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Planning with informal settlement communities:

Exploring the working relationships between NGO planners and informal settlement communities.
Case study of two communities of Chitwan district in Nepal.

Master's thesis in Urban Ecological Planning
Supervisor: Wang Yu, Rolee Aranya

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Abstract

Worldwide, the informal settlements percentages out of all human settlements are growing. Academics argue for the usage of participatory planning methods in working in this context. Evaluating the existing processes of participatory development of informal settlements is a somewhat neglected area of study, which this thesis contributes to by answering the main research question: *What lessons for working with informal settlements as a planner, can be drawn from a case study of two participatory, long-term, development planning-oriented processes, based on studying relationships between informal settlement communities and NGO planners?* The research was done through a case study method of two Nepalese informal settlements of Chitwan district. The two settlements were small-scale of around 30 households. The partnerships with the NGO were long-term. The research explored the relationships between informal settlement communities and development NGO planners. Data collection was primarily done through unstructured interviews with settlers and planners that have worked with them in a community led processes. Findings were discussed from eight perspectives a planner can see such projects from, examining found issues and solutions: (1) initial contact with the community and earning their trust, (2) community's sacrifices for development, (3) the status of community women in the process, (4) taking care of the vulnerable, (5) spread of information, (6) community leadership roles and issues, (7) engineers' roles in the project, and (8) community's independency. Based on the findings in these eight perspectives the conclusion presented five most important and replicable lessons and proposed ideas for further study.

1 Introduction

1.1 Relevance

Informal settlements are one of the most relevant working contexts for planners today and, according to United Nation's predictions, will continue to be so in the coming decades. In 2015 UN Habitat stated that around a quarter of the world's urban population lives in slums (UN-Habitat, 2015, p.3). Moreover, UN predicts the overall number of slum dwellers will triple from one billion in 2016 to three billion by 2050 (UN-Habitat, 2016, p.1).

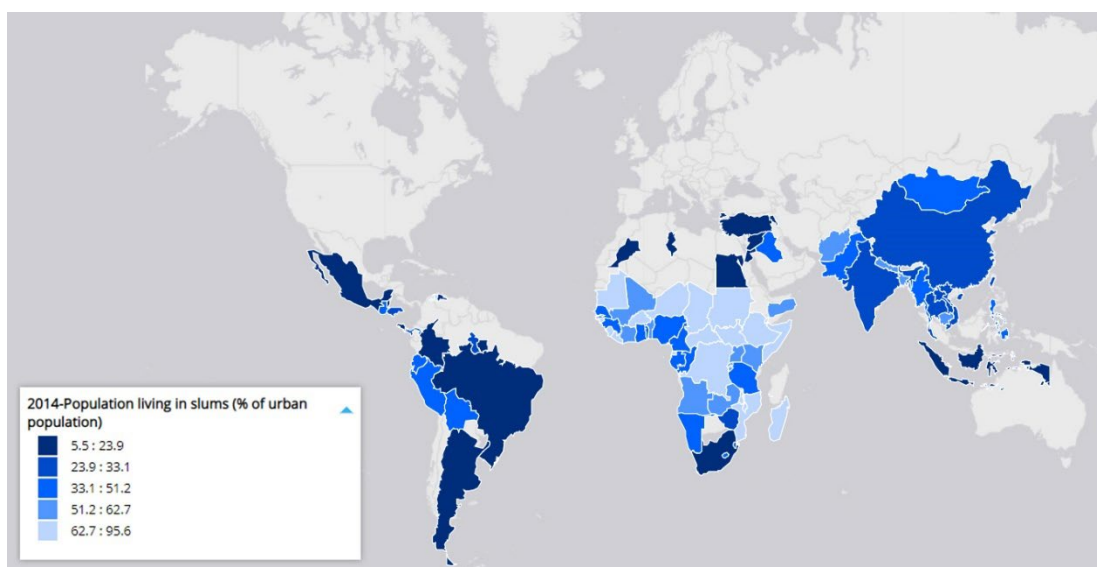


Figure 1. 2014 – Population living in slums (% of urban population). World map showing the percentage of population living in slums. Data based on 2014's UN Habitat assessment collected and presented by The World Bank Group (2020).

This thesis uses Nepali informal settlements as a case study. According to The World Bank Group (2020) Nepal has more than half of its population living in slums (see Figure 1). Its informal settlements situation is specific in terms of their cultural

background and how it translates into their political state. More on Nepali informal settlements is in chapter 4 and on the choice of the case study method in chapter 3.

Apart from sheer percentage of the world population living in slums, the slums, favelas, squatter settlements or Nepali informal settlements are often regarded by municipalities and general populations as centers of criminal activity. People seldom see them as rightful parts of the city, but rather as a problem to be dealt with. This can lead to settlement evictions for reasons like “*beautification*” initiatives or *international sporting events* as stated by du Plessis (2015, p.123). Forced evictions can have negative effects for both sides and do not cure the “problem” of informal settlement in the long-term. There are many examples of settlers being forcefully evicted, their houses bulldozed, which I describe in chapter 2. Examples of people’s reactions to loosing what they owned can be as tragic as them trying to take their own lives as du Plessis (2015, p.125) shows.

Today, practitioners and scholars studying slums agree that a better solution is to help the slum dwellers develop rather than evict or resettle. A major part of this responsibility is the general skillset and jurisdiction of urban planning practitioners, referred to as planners later in the thesis. Yet, planning with and for the informal settlements is a distinct task that requires somewhat different knowledge, skills and methodology, as well as presents different moral dilemmas than planning in other contexts. This is partly due to the informal aspect of the settlements, which can create a range of barriers for engaging, working with and for them. Planners and inhabitants quite often have to deal with additional cultural differences, language barriers (as experienced in the case studies of this research) and perspective shifts. On top of that, the informal settlers already deal with their own issues that come with living in vulnerable conditions.

The existing literature on the topic of planning in informal settlements has less emphasis on the relationships and interactions planners have with the settlers than to the other issues of participation in informality. This research tries to add to the existing body of knowledge in the topic, which is explain in further detail in chapter 2.2.

This thesis meets the growing need for how planning practitioners can engage with informal settlements. As the present and the predicted numbers of such settlements, their possible vulnerabilities, and the mentioned research gap in these areas and set up possible threads for further, more detailed research.

1.2 Research questions and goals

The overarching goal is to narrow the mentioned knowledge gap by exploring the interactions and working relations between planners and informal settlement communities. To do that, the thesis takes on an exploratory nature, and, as such, the main goal of its research is to explore the relationships both parties have while working together in order to understand how the behaviors of both parties affect the other and the project itself. Thus, what is the most beneficial but at the same time moral and fair way to act as a planner? The exploratory nature of the research led it to also look into the strategies and tools used by the planners, how did they apply them (behavior) and what were the reactions, thoughts of the people affected by them, which also led to partly evaluating these methods on a human-oriented level. To structure this wide scope of research, the research sub-questions focus on challenges, issues, tools and solutions, and the main research questions is aim at drawing lessons from them by grouping and evaluating them. This was done with consideration of affected people's emotions and reactions.

The thesis considers the topic of:

Planning with informal settlement communities: Exploring the working relationships between NGO planners and informal settlement communities. Case study of two communities of Chitwan district of Nepal.

aims to answer the main research question of:

What lessons for working with informal settlements as a planner, can be drawn from a case study of two participatory, long-term, development planning-oriented processes, based on studying relationships between informal settlement communities and NGO planners?

and explores each identified issue through these research sub-questions:

- 1. What were the issues faced by either side and why did they emerge?*
- 2. What were the success factors and tools used?*
- 3. How could have the issues been dealt with?*

The thesis can mainly be of reference to planners working in participatory way with informal settlement communities. It can also be used by planners working with more top-down approaches, for evaluating the participatory methods of working in such contexts through more human-oriented lenses, or even the experts of other fields working in informal settlements for behavioral insights and expectations.

This thesis can only be a supplementary guide to interactions and relationships between planners and informal settlement communities. As both research and thesis are exploratory in nature the goal was to explore the possibilities of specific real-life processes and evaluate them, which can only cover few of endless available scenarios. The research was done through case study method of two similar settlements in Chitwan district of Nepal. Thus, it should not be treated as a comprehensive guide to all

available scenarios of interactions with informal settlements, but only as a guidebook of a few possibilities that can teach lessons of both highly contextual, but also, more general scale.

1.3 Achieving the goals and thesis` s structure

To answer presented research questions, the data collection was done through unstructured, in-depth interviews with both parties: informal settlement communities and planners that worked with them. The research was conducted in the form of a case study of two informal settlements of Chitwan district of Nepal. Interviews were kept around topics of relations between the parties throughout the whole of 10- and 7-years periods for each consecutive case that NGO workers were involved with the settlers. The collected data was analyzed and grouped into eight commonly mentioned topics with multiple smaller issues within each. Data analyzed in this way was then summarized and explored in a comprehensive way with aim of producing less context dependent knowledge.

Thesis structure:

Chapter 2 of the thesis inspects the theoretical background of the thesis. The data collection methods and the context of the research are explained in detail respectively in chapter 3 and 4. Chapter 5 explains the findings and individually discusses each perspective and then chapter 6 presents the implications of the findings on larger scale. Chapter 7 presents further research ideas.

2 Theory

This chapter will first in section 2.1 build a knowledge base on the concept of informality, different types of vulnerable settlements and participatory planning, as well as tackle the topic of morality of working in informal settlements to shed a light on part of the issues researched in the thesis. A summary of the existing knowledge on participatory planning in informal settlements will be presented in section 2.2. I will identify and explain the knowledge gap in that field, which this thesis aims to narrow. Finally in section 2.3 I will explain what contribution this thesis makes to the existing knowledge on the topic and the limits of the theoretical approach of the research.

2.1 Existing Knowledge

a) Informality

In this sub-point I will explain different definitions and understandings of the phenomenon of informality. This will provide an understanding of the definition of different types of informal settlement. A short description of the possible consequences of terminology used to describe an informal settlement follows. Then, I will discuss how a governmental failure regarding unprepared environment and basic human needs together create informal settlements. Finally, through explaining the origins and possible benefits of the informal economy, I argue against the primary understanding of the *informal as illegal*.

Conceptualizing informality can be done in multiple ways. Informality can take the form of informal markets, informal economy, informal interactions and even informal settlements. Waibel (2016) sees informality in three categories. First within the spatial realm, where “slum” settlements are seen “on the legal, political, economic, social and environmental margins of the city” (Waibel, 2016, p.3). This perspective focuses on visible spatial divide and black and white categorization. Second, as an “organizational

form”, where informal is viewed as lacking structure, chaotic, irregular in contrast to formal being “rule-based, structured, explicit, predictable and regular” (Waibel, 2016, p.3). Thirdly, informal is seen through governmental lenses. Thus, anything outside governmental reach is titled as informal. This particular conceptualization has the closest route from informal to illegal, especially in contexts of informal or “slum” settlements. However, this correlation is a misconception in many cases.

As Waibel (2016, p.5) states, a contrasting view to the ones mentioned before and one often seen in the literature on the topic, sees informal as *negotiable value*. This view sees informality as more blended with formal than the three above mentioned perspectives. Informality is understood as negotiation of value, whilst formality tells us what the set value is. Thus, in this perspective informality is viewed as the supplementary actions of setting the formality and also the in-betweens. This view is close to Altröck’s categorization of informality, which considers the in-betweens of informal and formal arrangements, including hybrid formal-informal ones. Altröck (2012) presents informality-formality on two scales (shown in *Figure 3* below) where informality turns into formality in two ways.

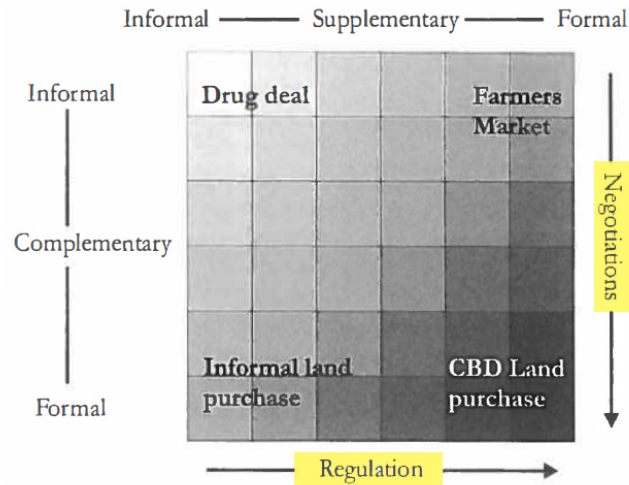


Figure 3. "Extreme forms of complementary and supplementary formality and informality" (Altrock, 2012, p.178)

In Figure 3, the x-axis measures the level of regulations. On the y-axis is the level of negotiations. Simply speaking, the more negotiations involved in the process, the more informal it is. Roy (2005, p.148) holds a similar view, rejecting the separability of informal and formal and sees informality as “transactions” connecting both spaces and economies.

Thus, one of the major ways in which to view informality is as what the government defines as informal and hence illegal. To understand the major concept behind this thesis, the *informal settlements*, we will base our analysis off this view of the informal. That being said, this is not the view promoted for understanding informality, the reasons for which will be explained later in this section. However, it is useful for explaining concepts further in the thesis.

Informal settlement has a broad definition that gathers all culturally and context specific human settlements characterized by illegal tenure, poor housing quality and ignorance to or lack of land use plan, or settlements built of self-help buildings with no

consideration for building codes and similar existing laws (Willis, 2009, p.403). An example of a more specific term is a *squatter settlement*. Willis (2009, p.404) defines them as “*housing built on illegally occupied land*” which contains only the illegal tenure part of the *informal settlement*. The action of occupying the land illegally is thus commonly termed ‘squatting’. Another definition of informal settlements by Huchzermeyer and Karam (2006, p.3) is “those settlements of the urban poor that have developed through unauthorized occupation of land”. This definition encapsulates the squatter settlement definition but adds the poverty factor. As far as there being few nuances to each way of describing a settlement, the most pronounced consequences of terminology used are of the way that their local government labels them. For a settlement to be officially described as a ‘slum’ can create dangers of future evictions, but possibly also bring about positive changes or recognition to the eventual need of them. In this research the terms used to describe researched settlements are very specific to their context, which is further explained in chapter 4.1.c).

Informal settlements are a heavily contested topic both by practitioners and theoreticians. As mentioned in the introduction, informal settlements comprise a considerable settlement type for the world’s population and exist in all sorts of contexts and forms. That can be understood through Maslow’s basic needs hierarchy. Of secondary importance in his hierarchy, right after physiological needs is the need of safety. This explains the importance of shelter safety and home safety, and an argument against evictions and relocations of informal settlements. Only next in the mentioned hierarchy is the need of belonging and the need of self-actualization (Simons et al., 1987). When a shelter becomes a home, residents partly satisfy those needs. Thus, it is in human nature to seek shelter, which is the reason our ancestors created the first houses and then the art of architecture that takes roots in this basic need. It is also a reason for importance of shelter safety and home safety, and an argument against evictions and relocations of informal settlements. The common existence of informal settlements around the world can be understood as a natural result of people’s

incapacity to create shelter and home in a formal (i.e. governmentally sanctioned) way. Rocco and van Ballegooijen (2019) argue that the emergence of informal settlements in the Global South stems from exclusion of large parts of the population from “*formal social, political, and economic structures*” on a basis of relatively young democracies unable to represent and integrate those large numbers of people in formality. The excluded populations deal with their disenfranchisement, through self-help actions to create their own livelihoods: shelter, tenure, jobs and market (Rocco and van Ballegooijen, 2019). The next step, the given their hardships, is settlers’ incorporation into self-managing systems of the informal economy and market. Informal tenure is usually taken over by such market forces in the form of renting or selling divided parts of or whole houses or land. As this is done informally it is a susceptible to legal vulnerabilities and risks. Informality takes over what is missing in the formal system. Not everything can be formalized and in reach of the government, thus human relations take over the gaps. What’s missing could’ve been rejected or unreachable for parts of the society that turn to informal market. In the example of tenure, informally rented houses are cheaper, but less safe than formal ones under jurisdiction of the government. The market value of informally rented or bought flats or land is lower because of the risks that comes with it in situations like forced evictions or other legal issues. As much as risky, informal economy and markets are, for some they are the only way to make ends meet. Timalsina (2011) through the example of Kathmandu, Nepal argues that informal economy can be a livelihood opportunity for a part of the population, even if presumed illegal by the government. Thus, as some people lean on informality with their livelihoods, it is important to account for it while making decisions on formalizing the market.

Thus, informality stems from people striving to satisfy their basic needs within the environment of incapable governments. In De Soto’s words from *The Other Path* cited by Roy (2015, p.148): “*informal economy is the people’s spontaneous and creative response to the state’s incapacity to satisfy the basic needs of the impoverished*”

masses”. An example from the Sub-Saharan Africa context given by Fekade (2000) portrays informal settlements formation as consequence of the phenomenon of urban growth in the city with unprepared institutional framework and difficult life situations of the residents created by the state. “Continuous declining economic performance, political instability and institutional decay” are what constituted those as explained by Fekade (2000, p.128). Apart from having no choice, involved populations might actually benefit from the informal markets. A study by Dhakal shows that informal markets of the Chitwan district in Nepal, helped in income generation for the population and within the district itself, and thus were a big part in raising many local households out of poverty (Dhakal, 2010, p.16). Thus, informality should not be understood primarily as illegality or understood pejoratively. In many cases the decision to be living in an informal settlement or rely on informal markets to support their livelihoods is not a choice and, in some cases, informal markets are people’s only livelihood that can have positive outcomes for the involved population at large. Informal doesn’t have to be negative or dangerous, especially when understood as the *negotiation of value* mentioned before.

b) Participatory planning

In this sub-point I will first explain the traditional top-down planning approach in contrast to citizen engagement, participatory and the bottom-up approaches to planning which focuses on people. Then, after a short introduction to the history of communicative and participatory planning, I will describe the debate on these topics from the literature. I focus on the benefits of the people-centered approach to planning like reaching voices, aiming for a democratic approach to shaping the built (and other) environment, but also on the dangers that come with these approaches. I conclude by explaining the facilitator role of the planner in the participatory approach, touching on responsibilities and dangers that come with it.

Up until fairly recently, planning was mostly done in a top-down manner, where the plans were made based off maps, statistics and other functions of the system that cities and all human settlements contain. Historically, city planning had two apparent goals of creating a defensive structure and shelter for up to date military advancement and top-down map level compositional beauty. One of the most visible examples of that are the European Renaissance “perfect cities” planned in perfect geometrical shapes or baroque era cities with great attention put into compositional beauty. However, the bird-eye view in city planning is not the only characteristic of top-down approach. Iwińska (2017, p.8) in her master thesis in spatial planning explains: “*planning was top-down, mostly based on expertise and decisions of visionary architects and planners operating from ‘behind the desk’, like Robert Moses or Le Corbusier.*”. Le Corbusier was one of the most influential architects and planners of the modernism movement. His visions were of cities divided by functions like residential, production, and service, where residential function was taken by skyscrapers, thus leaving huge masses of land for parks and recreation. This idea unfortunately encapsulated the need for daily long distance transportation, done mostly by car, and hence added to the problem today’s city and transportation planners try to deal with – the car-focused city. Those, apart from creating CO2 emissions were less livable for people. Architects and planners, like Jan Gehl in his books *Cities for People* (Gehl, 2013) and *Life between buildings* (Gehl, 2011), now try to make cities suitable for people instead of cars. Robert Moses mentioned before through Iwińska’s text was an American developer and another example of top-down planning approach, who in his pursuit of developing highways going through the city was bulldozing “slum” neighborhoods. Now a famous writer and activist Jane Jacobs was the one to see that these neighborhoods were actually lively places, instead of “slums” as the municipality described them. Jacobs, through activism and citizen engagement, eventually succeeded in the difficult battle for people-oriented development (Jacobs, 2016). This type of planning, done by the people rising to change the reality of their surroundings, can be termed the bottom-up approach in contrast to the top-down approach. Although the bottom-up approach seems more righteous than its counterpart, the righteousness of the changes

being done does not entirely depend on who engages: the top (the government) or the bottom (the people). In fact, both processes can lead to positive outcomes for both sides.

Starting in the 1960s, in the postmodern era, the world started to move towards decentralization of government, which in the planning field translated into governments looking to engage citizens as well as citizens wanting to be engaged (Iwińska, 2017, p.8). An example of the latter is the beforementioned Jane Jacobs and the citizen activism she encouraged in North American cities. Since then, this movement has evolved in practice and theory. One of the early conceptualizations of the ongoing notion of citizen engagement was *A Ladder of Citizen Participation* created by Arnstein (1969).

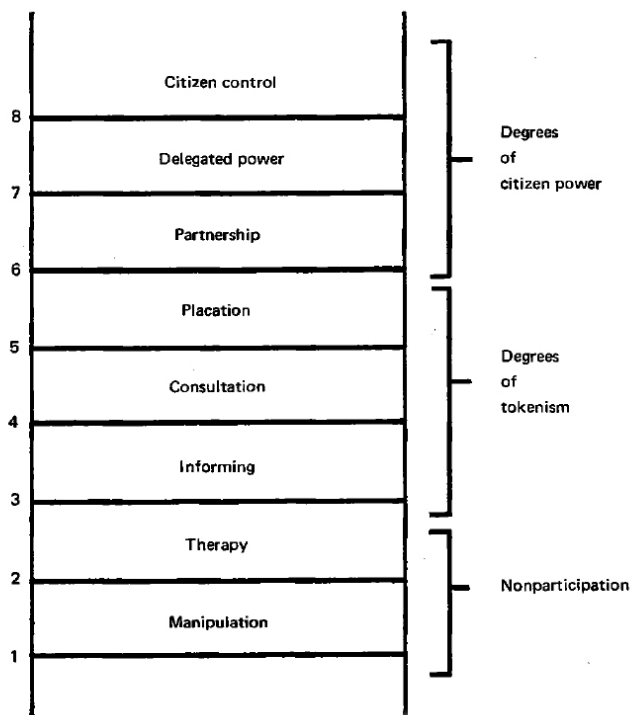


Figure 4. *A Ladder of Citizen Participation* (Arnstein, 1969, p.217)

The concept of citizen participation is closely connected to power-relations. Theoretically, by giving people part of the decision-making abilities, you give them a certain degree of power. As Arnstein puts it: “*citizen participation is a categorical term for citizen power*”

(1969, p.216). Hence, the power is given through participation, and it must be going to the ones lacking it. Arnstein explains,

“Redistribution of power that enables the have-not citizens, presently excluded from the political and economic processes, to be deliberately included in the future. [...] it is the means by which they can induce significant social reform which enables them to share in the benefits of the affluent society” (Arnstein, 1969, p.216).

The “have-not” citizens are on the receiving end of the citizen participation. Its goal is to reach those who do not have the voices and yet need to be heard the most. Arnstein also tackles situations in which those already in power resist the redistribution of their power. He speaks of some participation being just empty rituals. In such cases people in positions of power simply give the impression of public participation and decision-making but in reality they control the latter. This sort of process is an extremum of *Manipulation* and lays on the rock bottom of the *Ladder of Citizen Participation* presented in *Figure 2*. Planning processes of this thesis’s case studies also followed the participatory engagement method and will be evaluated with the use of the Arnstein’s ladder in chapter 4.2.

As a later development in the planning field around the notion of citizen engagement came the communicative planning. It stems from Habermas’s ideal of communicative action that focuses on, as Huxley (2000, p.370) puts it in her critique, *“communication and intersubjective understanding implies that individuals must assume the statements of others to be made comprehensibly and with integrity, legitimacy, and truth”*. The communicative planner would be creating a perfect speech situation for all sides of the planning process to reach a consensus. Huxley (2000) criticized that Habermas’s ideal doesn’t assume power relations to work in the communicative action and that the author neglects the inseparability of the *system* from the planning process. The *system* is understood by Habermas as *“the formal economy, and the state-and free from the media of money and power”* (Huxley, 2000, p.370). Those flaws were considered by Forester and Sager through more pragmatic lenses. Forester (1982, p.67) acknowledges that *“In practice planners work in the face of power manifest as the social and political (mis)-management of*

citizens' knowledge, consent, trust, and attention", and considers those through examples given in his further work titled *On the theory and practice of critical pragmatism: Deliberative practice and creative negotiations* (Forester, 2013). Sager (1994) builds on both Habermas's and Forester's work and further considers the role of a planner in citizen engagement:

"The planner is not seen as a processor of facts, but a practical organizer of attention. Regarded as organizing, planning implies advancing some views and issues and holding back others." (Sager, 1994)

Sager sees a planner as a facilitator of negotiations, who is responsible to take account of power relations, interpersonal nuances and takes managing action to provide the justice for both sides to reach the consensus. Twenty four years later, Sliwa et al. (2018, p.5) propose bottom-top approach instead of the traditional top-down or the newer bottom-up. This way of conceptualizing is focused on the partnership and cooperation between all sides and reaching the consensus.

A take-away from Jane Jacobs's citizen engagement, the communicative planning theorists and the bottom-top approach is that, after the lessons of the neo-liberal era of decentralized governance, in which the participatory planning emerged, the role of a planner can also be to facilitate the negotiations between the powerless and the powerful. This, apart from other reasons explained in the next sub-points, makes it a suitable approach to take while planning in informal settlements. The professions of facilitator and the top-down planning expert vary greatly in terms of their working environment, as one deals mostly with people and the other focuses most on the physical environment. Hence, I argue that the new age planners, ready for the global emergence of informal settlements need a completely different set of skills than previously discussed planners engaged in the top-down approach.

c) Participatory planning in informal settlements

Abbott (2005) specifies three main successful approaches for informal settlements development oriented planning. Firstly, incrementally upgrading the physical environment (including services), secondly participatory planning, and thirdly collecting larger scale data on the settlements through e.g. GIS technology. Abbott explains that each of the approaches have their strengths but alone cannot fulfill all the needs of developing the informal settlements. According to Abbott, the second of mentioned approaches, the participation of community, is the most important during the planning phase (Abbott, 2005). This and the next sub-point, through study of literature in the field, will further argue that community engagement is the most suiting and beneficial way of planning in the informal settlements.

The traditional, top-down ways of practicing urban planning are majorly occupied with formality. Land use plans, which urban planning is designated to create, are in most countries considered legal documents and are, to a certain extent, dictating the spatial structure of the cities. Through them, planners propose regulations to spatial order of the living spaces, connecting planning to formality through the regulatory aspect of it shortly mentioned in 2.1 a). Roy (2005) notices that most of the existing planning theory and practice stems from practices on this formal, western “model”, which is not suited for work within informal contexts. One of the strategies criticized by Roy is formalizing land tenure of informal settlements. He says:

“In my work on Calcutta, I have documented in detail how the moment of formalization can be one of great internal conflict for squatter settlements, a bloody and brutal sorting out of “legitimate” claims. Formalization can also trigger conflicts within households.”
(Roy, 2005, p.152)

Formalization of an informal settlement done in an unprepared context can lead to a chaotic state. People living in the previously informal settlement are trying to benefit on the new policy, by e.g. selling their land informally, raising claims, etc. This can, just as forced eviction and relocation of a settlement, lead to a major loss of subjects' livelihood assets and worsening their vulnerabilities (understood through asset vulnerability framework of Moser (1998) and livelihoods approach of Rakodi (2014)). This speaks for more careful and incremental action in planning in the informal contexts. Such carefulness in planning can only be achieved through thorough understanding of the context, which close participation with communities allows. It is thus important to learn by working in and studying the informal settlements, which is also recommended by Roy (2005).

Payne (Vestbro, 2008, p.20) argues that the poor of developing countries are better prepared for future crises than the western middle class due to their need and ability to use scarce resources. He predicts that due to growing percentage of the poor and the scarcity of oil, so important for economy of the today's world, the architects and planners will have to go through "*a change of attitude and a degree of humility*" to learn from the survival strategies of the poor. William Easterly (2006) distinguishes to planning practitioners: the "searcher" and the "planner". In his depiction a "searcher" is willing to learn, adapt and overcome small scale tasks in contrast to the "planner" who uses model knowledge and big ideas, usually strongly embedded in not only a formal law system but also in a formal urban planning schooling system. He points out that planners' attempts on big ideas like "*the end of poverty*" (Easterly, 2016, p.3), which even though good willed, have not proved successful. The 'searcher' would instead "*look for any opportunity to relieve suffering*" (Easterly, 2016, p.3), and thus take a small task and incrementally move forward for development. To learn from informal settlements as Payne recommends one would have to treat them as experts in their own field and submit to a learning mindset. Thus, a planning practitioner eventually has to become a searcher in Easterly's understanding. To achieve that, a

personal contact of participatory approach again wins with the top-down planning and set knowledge of western model.

John F.C. Turner is by many recognized as one of the forefathers of upgrading the informal settlements in contrast to relocating or evicting them (Abbott, 2002). Turner (1972) in his work argues for the value of self-build housing. He deliberates that understanding housing understood as a verb, encapsulating activities of promoting, building, and using the house, brings to our attention the importance of those activities. He further explains that “*the most important “product” of any human activity is, of course, the satisfaction or frustration of needs.*” (Turner, 1972, p.152), and that only the people experiencing both the activities of planning and building process and using the housing product can truly evaluate them in those human experience centered immeasurable values (Turner, 1972, p.153). In Turners words housing activities “*can act as vehicles for personal fulfillment*” (Turner, 1972, p.153), and as such can help develop the sense of *ownership*, which “*is frequently cited as a significant characteristic of community development*” (Lachapelle, 2008). Turner (1972) says that the common housing practice measures the standards and housing values merely in terms of material qualities and the measurable factors like labor that come into building a house. In this view of the common housing practice the immeasurable human values of the activity of housing are not conceived. In the modern world of standard housing, the informal settlements are usually the peak of self-built housing and experiencing all the activities that come with this process. Thus, in case of a resettlement project, where the subjects did not partake in building the new houses, those are not supported through subjects` sense of ownership and belonging, which if existing could lead to care of their surroundings and further self-development. This speaks for importance of closely engaging the informal settlements communities in the processes that have to do with any of the *activities of housing* in Turner`s term, and thus in favor of participatory engagement of the settlers in the planning and implementing processes of their housing.

Thus, a planning practitioner faced with a task of dealing with a “problem” of an informal settlements has limited options of successful approach to the task at hand. Top-down approaches fail due to their incompetence outside of the formal sector, which informal settlements are usually scarcely connected with. Evictions and resettlements can create even more issues for the subjects of them, while draining the resources available to the planners. Even supposedly positive formalizing the settlements can have negative outcomes as mentioned through Roy’s example previously. The answer seems to lay in trying to learn from informal settlement communities. To truly understand such context and be able to provide answers or methods, while not simultaneously hindering the subjects’ livelihoods, planner must try emerging him-/herself in the context and become a partner. Abbott (2002, p.308) studies ways of working in informal settlements and cites Huchzermeyer (1999, p. 66) who encourages a planning practitioner to provide possibilities for communities, instead of dictating them goals and solutions. Abbott (2002) frames this strategy as a reoccurring and central success factor in informal settlements development. This principle, even though judged by Abbott (2002) as not enough to single-handedly lead a process of development, is a step in a direction of what a planner should lean towards during his/hers work in such environment. He also mentions an important issue of considering different stakeholders in certain participation arenas, rather than informal settlement communities making all the decisions without consideration of their environment. This, as Abbott explains, is also a way to make an informal settlement a more legitimate part of the city, a stakeholder to consider. Rather than process being fully led by the community, their role is more that of a partner to engaged planners and eventually a stakeholders to their surroundings. Thus, community, the municipality and other stakeholders involved around them, as well as planners, would work on reaching consensus and gaining mutual benefits from the processes discussed. This sort of partnership can only be reached through participation of the informal settlement

community in the planning processes, which is another reason for choosing a participatory approach for working in informal settlements.

Becoming a considered stakeholder within the city structure brings us to another use of participation in this context - the capacity building that engagement and partnership in the process of development can bring. Theorists struggle to define capacity building in a common way, calling the term vague (Eade, 1997) (Cuthill and Fien, 2005), yet it is *“the objective of many development programmes and a component of most others”* (Potter and Brough, 2004). Matovu (2006, p.7) defines general capacity building as: *“identifying constraints and helping those in need to improve their competencies to overcome such constraints and achieve desired goals”*. This definition encapsulates creating skills for overcoming obstacles and achieving goals yet does not add on the element of the skill of identifying the issues or the goals of the subjects of the process. Another definition that he proposes is of capacity building in participatory planning and budgeting, which is a *“process of strengthening the key actors’ capacity to identify their needs and determine their own values, priorities, destiny”* (Matovu, 2006, p.7). This understanding encapsulates the mentioned factors lacking in the previous definition. Though, in this thesis the capacity building’s importance is that of creating a degree of independency in striving forward in informal settlement communities. An understanding of the term proposed for this thesis is a mixture of the two presented Matovu’s definitions with an emphasis of creating independency. Thus, for the purpose of the thesis, capacity building is *a process of creating capacity to identify own needs and goals and the base means in terms of skills, contacts or relations and creating the organizational capacity to, through available resources, meet the needs and achieve the set goals*. As mentioned, part of legitimizing the informal settlements as a stakeholder in the city and making it independent can be done through capacity building of its community. Yet, the act of capacity building cannot be simply done through top-down approach without partnership with the settlers, thus making another argument in favor of participatory planning when dealing with informal settlements.

Whilst participation has many benefits for the informal settlements, it is important to note, as many theorist in the field do, that there are sets of dangers that come with participation. In the book *Participation: The New Tyranny?* Cooke and Kothari (2001, p.7-8) outline the three main possible issues with participation. First one is *fake participation* where the mere label of participation is used to create an illusion of citizens making decisions. As such it can be used mostly by governments to withhold power and gain following. Second one are the issues with power relations in the group that participates and how these can override the decision-making capabilities of the less powerful within the group. Third one is a consideration upon the overuse of participatory method in the development field due to which, the other methods' benefits and values might be missed. All of those considerations are valid in certain cases, and mainly the first two are serious dangers to the fairness of the process, which makes it important for users of the participatory approach to study the method thoroughly before applying it in the field and avoiding manipulation in mentioned ways.

d) Ethics of participation in the development field

Moreover, both the participatory planning and research in the informal settlements pose additional moral dilemmas. Whilst ethics of participation is the focus of this sub-point, the ethics of research in informal settlement can bring a different sets of issues and thus will be independently discussed in the chapter 3.1.

Botes and Van Rensburg (2000) discuss different 'plagues' of development. One of which is the *paternalistic* role of the development professional. Authors cite Constantino-David from his book from 1982 titled *Issues in community organisation*. *Community Development Journal* on his understanding of participatory planning. In his eyes the role of facilitator that planner takes in the participatory exercises inevitably always comes with a degree of *manipulation*. Similar view is held by beforementioned

Forester and Sager who try to understand these processes in efforts of dealing with this unwanted outcome in the practice. The paternalistic view over informal settlements stands in contrast to beforementioned treating communities as experts, learning from them, and having the “searcher`s” mindset, which shows their importance in working in the development field.

Another issue mentioned by Botes and Van Rensburg (2000) is that of selective participation, where on the community level there might be some existing power relations. Authors count examples of possible inner community conflict grounds between different groups of “*the new arrivals versus the old timers, the tenants versus the owners, the old versus the young, male versus female, unemployed versus employed, formally employed versus informally employed*” (Botes and Van Rensburg, 2000), which are only part of possible conflicting groups. Understanding of this level of power relations is crucial for a fair involvement of the community members.

Another set of issues is that of raising expectations. As a researcher as well as a planner it is important to set clear boundaries of what possible outcomes for the informal community work with you could provide. As informal settlers are often in difficult situation, the hope that such work can bring to them can be high and the results given can be demotivating. Adding a fact that a lot of informal settlers are depending on daily wage and their free time tends to be scarce, taking up that time or time of their work, where they for example take away some of their own working hours for work with the planner or researcher in hopes of developing their life situation is a danger that planners and researchers should try to minimize. Thus, it is important to clearly state one`s abilities and boundaries, which sometimes does prove difficult to convey. The issue of community sacrifices for participation are discussed in context of the case study findings in chapter 5.2.

2.2 Literature review and placing the thesis in the existing body of knowledge

Today's literature in the field of participatory planning in informal settlements does offer a great variety of guides, ethical disputes, methodologies of development, etc. In this section I am going to give an overview of my literature review in this field, listing what does it cover and what are the less emphasized parts of the literature. This will then allow me to introduce the goal and focus of this research and to explain its place in the existing body of knowledge.

Caroline Moser (1989), Botes and Van Rensburg (2000), Cooke and Kothari (2001), Botes (1999) and Abbott (2002) all to a great extent **conceptualized issues and challenges of participation in informal settlements**, yet none of them emphasized those in the interaction and relationships of the planners and settlers. Leurs (1996), Sengupta and Sharma (2009) mentioned issues and challenges that might come with participatory projects specifically through **studying existing projects**, and Umemoto (2001) studied challenges in participatory planning with a focus on different inter-cultural planner-settler scenarios. Found gap is that of an approach. As mentioned, there is a wide range of guides, essays, and case studies of participatory planning in informal settlements, which encapsulate the social nuances and possible challenges in the relationships and interactions between the planners and the informal settlement communities. Yet, according to my literature review, the existing literature on studying these social issues and how they affect the project, the capacity building, and the morality of the processes, puts less emphasis on studying them through detailed, small-scale case study method. In other words, there is less focus on the details of interactions and relationships between planners and informal settlement communities. The other important point is the less emphasized, comparatively to other approaches, method of listening to and learning from the informal settlement communities. And whilst Anderson et al. (2012) in *Time to listen: Hearing people on the receiving end of*

international aid do focus entirely on listening, they explore a wide topic of international aid and do not focus on the topic of interactions and relationships between planners and planning subjects or partners. Thus, to add to the body of knowledge in this field, this thesis takes on a case study of small scale processes of participatory planning in informal settlements to research the relationships between the planners and the informal settlement communities.

2.3 Theoretical Framework and Limits

This thesis has few aims. One of them is to introduce the field of participatory planning in informal settlements to the idea of studying the relationships between planners and informal settlement communities. Another is to introduce specific topics of found issues that the case study of this thesis provided. Those raise additional questions that this thesis did not manage to scrutinize in detail, which will serve as options of further research. Third goal is that of the thesis being a learning experience for the reader (and the author) in terms of possible issues and solution that a participatory planner could face in an informal settlement development work, and in terms of better understanding informal settlement communities.

This being said, this thesis does not aim to provide concrete answers, but rather, in some cases, suggestions. The nature of the research and thesis is strictly exploratory, not explanatory, and thus it tries to explore the relationships and interactions, the challenges, tried solutions and overall raise the overall understanding, but not to provide concrete solutions.

3 Methods

In this chapter I will first in 3.1 reintroduce the research questions and talk about the knowledge needed for answering them. Then I will describe different categorizations this thesis's research falls in. In 3.2 I list methods used in this research's data collection and data verification, as well as argue for their adequacy in a given task and describe how were they used. Chapter 3.3 explains the chronological account of the stories of initial and final phases of the research fieldwork, encapsulating the evolution of the methodology and choice of the case and provides statistics of the data collection process.

3.1 Research questions and typology

The main research question:

What lessons for working with informal settlements as a planner, can be drawn from a case study of two participatory, long-term, development planning-oriented processes, based on studying relationships between informal settlement communities and NGO planners?

The research sub-questions:

- 1. What were the issues faced by either side and why did they emerge?*
- 2. What were the success factors and tools used?*
- 3. How could have the issues been dealt with?*

To answer the research questions, the researcher has to first, collect base information on a participatory planning process done by an NGO with an informal settlement. Secondly, collect memorials on the whole of participatory processes from both parties with a focus on the relationship between them.

Based on the knowledge required the research can be described as **qualitative**. Bryman explains that *“in quantitative research, the stress is on the understanding of the social world through an examination of the interpretation of that world by its participants”* (Bryman, 2016, p.380), which as described is the goal of research in this thesis. Another key factor of qualitative research proposed by Bryman is that it *“implies that social properties are outcomes of the interactions between individuals, rather than phenomena ‘out there’ and separate from those involved in its construction.”* (Bryman, 2016, p.380). According to this view it is crucial to involve the people affected by a social phenomenon, in order to scrutinize the phenomenon. That is also achieved by the prerequisites of this research.

Other conceptualizations on the typology of this research come from Murray and Overton (2003) and Bailey (2008). On the basis of both authors the thesis` research can be classified in a group of different categorizations. It is **applied**, rather than pure, due to its focus on an existing social issue and possibility of applying its findings in the future. It is also rather **descriptive** than explanatory due to its lack of initial hypotheses, as well as lack of emphasis on reasoning behind why and how studied phenomena happened. The research is also **exploratory** in nature, rather than problem-solving, due to it solely exploring a phenomena of social interactions and relations between two parties, finding the issues but not focusing on solving them (it does however, as an addition, look for existing solutions to found problems). The research is also highly **subjective**, rather than objective, due to depending on both author and his translator`s understanding of the data collected through person to person conversation with translation.

3.2 Methods and validity of the study

a) Case study method

The thesis takes on a research strategy of case study. As Yin (2003) describes, a research uses the case study method when, among other factors, the “*the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident.*” Yin (2003, p. 13-14). The topic of research is highly contextualized as the interpersonal relations do only exist and can be put under scrutiny within a context (Bryman, 2016, p.380). Thus, the case study is the only possible way of conducting a research in the thesis’s topic.

The type of case study strategy used can be, according to Yin (2003), understood as exploratory, multiple case study method, as the research looks to explore threads within an existing contextual phenomenon and was done in two different informal settlements, which even though similar in many ways, differ from one another. Those differences and similarities will be used in chapter 5 as a comparative factor in the analysis.

b) Data collection

To collect the necessary data the thesis used a methodological framework focusing on unstructured interviews supplemented by observation, short-term ethnography and external literature research.

Observation was used as an additional tool for enhancing the understanding of the research environment, as well as to better the process of data collection, e.g. adding additional topics in the interviews.

Short-term ethnography was done as a trust building process, which was an important step in gaining access to required data of personal stories. That was done through actions like: spending time in the settlement, having casual talks with community

members, playing with community's kids, animals, or joining group activities like meals or jungle visits with local women.

External literature research was mainly used in order to gain knowledge on possibilities of issues that could have happened on the case.

Unstructured interviews were the main method of collecting data. Kajornboon (2005) understands unstructured interviews as ones that take on a differentiated questioning in each interview. The interviewees are encouraged to speak openly and in as much detail as possible (Kajornboon, 2005). This method suits well the exploratory nature of the research. Although the questionnaire (see Appendix 5 for final questionnaire) was prepared beforehand, the interviewer changed the questions and topics due to age, gender, as well as due to interpersonal dynamics and levels of knowledge of interviewees, all of which were gaged while the interview was happening. In this way the prepared questionnaires served as a tool to keep the conversation on the overall topic of the research and thus, could be called interview guides. Apart from keeping the conversation on those the interviewer highly encouraged all the topics brought up by the interviewees that stayed within the research topic but were not prepared in the questionnaires, thus encouraging finding new threads for current and possibly next interviews. The researcher tried to ask non-leading questions, which has proven difficult at times, due to partly reaction-based framing of questions, yet got easier with experience.

Interviews were supposed to be done with only one interviewee present, for several reasons. First of all, because of the sensitivity of certain topics like gender relations, power relations, conflicts, etc., thus increasing privacy and personal safety of the interviewee, and giving a better possibility to speak freely. Another reason for having private interviews was striving to ask non-leading questions, as the people who heard their fellow community members talk about certain topic and their version of the story,

could get led off from their own remembrance of it. This has proven difficult mostly due to the interpersonal group dynamics as many settlers were interested in the interviews.

The chosen planners interviewed had experience with either of case communities or had expertise in working in participatory planning manner with informal settlements in Nepal (all the planners interviewed were part of the Lumanti NGO described in chapter 4).

The informal community interviewees were chosen as to ensure that they could have had any interactions with the planners during the participatory planning or could have experienced the overall community reactions to the processes. On top of that to ensure the completeness of the collected data the interviewees were picked so that different age groups (teens, young adults, working age adults, retired/elderly), close to same amount of men and women were interviewed, different groups of friends/different families, and thus different perspectives or sides of eventual conflicts were interviewed.

Great majority of the interviews were done with help of translator. As an assessed risk the translation could have caused issues with credibility of the research. This is because every word and sentence said by either interviewee or the interviewer had to go through four lines of interpretation: First, the spoken sentence has to be well conveyed in the language of the speaker by him- or herself. Then the translator has to understand the sentence as spoken by the speaker and understand it. The language goes through the translation through the translator's understanding of both languages into the language of the other speaker. Finally, the language has to be conveyed and understood by the recipient. As much as this process can hinder the understanding of the spoken word, especially in the highly social and opinionated context of this research, steps were taken to alleviate that. To do that, translation was strived to be done word for word. To do that, after each sentence the translator stopped the speaker and translated the

sentence, being as close to the original meanings of the words as possible and restricting from rephrasing.

There were also limitations to the capacity of the researcher, as he did not have previous experience in interviewing, was a foreigner and had no experience with the context. These issues were alleviated to an extent during the initial phase of the research described in chapter 3.3 and study of the case through interviews with local planner and available literature.

All the interviews done were recorded in audio format for further data analysis. As a data safety measure the precondition to participate in an interview the interviewees were first asked to sign a consent form (presented in Appendix 1) or verbally agree to have their voices stored on personal device and in a transcribed form used in the thesis. One of the interviewees did not agree for recording of their voices in which case, the data was collected in form of notes.

The interviewing took place until the researcher subjectively noticed that one of the three are true:

- Researcher finds saturation of the collected data
- Time resource runs out
- Other issues occur that disable the interviews from being done further

c) Data verification

Data verification during and after the research was done through triangulation of the collected data. It is a method in which, in this thesis's case, the collected data is verified by adding an additional source of data. If findings from all sources are the same, it allows for more confidence in the validity of collected data (Bryman, 2006, p.392). The triangulation method was done on two levels. On a smaller scale, collected data was in

case of doubt cross-checked within the informal settlement communities and planners involved in the process. On a bigger scale, between three main data sources: NGO planners, informal settlement community members, and literature sources.

Even with this method of verifying data, some of the validity of the data collected during the fieldwork of this thesis, depends on the truthfulness of the interviewees. The triangulated data was that of interpersonal conflicts, records of situations of the past of the process and opinions on solutions, which were specifically consulted with experts in the field.

3.3 Account of the research's story and statistics

a) Exploratory phase of the fieldwork and choosing the case

The initial stage of the research's fieldwork took place in Kathmandu, the capital of Nepal. The main goal of this phase was a reconnaissance of the situation of informal settlements of Nepal in order to find a suitable case study. Another goal was to create a knowledge base and test initial set of methods and questions before using them in the final data collection phase.

The reconnaissance was done through close collaboration with local Lumanti NGO and the co-supervisor of this thesis prof. Sangeeta Singh, as both had great knowledge of Nepal's professional environment of planners working in informal settlements. Having these initial contacts led the research to exploratory interviews with one of the leaders of an informal settlement in Kathmandu, a UN Habitat Kathmandu official, as well as to a short tryout fieldwork in closely placed municipality where Lumanti NGO was currently planning a post-earthquake reconstruction of a historical, formal settlement. A choice to do a fieldwork outside of informal settlement and thus, if successful, leading to shift of the subject, was due to two main reasons. Firstly, the initial interviews revealed that in Kathmandu area the situation of the informal settlements

was stale for a long time no participation was happening (more on that is described in chapter 4.1). Secondly, the Lumanti NGO was using a similar framework as working with informal settlements and as such made me hope that it would be somewhat similar to the assumed work in informal settlement. The tryout fieldwork was done with a translator and consisted of three long interviews and more unsuccessful ones. The primer gave the researcher experience in interviewing and working with a translator. The latter, unsuccessful interviews, were failed due to lack of firm and vast prior knowledge of the researcher on the case, as well as the literature on the topic of the post-earthquake reconstruction in Nepal. This is visible in the questionnaire prepared for that part of the project, presented in Appendix 2. It was a lesson on the importance of having prior knowledge on the case before data collection process. The initial phase was called a failure mainly due to being too different from initial assumptions and straying too far away from the topic. Because of that I decided to look outwards of Kathmandu valley for informal settlements that Lumanti NGO worked with currently. This led the case study into two informal settlements of the Chitwan district, which are described in detail in chapter 4.

b) Shaping of the final questionnaire for informal settlements data collection

After transferring to Chitwan district I started to cooperate with Lumanti NGO planners working there. Due to lessons learned in the trial fieldwork in Kathmandu area, the research started by collecting vast knowledge on the processes of two local cases of informal settlement developments through participatory planning. That knowledge was gained through many conversations with local field coordinator.

The first goal before starting the proper data collection was creating a questionnaire. To do that, possible topics and issues were sought in the literature in the field, as well as in the notes and recordings of interviews from the initial phase of the research for more context specific possibilities (see the analysis in Appendix 3). Found issues

and barriers consisted of 29 literature quotes, as well as 26 quotes from the exploratory phase of the fieldwork and the research on the cases done with a local planner, which made up 16 different topics of possible issues to look for in the case study. Based on these topics the initial questionnaire was created. The questionnaire evolved through its consultation with the local planner, which excluded some of the possible topics due to lack of relevance in the case study. Proper data collection process started and after the first few days of interviewing, questionnaire was updated again, which is visible on the notes pages under the questionnaire in the Appendix 4. Some of the changes happened due to a learning process of both researcher and the translator. Some words like e.g. *social worker*, used in English by Lumanti NGO planners, were difficult to translate and to understand by the settlers. A lot of the changes had to do with phrasing of the questions or deleting the questions due to their leading character. Also, changes happened to the topics, as some were completely forsaken in the first studied community due to lack of relevance. Mentioned note pages show a lot of remarks to the way translation is done and the interviews are led, which shows how influential of a learning process, the first three days of interviewing the first researched community were. After those initial three days, the translation and interview style was preliminarily established. The questionnaire didn't change significantly after those first three days and later on served merely as interview guide as explained in chapter 3.2 b).

After finishing the data collection in each subsequent community, planners were interviewed on basis of the new information. The questionnaires used in planner interviews were adapted from the community ones and are presented in Appendix 5.

c) The timeline and statistics

A span of three months was available for the whole research, in which the researcher had to understand the context, find the case study and collect the data. This time has been suddenly shortened midway into the third month due to COVID-19 virus

pandemic, making the whole fieldwork almost two and a half months long in total. Fortunately, the data collection was finished before the virus outbreak.

The proper data collection phase was done within a span of around one month. Firstly, from Majhumusahar community 10 people were interviewed in total (men to women ratio: 5M/5W) in the timespan of 5 working days. From Salyani community 12 people were interviewed in total (men to women ratio: 4M/8W) in the timespan of 4 working days. In total one planner with experience in both communities, two planners with experience in Majhimusahar community and one planner with experience in Salyani and vast knowledge on all of Lumanti projects were interviewed.

4 Context of the research and the case study

In the chapter 4.1 first in subpoint a) I present the geographical context and livelihood information about the case study settlements. Then, the subpoint b) presents the situation of land-tenure of Nepali and the case studied informal settlements, as well as explains the difference between the situations of informal settlement in big and small municipalities of Nepal based on Kathmandu municipality and case study municipalities of Bharatpur and Ratnanagar.

The next chapter 4.2 is focused on the Lumanti NGO, which engagement with studied informal settlements was the base of this thesis's research. Subpoint a) describes the participatory planning framework that the organization uses and its organizational capacity, and subpoint b) presents the information collected on the projects and processes of organization working with studied communities.

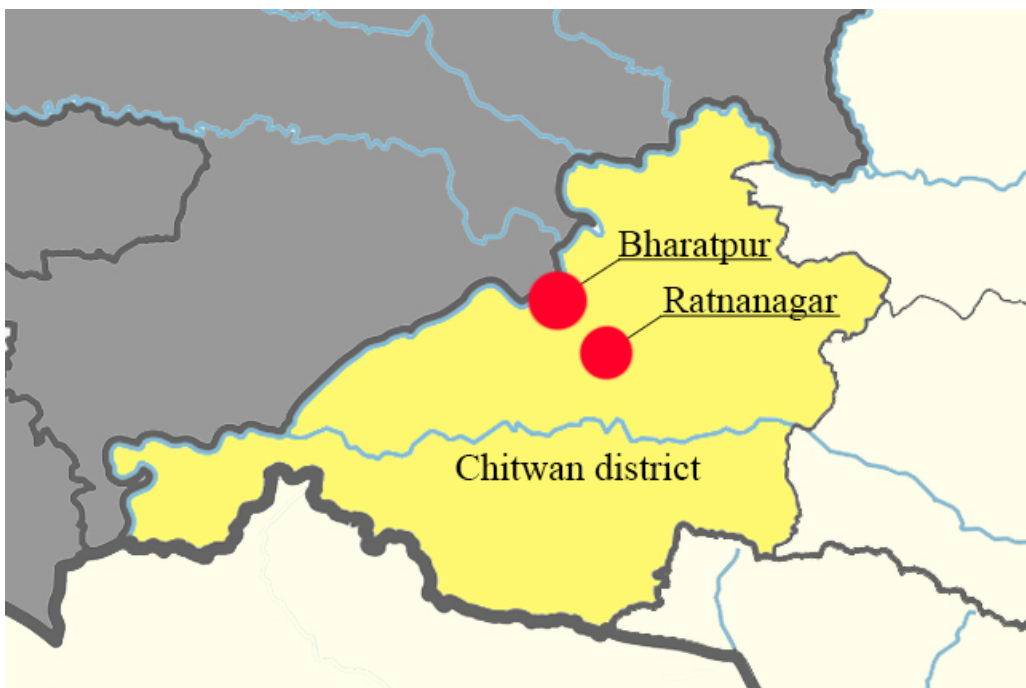
4.1 Informal Communities

a) Geographical context and livelihoods

This thesis takes on a case study of two informal settlements of two municipalities: Ratnanagar and Bharatpur of Nepal's Chitwan district located in the province Bagmati Pradesh (see Maps 1 and 2 below). Nepal is an Asian country landlocked between China and India.



Map 1 Map of Nepal in Asia (Bagmati Pradesh province and within it Chitwan district are highlighted).



Map 2 Placement of Bharatpur and Ratnanagar municipalities within the Chitwan district.

The case study informal settlements are placed in adjacent Bharatpur and Ratnanagar. Those are relatively small cities, and even though Bharatpur is one of the five largest cities in Nepal (280 thousands residents), they are not close to the size and population of Kathmandu (Ruszczuk, 2020, p.3). The two cities are separated by thin area of Chitwan national park, which is an important part of local population`s lives. Both communities are placed closely to the jungle areas of national park and historically depended on them for survival. Table 1 below, presents all major collected information on studied communities:

Community information:		
Name:	Salyani	Majhimusahar
Location:	Bharatpur	Ratnanagar
Land tenure situation before the project:	People of the community have worked in a nearby factory and lived on its land. With the change of the Nepal`s land policy, the owner of the company had to provide his workers land and houses outside of the factory. Yet, through supposed bribery community was given its current land on the outskirts of the city and the jungle, with small grant from the factory, which would not be sufficient to build houses. Community was promised land ownership statuses and no eviction.	Community is indigenous to the area with tradition in fishery and forestry. Had no official land tenure at first. Before Lumanti NGO partnership a single donor from the Netherland and saw community living in vulnerable condition (no regular jobs, women not having time for children who got no education). The donor purchased plot of land community was living on, plus more land for farming (pig farm and fishponds), built 13 houses and gave land tenure to the community.
Land tenure situation now:	Still waiting for promised land ownership statuses.	Owning individual lands.
Livelihoods before the project:	Mostly dependent on daily wage. Living off of the forest, houses of mud and thatch huts, open defecation in the forest (animal hazard), some labor in building	Mostly dependent on daily wage. Fishing and living off the forest (firewood, vegetables), trading.

	sites, some labor in multinational factory near, killing wild animals.	In 2011 the law changes making fishing in the river illegal. Municipality decides to help the community regain their livelihoods by choosing them for Lumanti NGO project.
Livelihoods now:	Still dependent on daily wage, but to a lesser extent. Drivers, masons, building site labor. Mostly elderly and kids were seen in the community during time spent there. From interviews it is known that a lot of children of the elderly is working age and lives outside the community, some even outside the country.	Still dependent on daily wage, but to a lesser extent. Most men working abroad as drivers, masons. Most women are housewives with children and work on other people's agricultural land. Government plans to develop the agriculture of the community as a possibility for sustained livelihood (now it is not enough to satisfy their needs).
Vulnerable families:	1 household with children, begging, woman died in 2017/18, but children were old enough to start working by that time.	1 elderly woman, sick, begging, has a sick son. (were supported with a house grant from national folk singer)
Caste:	Mixed caste	Lower caste (Majhimusahar)
Number of families living in the settlement:	Around 31	13 in 2011 (8 members each family) 16 in 2016 24 in 2020

Table 1 Information gathered on studied communities.

b) Land-tenure and different informal settlements situation of Nepal

“A tough squatter leader in Kathmandu recalls his struggles over a decade: “We have been here a long time, hoping others will understand why we need to stay here as squatters. We contribute to the development of the city by carrying bricks and other loads to construct houses for the rich, or by working for nominal wages as domestic

servants for wealthy families. But people still see us merely as illegal invaders. They see us as the cause of problems.””(Tanaka, 2009, p.1)

Squatters often battle with lack of legitimacy and struggle to be accepted as neighbors (Bakrania, 2015, p.2). The data collection of this thesis showed that it is true also for informal settlements in Nepal. Research found a case of Kathmandu's Thapathali informal settlement eviction and bulldozing of the houses, only for the settlers to come back and rebuild what was left of their homes. From interviews with different settlers it was found that in all researched settlements, especially at the moment of settling, they were not accepted by their neighbors, until the settlers proved themselves by developing different aspects of their lives and physical infrastructure of their living space.

The research also found that the land use documents dictating the laws of the spatial order of Nepalese cities are in a lot of cases not existing or not respected, due to insufficient governmental capacity. Thus the term informal settlement can be applied to a lot of Nepalese settlements in many cases. Nepal's caste system still has its strong marks on the spatial order of the city. A lot of the informal settlements that can be found in e.g. Kathmandu area are inhabited by the indigenous castes. Those settlements are accepted to have rights to the land they reside on, yet often do not have the legal documents, which disables them for example from taking loans.

Different situation can be seen in less populated and less development attractive regions like the case study area of Chitwan district. There, the outskirts of the cities like Bharatpur are still not touched by land use laws due to, again lack of capacity of local government which incrementally work on legalizing the land from the city cores (Ruszczuk, 2020). Where the governments do not spread their immediate attention, the informal settlements like Salyani in Bharatpur can use the time to claim their land and develop themselves in hope to be untouchable in the future.

A difference has been observed between contexts of Kathmandu and Chitwan district through a testimony of experienced informal settlement planners of Lumanti NGO and observation during two phases of the fieldwork. The difference is of the ability to change the spatial or legal organization of the informal settlements and with that the NGO power to implement projects. That power is less available in the Kathmandu city, than in the studied Chitwan district municipalities. The presumption is, it is mostly due to the prices of the land that informal settlement communities occupy. Because the land in Kathmandu is of way higher price than that of its counterpart, the municipalities are not eager to settle for little gain of developing the informal settlements. The municipality theoretically loses a lot of revenue-creating potential by agreeing on legitimizing existing informal settlements placed in the middle of the lively city of Kathmandu. On the other hand, in 2013 an eviction of Thapathali informal settlement in order to build a road has already failed in the Kathmandu city and hence is not seen as an option for the government. Thus, development efforts has been made for example, to develop Shankhamul informal settlement, whilst taking away some of their land for business center development. The parties did not reach a compromise and stay in a stalemate situation, which as mentioned in earlier chapters describes the Kathmandu informal settlement development situation. In the Bharatpur and Ratnanagar municipalities, where land is less expensive, those kind of issues have not been seen and the municipalities are actively involved in helping Lumanti NGO develop many informal settlements throughout the years.

4.2 NGO`s and the projects` frameworks

a) Lumanti NGO`s framework for participation in informal settlements

Lumanti NGO Support Group for Shelter has been established in 1994 in Kathmandu, Nepal with a goal of alleviating “*urban poverty in Nepal through integrated approach of improving shelter conditions*” (Lumanti NGO, n.d.). This focus pushed Lumanti to work mostly in informal settlements, and since Nepal suffers frequent earthquakes, also in post-earthquake reconstruction aid. In fact Lumanti has performed a first in the history of Nepal informal settlement community led development process. This was done with help of Asian Coalition for Housing Rights (ACHR), under their Asian Coalition for Community Action (ACCA) program. Lumanti NGO has adapted the community led development approach that ACCA prescribed. The funding of the approach is well described by Archer et al. (2012, p.116): “*ACCA sets very low budget ceilings and leaves it to implementing communities to work out how best to use the money and raise other funding. There is not enough development funding to finance “sufficiently” all that is needed to address the backlog in basic services, housing and tenure security.*”. Thus, the informal settlement communities, which Lumanti NGO works with, if they are to build housing, are proposed a small loan, which when repaid, serves to develop other communities in the future. As the loan is minimal, most of the money goes to building materials and there is no excess for hiring labor or experts. Role of the primer is played usually by the informal settlement communities themselves and the latter are provided by Lumanti (in case of architects and planners, or sometimes construction experts), or through help of the municipality or other organizations. Apart from playing the role of labor force, the community`s main role is leading the processes through planning and self-organization with help of Lumanti planners in roles of facilitators. The Lumanti NGO approach aims at mutually benefiting both parties and thus can be termed a partnership – the sixth step on the

Arnstein's ladder of participation mentioned in theory section. The benefits and drawbacks of the community led development are also discussed there in more detail.

As mentioned, Lumanti NGO provides planners and architects to help the informal settlement communities. Apart from them, Lumanti also hires (usually from local municipality) people for the role of social mobilizers, whose role is managing the contacts between the community and the Lumanti NGO and the facilitating the community meetings. In this thesis all these people are called planners in a sense of doing work under an organization whose main job is planning, and planners understood, as explained in theory section, as facilitators.

As learned during the interviews with the Lumanti informer in Chitwan district, Lumanti employees get trained in many skills that facilitatory planner needs. Some of them are trainings on Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) tools, on social mobilization and a leadership training. The PRA, used by Lumanti NGO, is a methodology that has its roots in participatory research among other fields of knowledge (Chambers, 1994b). It is described by Chambers as a field reality oriented development philosophy that enables both rural and urban people *"to express, enhance, share and analyze their knowledge of life and conditions, to plan and act"* (Chambers, 1994a). The theory section of this thesis adopt a definition of capacity building that matches this description of the approach: *a process of creating capacity to identify own needs and goals and the base means in terms of skills, contacts or relations and creating the organizational capacity to, through available resources, meet the needs and achieve the set goals*. Thus, it can be said that the goal of PRA's approach is building the capacity of the people involved. As we can see, in PRA it is the people that lead the process - express, enhance, share, analyze, but most importantly *plan and act*.

We now have a general view of Lumanti NGO's approach of community led development and the organizational capacity together with some of the skillset of

Lumanti planners. With this knowledge in mind in the next sub-point we will look into case study projects processes.

b) Projects timelines and basic information

Both of the projects done by Lumanti NGO in the two case study communities were done throughout long-term partnerships with those communities. The case study settlements were not only informal settlements within their municipalities. Lumanti NGO took an approach of city scale work with all informal settlements of the city and worked towards creating or helping the existing informal settlement organizations, as well as close development partnerships with individual communities. Partnerships with the communities were established as part of the city scale work that the NGO was pursuing. Close partnerships processes lasted between 2005-2009 with Salyani community in Bharatpur city, after which, Lumanti moved to Ratnanagar city and eventually established closer contacts with Majhimusahar community in 2011, up until now.

Many of the smaller (than housing projects) development projects like capacity building, e.g. children schools and adult schools, that Lumanti NGO facilitated in the communities could not be mentioned in this thesis, as their importance to this research comes only in a moment of discovering their connection to found challenges or solutions within the relationships with the planners. Thus, some projects that happened will not be covered here. As the main talking point in the interviews, this research puts a great focus on the housing projects due to their magnitude and connection to participation in planning. The importance of the rest of the partnership process is mostly that of a building ground of the relationships between planners and settlers. The Table 2 below presents most of the gathered information on the partnerships and the projects done with both of the communities.

Projects information:		
Community:	Salyani (Bharatpur city)	Majhimusahar (Ratnanagar city)
Project loan:	<p>Sanitation: Funded by Chitwan district and Bharatpur municipality fund against open defecation.</p> <p>Housing: loan offered to the community by Lumanti NGO was 1 lakh maximum per family.</p> <p>Done with funding from ACCA project by ACHR and Misereor KZE – Lumanti German donor</p>	<p>Housing: 3 lakh, repayment of 48 months, generally well repaid monthly.</p> <p>From Ratnanagar municipality – Urban Poor Support Fund: in total 30 lakh from Lumanti, 30 lakh from municipality.</p> <p>Secretary for the fund is the CBO Urban Poor Management Forum from Ratnanagar</p>
Project Timeline:	<p>2005 (initial phase):</p> <p>Lumanti entered Bharatpur and introduced by Nepal Basobas started interacting with the Salyani community. First contacts were merely talking with community and creating friendly connections. Listening, asking, not sharing knowledge or pointing out issues of the community. In the first contacts Lumanti also observed the community habits e.g. when community members meet and talk, and used those, while changing their own working hours to meet more of the community members in their usual free time. Additionally, on the first meetings Lumanti tried to dismiss people's expectations for big grants and openly shared information of what they are able to provide – small loans, technical expertise help, community led planning.</p> <p>First actions done by Lumanti were forming of different groups like Women Saving Group, Children support groups, Toll lane organization (already established by the government groups of families living in a certain community according to spatial divide) and facilitating those groups to organize their</p>	<p>2011 (phase 1 – creating relationships and institutional and knowledge base):</p> <p>Due to law change community couldn't longer practice and rely on fishing and local forest materials for survival. Government pushed by Forest Users Committee (as the community still used the forest as their livelihood means) asks Lumanti to work in the community. Neighbors have issues with the community due to community's caste and unclean surroundings.</p> <p>Lumanti planners in the initial talks with community experienced most people not wanting to communicate with them and hiding in their houses. One of the main reasons for that, as further explained in chapter 5, were shyness in front of "big figures" and rustiness in Nepali language not used on daily basis within the community.</p> <p>Lumanti then took the community on a visit to another informal settlement that already successfully developed (Bharatpur Salyani). After that visit, the community communicated with Lumanti better and raises their voices. This strategy is also</p>

	<p>own programs.</p> <p>2007 (sanitation project): Lumanti started working with Salyani community on sanitation issues due to government, municipality and forest users committee recommendations (Salyani community faced dangers of open defecation in the forest and lived off of the forest materials). In an incremental fashion, materials for building toilets were physically provided in form of a grant and the toilets were built.</p> <p>2008-2009 (housing project): Lumanti NGO working with Asian Coalition for Community Action (ACCA)* program moved into Bharatpur municipality and asked government to choose an informal settlement that they should develop. Families worked together on each house one after another.</p> <p>*ACCA is a program designed by Asian Coalition for Housing rights (ACHR) for community led development for vulnerable communities. The ACCA program assumes provision of funding and expert help while the community is tasked with decision making and implementation.</p>	<p>further examined in chapter 5.</p> <p>The municipality hired its' representative to work on the case of the community. Urban Poor Management Forum was established on a city level by Lumanti.</p> <p>2014-16 (phase 2 – housing project): Majhimusahar community realized their issues and started doing small infrastructure works on their own. Lumanti NGO offered to do a housing project in the municipality. Asked local community groups and government to choose a best community to do that. Majhimusahar community was chosen. The houses were built one by one, by each individual family (not much inter-family help was present).</p> <p>2019 – now (phase 3 – government led infrastructure project) Government is trying to make agricultural activities already existent in the community a way to create a sustainable income for them, as well as plan tourism activities (homestay) connected to nearby national park. Additional road project with a budget of 1 lakh rupees done in participatory manner.</p>
<p>Housing project phase description: (Lumanti NGO working framework)</p>	<p>For this phase, depending on the local team, Lumanti usually brings in additional architects and planners. Presented below is the framework that the organization follows. The details may vary depending on the context and e.g. already established information from the previous cooperation.</p> <p>1. Surveying and Understanding Starting with a common problem to build up a working platform. Participatory locating of houses with relation of household information in small groups. Community draws existing settlement to understand their situation. Sharing the output of the survey with other groups.</p> <p>2. Community Mapping</p>	

	<p>Understanding ways of living, income source, recent living conditions and if all are benefited by the housing plan. This is done by verbal individual talks with the family members and form filling by households with basic information: number of family members, names, occupations, salaries, savings for house construction, expected number of rooms, expected amount of loan and its source.</p> <p>3. Land Surveying and Mapping Checking the mapped information on physical land with people and then with municipality. Consulting neighbors.</p> <p>4. Participatory Site Planning: Dream Community Agreeing on one size of land for families with the community.</p> <p>5. Participatory Design Process for “Dream House” Goals of: clear concept of planning with common understanding, community will identify and understand matters related to their development, and physical status of their community. Individual families use a4 sheet to design dream house which then they present, and community chooses one model design.</p> <p>6. Field Visit to Other Housing Projects To see similar project done and talk to communities who did it. Then coming back share their experience and lessons for future task.</p> <p>7. Office work and the project Architects and planners take the collected information and forge it into a working architectural project, which is then proposed to the community.</p> <p>8. Implementation Community user committee gets the responsibility of organizing the implementation of the project.</p>
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Table 2 Case study projects and processes information.

5 Case study analysis

The vast collected data of the case studies was grouped into eight distinct perspectives from which a planner can see an informal settlement participatory development project. This was done in order to create simple grounds for discussion on separate and independent topics of the analysis. The eight perspectives are:

1. Initial contact with the community and earning their trust,
2. Community's sacrifices for development,
3. The status of community women in the process,
4. Taking care of the vulnerable,
5. Spread of information,
6. Community leadership roles and issues,
7. Engineers' roles in the project, and
8. Community's independency.

The perspectives collect all the issues faced, solutions used and case information relevant in answering the research questions, that were mentioned by either of the sides in the data collection process. Each perspective starts with the presentation of collected data from the case study and is followed by a discussion on it. Collected data was analyzed qualitatively with knowledge of the case studies and with the additional help of quantitative measures e.g. the number of people who reported the same issue. The chapter ends on a summary and describes the connections between the perspectives in 5.9.

In quotations the *[R]* stands for the *researcher* and *[I]* stands for the *interviewee*.

5.1 Initial contact with the community and earning their trust

This chapter describes issues found in the case study around the topic of initial contact and trust-building between planners and informal settlement communities into three topics. Found language issues are discussed in subpoint a), trust building issues in subpoint b) and issues of raising and failing expectations in subpoint c).

a) Language barrier

Collected data:

Two of Lumanti NGO workers that had experience working in Majhimusahar community, as well as a Lumanti planner that worked with different caste communities, mentioned difference in language as an issue in the initial phase of the projects. In their experience, with time the language barrier can be overcome, but that requires learning the community's language. One of the planners says: *"After working for many years what I have learned to communicate with these people, it is necessary to learn their language"*. The latter of mentioned planners, talks about working as a planner whilst joining the local team only for a housing project and once the relationship with local team has been established. This work was done in a similar context but one outside of the two case studies of this research. The local team served as translators for newly arrived planners and architects. In the testimony of the planner, this way of work was difficult due to using translation and had to be done in simple sentences. As the planner mentioned the experience of the local team with the subject community was helpful for the job.

From the case study, two of Majhimusahar settlers while describing the initial contact with two Lumanti workers said that the community trusted one of them more due to his similar language: *"His language and our language kind of matched. That's why we listened to him and sat with them"*. The language in this example was an enabling factor for the initial engagement and breaking the initial distrust barrier.

Discussion:

Nepal, having a very culturally diverse population is a specific context for this type of problem, where many different languages are used by different communities, and where the national Nepali language is not spoken well by some of the many cultural minorities. Some of the minority languages are similar to Nepali yet understanding can be a problem for speakers fluent in solely one or the other. The findings suggest an obvious truth that a language barrier in the participatory planning is a major issue, which with use of translators, can be overcome. Yet, through translation the settlers may lose the nuances (e.g. planners had to use simple language in translated conversations), which can hinder the understanding of the processes by the settlers as well as the understanding of the settlers by the planners. This could lead to misunderstandings of various sorts, for example creating (and then failing) false expectations for the planners' work and lead to a degree of distrust from the settlers. From the other side, the planners may not understand the settlers' intentions well and propose ideas that go against the community's will. As the power relations discussed in the theory chapter are at play here, it can lead to a degree of manipulation through the paternalistic figure of planners (even if well intentioned) pushing unwanted ideas of projects and solutions on the community by the sheer fact of misunderstanding.

In the Majhimusahar community, many settlers were praising the fact that the planners helped them with their public speaking skills and bettering their Nepali language used in communicating with other stakeholders. Thus, the language difference in this particular example worked in favor of the capacity building of the participatory process. This was possible in a given scenario where the planners spoke the language of city stakeholders and the settlers were not fluent in it. In a scenario of non-Nepali speaking international planners, the settlers of Majhimusahar would not gain this kind of advantage and would be prone to the dangers deducted before.

Finally, it is important to note, when designing a participatory project, that the language barrier has to be overcome, not only in order to communicate, but also, in a situation of some degree of understanding each other's language, like in the case of Majhimusahar, in order to deal with the initial distrust. This could require hiring a translator and make the work more time consuming and difficult. Thus the language factors have to be considered in the design of the participatory process. Leurs (1996) also brings up the importance of overcoming the language and value differences between planners and participatory planning subjects.

b) Building trust

Collected data - Issues:

When planners came to the Majhimusahar community, most of the people were hiding in their houses and refusing to speak with them. All the reasons for this described by the settlers had to do with lack of knowledge or experience. Two of the Majhimusahar settlers deemed the community's lack of knowledge about the planners and their intentions, as well as lack of public speaking skills of the settlers, as the reasons for the initial abstention from contact. Another Majhimusahar settler puts it: *"They were like police to us. We were kind of scared of them"*. As a reason for the fear the interviewee gave the lack of experience in talking to people in high positions. One of the planners points to same reason, saying that *"they were not familiar with people like us, that's why they were scared"*. Overall, while describing the reasons for initial lack of engagement words like *shyness*, *fear* and *confusion* were used. The confusion about why Lumanti planners keep coming to the settlement every day was mentioned by one Majhimusahar and one Salyani settler.

A final issue is the long time planners had to spend to overcome the initial distrust and gather a satisfying group of settlers on the meeting. One of the Majhimusahar planners mentions that this process took 6 months.

Collected data - Solutions:

The same daily visits that were the most mentioned as a reason for confusion, were deemed by the community and the planners as reasons for eventually overcoming the initial distrust of the settlers. One of the Majhimusahar planners puts it:

“they used to hide in their houses when they saw us coming. [...] so, the possibility of meeting was very rare. Because we could not see any chances of arranging a meeting we used to go on a regular basis to the community. When we went continuously from time to time every day, and when they used to see us on the regular basis they came to know that we are here for them.”

The method was mentioned by four of the Majhimusahar settlers. According to one of them, after daily visits the community got used to the planners and started coming to engage in conversations in more numbers. Settlers said things like: *“Slowly, after getting to know them we started having chit-chats with them.”* and *“After, when they were constantly coming every single day, for 2 hours. I said: Why am I being quiet if they are coming and trying to interact with us? I should interact with them.”*

The daily visits were paired up with planners showing, as explained by one of them, a friendly attitude and trying to understand or sympathizing with the situation of the settlers. Two of the planners said they were trying to befriend the settlers and genuinely understand their situations. The same strategy was mentioned by a planner that entered an already existing partnership solely to work on a housing project in the Salyani community: *“When we`re starting to ask them question about the community they start opening up [...]”*. From the other side, two settlers, one from Majhimusahar and one from Salyani mention the interest, friendliness and sympathizing from the side of planners. Community leader of Majhimusahar settlement said: *“When I first interacted with one of the Lumanti planners, the person said that they are here to share our problems and know our problems, [they] asked what is happening in the community”*.

Another strategy, brought up by two of the Majhimusahar settlers, that enforced the idea of planners genuinely wanting to help was the planners physically helping to clean up the Majhimusahar settlement after arguing the importance of it.

The second most recalled method, by three settlers from both communities, was any form of an initial grant. In the case of Majhimusahar one settler mentions Lumanti planners offering trucks with soil to start vegetable farming in the community. In the case of Salyani it was the project of building toilets for the community. Materials to build toilets were provided as a grant early in the process. Two of the Salyani settlers mention it after being asked a question of overcoming the initial distrust.

Capacity building was also brought up by Majhimusahar community as a reason for gaining trust to Lumanti planners. Two forms of it can be distinguished: building of skills of the settlers and building the organizational capacity of the community. In the case of Majhimusahar they were, for example, teaching how to speak publicly and how to express community's problems to the municipality and creating a women savings group.

The next method was deemed by most of the interviewed Lumanti planners as one of the most helpful in the initial contacts with communities. Planners used the help of organizations that already cooperated with a given community or existing community organizations to introduce themselves to the community. In this way, they gained a degree of immediate credibility and engagement from the community. One of the Salyani settlers mentions that as increasing trust for planners. In Majhimusahar, the methods could not be used due to lack of such organizations.

An additional factor that helped in gaining initial trust, visible in Majhimusahar community, was a snowball effect that came after some of the people started interacting with Lumanti and brought more of the community members with them later on. One of the planners mentions that after one person started talking to them, more people

followed the next day and the number kept increasing incrementally. One of the settlers explains that the lack of trust was due to lack of education of the community members and says that educated people talked to the planners first. It was also found that a young, vice-chief of the community, who had travel experience and some education was independently (without the planners asking him to) convincing the community members to talk to the planners.

Discussion:

First, it is important to establish that building trust is a precondition for any successful partnership and as Höppner et al. (2007) states: *“the building of trust is sometimes even regarded as the genuine benefit of participatory processes because of its presumed positive influence on social relations, systems, and psychological functioning, that goes even beyond the current planning process”*. In this thesis, the trust is mostly tackled in the topic of initial distrust to the planners, which was found to be a relevant issue of the participatory planning processes with the case studied informal settlements.

A great value of the type of research done for this thesis is the possibility to listen to the voices of the participants of participatory planning, the informal settlers. It is important for a planner to try to understand their perspective before conducting a similar exercise. In the case study the feelings mentioned were shyness, fear and confusion. Based on that it is recommended to, as a planner, work towards quickly overcoming these feelings.

Lumanti planners tried to do that by using a specific attitude and strategies towards the settlers. Initially, when engaging the settlers, planners payed them daily visits and had a friendly attitude and showed interest in the community's situation. From both perspectives such initial visits can create an uneasy social situation to deal with. Planners by appearing in the settlement in person, without for example unknown to the settlers government officials, avoided creating an additional degree of fear in the

community. The friendly attitude used fosters showing the good intentions of the planners and previews to the settlers the partnership that can be achieved.

Then, after some of the settlers were engaged in listening to what planners had to say, the trust was enforced by backing up their words of wanting to create a partnership with the settlers. In Majhimusahar community, planners helped cleaning the area and in both of the settlements planners offered an initial grant early in the process. That was a show of intentions which reassured the settlers towards the planners. A contrary behavior was noticed in a preliminary phase of the research in a talk with Kathmandu informal settlement leader. He mentioned that the government officials, who proposed a development project, came to the area in a car just looking around and never leaving the vehicle and then invited few of the community leaders, through telephone contact, to meet at the government office. This made the settlers believe that the government officials wanted to keep distance from the settlers or feared them, which enhanced the lack of trust towards the government (among other factors). That behavior stands in contrast to Lumanti planners joining the cleaning works which alleviated the distance between the parties. A similar effect was created with the initial small grants mentioned in the findings. Those could have also acted as a warranty of intentions from the planner's side. For designing a participatory planning exercise it is a valuable tool to use for fostering the trust towards the planners' intentions.

The lack of skills and building of skills were a closely correlated issue and solution mentioned separately. Lack of experience, knowledge and public speaking skills were partially treated by capacity building in those areas deliberately done by the planners. As mentioned in the theory section, the participatory planner is ought to be a facilitator and thus it is important, being in this role, to enable all the parties to have their voices heard. This was done here through caring about capacity building of the settlers. In order to have a fruitful partnership, the planners localized and helped with the issue of communication between the parties (and with the outside stakeholders). The main

takeaway from this example, apart from the fact that it may translate well into many different contexts of informal settlements, is that it is valuable as a planner to take the time in the initial phase to foster the skills of the other party in order to enhance the partnership for both parties in the future.

As the findings show, the young and educated are a valuable resource for a planning practitioner in informal settlements for the initial phase of the project. This is possibly due to their better understanding of the outside world, which was repeatedly mentioned by many of the settlers as an important skill for their members, which enabled them to lead the way towards development. Thus, as a planning practitioner it may be valuable to look into using this natural resource of a community, which would additionally foster the capacity building of the young generation.

Another important mechanism recorded at play was the snowball effect. It ties another method of using the preconnected to the community organization for introducing the planners. In both cases a small group or an individual connected to the planner gives the planner a seal of approval in front of other settlers. Looking for these sort of hooks into the community is a valuable strategy to use in cases of difficulties in gaining initial trust of most of the community.

c) Raising and failing expectations

Collected data - Issues:

As described in chapter 2.1, managing the expectations of the informal settlement communities can be a difficult task with negative consequences. In the initial phase of the fieldwork done in Kathmandu area, the research has found that the expectations of settlers towards the government can be used as a tool, as one of the leaders of the community recalls how political candidates used to promise helping the settlements in order to gain their votes but then denied it after winning the elections.

There are also dangers that come with cultural differences between informal settlers and the planner or even a researcher. Two of the Salyani members confronted the foreign researcher during the interviews about their expectations towards him, asking for financial help. Explaining the role of the researcher proved a difficult task. Similarly, the foreigner related expectations were mentioned by one of the Salyani settlers. In one of the Lumanti processes when a foreigner came along with the planning team, the expectations were particularly high for the foreigner to bring donations.

Another issue discovered during the fieldwork was the situation of withdrawal from work with Lumanti NGO by one of the families, even though they enjoyed the participation with the organization. A member of the family explains that the family's expectations were failed when Lumanti NGO rejected to provide money:

“I’ve actually disconnected with Lumanti and all their works. [R]: Can we maybe know why? [I]: I actually asked for 20,000 rupees from them. I was asking for that because my husband was going abroad but I could not get that money for that. That is why I was angry with them because I could not get what I was expecting or wanting them to give me. They did not provide me with that money, so I was not satisfied with that and that is why I left the community and the group. [R]: When was that? [I]: Might be around 8 years that passed but I used to like Lumanti works.”

One of the Salyani community members states that outside the confusion on why Lumanti planners came to the settlement, the first visits from the Lumanti planners already set expectations for getting benefits: *“We thought why do they always keep coming. They could have provided us some money so we could have constructed the house, we were thinking that. There was leaking of water from our house.”*

Collected data - Solutions:

In the topic of managing expectations, the findings clearly suggest that Lumanti NGO used building expectations as a tool in the initial phase of the relationship. One of the planners said that talking to the community could have in itself created hopes for the community members of Majhimusahar to live a decent life. Two of the planners say that the same effect was acquired by the visits Lumanti organized to a community that already successfully developed in the area. He says that once the settlers have seen the situation of those thriving communities and talked to them, they themselves started to discuss the possibility of working for their development. The community visits were deemed a successful learning experience and one that raised hopes for better future also by at least two Majhimusahar settlers. The important factor was that settlers could see the positive change in their own eyes, as one of the planner says.

Discussion:

The issue of the government building and failing the expectations mentioned above hindered the trust of the settlers towards other organizations and future governments that could have good intentions towards the informal settlement. It is important as a participatory planning practitioner to take account of the possibility of this layer of distrust to exist. It would be beneficial to try to learn about the history of the informal settlement to know about such instances beforehand.

The next issue was the expectation towards the foreigners. This is especially important to international development NGOs that hire foreign planners. As the findings suggest even one of the planners can simply add an additional layer of expectations, which when failed can hinder the trust. As mentioned from the researcher's experience in interviewing, the issues of convincing the informal settlers of ones abilities or intentions can be difficult. This would be possibly even more difficult as a planner

vouching for an NGO, as the researcher was a student without an organization behind him.

The family that withdrew their cooperation with Lumanti NGO was another example of the consequences of failing settlers expectations. As much as all of the shortcomings cannot be avoided during the process it is important for planners to understand the possibility of such situations taking place and managing the expectations early as well as frequently throughout the process in order to avoid them.

Another point is how the daily visits, which were presented as a solution in the previous sub-point, were also a reason for building expectations of the settlers, even without talking to them specifically. That shows the importance of, as a planner, managing the truthfulness in the expectations throughout the whole of the community from the earliest phase of the project and trying to discover and correct all the expectations the settlers develop.

With all the dangers of raising false hopes, the act of raising hope is not in itself negative for the community. As Lumanti NGO shows in their work, they successfully used raising hopes of the community to create initiative for the project in the settlers. It is the falseness of the hopes, or the way the help will be given that can have negative effects.

5.2 Community`s sacrifices for development

This chapter goes over the sacrifices that certain community members made for spending time on participation in the case study processes and how planners tried to minimize these sacrifices.

Collected data - Issues:

As mentioned earlier, two of the interviewed settlers recalled their initial confusion and frustration on Lumanti planners daily visits due to their own need for work: *“We used to think: Why they keep coming? We have a lot of our work to do. It was like they kept coming and coming”*. It is showing the issue of settlers` lack of time. This being said, many settlers in hindsight spoke about appreciating time spent with Lumanti planners. The settlers had a sense of urgency to meet planners even if it meant sacrificing part of their daily work or school. One of the settlers said that it was not difficult to find time to meet planners and that they felt a sense of urgency and priority to meet them. But this sense of urgency for development had some of the settlers skipping work or meals. Two of Majhimusahar settlers define the same issue: *“It was little difficult because we have to stay hungry when we are working. We have to rush here and there for the work”*, speaking of tight schedule created in order to be able to both make a daily wage and participate in the planning with Lumanti NGO. In Salyani, four of the settlers reported issues due to urgency of joining the development works. One reported the same issue of skipping meals as the Majhimusahar settler. Two said that some of the days they had to stay hungry in order to repay the loan taken from Lumanti NGO. Finally, one of the leaders of the community, who spoke outside for the community rights, chose to sometimes stay without work in order to help community to develop alongside Lumanti due to his personal and group feelings of responsibility. Because of that his family had to stay without income. He mentioned that his wife convinced him to drop the leadership responsibilities and focus on earning money for the family.

Collected data - Solutions:

On the other side, the timing of the meetings was flexible as planners switched their working hours in order to not hinder settlers livelihoods. One of the settlers responds to a question about difficulty in finding time to meet planners: *“It was not that hard. We*

used to call them when we had free time after returning from work or maybe around 12 p.m., otherwise arranging it in holidays like Saturdays. That's how we used to arrange the meetings". Questions on if the timing of the meetings with Lumanti created issues were almost always getting a response of settlers seeing no problems as Lumanti was scheduling meetings so that it was comfortable for them. All the planners were asked about having issues with having different working hours, but none of them complained.

Another solution found was the Lumanti's policy of having at least one member of each family at all the meetings with planners. One of the Salyani settlers answers the question: "[R]: *What do you think about that, you could be on the meetings, but your husband couldn't take part? [I]: For him it was like: if you are understanding what is going on in the meeting and maybe you are saying that to me in the evening, it's okay for me.*"

Discussion:

As much as this thesis is arguing for using participation and community led processes when developing informal settlements, the informal settlement communities can be negatively affected by the time used to participate in such processes, which the collected data above is an example of. Skipping meals, not being able to make money for oneself or one's family and statements of the importance that the settlers give to their involvement in the participatory processes are a testimony of how much they are willing to sacrifice to reach a better state. It is thus, a responsibility of a planner as a facilitator in a development oriented participatory process to make sure that benefits of the development are not overtaken by sacrifices that the community makes. Of course, to reach any point of development, sacrifices of time, effort, etc. have to be made, but it is the planner's responsibility to make sure that their participatory planning project's costs do not outweigh the benefits.

Lumanti NGO planners partially dealt with these issues by using different methods according to the phase of the project. In the initial phase, planners tried to understand the community's livelihoods. How did their days go? When did they have free time to meet and have a conversation? This early reconnaissance, which connects to attitude of trying to understand the settlers mentioned before, gave the planners an idea of when to try to meet the settlers to not hinder their livelihoods. On top of that, once the partnership has been established, the timing of the meetings was dependent and mostly set by the settlers themselves or partially negotiated. The planners changed their standard working hours for enhancing the flexibility. Another method was the household representation policy that the planners used in their meetings. As on each meeting one of the people from each household had to be present, so that the other could be working, allowing for less sacrifices. Most of the people who attended the meetings, especially in Majhimusahar community were women. For a planner in a similar situation it is a valuable method, which has its drawbacks, due to its possible dangers of silencing the voice of women in the participatory processes (further discussed in chapters 5.3.b) and 5.4), but with caution and active scrutiny of its effects can be used to the benefit of both parties.

5.3 The status of community women in the process

Community women played significant roles in case study settlements. At the same time in traditional societies women's voices might be in danger of being silenced. This chapter looks into their roles and ways of empowering them in subpoint a) and ways of spotting said silencing and giving them voices in the participation process in subpoint b).

a) Community women`s assets and roles in the community and in participation

Collected data:

Informal settlers and planners were asked about the roles of women in the communities and in the participation with Lumanti. Interviewees brought up many skills that community women have developed or possessed already. A Majhimusahar community leader and two of the planners that worked there talked about how women learned public speaking skills while working with the NGO. The community leader says that when talking to outside organizations, be it governmental or non-governmental “*more than men`s, women`s words actually worked*”. One of the planners also says:

“[Women] bring their public speaking skill outside [...] so that they can keep their things in municipality, in the community or in the other organizations if needed. With that they will be capable enough or independent enough to bring any budget to their community or vouch for the children development groups, women empowering groups. They learned these things by being independent and involving in the activities.”

Similarly, two of the Majhimusahar settlers talk about the skill of organizing people that women have shown. One of them says: “*We used to conduct the meetings and decide what to do next. What we were lacking we used to discuss on that topic. The Lumanti people when we gave them the topic they used to tell us where we can express that*”. This sort of initiative was another trait mentioned by three of the Majhimusahar planners: “*[Women] have kind of a feeling that if we want to develop ourselves then we have to work with Lumanti planners*”, and about the participation in planning: “*When we started discussing about the planning, the house design, the settlement design, it was completely the women who were engaged from the beginning*”. One of Majhimusahar women specifically mentions that women bring initiative to the processes of community development. Two of the planners also explain that women were the ones working more closely with Lumanti. One of them brings up

the reason for involving more women settlers in Salyani community: “[R]: *Was the involvement of women a step taken by Lumanti, leaning into them more or was it their own active... [I]: It was more of their activeness, but we`ve seen that it works so we`ve adopted it to other projects*”. The planner also explains that, in majority of the settlements Lumanti NGO worked with, the women were involved more than men.

Another of women`s asset mentioned is their knowledge of the community life and needs. One of the Majhimusahar community women acknowledges that, and one of the planners says that “*Women spend most of their time in their houses so they know what are the requirements, what is needed in their family and they would be in better position to explain to us, rather than the men*”. Lumanti NGO, where possible, connects with existing women groups and generally focuses on women in their participation partly also for that reason (outside of their own initiative mentioned before).

In the eyes of one of the planners working in Majhimusahar community as well as one of Majhimusahar women, the women of the community were more interested in long-term development and thus, engaged with Lumanti planners more.

A process of women learning from one another was found in the communities. A woman from Majhimusahar praised other community visits organized by Lumanti planners and learning from the women of these communities. Benefits of municipality wide women cooperatives for learning and helping, as well as savings groups were also praised.

Finally, women were reported to bear additional responsibilities. One of the Majhimusahar women mentioned being unable to attend meetings with planners due to having a small child. Another woman noticed that one of the big issues of Majhimusahar community women is not having regular jobs and not being able to do business. Talking about Salyani community one planner makes an argument for

community women having more responsibilities than their male counterparts: *“Because most of [...] [the women from the community] worked as agricultural labor [...], women were involved in those works but were also engaged in household works. Preparing food for the family, getting firewood from the community forest, going to work and coming back, because they were working in the fields so they had to go early in the morning and after that time they come back, feed their children, rest for some time and in the evening they would go back again to farmland as daily wage workers. [...] [R]: Would you say that there was almost a similar responsibility on both genders? [I]: Yes, but the men did not support the house, cooking the food, washing... all of that was not on them”*. In Salyani women were working in the fields on the daily basis, yet still made up the most part of the participants in the NGO meetings. In Majhimusahar, due to most women having no regular jobs they were more available to work on the development. In both cases, women also played crucial and time-consuming roles of taking care of the household and children.

Discussion:

We can see that women acted as speakers for the community and through participation learned skills that will help them and the community develop and become independent. Capacity building was a method deliberately used by the planners. As mentioned in chapter 5.1, settlers said that planners taught them new skills. In case of Majhimusahar this was done firstly with getting used to Nepali language and public speaking skills like introducing oneself, etc., and then through exposing them to contacts with city-scale community organizations and the municipality officials. In this way, the community learned and got a degree of independence and planners did not have to use their time for every step in development of the community. Making the community vouch for themselves and giving them possibilities is more relevant for long term partnership with informal settlements as learning takes time, yet could be possibly used, preferably with a great degree of guidance and help from planners to

settlers, in a shorter term, e.g. one project, partnership. That strategy was also endorsed by Huchzermeyer (1999, p.66) as mentioned in the theory chapter.

Findings suggest that women in the context culture gravitate towards learning and helping one another, probably due to having a better mutual understanding of each other's perspectives. This was used by the planners as a strategy for enhancing the development of the community through women and also, apart from that, empowering women specifically. Citywide slum women groups were said to help on the matters of private lives of their members and give them a support structure.

In Majhimusahar community one interviewee brought up that after women having such great influence on the settlement's development their voices started to matter to the men of the community. Thus, as a participation oriented planner working on a case of an informal settlement, where men are overpowering women, letting women take most of the responsibility of development can be a subtle yet effective way of giving them a degree of independence and power. Yet as much as this strategy is helping in the empowering of women, it is again crucial to look into the dangers of sacrifices that those women would have to make to carry such process. Thus, a planner should try to understand the issues of women's responsibilities and time in a given community and to not deteriorate their lives in a long run by giving them most of the responsibility of carrying the development process of their community.

b) Women's voices in the process

Collected data:

One of research's concern was the possibility of women to freely speak their opinions in front of men from the community and to take part in decision making processes. This issue was noticed by one of the planners in Majhimusahar community: *"[...] if there are males present in the common meetings then definitely we can see that women*

are not freely expressing their voices, because we can see that generally in this region of Nepal the voices of women were dominated by the voice of the male". On the question of how to spot when women are being silenced by the presence of men, two of the planners shared their experience: "[R]: How do you get to know that women cannot really express their true thoughts, do you know it by knowing culture or by going to the community? [I]: We can feel it while we are having any kind of problems in the community. Voice of the men becomes loud and the women were sitting at the back side. That makes us feel like the women can't raise their voices" and "[R]: How do you sort of spot that the women cannot have voice or can have voice in the meeting with men? How is it perceived? [I]: We can see in some communities here in Kathmandu. Women stop talking once men join the discussion, it's just men speaking and women not". Additionally, there seemed to be a difference between the communities, where Salyani women "[...] were very vocal from the beginning, they were given space, even in the meetings where the men were". In the opinion of one of the planners that difference can be attributed to the cultural differences between the two communities: "Generally in our society when the men joins the meeting the women start to not speak their opinion but that we could not see in Salyani because the women were very open, actively participating in the discussion, giving open suggestion to the men, so that was quite different in Salyani, but I think in Majhimusahar was different, because there the women are quite shy, so we had to do like separate meetings with men and women, so that both can speak. [R]: Do you think it was more because of certain culture or because the women in the Salyani case were involved at first, so they already had a grasp of... [I]: It's more like a cultural thing, the people from Salyani migrated from different areas and struggled to set up a life for themselves in the city, so they had to be more vocal. Whereas the Majhimusahar case is more cultural". Same opinion is held by another planner: "[R]: In Bharatpur you said that, in the meetings, there was both men and women. Can women raise their voice in the meetings? [I]: Yes, because it was

a mixed caste community so in this case there we cannot see any discrimination. But this is one caste community so there you can see discrimination.”

As a solution to these issues Lumanti planners within their regular framework use existing or help create women cooperatives like women savings group to have women be able to freely express: *“We follow a strategy that we organized the women groups. That was the main reason that women can raise their voices. Also, we linked them to the cooperative that a lot of women were involved in. With support of them they can also raise their voices to the common ground”*. Another solution presented by the planners was to, in a male dominated community, make woman a leader: *“Also in Majhimusahar community the leader was a woman. That was the main thing, we used that kind of strategy. If Majhimusahar was led by the male then definitely would have seen a lot of males in the meeting and then the issues and voices of women would not be heard in the meeting. In this kind of community we generally make requirement to get a woman as a leader.”*

Finally, in the beforementioned household representation method there is a danger of husbands influencing the women`s voices: *“[R]: And maybe about that representation of the household, what do you think about the fairness of that? I am thinking more about like the women having their voices heard, if the men were involved. So, do you think that could cause any problems if excluding some parts from the community for example like women if only men are joining the meetings? [I]: No, if some of the women are looking from the distance they can come and tell us later on. When we feel that someone wants to say something but she or he cannot speak in front of the group we go and ask them separately in form of interviews.”*

Discussion:

As Lumanti planners stated the issues of women`s voices being silenced were easily spotted in group conversations with the community in situations of debating issues and

in general group dynamics. This is one of the reasons why, the facilitatory mindset of the planner is important to provide a fair participation. In a scenario of women not raising their voices in front of men in the community, the planner has to collect their opinions to achieve fairness of the process. The facilitatory mindset shifts the focus from planning to seeing the behaviors of the groups and individuals and moderating the attention and voices. This is crucial in order to achieve the goal of fair participation and is not taught in the traditional planning field. Here we can through the example see the emphasis on the social or soft skills that are crucial for a planner working in informal settlements in a participatory manner.

Solutions of empowering community women through women-only community level groups and city level groups were discussed in the discussion of the previous sub-point. On top of these, planners claim that ensuring that a woman is the leader of the community in development works is a way to make more women get involved in the meetings and give them ability to speak their voices easier.

Moreover, planners present an additional solution for when the issue happens at the level of an individual household. The idea is to create a safe space (community level women groups) and safe environment (friendly and understanding planners) to be able to share ones family issues. This territory should be stepped around with extreme caution and it is important to note it is not within planners responsibility and qualifications to work on this individual-level issue. As much as the participation is striving to perfection of the free speech situation, it is not realistic, and some issues found should be left out to qualified professionals.

Additionally, as planners observe the issue of silencing women`s voices can have a cultural backbone. This information can be used for suspecting the issue in scenarios where it is not easily spotted during the processes as described earlier to then try to investigate it further. It is important to note here that a facilitatory planner should not

try to change the culture of the settlement in which they work. Thus, such “investigations” should be done with caution and subtle. Again, any engagement of individual household personal issues should be done with help of qualified professionals or left outside of planner’s responsibility.

5.4 Taking care of the vulnerable

Reaching the most vulnerable in the community is an important part for a fair participation process and for the development of the community, as it is the vulnerable who might be in the greatest need of assistance. This chapter looks into examples of ways of discovering the vulnerable, spotting inner-community discrimination, dealing with troublesome community members and ensuring help to their families.

Collected data:

An issue described by one of the planners was the inner community domination of the vulnerable by the settlers in more favorable positions (for example neglecting their needs, voices, opinions in the community processes, lack of help). The planner said that this type of divisions in informal communities tend to exist and proposed dealing with them by, at first through group talks, addressing that issue. Then, if issues continue, the municipality or other organizations can be involved to try to speak to the community. If these fail, the leaders of the community might need to be changed in order to establish a fairer distribution of power.

The household representation method comes into play where the children and elderly can have their needs met through representation of their family members. A planner explains that this method is used to ensure the representation of the vulnerable but can also be used as a way to prevent a situation of having too many people on the participatory planning meetings.

The participatory meetings with the planners also had their issues in the topic of the vulnerable. In Salyani community, one planner and one settler records how drunk men were joining the meetings and making them difficult to conduct and be productive. A memoir of this issue from one of Salyani women goes: “[I]: [...] *We did not keep any bad behaved people in the community. We did not include them. Like those who drink, take drugs. We never included that type of people in our work. [R]: And so, there were some people like that living in the community at that time? [I]: Of course, there is still also, you faced them too. There are a lot. We are keeping such people or men behind and we used to go forward and work. [R]: How did you exclude them and what did Lumanti think about that? [I]: Lumanti did not used to differentiate between the people, even if one person of the family is alcoholic there are other members of the family who are well behaved. Since they were not really included also they did not got to know about things or works we used to do. [R]: But were their families included? [I]: Their family were included [...] we just used to exclude the drunk people or bad people. The members who were good or attentive we used to involve them*”. From another side a planners says: “*There were like some men who were constantly drinking and coming and disturbing the process. During that time some of the men from the community took them away from the discussion and engaged them in some talking and so that the process did not get disturbed. So that sort of thing had to happen in some cases.*”, and on the follow-up question about dealing with them being excluded the planner answers: “*if they are alcoholics we make sure that the wife and the children are involved in the process, because the husband is not in the position to give suggestions or clearly have an idea of what they want. But his family members are in a position to do that, I think that would be better, otherwise having them in discussion would not be productive.*”

In Salyani settlement, some of the addicts mentioned above ended up not developing their houses through participation with Lumanti. One of the Salyani settlers spoke about it: “*They didn’t used to care, they used to earn and not save, spend on alcohol,*

still some haven't constructed ” and another says: “No, actually he did not get anything [loans]. I think he got some woods or doors [grant]. He sold them and spend it on himself.”

On the positive side, some solutions to taking care of the vulnerable were brought up by two of the Salyani settlers: “[I]: [...] some 5-6 houses did not take the loan. [R]: Why was that? [I]: Because the condition of paying back the loan with the interest was weak. I am the one of them. [R]: Was any other help from Lumanti or the community at that time? [I]: No, we did not get anything from the community of Lumanti but from Lumanti Singha sir looked after us and supervised us. That was enough for me. He is a good man. [R]: And what exactly did he do as for this supervision? [I]: They used to look after us and teach us, maybe do this, do that, some suggestions, that's what they used to do”, and “There were some people who were not able to work or get the loan but we together used to arrange how we can involve them in easy work or maybe pay their loan, we together used to work and think on that. Those who were not capable enough they would not get 1 lakh load but at least 50 thousand”. Majhimusahar planner also brings up how the people who couldn't afford to take the loan were addressed: “we did not provide it to ones who couldn't pay anything. For them, the vulnerable people, who could not contribute even a single penny, we got into other organizations, communities and collected money for them.”

Children as a naturally vulnerable group were in the processes with both communities separately engaged in their own group learning activities. One of Majhimusahar planners explained that the women of the community decided to help the children of the community and how Lumanti helped in that: “It was like after women realized that children group of their community should go forward in education, in order to achieve higher education, they have to prepare themselves from now, start to save for their children for the future. That is how the children were involved in the process. That is how Lumanti got involved, they started the child learning center because most of them

were illiterate, not educated, so that is how they made environment for them to gain some knowledge and sort of make their wake for admission in their schools". Another one of the planners engaged in Majhimusahar talks about how they spread information to elderly, children and women: *"What we do is for example this awareness sheet (COVID-19 virus awareness flier) [...]. We first inform the toll lane organization [a community organization], because they have one particular leader in them [...], they will inform the people, mostly the elder people [...]. Then also not only the elder group but also children or women group, we inform them in detail before. That's how they get involved with us."*

Finally, in Majhimusahar community one of the settlers recorded how the community brought up the difficulty that one family faced to the planners: *"We were the one who raised this topic, this person has nobody to earn so if you can help? So we initiated this thing to him."*

Discussion:

As the collected data shows, in some cases the community can be the ones who discriminate the vulnerable. In that scenario by raising the topic with the community, bringing in other organizations, or finally, changing the leadership, Lumanti planners tried to deal with such issues. Creating a fair community leadership divide for a participatory process can be difficult in a polarized settlement. But it can be done through e.g. understanding the polarization and proposing leaders from both sides of the conflict.

The household representation method is brought to the light again, as from the perspective of the vulnerable it can help elderly, children and other who might not be able to independently vouch for themselves. This method suggests though, that the people vouching for the vulnerable have their good intentions in mind. If planner using this method develops any doubts of that it would be beneficial to connect personally

with those who were vouched for in order to ensure that their need are met in the process.

The incident of drunk people disturbing the meetings and how it was dealt with shows that the facilitatory planner sometimes has to deal with possibly strong emotions and difficult situations. Just as Lumanti planners did, it is important to remember about the families of the addicts, as they are the ones who might be in the most need. It is also important to note here that dealing with personal issues of the settlers and their families should not be taken up by an unqualified person. Planner`s responsibility should be solely that of development of the community and creating a fair and beneficial environment for both parties. As collected data shows, it is not always possible for everyone to develop, especially so, if a person is not willing to join the process and make sacrifices for their development. As much as talks with such person can be conducted, it is not in planners responsibilities or power to make people join the processes, but to ensure the possibility of it.

The most vulnerable in the process were treated individually. What we can learn from the collected data is that the individual facilitation of the most financially vulnerable is a valid method of ensuring their development. In the case study, planners looked for grants from different organizations to help the most vulnerable develop. Their financial vulnerability was understood through close connection with the community, again showing the importance of participation, close partnership and trying to understand the community`s situation.

As seen in the collected data, the children group was developed through the initiative of the community women and Lumanti planners. The children were also partially involved in the planning processes through designing exercises. This was done in order to engage them and collect some information of what are their needs that could be met in the planning process.

The overall spread of information was done mostly through community leaders, which is a great way to cut the amount of planners' work. Yet it is important to note, that it brings dangers of the previously discussed biased discrimination of certain people from the community from those leaders. A facilitator who uses help of the leaders to such an extent has to scout for possible issues between the leaders and the community. Possibly through personal talks with the individual members. This initial work would be an investment for the future benefits of the community leader's help. Such scouting can be successful because, as the collected data shows, the community itself is often helpful with putting forward the vulnerable of the community to the light. As any vulnerable situation can be an emotionally difficult state to admit to and ask for help, other community members are a great source of information about the vulnerable of the community.

5.5 Spread of information

This chapter in subpoint a) brings examples of the dangers of settlers' lack of information about the projects happening in their community and about efficient ways of ensuring spread of information. Subpoint b) talks about dangers of misinformation and ways of dealing with it in a participatory development process.

a) Lack of information

Collected data:

A big tool for keeping the whole of the community informed was the beforementioned household representation method. Yet, it did not solve all the issues of lack of knowledge about the processes of development happening in the community. One of the Majhimusahar man settler reminisces about his confusion and lack of information on why Lumanti planners destroyed his house and if they are going to build it back: *“[I]: I was confused when they destroyed the houses. Are they going to construct them again or not? [R]: So you did not know what is going to happen when the houses got*

destroyed? [I]: I had no idea whether they are going to build it or not. We stayed in our hut for one month”. Another man of Majhimusahar community, who was jobless due to his illness says: “I knew little about this project, constructing house and all”. Same man held a negative opinion on how the community members involved in Lumanti meetings disbursed the money for community development within themselves. An elderly woman from Salyani community remembers: “We kind of let all the things to husband and wife, she was responsible for doing all the financial things and rest of the activities. I don` t know much about those things.”

The difference in understanding level was addressed by one of the planners: “I think the understanding level of the people will be different. In this community the leader of the community and some youths would get involved in all the processes and understand processes. [...] Maybe their interest makes it so that some people go deeply in all the processes and they think that ‘it is our process’ and that they must go through it. Some people maybe don` t understand well because they think that the program will come and the leaders that we have chosen in the community will do the program, [they might think] ‘we should only have to be participatory in the program’. I think that makes the difference at the understanding level”. The planner also talks about how the community leaders were chosen by the community themselves and how Lumanti NGO enforced that role in their participatory processes. The leaders` levels of understanding are higher due to being more involved.

The issue of lack of information of certain people in the community was brought up in the interviews with the planners. They deemed the goals of full understanding and full involvement on the community side unrealistic. One of them recalls the Majhimusahar process: “some people [were not involved] in case of Majhimusahar. Because of the culture not all the people open up to processes like this. So, we had to work with the people who were understanding and more agreeing, like who can contribute, because not everyone comes forward”, “It is not a big community it`s just like 24 houses, but

still we were not able to bring all the people together.”, “[R]: Do you think that was entirely because of the culture right? [I]: Culture and people’s priorities. Their only priority was to build their houses, maybe they were not interested in the entire process [...] give your time, explain it to us and some people lose the interest if the process is too long.” and about how many people are involved as a goal: “[R]: So in that case do you believe that even if part of the community is actively involved that is sufficient for a good outcome of the project let’s say? [I]: Majority of the people have to be, we cannot get like 100%, to unpractical to say that 100% people will agree. It has to be at least that 70-80% agree with the process then it should be ok I think”. Another planner, who worked in Majhimusahar settlement, spoke about how the attitude of the people of the community towards the planners cannot be changed quickly: “With my work experience what I have realized is that for the change we cannot change the feelings or their way of thinking of every single person. You cannot change people in one meeting or one thing, you have to change one person and that person will change other person thinking. Overall people this way will change but for that it will obviously take long time.”

One of the planners who facilitated the housing planning program of the Salyani community spoke about a way of getting people to understand the processes: “we worked with the community very closely from the beginning. For the design as well as the loan repayment we had separate meetings. That also helps them to understand the entire concept of the project, so they took the ownership and that’s why it was much easier.”

An issue connected to lack of knowledge in the processes was an obeying mentality found one of the Majhimusahar settlers who said: “We follow [the planners] when they say, ‘do this, do that’, we did what they said to us. [...] They arrange the meetings and told us that we should not do these kinds of things. You should focus on the work. [...] Nobody disobeyed.”

Discussion:

As the collected data suggests, different groups can have some predictable reactions to the participatory processes. For example, the youth has been recorded getting involved in the participatory works and understand them well. This makes them a target participant group, especially given possible personal growth and learning participation can give them. Another group that understands better and is more involved are the leaders. In the studied cases they were chosen by the community. Youth and leaders are a great resource to use for leading the involvement of the projects. More on the leaders in chapter 5.6.

The example of one settler's lack of knowledge about planned reconstruction after his house was destroyed that mentioned in the collected data above could cause great stress and distrust to Lumanti planners. It is important for the sake of the fairness of the participatory process and lack of misunderstandings, to at least get the most important information to all of the people and involve most in such important decisions. This has been proven a difficult goal to achieve, as another example of the elderly giving up understanding the process to the youth. Full information spread and understanding, as well as involvement are deemed unrealistic by the planners because of examples like this. Some community members won't be interested in the process or will not be able to understand every detail.

Some settlers were recorded to lose interest in longer projects. As a solution to that, planners could involve such people for short term exercises that are easy to understand and bring concrete rewards quickly or to bring people in for the parts they have the knowledge in. An organic example of the latter would be, as one planner recalls, men joining the planning processes once the finances are discussed or bringing them as skilled work for certain parts of implementation of the project. The latter was found in the initial phase of the research, as two men were expressing their happiness about

planners reaching out to them for their skills in construction. This method ties well with the methods planners used for bettering the understanding where different meetings had different topics, ensuring that the most knowledgeable and interested in particular topics participants join the meeting of these topics and thus, increasing the overall percent of participation and knowledge about the projects in the community.

b) Misinformation

Collected data:

Misinformation in the case studies is connected to spreading the false information within the community and between the communities. One planner recalls the process in Salyani community: “[R]: [...] have you noticed anything about raising and failing expectations throughout the time you have been there? Like maybe some people were showing signs of raised expectations that you knew that you couldn’t... [I]: People thought the money will be given as a grant, but they would not need to pay the money back. That was the first thing they were concerned about. Because there were the government projects called [...] where the government is providing 300,000 rupees to construct a house and they were expecting our project to be similar, but our objective was very different. Kind of pool of money that can be reused again and again to do housing projects in the city, so that was like a challenge in the beginning. When the project proceeded also there were other people from other communities that were instigating the community: you do not need to pay the money, it’s a grant from the donor, Lumanti is just asking you to pay the money and all those kind of things happen. Sometime after few months some families did not pay back the money, so there was this kind of challenge, but we had the cooperative and the community organization and the municipality sat together with the community and talked about why it is necessary to repay back the money and those sort of things, so they gradually understood and now everyone has repaid the money and now the money is used being used by the cooperative to do similar kind of projects in other communities. That is the challenge

we faced during the project implementation” and “There was one time when the chairperson himself did not repay the loan for quite some time. We got pressure to from community members to come and meet him and talk to him and the cooperative leaders, community organizations Nepal Basobas and some representatives from Lumanti including me. We met the chairperson and asked him to repay the loans and explain that if he do not repay then the other members will not also repay and those kind of things were explained to him and then gradually he repaid what was not repaid earlier. He got pressured from the municipality as well. [...] [R]: And what was the person`s reasons for not repaying? [I]: Because he was listening to some other people that it was a grant from a donor and no need to pay.”

Discussion:

In the collected data above we see an example of a false information created through confusion of different situations together. The municipality grant program was confused with the Lumanti loan program, which was taken into conversations between communities. This resulted in people not repaying the loans due to presumption that either Lumanti does not require it, or that Lumanti is taking the money back from the people unrightfully for their own benefit. It is a dangerous misinterpretation of facts that could cause a conflict with the planners or at least a degree of distrust. It shows the importance of being on the same page with most of the community at all times and making sure that most of the people are well informed about all the projects and will spread the correct information. This requires a great deal of clear and open communication from both sides, which planners should strive to achieve. Another example, of a planner who in the initial phase of the research explained that in the case of people not following the anti-earthquake methods such misinformation had to be corrected repeatedly until understood. Planners in such roles should try to prevent misinformation and make sure that at all times most of the settlers are at the same page of correct understanding of the projects happening.

5.6 Community leadership roles and issues

In this chapter I discuss the types of leaderships of the case study communities, as well as issues that the community leaders experienced. I also propose a different type of leadership that would deal with found issues.

Collected data:

Community leaders were already chosen by the community members before Lumanti reinforced their roles in the participatory projects, as one of the planners explains: *“the community has chosen the leaders themselves, not Lumanti. We have noticed and taken them as key persons for the community. And whatever the programs, they were directly arranged by the leaders. As we shared the schedule and the programs to them and they would ask for the meeting and group the community, make the participation of all the people”*. The main jobs of those leaders in the participatory planning processes were that of being a main contacting person with planners, organizing the community members, spreading information throughout the community (which was mentioned by interviewed planners as main reason for using the existing leadership position in the community), and, in a role of the treasurer, dispersing money that community receives for the projects. In the two case study communities the roles were differently distributed. In Majhimusahar community most of the responsibility was put on a single leader with additional small help from one young vice-chief. In case of Salyani community the responsibilities were more distributed throughout the members. A planner with experience in Salyani community talks about the community's leadership: *“[I]: Because the main leaders, or user committee was selected by the community members themselves collectively, so they choose who will be the chairperson and who will be the deputy chairperson, the treasurer. The community themselves they choose it, so they trust them completely and then in case there is some*

public visit together to solve these issues, so there are some challenges, but they sort it out themselves.”

One of Majhimusahar planners explains: *“It’s not like only the leader has to [work], there are other people also who will be helping the leader. We tell people it’s not like [if] he or she is the leader of the community, it does not mean that he only has to perform the activities or get involved with us. [...] We make them understand or learn that this is the learning process, if you are involved in any activities so you also come to learn a lot of things, so you should be involved in activities.”*

Yet still, a set of major issues were found around inner community leadership. The most influential one is that of a single leader of Majhimusahar community. She explains a lot of issues she faced because of her role. About the origin of her role, lack of replacement and being stuck in a role she says: *“People from the municipality came and they choose me as the leader. I tried to leave this post many times. When I was sick they used to come to me and say you have to go to the municipality, if not then we will come by ourselves”, and “Since I am the leader of this community if I am not going then nothing gets approved [...] None of the females from this community used to give me anything, any help. Even if they have to ask something they do not deal with the other women but go searching me. They come and ask me if I am home or not, they actually come to search me. If I’m far they used to call me and ask me where I am. “If you have a time if you can come I have some work to deal with.” So, I come and whatever work they have I do”.* These issues were also noticed by one of the planners. The community holds a belief that the community leader, for undiscovered in the research reasons, is irreplaceable. Similar issue was reported by one of the leaders of Salyani community. He started his leading process when the community was first settling in the area, about which he says: *“[R]: As you were taking the initiative, were other people trusting you? [I]: Yes they believed in me. [R]: Why do you think that is? [I]: Because I was the one who was taking the part first, or maybe the only one. Even if*

you see, I was the president of this [community organization], but now I resigned from the position. Even if someone else in this position I still until now have to speak from this position”. He further talked about issues of being overused as a leader and on his view of his responsibility: “[I]: Even I got scolded from my wife for that why you are participating because I was actually involved in every activity from Lumanti so she used to scold me: ‘Why you have to be the only one who is always taking part or initiative or involving in everything?’. Because my wife used to scold me every day after that I left the all the activities that Lumanti was doing. Even though I left, somehow I have to get involved eventually. [...] it’s like, I do not have source of income, because if I’m going into their activities daily there would be nothing to eat at home. I kind of transferred my responsibility to others and left all the activities. [R]: And do you know how did it affect the work with Lumanti that you left? [I]: They used to ask: ‘why you are leaving?’. Then I said: ‘I am the man I have to earn for my family and for me’. I went there and I told them that I am leaving. They kind of understood. I told you, at that time I did not even had time to sit. Sometimes running to the municipality, sometimes other places, Lumanti office, running everywhere. Now I’m relaxed but sometimes if there is any program, then anyhow I have to go there. [R]: Why is that can’t you just leave it? [I]: Because they do not have much knowledge how to speak and all”. Another example of sacrifices made by leaders is explained by one woman from Salyani community, talking about her son (whose situation was already mentioned in chapter 5.3): “[...] My son was one of the people who kind of built this society. It was like in the monsoon time, back then my son and one man, he didn’t use to go to school and accumulated people to make this area a society, he struggled a lot”. Coming back to the Majhimusahar community leader, she further lists her difficulties with the responsibility put on her by the community: “[R]: What about your other responsibilities in your daily work? [I]: There were nobody else wanting to be the leader, I was the one. I was tolerating everything. Some used to pull my legs and all. They do not listen to the municipality. They say you have to sit as the leader. You

are capable to speak enough so there is nobody like you to be our community leader. For this village we want only you. People from the community say so. [...] I used to say: 'If some of you want to go ahead or come in the highlight, you can! I should not be the only one to learn. You should also learn and come forward.' Sometimes, I used to get angry and I do not go to the municipality and all. They used to come and say you have to go. Some women even if they are getting everything just by sitting they are just backbiting me. Some used to also try to beat me. They do not understand the things. They say before bringing anything you have to save us all". Her initial responsibilities extend even further: "I have done this much for our community sisters. With this also they are not satisfied enough. If someone is ill or sick I am the one who has to reach the hospital for them. If somebody gets in the problem or some kind of financial issues I am the one who comes to or asks for the money". Another issue listed by the Majhimusahar leader is that of a lack of financial repayment of her transport and time costs: "I don't have the salary and all the bonuses. I have to do it myself and I have to go somewhere. I have to pay the money for my transport and all. None of the females from this community give me anything, any help."

Finally, the Majhimusahar community leader explained her role as a treasurer and distributor of loan money and what issues came with it: *"I was the one supervising everything. They used to send me the money on my name and I was the one who give them the money so whatever they had to do like submitting the money where they have to give, they used to do it themselves after I gave them their money. My work was only to suggest them that in our small budget we have to make a house. They used to listen to what I say. Not everyone is the same, some used to get angry with me. Because I am the leader I have to tolerate that too. If I'm not patient enough this community will not run."*

Additionally, one of the members of Majhimusahar community explained his personal issue with the leader: *"[I]: [...] The budget which used to come, the leader did not give*

me. [R]: Why do you think that is? [I]: I also do not know why. She did not give the money to me, even though the money came. [R]: And even through the family member that was involved you did not know what happens with that money? [this man`s wife was the one involved in the community meetings] [I]: I also ask Lumanti, went to the organization. When I ask about the money they said they gave it to the leader, but she did not give it to me. Not even to my family member who used to go in [the community meetings] for me”. He then adds: “[R]: Did [the community leader] gave you much information about the project? [I]: I used to be in my duties. I don’t have much idea about that because I was kind of busy in my own work, my own duties”. Later on one of the community members who listened to this interview explained that the community leader and the member held a personal grudge against each other. Lumanti planner confronted about this issue explained: “some people who were not satisfied with the leaders, they didn’t go to the meeting and asked the meeting to give them support. The leaders also did not visit their house. There we can see the misunderstanding with these two people”. Further the planner explained that he noticed a change from when the Majhimusahar community first lived collectively in one building with many rooms and faced the same issues, to when they built individual houses. Some became better-off than others, which as the planner said may have sparked differences in the community. Finally he spoke about how the community leader, knowing situation of all members through her responsibilities and because of the sense of pride she had from her single leader role, might have been biased towards some members.

Apart from these issues, some of the Majhimusahar community women spoke about the importance of the role of community leader: “[R]: What do you think about the role of the community leader? [I]: She faced more problems than us, a lot of problems in comparison to us. The men used to drink a lot before. After Lumanti came they taught us, she taught us. After trying to bring change in others. She went to other areas so that people from here can get work. [...] [R]: Why do you think the community leader has such an important role? [I]: Because she teaches us a lot of things. Now we do not go

but she goes to Lumanti and then teaches us. She shows the right way to us and we follow that path.”

A Lumanti NGO planner commented on the issues of Majhimusahar settlement single person leadership: *“I think that sort of challenges arises when you have like a single leadership. It should be distributed among the community members [...] the community members each got their own responsibility to deal with, some got the responsibility to deal with cooperatives, some with municipality. That kind of division of work should happen, not giving entire responsibility to single person. It brings challenges.”*

A young vice-chief of Majhimusahar community recognized the importance of collaborative work in order to deal with most of the community issues and the importance of understanding and serving the community members` needs: *“Then if there is a new problem only one person was not responsible or capable to solve so we together used to sit and check out the solution, because this is the community work. One cannot do it. Even if I am in some position like vice-president, still I can` t do it. We have to meet the expectation of the community by understanding them what and how they want”*. The leadership role is for him a personal or family responsibility to the rest of the community.

Passing of the leadership role within the community downwards the family tree was found in both studied communities. A vice-chief of Majhimusahar community role was passed on from an older brother to the younger brother and is sometimes passed further down the family tree when the current vice-chief is not around. In Salyani community the role of the treasurer was at one point passed to treasurer`s daughter.

Discussion:

In the case study settlements there were two main community leadership distribution types. Majhimusahar was strongly dependent on one main community leader, who was

even titled a hero to her community by Lumanti NGO planners. Salyani community experienced dispersed leadership where different people played different roles: a treasurer, a person that connects with the municipality, another one that speaks with a certain organization, another one that organizes people, etc. In both cases, an issue was found of certain leaders that could not leave their roles. Also in both cases, this issue was caused by the fact that other community members were dependent on a certain leader for a certain job. In case of Majhimusahar it was almost a complete dependence for participation, voicing issues outside, looking for jobs, creating opportunities, looking after the sick, etc. In case of Salyani it was mostly the public speaking skills, vouching for the community outside and leading the community processes. In Majhimusahar the leader faced mental and physical abuse from the community members who did not offer help. Although proud of the job she did, the leader was shackled in the role by her own community. In case of Salyani, it was more of the personal sense of responsibility over the community's development, as the leader believed he only had the skills needed to vouch for and lead the community. As Lumanti does not offer any benefits for the roles of community leaders, the only benefit was personal growth and pride. Thus, both single and dispersed styles of community leadership can create issues for the leaders. This brings me to argue for another style of leadership dispersion, which would be of a higher degree of dispersing the responsibility. Thus, a shared roles style of dispersion of responsibility is proposed. In the dispersed style of Salyani, the community people took on concrete groups of different tasks, which, even though dispersed and in this way less threatening the "shackling" of the leaders in their responsibilities as in single leadership of Majhimusahar, still makes other community members dependent on each person of certain role. The shared roles style would presume that the community works in more collaboration, e.g. in gathering the money (treasurer's role), few people would be responsible of the process, which would create even more trustworthy environment, or for example in vouching for the community, different small groups of people should be

present and speaking. The last example method would build skills of multiple people at a time, as well as possibly increase the likelihood of being accepted by a given stakeholder, as the community shows a collaborative, united spirit by vouching for themselves together. This style, of course could take more time out of more settlers' schedules, but I argue, that there is already a lot more people joining the participatory meetings, learning about the processes and building their skills, thus, they are being prepared on the same level as others from the community. Another factor would be group support mechanism and enriched inner understanding between the members that would happen when groups of settlers share the same responsibility.

Additionally, in the case study communities the responsibility of leadership was recorded to move within the family and to more skilled people. This is good for making sure that somebody takes the job with full responsibility (when the case is the primer) or that somebody with better skills takes over the job (in case of the latter). But in the shared roles model, the same could apply with beforementioned responsibility share and more of a capacity building - skill sharing experience. As the more skilled person joins the group in e.g. finances, that person teaches others while doing the job with them.

5.7 Engineers' roles in the project

In this chapter I present different reasons for use of engineers in an informal settlement development project based on the case study projects.

Collected data:

In both of the case studies and the initial fieldwork's collected data, an engineer at one point played or could have played a role of a conflict settler. In Majhimusahar two of the settlers recalled an issue that happened whilst the community was reconstructing their own settlement with the planners and sharing the land between each other into

individual plots. Some of the settlers were not sure about the fairness of the process and thought their land was smaller than other ones. To settle the conflict Lumanti planners brought an engineer to measure the lands and show evidence of the fairness of the process. The authority of the engineer worked and settled the inner community issues.

Another issue found was settlers' adherence to traditional, troublesome ways of constructing living spaces. Firstly, in the preliminary research, one of the Lumanti planners brought up the issue in the post-earthquake reconstruction works. In the phase of reconstructing the houses planners and building engineers that worked on it found a great difficulty to convince the people to use anti-earthquake materials. This was additionally difficult in the process where most of the implementation building work was done by the people themselves with scarce controlling help of engineers (due to lack of organizational resources on the side of the NGO), which was a strategy also used in the two main case studied processes. Same issue was speculated by an UN Habitat official of Nepal, who in the interview critiqued the informal settlement development and post-earthquake reconstruction projects' implementation phases in Nepal due to their scarcity of skilled workers, given the earthquake prone region they were implemented in, posing dangers of collapsing again. That was also observed by the researcher in the small deteriorations of the Salyani community houses 10 years after their completion, as many of the settlers were showing cracks in the walls of their houses. One of the planners deemed that a failure of the Salyani community project: *“the quality of construction is not good because the technical solution we were not able to provide that, we did not have funds to have technical staff in the field. We agreed with municipality to provide technical assistance, but they would come in their own time and during some difficult stages they did not provide technical assistance like needed”*. A similar conservative mindset of the settlers was shown in the Salyani community when planners proposed a modern water reusage system in order to lower the future payments for the settlers. One of the settlers explained the reasoning behind rejecting the technology: *“They said that latrines water can actually be purified and*

can be used for drinking [...] That's dirty, so we were not comfortable with that water".

Discussion:

Projects that are designed to change the spatial order of the built environment are usually requiring expertise from different fields and thus, various experts. In an informal context some of them might not be required or of the most importance. In the case studies it was building engineers who were required to supervise construction of the houses, especially in cases of anti-earthquake measures required. Difficult situation of the pioneering organization the Lumanti NGO is in Nepal had them left with no funds for hiring engineers, as most of the funding was used for building materials. As visible in the collected data, trials of getting additional funding or municipality engineers did not succeed. In such situation, the organization should consider the cost/benefit analysis of the dangers and benefits of building the houses without engineers closely supervising the process.

5.8 Community`s independency

In this chapter I present the ways in which Lumanti planners worked towards achieving community`s independency in their development on city-wide and community scales, as well as discuss the downsides of their approach.

Collected data:

Lumanti NGO had a goal of ensuring the community development after they leave the partnership. One of the planners explained the main goal behind the housing development project: *"the project would be developed as a platform where different stakeholders of the community and municipality would come together to support the issues of the housing of the urban poor. That was to build a fund to support different aspects, that was the main idea"*. Another planner mentions as a critical learning point,

that the community has to work together on their issues, as the outsiders help will not be gained if the community is divided.

A planner who worked with the Majhimusahar community explained that the first step for making community work together is to help them realize their issues and to allow the community to find and discuss solutions themselves. In this way, he said, the community will work together in a long run.

As one of the planners stated, the Majhimusahar community was actively working to find possibilities for the community development and raising questions about it to the planners, who are were working in the municipality at the time of the research. A community leader of Majhimusahar answered the question on if the community will be working together after the Lumanti NGO withdraws from the area: *“Yes of course, now we can do ourselves. I’ve got to know a lot of people in the municipality. Now it is not that hard. We can independently do it ourselves”*. Yet, another community member stated that the community does not work together anymore, as there is no ready project to work on but did and will be working together if the opportunity arises: *“There is nothing to do, we have no works to do together. If there is a meeting every member of the community goes together. If there is a rally we go together, to show our culture we go. At those times we go together. [...] If someone is in some trouble we help them, we help each other.”*

Finally, it has been noticed that the low interest loan of 5% in Salyani and 6% in Majhimusahar that Lumanti NGO provided, was repeatedly mentioned as an important factor for communities being able to develop.

Discussion:

As a base for partnerships with each community in a given municipality, Lumanti NGO was establishing city-wide funds together with the local governments and connecting

different informal settlements together through organizations and mutual visits. This large-scale work has a potential of creating a mutual support network that will enable the individual informal settlements to develop. It is a suiting way for an NGO to work in long-term in a given municipality as the planners and settlers work on different projects around the same stakeholders.

On a settlement scale planners use a strategy of making community realize their issues, then raise their hopes for development and giving the community the lead in the process. As you can see all the steps are done by the community with additional help from the planners. It is the community's collective and individual minds that have to push for development in order to develop their community, especially after the planners leave the area.

The issue for the independent community development arises also due to the settlers depending their development on the low interest loans that Lumanti NGO was able to provide. Such loans are not usually easily found. Thus, it will be difficult for the community to not rely on Lumanti or to further develop after they are gone from the area. On top of that, even as Lumanti is still in the area the communities use their daily wage to repay the loans they took. Thus, the small reusable loan system that Lumanti NGO used, as much as perfect for, e.g. improving housing and living conditions of the informal settlements of the whole municipality, can block the settlers from further development for few years (five in the case studies) and sometimes as the collected data shows, temporarily take food from the plates. This time could make the community loose the developing mindsets. Of course, in situations of dangerous or poor living conditions, the benefits of such development outweigh loss of the further development possibilities for few years. Especially so as the community also builds different assets of life and capacity that could possibly make them raise their incomes or create other small developments through savings groups or even by getting grants

from other stakeholders. The repayment of the loan from the perspective of the settlers though, is a factor that an NGO which tries to adapt such strategy, should have in mind.

5.9 Summary and connections between the perspectives

This chapter in subpoint a) summarizes the findings from the eight perspectives. Findings are further understood as takeaways or lessons from each of the discussion parts of chapters 5.1 to 5.8. Then in b) chapter looks into ways in which findings connect with each other. In c) chapter defines the psychological skillset that planners needed to succeed based on the findings, and finally, subpoint d) looks into the household representation method, which was the most relevant of used methods based on its usefulness in different perspectives.

a) Summary of findings from each perspective

In **Chapter 5.1** in the subpoint a) I argue that overcoming the language barrier is crucial for dealing with the initial distrust from the informal settlement community towards planners and that the language barrier can pose a threat to the legitimacy of the participation by causing misunderstanding and manipulations connected to the power relations between the parties. Findings from the subpoints b) and c) show how the social capabilities of planners are at play where their attitude of trying to understand and friendliness as well as managing the expectations of the settlers were crucial for gaining and not hindering the trust of the communities. They also show successes of methods of fostering trust in the subject relationships. Building the settlers' capacity fosters the fruitful partnership between the parties. Initial grants and physically helping in small works foster the trust towards planners' intentions. Additionally, in subpoint b) I argue that the young, educated and the community leaders are a valuable initial partner that can help planners get into the community as they are the most likely to understand the projects and bring in the rest of the community to participate. Finally,

specific to international aid I found that the settlers have shown instant expectations towards foreigner planners for bringing grants for settlement upgrading.

Chapter 5.2 finds that some of the community members of the case study settlements by sacrificing their time for participation were unable to earn daily wage, leaving them or their families hungry for the day of the meeting. To minimize these sacrifices planners changed their working hours to suit the community and left it to the community to choose timings of the meetings. Additionally a household representation method was used, where at least one representant of each family had to be present on the meetings. This ensured that other family members could save time. Yet, the method poses a danger of misrepresentation of negligence of the represented. On a basis of both methods I argued that ensuring the minimization of sacrifices made by the community requires a close scrutiny of the community members' livelihoods.

Chapter 5.3 shows that community women in the participatory processes studied were the voices of the community and showcased initiative. Their capacity and independence was built through direct capacity building exercises with facilitatory planners and through exposure to outside stakeholders and other informal settlement communities' women. This has built their and community's independence. Community women due to their knowledge of the community's lives and needs are a group that can carry the process of participatory development. Through that they can benefit in their own empowerment, yet it is important to not overcrowd them with responsibilities as they might be already playing (in many traditions) additional roles in their household.

Community women's voices being silenced by the men of the community is an issue that requires to be scrutinized by the planner during participatory meetings with the community. In case of such issue being found in the community Lumanti planners recommended creating a safe space to enable women to talk e.g. women-only groups. Discovering such issue during a participatory meeting and creating a safe environment

require planners to use empathy and be aware of a possibility of this issue e.g. by knowing the working community's culture beforehand a raising a suspicion.

In **Chapter 5.4** the household representation method was proven helpful once again. This time for reaching the elderly and children, assuming the good intentions are held by the people who vouch for them. But the inner community discrimination through neglecting, not sharing benefits or simply not inviting the vulnerable to the community development processes can happen in a polarized community. To spot such situation planner has to reach individually to different groups of community members. To battle the discrimination planner can address the issue on the forum, change or divide the leadership of the community. Vulnerable of the community can be for example the families of alcoholics. Such personal issues are not the responsibility of the planner but ensuring the possibility of their growth, crucial in the development processes, is. As the most vulnerable are individual families or people, the strategy of individual facilitation can be easily applied in small scale settlements like the case studied ones.

In **Chapter 5.5** in subpoint a) I argue that, just as in the case of overcoming the initial distrust, the youth and the community leaders should be the focus groups for spread of information, as they are the ones the most likely to understand the projects well. Planners deem the full spread of information and full understanding of all the community members unrealistic, which is proven by e.g. elderly or children not able to understand the projects. As argued in the previous chapter their involvement or needs should be ensured through their families or other community members vouching for their well-being. Another proof of the goal being unrealistic are the people not interested or able to join long-term projects. From experience of both initial and final fieldworks I argue that it is possible to ensure participation of some of such people by involving them in short-term, reward oriented projects with clear goals e.g. small infrastructure construction. In subpoint b) I bring up dangers of misinformation and argue for importance of facilitators consistently making sure that most of the settlers

are understanding the most important parts of the projects happening in their community for not hindering the projects and trust built with the community.

Chapter 5.6 argues that the single and dispersed community leadership styles of Majhimusahar and Salyani communities caused issues of the leaders being shackled in their roles by the dependency of their communities on their skills. I propose a different shared roles community leadership model in which mixed groups instead of individual community members are taking on smaller responsibilities. This allows more of the people to feel ownership of the processes, to participate and to build their capacity and independence. It also strengthens the collaborative power of the community and potentially prevents issues of discrimination and bias of single roles.

Chapter 5.7 argues that engineers' roles in some of the informal settlement development projects are different than that in regular formal settlement developments. In prior most of the legal requirements like i.e. engineers supervising the construction are often dismissed. This exact issue though is one needed for the longevity and safety (or as in the case of Nepal, earthquake safety) of such constructions. Thus, in case of the inability to provide engineers in low budget development projects I recommend planners to weigh the dangers and benefits of constructing the houses without supervision of engineers.

Chapter 5.8 presents ways of developing independence of the settlement communities on city-wide scale through informal settlement organizations and on community scale by creating community organizations, raising community's hopes and capacity building. Then, author points out the downside of low interest loan system used by Lumanti, which is that the community members have a difficult time carrying the momentum of development because of repaying the loan in the years after the initial project is done, which hinders their further independency. This of course is outweighed

by the fact of the possibility of the first development yet have to be taken into account when planning such development process.

b) Connections and patterns in the perspectives

The idea proposed in chapter 5.4 of multi-party leadership for dealing with a polarized and conflicted community groups connects with the idea of shared roles community leadership model proposed in chapter 5.6. In case of such polarization being spotted in the community by the planner, appointing community leaders in different roles from the two groups gives each group a chance of not being discriminated in the process. Additionally, the shared roles model, which fosters collaborative work of community members might in time, through ensuring the collective effort of the polarized groups bring them together and help narrow the divide. Though, such process should be additionally facilitated by the planners especially in the early stages when the conflicted parties start to work together.

In chapter 5.3 a) I proposed women as a group that can carry the participatory project due to their knowledge of community needs, initiative and drive for development. In chapter 5.5 a) I proposed youth and community leaders as a hook into the community, as they will better understand the projects and bring new participants to the processes. Chapter 5.6 explains how the community leaders were shackled with too much responsibility, which made them sacrifice other areas of life. In chapter 5.8 I presented how the loan system of development can make community sacrifice their future financial safety. All of these examples are connected to chapter 5.2 on sacrifices for the development, as the overuse of certain group can be detrimental to them and should be minimized. Both of these issues take a great deal of understanding of the community members and said groups from the planners.

c) Psychological skillset required from planners

The two above examples of connections between the perspectives on the leadership level and the sacrifices level take me to my next point, which are the soft skills and attitude needed in a position of a facilitatory planner. These were showcased in almost all of the chapters. In 5.1 b) trying to understand the community's situation and friendliness were reasons for gaining community's trust. Planners empathized with the community. In 5.1 c) and 5.8 managing settlers' expectations, raising their hopes as well as understanding and managing false expectations were crucial for respectively creating community initiative for their development and not hindering the trust between the parties in the future when the false expectations would be failed. Here planners tried to create an open and truthful communication with the settlers where they had to cut the initial expectations of the settlers and thus show a degree of assertiveness, yet at the same time raise their hopes for a different way of development, all while not hindering the trust of the settlers. In 5.3 b) in the topic of community women's voices being silenced by the men of the community Lumanti planners recommend spotting such behavior on the participatory mixed-gender meetings with the community and additionally creating safe spaces for them to share such and other issues. Here planners would have to showcase empathy and understanding of clues that would let them spot said silencing, as well as create enough trust and feeling of safety for the oppressed settlers to share their hardships. Chapter 5.4 describes situations of drunk men intruding community meetings and touches on the need to ensure their families' well-being. Here planners had to deal with possibly aggressive or just troublesome behavior of the intoxicated community members and set boundaries, thus again showcasing a degree of assertiveness and mental fortitude in a stressful environment. 5.4 describes more difficult to spot examples of the household representatives not vouching for the needs of the people they are representing like children or elderly, as well as leaders discriminating certain people from the benefits of development works. These require a planner to sense such issues in the social context of meetings with the community.

Finally, 5.5 b) talks about spotting and repeatedly clarifying misinformation of the settlers about the projects and making sure a sufficient level of understanding is kept. Here, planners have to again create and maintain open and truthful communication and be assertive. All of the abovementioned: empathy, assertiveness, sensing social cues, mental fortitude and trustworthiness are just the easiest to spot of the traits the planners need. The facilitator's job is much more detailed in terms of social skills needed. Nonetheless, based on my findings I argue that these five skills or traits are a backbone of a facilitatory planners skillset and should be a part of training for such position.

d) Household representation method

Household representation method requires that one representative from each family is present in participatory meetings with the planners. It was relevant in three of the perspectives. Firstly, in chapter 5.4 on the vulnerable of the community the method's usefulness lies in vouching for those that for any reason cannot vouch for themselves like elderly and kids or sick who are not able to fully participate due to e.g. inability to understand the processes or communicate well. Secondly, in the perspective of spread of information that chapter 5.5 examines, the household representation method has its use for spreading the information to people who could not join the meetings and help them be a part of the decision making processes. That also touches on the perspective two about sacrifices community made for their development. The method helps e.g. half of the working household go to work on the day of the meeting (although is not the only measure taken to minimize the time sacrifice). This being said, all of these factors, as mentioned before, pose a threat of false representation, where the ones representing are not having the ones' represented needs in mind. That requires the planner to, again, showcase a great deal of sensing and understanding of social cues and to reach out to the misrepresented.

6 Conclusion

In this chapter I firstly in 6.1 propose answers to the research questions in form of the five most important and most applicable outside of the case studies lessons for planners and employers ought to deal with participatory development of informal settlements. Secondly in 6.2 I discuss the contribution of the thesis into the existing knowledge in subpoint a), and in subpoint b), the contextuality and limitations of the findings based on the specificity of the context and the projects and propose two follow-up studies.

6.1 Findings of the thesis

The aim of this thesis is answering the main research question:

What lessons for working with informal settlements as a planner, can be drawn from a case study of two participatory, long-term, development planning-oriented processes, based on studying relationships between informal settlement communities and NGO planners?

That was done with help of the research sub-questions:

- 1. What were the issues faced by either side and why did they emerge?*
- 2. What were the success factors and tools used?*
- 3. How could have the issues been dealt with?*

The sub-questions served a guiding role in the research methodology and questions for the interviews, and by that, they served as a support for answering the main research question. As such, the sub-questions were answered in detail in chapter 5 and the value of them is that of stating possibilities of situations to happen in informal settlement participatory development projects. The answer lies to the sub-question in the lecture of the whole of chapter 5, but the focus shifts to the main research question.

The main research question is answered by the findings of the thesis that were presented in detail from eight perspectives in chapters 5.1 to 5.8 and then summarized and connected in chapter 5.9. This chapter answers the question from a wider scale by discussing the author's idea of the most important and easily applicable in different contexts lessons for planners working in informal settlement participatory development projects based on the findings of the thesis.

First lesson or recommendation is creating a **partnership with guidance** between the planners and the informal settlement community. Such partnership was created by Lumanti planners in the case study processes. Planners offered possibilities not solutions, as mentioned in the theory section Huchzermeyer (1999, p. 66) encourages, yet they also offered guidance. This was done in form of methods such as capacity building of skills (communication, Nepali language) and organization (city-wide and community organizations, community leadership roles), but also in form of guiding attention and raising hopes of the community for the possibility of developing their settlement.

Second lesson is the importance of **understanding the social system that governs the community lives**, as well as **monitoring the mutual understanding** with the planners. Through the different perspectives the mutual understanding proved repeatedly important for not hindering the trust and spread of misinformation. Monitoring of said relationships was also needed for finding and alleviating issues of discrimination of certain groups or individuals (leaders, elderly, sick, women, etc.).

Third lesson is oriented towards an employer hiring and providing training for planners and for people who want to work in such cases. As described in chapter 5.9 c), based on findings of this thesis **planners are ought to be empathetic, assertive, be able to sense social cues, present mental fortitude and trustworthiness**. Thus, said

employer should find adequate people or provide training in this skillset for better fit of the planners to the task.

Fourth lesson we can take from Lumanti planners is using the beforementioned **household representation method** mainly for minimizing the sacrifices community members made and present the opportunity for all families to be present in all the meetings at least indirectly.

The last, fifth lesson is a recommendation for using the **shared roles model of community leadership** in place of single and dispersed models (all presented in the chapter 5.6), mainly for ensuring more equal capacity building between the community members and not overbearing few settlers with most of the responsibilities.

6.2 Contribution of the thesis and further study

a) Contribution of the thesis in the existing knowledge

The thesis's main lessons for planners are: (1) creating a partnership with guidance, (2) striving for understanding of relationships between the community members, as well as monitoring the mutual understanding with the planners, (3) that planners need to be empathetic, assertive, able to sense social cues, presenting mental fortitude and trustworthiness, (4) usage of the household representation method and (5) usage of the shared roles community leadership model. Rest of the lessons are found in more detail in the whole of chapter 5. In conclusion, the thesis is thus adding to the existing knowledge through an evaluation of case specific issues and solutions and drawing lessons from planners and the informal settlement communities relationships for the planners in terms of the most efficient ways (attitude, working philosophy and methods) of bettering the relationships they have with said communities.

b) Further study

As the findings of the thesis come from a specific context, an additional – multi context study is proposed with an explanation of the most important factors that in my opinion shaped the case study processes. There are three most important factors that characterize the context: size of the community, size of the municipality it is placed in and the length of the partnership with the NGO planners. The case study communities were consisting of around 31 and 24 households. It is a manageable number e.g. for spreading information and keeping a close contact with most of the community members. The settlements were located in a small municipality where their land was not high in price and thus not pursued by businesses and municipality itself. Finally, the partnerships of the NGO and the community was long-term, lasting 4 and 9 years. These factors might have played a crucial role in how the processes went and to answer the question of how did they affect the findings of this thesis a similar follow-up study is needed in informal settlements that vary in these specifications. In such study certain issues and solutions could be found to exist in different contexts thus proving furthering their valid applicability.

Additional follow-up study is to be done on the topic of community leadership models aiding the participatory development processes in informal settlements. Such study would both look for examples resembling the three models presented in the thesis: single, dispersed and shared roles types, and study them in terms of the dangers they pose and benefits they provide to the leaders, community and the processes. If no shared model resembling process can be found, such process should be done in a similar context (similar on basis of three factors of contextuality described in the previous paragraph), evaluated and compared to the processes described in this thesis.

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Appendices

Appendix 1 *Consent form used in the interviews with planners and informal settlement community members during the data collection phase.*

Appendix 2 *The tryout fieldwork exploratory questionnaire.*

Appendix 3 *The data collection of issues and barriers found in the initial fieldwork, literature and from informers of the case study.*

Appendix 4 *The final questionnaire for data collection in informal settlements with notes on changes to the questionnaire and to the translation process. Contains introduction of the researcher and the translator to the interviewee.*

Appendix 5 *The final questionnaire for interviews with planners.*

Appendix 6 *List of interviews with dates.*

Appendix 1 *Consent form used in the interviews with planners and informal settlement community members during the data collection phase.*

Consent form

This is an inquiry about participation in a research project which main purpose is to better understand the relationship between planners and communities engaged by them. In this letter I will give you information about the purpose of the project and what your participation will involve.

Purpose of the project

This project is done as part of the master thesis research of the interviewer.

The research's purpose is to better the understanding of NGO and governmental planners' relationship with communities engaged by them from both parties' perspectives. As a goal research will try to group the stories, opinions and formulate a more systematic approach for planners to make the process more fruitful and just. The questions asked will be considering experiences and feelings associated to them. The researcher will try to understand the situation from both sides of the relationship.

Research will not try to change the outcomes of any projects that happened but will try to serve as a guide for future researchers and planners in similar situation in the future.

Who is responsible for the research project?

Norwegian Science and Technology University (NTNU) in Trondheim is the institution responsible for the project.

The Thesis is done in cooperation with the project Transdisciplinary Education for a Sustainable Society (SAMAJ) which has funding under the Norwegian Partnership Programme for Global Academic Cooperation (NORPART) from the Norwegian Agency for International Cooperation and Quality Enhancement in Higher Education.

Why are you being asked to participate?

You have been chosen as an interviewee because of your experience in the planning processes involving community engagement and participation.

What does participation involve for you?

Research is done mostly through in-depth interview that could take anything from 30 minutes to 2 hours. As a participant you decide on much time you can invest in the research.

The interview will be recorded in audio format in order to not miss important details or misrepresent researched communities and individuals.

Additional methods during the interviews may include rating exercises or surveys.

If children are to participate parents/guardians may on request, see the interview guide in advance. Information about children's experience (not personal data) may also be asked from parent's/guardian's perspective.

Participation is voluntary

Participation in the project is voluntary. If you chose to participate, you can withdraw your consent at any time without giving a reason. All information about you will then be made anonymous. There will be no negative consequences for you if you chose not to participate or later decide to withdraw.

Your personal privacy – how we will store and use your personal data

We will only use your personal data for the purpose(s) specified in this information letter. We will process your personal data confidentially and in accordance with data protection legislation (the General Data Protection Regulation and Personal Data Act).

Your personal data will be stored and presented only by age group (children, adult, elderly), gender and community you live in or the organization you represent. Research does not require names, detailed information or contact information.

The data will be stored electronically on researches` storage device and will be accessed by the author and his supervisors only.

What will happen to your personal data at the end of the research project?

Data will be used in a publication of authors` master thesis, but as mentioned, will not specify an individual but a group that individual is connected to.

The project is scheduled to end 10th of June 2020 (if not prolonged by the author).

After the publication, all the data will be stored electronically on author`s device in case of follow-up research in the future.

Your rights

So long as you can be identified in the collected data, you have the right to:

- access the personal data that is being processed about you
- request that your personal data is deleted
- request that incorrect personal data about you is corrected/rectified
- receive a copy of your personal data (data portability), and
- send a complaint to the Data Protection Officer or The Norwegian Data Protection Authority regarding the processing of your personal data.

What gives us the right to process your personal data?

We will process your personal data based on your consent.

Based on an agreement with Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU), NSD – The Norwegian Centre for Research Data AS has assessed that the processing of personal data in this project is in accordance with data protection legislation.

Where can I find out more?

If you have questions about the project, or want to exercise your rights, contact:

- *NTNU Trondheim* via the student *Maciej Papke* (maciejpa@stud.ntnu.no) and the NTNU supervisor *Rolee Aranya* (rolee.aranya@ntnu.no).
- Our Data Protection Officer: *Thomas Helgesen*
- NSD – The Norwegian Centre for Research Data AS, by email: (personverntjenester@nsd.no) or by telephone: +47 55 58 21 17.

Yours sincerely, *Maciej Papke*

Project Leaders:
Supervisor: Rolee Aranya
Co-supervisor: Sangeeta Singh

Student:
Maciej Papke

Consent form

I have received and understood information about the project *[insert project title]* and have been given the opportunity to ask questions. I give consent:

- to participate in an in-depth interview
- to participate in experience rating exercises on methods used by planners
- for my personal data to be stored after the end of the project for follow-up studies and further research

I give consent for my personal data to be processed until the end date of the project, approx. *10 June 2020*

(Signed by participant, date)

Appendix 2 *The tryout fieldwork exploratory questionnaire.*

1. Barriers of engagement:
 - a. Community:
 - a. Engagement phase:
 1. Tell me when did you participate in a planning exercise with a planner working in your community?
 2. Tell me about how were you approached by the planners/workers?
 3. What do you think they tried to achieve for their organization?
 4. What did you and your neighbors try to achieve for the community?
 5. What were your expectations for working with the planners? Was there any role played by the differences between you or the community and the researcher like: (gender, race, language issues, caste difference, religion, occupation, organization you represent)?
 6. Did the expectations mentioned before happened to be true? How so?
 7. How did you perceive the planner at first? How did it affect your thinking of him?
 - b. Methodology and work:
 8. How did the planner engage the community in the process? In what stages and which methods were the community involved in?
 9. Who from the community got engaged in the work or conversations, and how did the people get chosen for participation? Did that cause any issues?
 10. What were the working methods used by the planner? Can you describe them and give some opinions on each one?
 11. How would you describe the process of working with the planner for yourself? What did you perceive from rest of the community?
 12. Did you or the community experience any additional issues while working with the planner? (interrupting, lack of respect, arguments, other issues) How do you think they affect the outcome of the work? How did you deal with them?
 - c. Aftermath:
 13. How did the community react to the outcome of the process? Why do you think community reacted in a way they did? (expectations set by the planner?)
 14. How much of the reaction do you think depended on how the planner acted and not the outcome?
 15. What are the lessons you've learn on this project?
 16. What do you think were the main barriers of engagement between planner and the community?
 17. How did the image of planner change for you after the project?
 18. How did the image of the organization that planner represented change for you and the community after the project?
 - b. Planners:
 - a. Preparation:
 1. What was a case that you've worked on with a squatter community and during which you have personally engaged with such community? When? What was the name of the community and the outcome of the work?
 2. What did you try to achieve for your organization?
 3. What did you try to achieve for the community?
 4. How did you prepare for working with the community?
 5. What were your expectations for working with the community? How did you think the community would react to the differences between you before engaging? (gender, race, language issues, caste difference, religion, occupation, organization you represent)
 - b. Engagement phase:
 6. How did you react to the community and the settlement at first instances? Do you think your reaction was visible for the community?
 7. How did the community react to you and why you think so?
 - c. Methodology and work:
 8. What participatory methods did you use during the work and what parts of the process was the community involved in?
 9. What was the policy for choosing participants? Did it cause any problems?
 10. How would you rate the community engagement with you while working? Who were engaging, and why you think that is?

1. How did the community react (in your opinion) to particular methods? (ask about each mentioned method)
2. Did you experience any additional issues while working? (interrupting, lack of respect, arguments, other issues) How did they affect the outcome of the work? How did you deal with them?
3. Do you think the participatory processes raised too many expectations for the outcome in the settlers?
 - a. Aftermath:
4. How did the community react to the outcome of the process? Why do you think community reacted in a way they did?
5. Was there any follow-up study done to rate the success of the project? How much of the community's reaction would you ascribe to the way the community participation went?
6. In hindsight, what are the lessons you've learn on this project?
7. Summing up, what do you think were the main barriers of engagement in your case?

What the research will not try to answer:

1. The economic or architectural value of offered reimbursements in the cases relevant.

Selection of interviewees:

1. Interviews shall be done with a secondary goal of equal gender representation percentage and representation of children. If the case proves it to be difficult, the researcher will try to close the percentage gap into 50% as much as the case allows it. Thus, all relevant informants' groups will have a fair representation.
2. Interviewees will be selected from people who experienced working in participatory manner with planners on the case of their or different squatter settlement.

Appendix 3 *The data collection of issues and barriers found in the initial fieldwork, literature and from infomer of the case study.*

Barriers grouped with case relation, initial different categorizations, and presumptions for the case:

1. Women participation
#: 2,14,29,F,Q,R
Crucial role of women due to their knowledge about and involvement in the community. Women are usually already burdened with reproductive activities (taking care of the household and children), as well as daytime jobs and community activities. Culture may not allow women`s voice to matter in decision-making, and not view them s valuable parts of construction processes requiring physical work.

2. Who is participating? (exclusion, bias, having a voice, reaching most vulnerable)
#: 4,11,22,30,31,G,I,O,R,K

3. Land rights inclusiveness (genuine squatter issue, inability to implement projects)
#: 5,21,Z

4. Participatory phases of the project – when is participation?
#: 6

5. Government stopping empowerment (people abusing the participation by selling land – no answer for the government side)
#: 8,16,N

6. Lack of organizational capacity of planners, does the team offer real participation? How?
#: 9,12

7. Planners` personal capacity
#: 29,Q

8. Raising/failing expectations
#: 10,J

9. Community inner organization, keeping track of responsibilities
#: 13,F

10. Accessing the community, initial distrust, building trust, preexisting distrust of NGOs and government
#: 3,15,29,31,A,F,J,S,T,V,X,Y

11. Ensuring the future self-improvement of the community after finishing the collaboration
#: 17,23,N,M,W

12. Land tenure absence as a commitment barrier for community and planners

#: 18,D

13. Community members personal time limits for participation

#: 19,H

14. Power relation and cultural differences/issues

#: 1,20,24,25,26,27,28,29,A,Q

15. Lack of trust in NGO expert technical knowledge

#: B,C,L,N

16. Acquiring personal information

#: E,P

Barriers/Issues found in the literature:

1. Power relations in the participatory scenario in the Asian context (Forester, 1982, Forester, 2013, Huxley, 2000)
2. “There are, however, two sides to women’s participation. In reviewing their role in urban projects it is important to recognise that while their participation is often crucial to the success of projects, at the same time a lack of awareness of women’s triple role may also be a cause of project failure.” (Moser, 1989, p.15) – women participation and their time being overused, responsibility put on their shoulders
3. “and here the contradictions between intentions on paper (often lip-service) and the real agenda (often hidden in the planning stage) can become apparent in the practice of community participation.” (Moser, 1989, p.16) – organizational/government agenda vs people’s agenda
4. “Whatever the objective of participation, whether it be to achieve project effectiveness or empowerment, and whatever the particular phase at which it is introduced, ultimately it is the question of who is participating, and the accessibility of a project to the target population, which determines the extent to which ‘participation’ really is community participation.” (Moser, 1989, p.14) – who is participating and who is not, why? What are the outcomes of such situation?
5. “The first problem is that it assumes that projects are for homeowners exclusively, and consequently tends to exclude renters and squatters, who are therefore then ignored in any community level decision making.” (Sengupta and Sharma, 2009) – land rights and inclusiveness of that approach
6. “Many authorities . . . fear that once they allow a community to participate in the execution of a project, the people will resort to ‘undemocratic’ methods if they do not have their way, and will start demanding participation in other spheres of life, in particular in political affairs (UNCHS. 1984a, p. 8).” (Moser, 1989, p.20)
7. Size and personnel of the organization doing the work (Moser, 1989, p.26)
8. “i) It was feared that if loan funds did not become available after residents expectation had been aroused, social discontent might occur.” – (Moser, 1989, p.27)
9. Whose voice is taken into the participation – is it really democratic? (Moser, 1989, p.29)

- 10.** An organizational barrier of real participation – does the team offer real participation and why is it possible or not? – (Moser, 1989, p.31)
- 11.** Organization of the community people – sharing information, keeping the responsibilities in check, etc. – as a role of social mobilizer, existing or new social group or planners themselves (Moser, 1989, p.32)
- 12.** “The limitations of community participation were the result not of outside determinants, as is so often identified, but of internal traditional community attitudes to the role of women. Although it was the women who had initiated the project, indeed the neighbourhood leader was a woman, nevertheless at the implementation phase conflict arose over construction labour. This exposed the gap between the progressive intention of the scheme and prevailing realities of self-interest and male/female role stereotyping.” (Moser, 1989, p.36-37) – women’s time restrains due to childcare and their issues on the construction sites like non-tolerance (after the project women had successfully convinced every one of their abilities and usefulness on construction site)
- 13.** How people perceive planners based on their organization, style of organizational work (reality) vs knowledge of people and when did they acquire it. Did it cause any problems? (Moser, 1989)
- 14.** What were the governments ideas about participation in both projects – another barrier?? “One widely known solution that national governments have adopted to cope with this contradiction has been to accept participation in project design but not to provide the political or financial support to make it successful at the implementation stage (see Skinner, 1983b, p. 134).” (Moser, 1989, p.46-47) and “as a consequence of the process of empowerment, the community has suffered from severe government hostility and repression.” (Moser, 1989, p.48) – mostly in large scale participatory projects
- 15.** Grants or loans “In any review of community participation this is probably one of the most critical issues, and yet it is most often obscured in the literature by the lack of sufficiently detailed information, especially since projects increasingly rely on both loans and grants.”; “The ILO, recognising the ‘absorptive capacity’ of poor communities as being an obstacle which is best tackled by institutions building within communities, considers that its co-operative development programme has achieved a lot in this respect in rural communities (ILO, 1984, p. 28).” (Moser, 1989, p.49)
- 16.** Question of land ownership help – “In Hyderabad land was only given to communities once they had organised themselves, while in Lusaka legislative reform was a prerequisite for the project, providing security of tenure to encourage investment in house construction. As the history of both ‘bottom up’ community mobilisation and spontaneous squatter settlement formation indicates, for many communities, landownership is the precondition for community participation.” (Moser, 1989, p.49-50)
- 17.** The funding of expert and community level support staff – Paragraph on how community, outside of housewife women and men seeing a financial or political

opportunity, needs to get payed for work they do in the community because of their need to make money daily. (Moser, 1989, p.50)

18. Community homogeneity question – “Firstly, there is often a serious contradiction between the degree of community homogeneity required in order to develop effective local level organisation, and the economic, political and social heterogeneity which actually exists in communities. Secondly, the contradiction between the collective solidarity necessary as the basis for community level organisation and the intense individualism generated by the survival strategies of low-income populations. Thirdly, the contradiction between the assumed homogeneity of family structure and stereotype sexual division of labour, and the reality where many households are often de facto headed by women, and the reality of women’s triple burden means that the important role they play in community participation is not recognised.” (Moser, 1989, p.55)

19. Selection of genuine squatters barrier and issues – definitely a case in Nepal (particular rules for that) but check how it may be in other countries by searching genuine squatter term (Sengupta and Sharma, 2009, p.5)

20. Considering those most vulnerable out of the vulnerable groups – elderly with no income and kids – how is that done and why, how to not leave them behind? How is their situation? – Lumanti stories from earthquake pamphlet

21. NGOs withdrawal from or inconsistency in organizational process of development plan implementation causing community to withdraw from working on the progress themselves, potentially also loosing trust in NGOs or governments involved. “It is acknowledged that residents are ill equipped to deal with such situations, but the excessive reliance on the NGOs is a bit worrying given any shift in focus or reduced level of involvement from NGOs could potentially jeopardize the fate of the project.” (Sengupta and Sharma, 2009, p.7)

22. traversing interpretive frames embedded in culture, history, and collective memory;

23. confronting otherness in the articulation of cultural values and social identities;

24. understanding the multiple meanings of language;

25. respecting and navigating cultural protocols and social relationships; and

26. understanding the role of power in cultural translation.

(Unemoto, 2001, p.3) - in a context of multicultural participatory planning process

27. individual, community, organizational, project and programme, donor and policy – six levels of challenges in Participatory rural appraisal; but key challenges are: inequalities in power, knowledge, time/money or the access to these, and cultural differences - explained in the conclusion

The following were some of the challenges identified (Leurs, 1995): Hierarchical culture, Raised expectations (see also Edwards, 1994), Poor initial participation in terms of quality and quantity, Public domain biases, Gender biases, Power inequality biases (dealing with influential people), Difficulty of sustaining participation beyond

the initial PRA, Heterogeneity of the community (conflict resolution), Local participation in outsiders' programmes, Seasonal variations, Groupism, castism, gender inequalities and vested interests (Chambers, 1994) - participatory rural appraisal

28. rushing ending up in poorest not being heard in a process that was designed to give them voice; formalism as rigid sticking to protocols and lack of experiential learning done by planners; routinization and ruts (Chambers, 1994, p. 5-6) - context of Participatory rural appraisal with an on field example in Northern Zambia

29. Selective participation – 1.4; 1.9 “A lack of willingness to participate may also result from past experiences of involvement where expectations were not fulfilled.” (Botes and Van Rensburg, 2000) - Community participation in development: nine plagues and twelve commandments p.5, 11

Barriers/Issues found in the field (interviews, talks):

(names of the interviewees are not written for reasons of personal data protection)

A. Initially people from Majhimusahar didn't want to come out of their houses and talk with Lumanti – really important dive deeper? How did you feel, explain the situation from different community people and different planners working there. Also – what did you do to change the situation?(the municipality hired representative?) – Chitwan Lumanti NGO informer interview

B. ACCA program lack of focus on earthquake or materials - UN Habitat project manager Kathmandu interview

C. Knowledge/distrust gap to methods of structural building + materials community used for building – could've been prevented with – Lumanti NGO planner working on post-earthquake reconstruction interview

D. Land rights issue for taking housing building action – Lumanti keeps close relationship with all stakeholders from the government from early stage and plays open cards.; Bharatpur – assuring eventual land rights as a requirement for doing a housing project in the community – Chitwan Lumanti NGO informer interview

E. Asking people for income – going around it by asking about ways of making income “When we talk about income its always hard. At least we can indirectly ask how they are earning, so if they do agriculture or service we can just assume what their income might be... We didn't directly ask how much is their income but how they are earning and how they are planning to rebuild their houses.” - Lumanti NGO planner working on post-earthquake reconstruction interview

F. Problems of working without a predefined social mobilizer or group – an entry to the community! - “It would be very difficult to work, to build trust. People think NGOs, they come for their own benefit and they are just getting money in the name of us. There is a conception. So it would have been very difficult without that woman group. In reconstruction we did like that but for heritage recovery plan which we are doing now we are dealing with some communities which don't know from the beginning, there are no women groups there. We felt very difficult to communicate

with them, to arrange meetings we need to call people, work with people so we need people who are in need. They should be with us so that we can do some planning works or we can know their views but its very difficult to even gather people you know. If you call them: we are having meeting here about this topic, please come, then very few people come. They do not give you priority. They don't think you are going to do anything good for them so I think without them it would have been very difficult.” - Lumanti NGO planner working on post-earthquake reconstruction interview

G. Lack of knowledge of truly vulnerable – “We knew there were vulnerable groups, but we don't know who are they so we want to know them better, that's why we link up with the (women) cooperatives to know them.” – Lumanti NGO planner working on post-earthquake reconstruction interview

H. Barrier of community not having time for working with the NGO – Lumanti uses 2 strategies – has bigger meetings on festive days and changes their workdays to outside the typical working hours – before and after them. – Chovar (tryout fieldwork) social mobilizer and Chitwan Lumanti NGO informer interview

I. Making every person involved in a large scale project – Lumanti does propose everyone to attend but all the voices cant be heard – thus they ask every family to have a representative

J. Barrier of failing expectation of being an NGO coming to help after disaster or in a vulnerable position – as for Social mobilizer- Lumanti could have explained better their motto and make everyone see what they are trying to do: “There is aggression about them not being able to fulfill what is expected. At one time one person came to ward main office and they just said that Lumanti is just trying to eat money out of the community and they are not trying to do what is expected”. – Chovar (tryout fieldwork) social mobilizer

K. Barrier of planners not being able to help people because of not being able to contact a right person? In case of emergency need. - “They could not find the right person to talk so it took them quite long to come and help.” – Chovar (tryout fieldwork) social mobilizer interview.

L. “One of the thing which we regret doing is like we are not able to convince the people to use sustainable technology. People's priority is for the concrete so much that we cant the mindset of the people. That's the thing which we feel like we were not been able to do, like reasoning that matter.” - Lumanti NGO planner with vast experience in Nepal informal settlements and post-earthquake reconstructions

M. People owning the project or withholding the work – Lumanti prevents by making people own the project and present it to the government themselves.

N. People selling land after getting land rights – Lumanti NGO planner that worked in multiple cases around the country of Nepal and Lumanti NGO planner working on post-earthquake reconstruction interviews

O. Some people not getting involved- Lumanti uses existing groups they already established relationship with, how was the involvement between the groups in the case projects?, how was it achieved and how it happened throughout the project?? –

Lumanti NGO planner with vast experience in Nepal informal settlements and post-earthquake reconstructions

P. Beneficiaries looking solely for their own gain - Lumanti uses community group talks to prevent from people providing false information for their own gain in the mapping process and then the planning process is done as a community, not individually– Interview with Lumanti NGO planner with vast experience in Nepal informal settlements and post-earthquake reconstructions

Q. Culture and gender + gender and social skills - “If its like a Muslim community, usually its women architect who works. In other communities its not so much, usually it depends on the skill of the architect. We`ve seen that most of our architects are women so they have the quality to, not being biased, but women architects have more social skills compared to men architects.” – Lumanti NGO planner with vast experience in Nepal informal settlements and post-earthquake reconstructions “but if you are working in tarai, southern community, when there is a presence of men, the women tend to not speak. What we do is we have separate groups, depends on the community as well.” – Lumanti Joshi

R. Lack of trust to NGO and the government because of empty promises and lack of action as well as politicizing the promises – interview with one of the leaders of an informal settlement in Kathmandu

S. Lack of trust to NGO due to having high salaries and not really helping – Chitwan Lumanti NGO informer interview,

T. Knowledge/understanding/stubbornness barrier of community members not using techniques/materials proposed by the planners; people selling of their newly re-build houses to money possibilities; overall people using ways around to cut the money – Interview with Lumanti NGO planner working on post-earthquake reconstruction (and other interviews) on Post-earthquake housing reconstruction (write that the cases are comparable in a way as per vulnerability of both, but mostly because of the extremely similar participatory process of the same organization)

U. A barrier of engaging the community as a participatory planner without a social mobilizer group of women already established and with it – talk about different experiences, draw conclusions, - Interview with Lumanti NGO planner working on post-earthquake reconstruction and other

V. Using community visits to other successful community led projects communities – what does experts say differed, what does people say differ, (after fieldwork- what does literature say differ) – Bharatpur and Ratnanagar comparison

W. Non-existence of poor communities` groups and connections with them for planners as an issue for connecting – how was it done in Ratnanagar in 2011 by Lumanti and what was the experience from municipality before that?, ask people of their experience and reasons, how was it in Bharatpur, (after fieldwork - what does literature say)

X. Barrier of people not trusting stakeholders due to their hidden agenda. – interview with one of the leaders of an informal settlement in Kathmandu

Y. Land tenure issue in the cases of Sirtipur from Lumanti NGO planner working on post-earthquake reconstruction interview; and in Bharatpur – Chitwan Lumanti NGO informer interview

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Appendix 4 (begins on the next page) *The final questionnaire for data collection in informal settlements with notes on changes to the questionnaire and to the translation process. Contains introduction of the researcher and the translator to the interviewee.*

I am doing a research for my master thesis on community participation with planners. I want to gather lessons for planners to learn from you. I would like to ask you about your experience and opinions on being involved in this type of work. Would you want to help and answer some questions? We can stop anytime you want to, that is totally fine, we don't want to disrupt your responsibilities so please just stop us when you feel like you need to do something. I will need to record the translation to write it down later. Is that okay for me to record it and use it in my master thesis? I will only collect your age, gender and the community you are from with your answers.

The translation will be done sentence for sentence so that we can understand each other better. Please be mindful to stop after few words so that the translator can translate well. If she will stop you from time to time, she will quickly translate to me and let you speak more. Is that okay?

Research parameters – <u>issues and solutions</u>	Questions:
<p>10. Accessing the community, initial distrust:</p> <p>10.1. Community's expectations towards planners affiliated organization</p> <p>10.2. Social mobilizer's role in initial engaging of the community</p> <p>(8. Raising and failing expectations:</p> <p>8.1. Preventing raised expectations) – 10.1.a,b,c)</p>	<p>10.1.a) Could you tell me in detail about the first meetings with Lumanti planners from your perspective? How did you feel?</p> <p>10.1.b) What were your experiences or knowledge about NGOs before working with Lumanti?</p> <p>10.1.c) Did your attitude towards Lumanti changed later in the projects? Why?</p> <p>10.1.d) What else in your opinion could they've done to gain community's trust? What would be your advice in this topic for other workers like them?</p> <p>10.1.e) How did your opinion on NGOs change after the project? Why?</p> <p>10.2.a) (Bharatpur only) What do you think was the role of the Nepal Basobas organization in the first experiences with the planners?</p>
<p>1. Women:</p> <p>1.1. Community women time being overused as important partners in the project</p> <p>1.2. Women in implementation phase, gender biases</p> <p>1.3. Women knowledge of the community – finding the vulnerable and overall knowledge</p>	<p>1.1.a) What are the typical roles women have in the community?</p> <p>1.1.b) How were women involved in the projects with Lumanti?/What roles did they play?</p> <p>1.3.a) What skills did they bring to the process?</p> <p>1.1.c) Why do you think they were involved in those ways?</p> <p>1.1.d) Do you feel like they were happy to participate?</p> <p>1.1.e) Do you think that now after the projects are done they are satisfied with their contributions?</p> <p>1.2.a) What was the role of community women in construction of the planned houses?</p> <p>1.2.b) What is your opinion on that?</p>
<p>2. Who and how is participating:</p> <p>2.1. Inclusion of all groups (women, men, elderly, young, poorest)</p> <p>2.2. Involvement of different groups</p> <p>1.4. Women not raising voice in presence of men – Tarai region</p>	<p>2.1.a) Do you think all groups (women, men, elderly, young, poorest, most vulnerable, or any other group) were involved and were having their voice heard in the same way during work with Lumanti?</p> <p>2.1.b) Why do you think that is?</p> <p>2.1.c) What could've been done better?</p> <p>2.2.a) How much do you think different groups were involved in work with Lumanti?</p> <p>2.2.b) Why do you think each group acted the way it did?</p> <p>2.2.c) (opt.) How could it have been done better?</p> <p>1.4.a) (women and planners) Do you think that women voiced out their true opinions in the group talks with planners in presence of men from the community?</p>
<p>14. Cultural differences:</p> <p>14.1. Community and planners' differences in cast</p> <p>14.2. Community's cultural homogeneity and its relation to barriers in participation</p> <p>14.3. Gender correlation to social skills and abilities of planners</p>	<p>14.1.a) (Bharatpur) Do you think cultural differences can have impact on the participatory work? Why do you think that is? Do you have examples?</p> <p>14.1.b) (Bharatpur) (if the person thinks cultural differences mattered) How do you think best to overcome that as a worker in position like Lumanti?</p> <p>14.3.a) (Bharatpur) What do you think of working with men planners and working with women planners in comparison?</p>
<p>9. Community inner organization, keeping track of responsibilities:</p> <p>9.1. Opinion on who got to be the social mobilizer and the role itself.</p> <p>9.2. What are the responsibilities of the social mobilizer in the community.</p>	<p>9.1.a) (Bharatpur) What do you think of the role of social mobilizer?</p> <p>9.1.b) (Bharatpur) How did it play out in your experience with Lumanti?</p> <p>9.2.a) (Bharatpur) What were the responsibilities of a social mobilizer in your community?</p> <p>9.1.c) (Bharatpur) (opt.) What do you think about that?</p>
<p>13. Time consumption of participation:</p> <p>13.1. Planners attitude towards changed working hours</p> <p>13.2. Community on the time consumption</p>	<p>13.1.a) (planners) What do you think about working in different hours in order to be able to meet with more people from the community on a personal level? And what on a professional level?</p> <p>13.2.a) What do you think of the timing of meetings with Lumanti? Do you have different suggestions?</p>
<p>4. Which phases of the project were participatory:</p> <p>4.1. Was the amount of participation too much or too little for the community?</p>	<p>4.1.a) What is your opinion on the amount of participation done with Lumanti on different phases of the project that come to mind? Why?</p>
<p>16. Acquiring income and physical assets information:</p> <p>16.1. Community's opinion</p> <p>16.2. Planners opinion and experience on gathering income information of the community</p>	<p>16.1.a) What do you think about planners asking for your income and material assets?</p> <p>16.1.b) What could have been done better?</p> <p>16.2.a) (planners) What is your experience in gathering income and physical assets information of the community? Did you have any issues?</p> <p>16.2.b) (planners) Do you believe that information was necessary for the project success? What would you do differently?</p>
<p>17. Community visits to other communities where similar projects were done</p>	<p>17.a) What do you think about the value of visits to another community that were done during the participatory process?</p> <p>17.b) Did anything change after those visits for you and the community?</p>
<p>11. Community after the project:</p> <p>11.1. Community empowerment and acting together for development after the project.</p> <p>11.2. Case of selling the land</p>	<p>11.1.a) Do you think community has changed after working with Lumanti? Why do you think it did?</p> <p>11.1.b) (Ratnanagar) Do you think the community will be continuing to.../(Bharatpur) Did the community continue ...work for their development after Lumanti is gone? Why do you think that is?</p> <p>11.1.c) What would be your advice to people in roles like Lumanti to ensure that community is working together for their development after their work there is finished?</p> <p>11.2.a) Would you consider selling your house or land after the project is done? Why?</p>

Changes and notes made:

After interview on 26.02 (Majhimusahar #1):

Question 16.1.b) Do you think they could've dismiss that information? Deleted due to be a leading question.

Section 9. on responsibilities and social mobilizers moved to Bharatpur Salyani community only due to social mobilizers from the government (paid by Lumanti) being just Lumanti workers from the perspective of the community.

Introduction changed to: *I am doing a research for my master thesis on community participation with planners. I want to gather lessons for planners to learn from you. I would like to ask you about your experience and opinions on being involved in this type of work. Would you want to help and answer some questions? The interview could take even more than 1 hour, but we can stop anytime you want to, that is totally fine, we don't want to disrupt your responsibilities. I will need to record the translation to write it down later. Is that okay for me to record it and use it in my master thesis? I will only collect your age, gender and the community you are from with your answers.*

The translation will be done sentence for sentence so that we can understand each other better. Please be mindful to stop after few words so that the translator can translate well. If she will stop you from time to time, she will quickly translate to me and let you speak more. Is that okay?

Notes from first interview:

- Time needed to build trust
- Only members of one group preferably 1 person from community at a time (not influencing decisions)
- Translator cannot make conversations and stopping the translation to chat with people or explain on her own - leads to misunderstandings, lack of professionalism
- People need to be taught how to stop themselves in order for translator to translate sentence for sentence. It is best done at the start and translator has to be strict during the whole interview
- Translator shouldn't ask questions herself and is precise in translation
- Translator translates what he hears in 1st person just as the words come from interviewee
- If any doubt translator asks me and do not try to guess what are the things I am looking for?
- Translator does not compress the answer but gives word for word translation

After interviews on 27.02 (Majhimusahar #2):

People seemed busy during the hours of 13-15, became livelier around, but still disinterested in doing interviews, do not want to talk much when approached.

On this day of interviews questionnaire became quite more about general topics and storytelling around them. Both women (the more talkative from the community) were sharing longer stories to answers on single topic, which sometimes covered some other topic but most of the time at least other questions from the topic. Interviewer Used the storytelling and asked questions about the topics related to barriers in participation from the told stories.

Due to this new thread in the research appeared: Community Leader of Majhimusahar shared her struggles with her responsibilities and how other community women do not approve of her work and demand more but refuse to do anything to help. Topic was added to next interview and later on to the questionnaire as a question: *What do you think of the role of community leader?*

In the second interview questions about cultural differences were put into the lowest importance category (only as additional guidelines for the storytelling in topics) in Majhimusahar and will probably be dropped in Bharatpur as well due to lack of understanding of cultural differences after translation by the community as well as the fact that those might come up from different parts of storytelling.

After interviews on 28.02 (Majhimusahar #3):

Questionnaire starting with questions about women is too specific and out of the blue. At the start people give really short vague answers and sometimes completely disregard or don't understand the question. Once that happens they resort to a prolonged description of the story of community development (which is not asked about). A solution for the first problem is shift of the first two topics to after topic 10. Addition of initial topic with

Section 14. Cultural differences seem to be difficult to ask about in the community of Ratnanagar. Questions removed from Ratnanagar.

Overall goal of simplifying the questions.

As people seem scared of the amount of time the interview can take when it is said as an introduction, it is changed into just saying that we do not want to interrupt in your daily life so if you have anything to do at any point of the interview just feel free to stop us at any time.

Appendix 5 (begins on the next page) *The final questionnaire for interviews with planners.*

Research parameters – <u>issues and solutions</u>	Questions:
10. Accessing the community, initial distrust: 10.1. Community's expectations towards planners affiliated organization 10.2. Social mobilizer's role in initial engaging of the community 8. Raising and failing expectations: 8.1. Preventing raised expectations	10.1.a) Could you tell me in detail about the first meetings with the community from your perspective? (opt.) How did you feel? 10.1.c) Did community's attitude towards Lumanti changed later in the projects? Why? What would you attribute it to? 8.1.a) What could you say about raising and failing expectations of the community throughout the project? Were there times when community as a whole or certain people had too little or too high expectations for the project? What did you do or could have done to deal with it or prevent it?
1. Women: 1.1. Community women time being overused as important partners in the project 1.2. Women in implementation phase, gender biases 1.3. Women knowledge of the community – finding the vulnerable and overall knowledge	1.1.a) What are the typical roles women have in the community? 1.1.b) How were women involved in the projects with Lumanti?/What roles did they play? 1.3.a) What skills did they bring to the process? 1.1.c) Why do you think they were involved in those ways? 1.1.d) Do you think they were happy to participate? 1.1.e) Do you think that now after the projects are done they are satisfied with their contributions? 1.2.a) What was the role of community women in construction of the planned houses? 1.2.b) What is your opinion on that?
2. Who and how is participating: 2.1. Inclusion of all groups (women, men, elderly, young, poorest) 2.2. Involvement of different groups 1.4. Women not raising voice in presence of men – Tarai region	2.1.a) Do you think all groups (women, men, elderly, young, poorest, most vulnerable, or any other group) were involved and were having their voice heard in the same way during work with Lumanti? 2.1.b) Why do you think that is? 2.1.c) What could've been done better in your opinion? 2.2.a) How much do you think different groups were interested and active in the participation? 2.2.b) Why do you think each group acted the way it did? 2.2.c) (opt.) How could you involve the less involved? 1.4.a) (women and planners) Do you think that women voiced out their true opinions in the group talks with planners in presence of men from the community?
14. Cultural differences: 14.1. Community and planners' differences in cast 14.2. Community's cultural homogeneity and its relation to barriers in participation 14.3. Gender correlation to social skills and abilities of planners	14.1.a) (Bharatpur) Do you think cultural differences can have impact on the participatory work? Why do you think that is? Do you have examples? 14.1.b) (Bharatpur) (if the person thinks cultural differences mattered) How do you think best to overcome that as a worker in position like Lumanti? 14.3.a) (Bharatpur) What do you think of working with men planners and working with women planners in comparison?
9. Community inner organization, keeping track of responsibilities: 9.1. Opinion on who got to be the social mobilizer and the role itself. 9.2. What are the responsibilities of the social mobilizer in the community.	9.1.a) (Bharatpur) What do you think of the role of social mobilizer? 9.1.b) (Bharatpur) How did it play out in your experience with Lumanti? 9.2.a) (Bharatpur) What were the responsibilities of a social mobilizer in your community? 9.1.c) (Bharatpur) (opt.) What do you think about that?
13. Time consumption of participation: 13.1. Planners attitude towards changed working hours	13.1.a) (planners) What do you think about working in different hours in order to be able to meet with more people from the community on a personal level? And what on a professional level?
4. Which phases of the project were participatory: 4.1. Was the amount of participation too much or too little for the community?	4.1.a) In which phases of the project do you believe that the participation was beneficial and in which it was not? Why?
16. Acquiring income and physical assets information: 16.2. Planners opinion and experience on gathering income information of the community	16.2.a) (planners) What is your experience in gathering income and physical assets information of the community? Did you have any issues? 16.2.b) (planners) Do you believe that information was necessary for the project's success? What would you do differently?
17. Community visits to other communities where similar projects were done	17.a) What do you think about the value of visits to another community that were done during the participatory process?
11. Community after the project: 11.1. Community empowerment and acting together for development after the project. 11.2. Case of selling the land	11.1.a) Do you think community has changed after working with Lumanti? Why do you think it did? 11.1.c) How would you ensure that community is working together for their development after their work there is finished?

1. From my interview I understood that some people were lacking information about almost the entirety of the work that you are doing in their community or at least bigger parts of it, and some people were just disinterested and not involved. Some have also taken the approach of following your advice without asking question, waiting what is going to happen and just doing what you say.
 - a. What do you think about that?
 - b. In your opinion were there groups of people that were expressing different amount of involvement? Why do you think that was? What would be your ranking of those groups on the scale of involvement? Were there any exceptions to that?
 - c. What do you think about the difference of involvement within the community for the projects and for them?
 - d. How would you go about gaining more involvement from specific groups?
2. There was one man asking for his money due to community leader not giving him money. What do you think about that? Some of the people expressed their disapproval to intercommunity relations saying “They are just taking the money for themselves” speaking of other community members. What do you think about that situation? Do you think there is something a planner can do to prevent such things from happening?
3. Woman leader of the community, Basmati, expressed her issues with other community women who, despite her hard work, are not satisfied with it and demand more, without trying to help. Those women say that we are not capable like you and you should do all those things for us.
4. The initial distrust that community had with you seemed to be cured with persistency in being in the community and assuring of possibilities for the future.
5. People keep mentioning that Lumanti was teaching them how to talk, what do you think they meant. People also mentioned speaking lessons for children and the rest of the people, as of 2 different groups.
 - a. When did you introduce teaching the people (as they called)? How did they react to that?
6. What were the roles of community leaders and people chosen by Lumanti to lead the community? Do you think that some people were not involved due to personal grudges with those individuals?
7. As a professional what do you think of the time that had to be spent on getting the community trust before doing big projects? How is it possible economically to have employees work multiple hours doing small works like that and just gaining trust? Do you think there is a better way to get community trust? Why?

Appendix 6 *List of interviews with dates.*

(each community member interview listed was done with a different settler)

Preliminary fieldwork:

- 14.01.2020 – Kathmandu Shankhamul informal settlement community leader
- 22.01 – Kathmandu Lumanti informer
- 28.01 – Tryout fieldwork on community-led post-earthquake reconstruction in Chovar municipality (adjacent to Kathmandu)
- 29.01 – Lumanti planner from Kathmandu area with experience in community-led post-earthquake reconstruction

Final fieldwork in Chitwan district:

- 19.02 – Chitwan Lumanti informer (first interview)
- 26.02 – Majhimusahar, community leader, woman
- 27.02 – Majhimusahar, working age woman with children
- 28.02 – Majhimusahar, older working age man
- 28.02 – Majhimusahar, working age woman
- 28.02 – Majhimusahar, working age woman with children
- 29.02 – Majhimusahar, man unable to work due to sickness
- 29.02 – Majhimusahar, working age man
- 01.03 – Chitwan Lumanti informer (second interview)
- 02.03 – Majhimusahar, communtiy vice-chief, very young adult man
- 02.03 – Majhimusahar, very young adult man
- 03.03 – Salyani, elderly woman
- 03.03 – Salyani, working age woman with adult children
- 04.03 – Salyani, older working age man
- 04.03 – Salyani, elderly woman
- 04.03 – Salyani, older working age woman
- 05.03 – Salyani, older working age woman with children
- 08.03 – Salyani, Lumanti NGO planner working in Majhimusahar for 1,5 year
- 08.03 – Salyani, Lumanti NGO planner working in Majhimusahar since the beginning of the partnership
- 10.03 – Salyani, working age man
- 10.03 – Salyani, working age man
- 10.03 – Salyani, working age woman
- 10.03 – Salyani, working age woman
- 10.03 – Salyani, older working age man, before community leader

