slum houses upgrading programs of IHA-UDP in *Kirkos* sub city of Addis Ababa. Tools used to generate the primary data were interview, FGD and observation. The indicators used as measurement of genuine participation were involvement of the studied groups in the problem identification, prioritization, planning and designing stages of the project as well as attending

meetings. Their participation in the implementation of the program and involvement in the performance evaluation stages were also taken in to consideration.

The participants of the study are selected from various categories of the community members who have relationship to the project. The participants both in the FGD and the interview are asked questions about their mode and level of participation in the program. The findings indicate that they have diverse characteristics in their gender, age and demographic characteristics. In addition, their socioeconomic data indicates that they also differ in their educational background where the most of the elderly people are illiterate and not completed even elementary levels of education. However, almost all of them have common characteristics in their economic status where majority of them are poor. The ownership of houses among studied groups indicates that most of them are living in the *kebele* administering houses sharing compounds with the previous owners of the houses and are also sharing other facilities like Kitchen with others.

The vision and mission statement of the implementing organization indicates that rationale for participating beneficiaries is to enable them to generate some amount of money and support themselves working in the project. The studied groups reported that some of the members of the community involved in the administration of community development projects other than slum houses upgrading program. However, the entire work of planning for intervention even in the community development projects is undertaken by the sub organizations of IHA-UDP organized to follow-up sustainability of the projects and provide technical assistance for the community representatives administering the projects.

The most of the studied groups are participating in the program. Some of them organized themselves in hierarchical levels and are working in these levels. Others who didn't organize themselves participate in the program as daily laborer earning some amount of money for their labor. Among studied groups, those who have no enough sources of income and those living in the *kebele* administering houses tend to participate as daily laborer. In addition, most of the participants of the study stated that they involved in some of the public meetings arranged by the organization mainly to select neighborhood groups working with the organization on behalf of the community.

Among participants, the neighborhood groups are responsible for identifying community problems together with the extension education workers. So as to complete their task, the neighborhood groups organized into family, sub-zonal, zonal and *kebele* levels of arrangements where members working in these levels assigned to do different activities. The most of the activities that neighborhood groups engaged in this program are identification of dilapidated houses, prioritize among lists for the immediate repair and supervise demolishing as well as provision of repaired houses for the owners. In addition, neighborhood groups working at the *kebele* level handle conflicts together with arbitration committees organized for this purpose. The studied groups participating as neighborhood group in the slum houses upgrading program also take part in meetings arranged either for the public or for them alone.

The extension education workers among the studied groups also participate in the slum houses upgrading program. The members are all female under the age of 30, and assigned to facilitate all development activities of the organization and support both the neighborhood groups and the arbitration committees. Unlike neighborhood

groups and arbitration committee, extension education workers are employees of the organization earning a minimum amount of payment. On the other hand, the ordinary residents of the community participate in the program mainly as daily laborer earning an average of 6 Eth Birr a day. The daily laborers work in risky conditions where they don't have insurance and/ or compensation for dangers they encounter.

The studied groups participate in the program despite challenges they encounter. The reasons for persistently working under such conditions also differ. The socioeconomic background of the studied group indicates that those working as daily laborer are the poor who have no alternative source of income. Hence, poverty for these groups seen as motivator. In addition, among these groups mainly those living in the *kebele* administering houses tend to participate more compared to those owning the private houses. On the other hand, health problems they encountered working in the program and alternative source of income and securing job with better payment made them quit their participation.

The neighborhood groups participate in the program despite challenges they face due to interference of the officials of the organization. Their involvement also made them quarrel with their neighbors and spent their time and energy. They have nothing as compensation of their time and energy. So, motivator that makes these groups work in such challenging circumstances seems seeking of respect from the general public and personal satisfaction. Contrary to this, their educational background seen as reason for passiveness of the neighborhood groups in the planning and decision making process. The social services that members of the arbitration committee obtain from the organization are binding and motivating factors for their participation. In addition,

respect from the general public as some of the studied groups stated taken as motivator for the elderly people to take part in the program.

The findings of the study indicate that participation of the studied groups in the program of slum houses upgrading in their neighborhood mainly categorized in two. The two extremes stages are problem identification at the very beginning and implementing the program at end. Even though members some times attend meetings, their involvement doesn't have impact on the design of the houses prepared by the organization. Therefore, the study concluded that though studied groups participate in the slum upgrading program, they are not influencing the process of decision making and their voices not heard yet. In this case, it is also possible to say that the interests the poor may not be taken in to consideration in the program. The overall participation of the residents in the program, the strength of involvement was presented in the Figure 4.

Even though program have some problems, the organization is attempting to attain its objectives of addressing shelter related problems, reinstating self-worth and dignity of the poor. Their participation in the program also facilitated for many members of the community generate some amount of money.

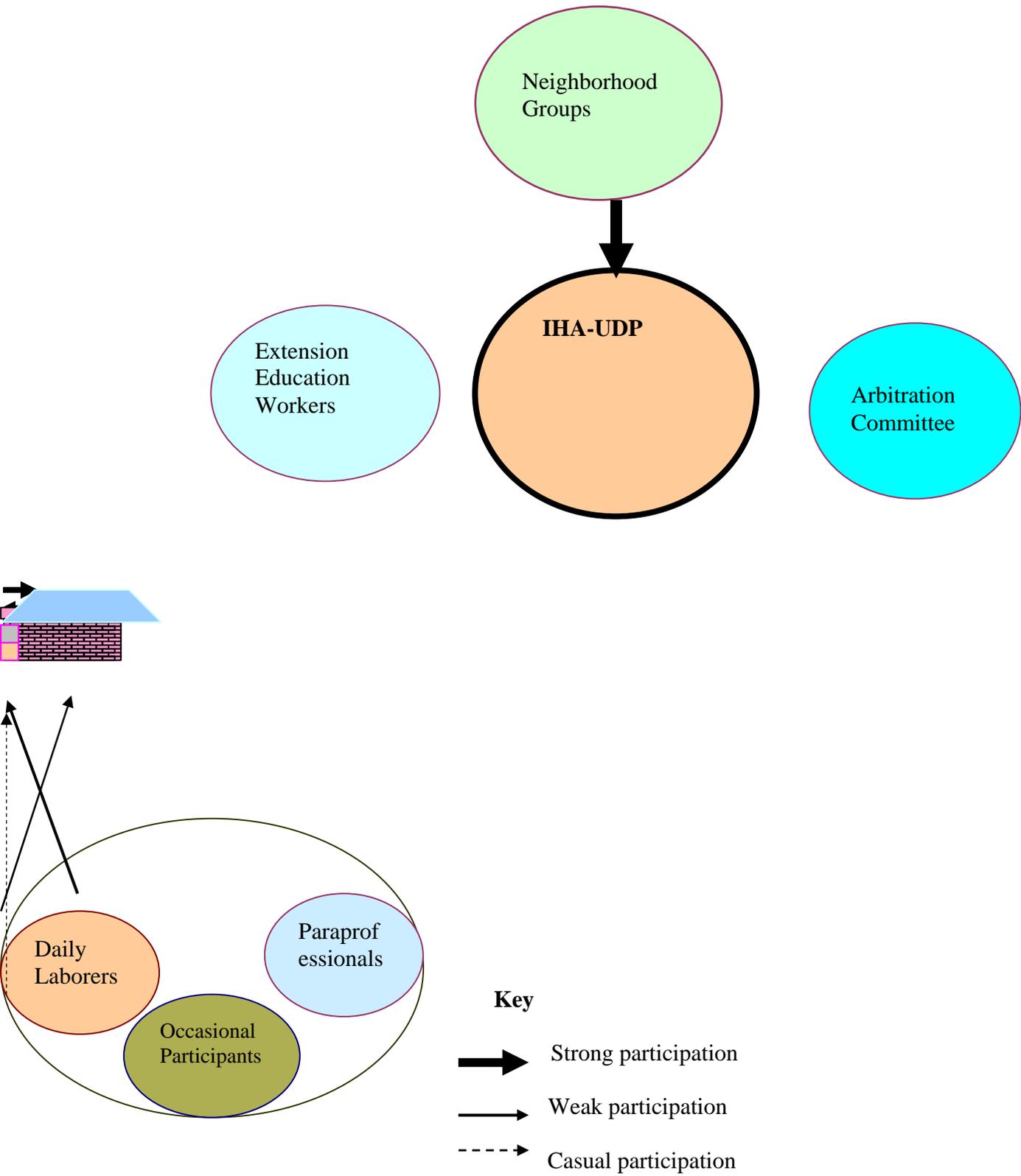


Figure 4, Strength of Participation of the Groups Participating in the Project

Implication for Social Work Intervention

The assessment of community participation in the slum houses upgrading program in slum neighborhoods have multiple benefits. The findings of the study are important to the implementing organization, other organizations undertaking similar development interventions, social work profession mainly knowledge understanding and practice, and finally for further research and investigation.

The findings of the study, especially activities of each group participating in the program assist organizations undertaking development interventions apply the positive achievements. Furthermore, other organizations involving beneficiaries in the development projects may get the findings of this study useful to assess their program as well.

The study found both achievements as well as problems in the slum upgrading program. Even though most of the studied groups are considering their participation worthwhile, some of the mentioned that they are not happy with the some of the activities of the organization. If the objective of the organization is to address housing and problems of infrastructural facilities, and make community members support themselves working in the project, IHA-UDP has to avert problems. These problems are deterring participation of the community members in the higher stages of planning and decision making.

This study is dealing with issue of housing which is one of the three basic needs essential for healthy living of people. The literature on development studies indicate that participation of community members in development interventions concerning

them is their right (Graber, Haywood, Vosler, 1996). Therefore, the findings of the study contribute to social work knowledge understanding of (a) how far they are allowed to genuinely the participation in the program, (b) reasons that motivate people to take part, and (c) factors that restrain community members from participation in the decision making process.

In this participatory slum upgrading program, social workers as practitioner working at various levels can play crucial roles. The social workers as employees of the organization and working at the grassroots level can work on empowerment of the community members to take part in the planning and decision making processes. The factors that restrain them from participation in the decision making are their socioeconomic status mainly education and economic problems. Hence, empowerment of the community members is expected from social workers. Besides, advocating for rights of the community may be another role of social workers as practitioner. In addition, working on idea of volunteerism so as to identify and mobilize local resources is important.

This study came up with these findings taking small sample size. However, findings can be important foundation for further research and investigation of interested individuals. The future focus area for research may be government sponsored projects where huge investment has been allocated for the urban renewal and upgrading of dilapidated houses in slum neighborhoods of the city. This is to bring efforts of government and NGOs together to create comprehensive engagement in addressing housing problems of the poor residents in slum areas of Addis Ababa.

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ANNEXES

Annex I

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR THE RESIDENTS

This interview guideline is prepared in order to collect primary data on the community participation in the slum upgrading housing projects undertaken by the Integrated Holistic Approach Urban Development Project in Kirkos Sub-City. The study is undertaken as partial fulfillment for the Masters Degree in Social Work in Addis Ababa University

A. Background of the Informants

1. Sex
2. Age
3. Level of education
4. Economic status [*source of income*]
5. Marital status -----
6. Housing ownership [*private & Keble*]

B. Economic Background

1. How do you explain the historical situation of your community?
2. What is the estimate of your monthly income?
3. What is the main source of income?
4. What are the most pressing needs of your family members?

C. Development Activities

1. What kind of development activities are taking place in your neighborhood?
2. How do you explain the nature of development activities taking place in your community in relation your to the pressing needs?
3. What do you say about the slum upgrading housing projects initiated by the Integrated Holistic Approach Urban Development Project [IHA-UDP]?
4. Have you ever benefited from the slum housing upgrading program of the organization? -----
5. How do you explain the condition of your house and other amenities before and after repaired?

D. Community Participation

1. What kind of attachment do you [*members of HH*] have in the shelter upgrading activities of IHA? -----

2. Have you ever participated in any of the development activities of IHA undertaking in your community?
3. If so, when and how long did you participate [*at the beginning, middle or at the end*]?
4. How do you explain your participation in the shelter upgrading activities of IHA (*idea provision, decision making and design, financial and free labor contribution*)? -----
5. How do you perceive your participation in the ongoing development activities in your community? -----
6. Do you remember situations in which you quit participating in the development activities? [If so, when and why]
7. Have you ever attended meetings arranged by IHA-UDP in the shelter upgrading program undertaking in your neighborhood?
8. If so, what is expected from the residents to do in the shelter upgrading development activities of IHA?
9. Have you [*members of the HH*] ever been a member of neighborhood groups?
10. Could you explain procedures in which members of community selects neighborhood groups? -----

Annex II

INTERVIEW GUIDELINE FOR THE NEIGHBORHOOD GROUPS (NG)

A. Background of the Informants

1. Sex
2. Age
3. Level of education
4. Economic status (source of income)

5. Marital status -----
6. Housing ownership (private & Keble)

B. Activities

1. As a community representative, what are you doing in behalf of the community? -

1. What are requirements to be a leader of the community (*neighborhood group*)-----

2. How do you explain the people participating in the process of selection of the neighborhood groups? -----
3. What are the specific areas that you as a neighborhood group participated/ participating in the development activities of IHA-UDP? -----
4. What are the roles assigned to the neighborhood groups in the shelter upgrading projects undertaking in the neighborhood? -----
5. What kind of strategies do the neighborhood groups used to direct the development activities of IHA so as to meet pressing needs of the members of the community? -----
6. How do you explain feelings and satisfaction of residents of the community towards the activities of neighborhood groups? -----
7. What kind of participation do you and other members of neighborhood groups have in the planning and decision making processes? -----
8. What kind of social relationship do you (*personally*) have with government officials from your community? -----
9. What are the challenges that you faced working with the organization in the upgrading of slum houses? -----

10. What do you say about your feeling of being member of neighborhood groups and acting on behalf of the community? -----

Annex III

INTERVIEW GUIDELINE FOR (IHA-UDP) OFFICIALS

1. What is your position in this organization? -----
2. What are the priority areas of development that your organization in this community engaged in? -----

3. What kind of background information did you have about this community before the instigation of the development interventions? -----
4. What do you say about the most pressing needs of the residents of the community? -----
5. What is the approach of development that your organization makes use of in the upgrading housing units in this community? -----
6. What kind of community involvement does exist in the shelter upgrading activities? -----
7. How far the participation of community is important in the shelter upgrading activities that your organization is engaged in? -----
8. How do you explain the specific roles that local community and neighborhood groups are playing in the process of shelter upgrading? -----
9. What local knowledge does exist in the community that your organization currently using in the development interventions? -----
10. How do the members of the community participate in addressing challenges that your organization is encountering in its pace of development intervention?

Annex IV

FGD Checklist for Residents of the Community

1. Could you tell something about history of your community?
2. What kind of involvement do you have in the development intervention undertake in your community?

3. How do you explain participation of community members in the community development and slum houses upgrading of IHA undertaking in your community?
4. Could you describe the background (socio-economic, gender, age) of the ordinary people frequently participating in the development activities of the organization?
5. Are there specific activities assigned for ordinary residents of the community in the program?
6. What motivate you to participate in the slum upgrading program of the organization in your community? -----
7. What are the challenges that make community members quite their involvement in the program? -----
8. What is your perception towards your participation and overall community development activities of the organization? -----

Annex V

FGD Checklist for Extension Education Workers

1. Who are the extension education workers? -----
2. What are the criteria for the selection of the extension education workers?

3. Could you describe specific activities that members of this group are responsible for in the community development and slum houses upgrading program? -----
4. What kind of relationship do the activities of extension education workers have with the other groups participating in the project? -----
5. What kind of participation do you have in the planning and decision making processes? -----
6. Could you explain challenges you encounter working in the slum houses upgrading program and other community development activities?
7. What are the strategies that you use to avert challenges you encounter?

Annex VI

FGD Checklist for Neighborhood Groups

1. Could you explain procedures in which members of community selects neighborhood groups? -----

2. How do you explain development program of IHA-UDP in relation to pressing needs of the community? -----
3. What are the specific roles assigned to the neighborhood groups in the shelter upgrading projects undertaking in this community? -----
4. Could you explain overall activities of neighborhood groups, its difference and relation to the activities of other groups in this program? -----
5. How do you explain feelings and satisfaction of residents of the community towards the activities of neighborhood groups? -----
6. How do you perceive your participation in the slum houses upgrading program of IHA-UDP in your community? -----
7. What is the role of neighborhood groups in the planning, designing, and in the process of decision making? -----
8. What are the challenges that you faced working with the organization in the upgrading of slum houses? -----