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Expert Group Meeting on Shelter and Services for the Poor in Metropolitan Regions

Report of the UNCRD International Meeting
held at Nagoya, Japan, 12-16 January 1987



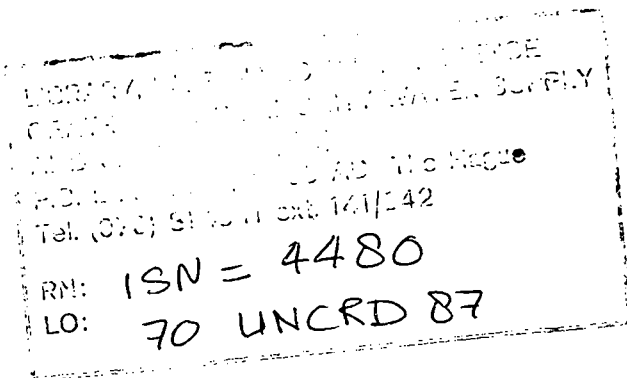
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**EXPERT GROUP MEETING
ON SHELTER AND SERVICES FOR THE POOR
IN METROPOLITAN REGIONS**

Report of the UNCRD International Meeting
held at Nagoya, Japan
from 12-16 January 1987



United Nations Centre for Regional Development
Nagoya, Japan

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PART I

REPORT OF THE EXPERT GROUP MEETING

**Conclusions and Recommendations
of the Expert Group Meeting
on Shelter and Services for the Poor in Metropolitan Regions**

12-16 January 1987
Nagoya, Japan

INTRODUCTION

An Expert Group Meeting on Urban Shelter and Services for the Poor in Metropolitan Regions was held under the auspices of the United Nations Centre for Regional Development (UNCRD) in Nagoya, Japan from 12-16 January 1987. The purpose of the meeting was: (a) to review the findings of case studies of eight metropolitan regions and concept papers undertaken by collaborating training and research institutions dealing with policy issues; (b) to provide a forum for discussion for paper writers, senior-level development practitioners, and researchers to identify priority issues for action; and (c) to identify implications of these issues for training.

Twenty-three scholars, planners, and practitioners participated in the meeting. The participants were from Australia, Federal Republic of Germany, Indonesia, Japan, Kenya, Nigeria, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Sri Lanka, Thailand, United Kingdom, and United States. In addition, the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and United Nations University (UNU) were also represented. A list of participants is included in Appendix 5. During the first two days, concept papers and country case studies were presented. This was followed by group discussions on specific issues, and group reports were presented at the meeting for discussion.

The Drafting Committee consisted of: Alan Gilbert, R.A. Obudho, James Conner, Laique Azam, Clarence Shubert, Stephen Yeh, and Leo Fonseca.

**TYOLOGIES OF POOR URBAN SETTLEMENTS
AND IMPROVEMENT STRATEGIES**

The assumption that there is any direct relationship between typologies of low-income settlements in various countries and improvement strategies was questioned. Typologies are usually simple and based on a selection of a limited number of variables which cannot comprehensively describe, much less be used to analyse, the large number of variables that are often taken into account in the specific content of a country's policymaking or strategy formulation process. Moreover, settlement improvement strategies are formulated at different micro- and macro-levels, such as slum improvement, land policies, and overall strategies to increase employment and reduce income disparities.

Instead of typologies, attention was directed to the potential relevance of certain settlement characteristics to improvement strategies such as on-site upgrading. There could be an analysis of size, density, contiguity, topography, location, and land tenure security in reference to the relationship of the design of slum and squatter settlement improvements. There could also be a discussion on the relationship between settlement characteristics and micro-policy issues such as building codes and housing standards, income and affordability, community organization and popular participation, and site selection. Therefore, it is perhaps more important to analyse the community, the household, and individual profiles in deliberations about strategy formulation or its modification.

It was felt that the micro-level improvement strategies are insufficient in themselves in bringing about long-term substantial improvements in the living environments of the urban poor. In this direction, improvements of national level policies are also required. In some significant ways, the "housing problem" is a manifestation of poverty and income distribution problems which calls for broad-based national level improvement strategies.

There was general agreement that typologies in themselves do not constitute a sound basis for the formulation of improvement strategies. However, some typologies, such as those stressing self-help improvement based on underlying processes could lead to more rational policy thinking.

Something positive can be said about the value of the urban poor learning to deal with government bureaucracies which enable them to be better integrated within the larger society. Similarly, the bureaucracy should learn about and adapt to the needs of the urban poor. It is important to take into account people's own perceptions with respect to their needs and levels of satisfaction. The urban poor should be involved from the beginning, i.e., in the project formulation process and not just come in at the implementation stage.

Not all of the urban poor live in self-help settlements; moreover, on-site upgrading can at the very best benefit only a portion of the urban poor. Therefore, there is a role for appropriately designed public housing, for policies towards central city slums, and for innovative policies for low-income tenants.

ACCESS TO LAND AND SERVICES

A critical element determining housing conditions is the availability of land. In certain cities, land is obtained through squatting and invasion. Such cities are typically located in areas where there is limited agricultural potential, e.g., Lima and Karachi both of which are located in barren desert areas. Such cities also tend to have ample areas of land under public control, i.e., a frequent target for invading groups and their political backers. Elsewhere, however, land is less freely available for the poor. In such cities, even unserved and unauthorized land must be purchased; therefore, fewer

people can participate in self-help housing. Typically such cities will have higher proportions of the population living in rental accommodation. As a result, the policy options open to governments and the priorities of those governments in resolving the housing situation will be very different. In every city, however, there is a need to regulate the process of land allocation so that the urban area and its population can be satisfactorily serviced. A major problem in a city such as Lima is that the invasion has produced a low-density city that is very difficult to supply with water and drainage. Most cities have tried to prevent land invasions but perhaps the most appropriate policy is to anticipate the need for plots, infrastructure, and services for the urban poor.

Although the precise policies of different governments clearly vary in time and space, there are certain similarities in governmental practices. Most governments address current accumulated problems rather than anticipating future situations. As a result, a policy is nearly always *ad hoc* and reactive, never catering for future housing problems and social needs. There is also little that most urban administrations can do to control the rate of population. City immigration together with high birth rates invariably put major pressures on urban administrations. While there is always a strong temptation to argue that controls on city immigration should be applied, few urban governments are in a position to implement such policies and even fewer would wish to face the major infringements of human rights involved. As a result, most city administrations must plan for future population increases. Admittedly, there are a few cities where growth has spilt over into contiguous administrative areas, but in every major city the pace of urban growth in the whole built-up area is almost always growing faster than the resources available to resolve the problems.

It is interesting, therefore, to consider how the more innovative administrations have tried to significantly change the parameters of the housing problem. In the early 1970s, the Government of Sri Lanka prohibited any individual from owning more than one house; later in 1981 tenants were granted ownership of houses and rooms that they were occupying. Similarly radical policies were adopted in Lima in 1985, when it was determined that title deeds should be allocated to all illegal land occupiers, and by the Government of Pakistan when it legalized, in 1985, all existing squatter settlements with more than forty families. It is important to note, however, that despite such radical policies all of these governments have tried to prevent further invasions of land.

Every third world city lacks adequate services. In part, this is a problem of the limited capacity of the service agencies, for example, shortages of water, electricity, or health personnel. But, the lack of servicing is also due to a shortage of funds to distribute the services to the low-income areas, particularly when there is a low-density pattern of urban development. Additionally, limited servicing may be the result of a lack of political will to devote resources to delivering services to the poor. Such a lack of political will may be the result of higher level governmental expenditure

priorities, for example, on decisions to spend money on defense or agriculture or some non-urban item. Sometimes the political will is present, but given the general poverty of the country, the financial resources are lacking; sometimes the lack of will is the result of venality, with some governments wishing to favour particular groups rather than the poor. Clearly, adequate service provision requires an unusual combination of political will, adequate service capacity, a competent and committed bureaucracy, and adequate financial resources. Few cities in third world countries are so fortunate as to exhibit such a combination. As a result, every city faces major problems although the severity and the precise form of those problems differs considerably.

COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION AND THE BUREAUCRACY

Community participation takes three major forms: Community persuasion, community consultation, and community self-help. The possibilities for community participation vary greatly from city to city. In some cities, and in the wider society, there is a strong tradition of community organization. Elsewhere the possibilities for community participation may be limited by ethnic differences, top-down interference in the consultation process, and political differences within the community. In certain countries, particularly those with authoritarian governments, community participation is likely to be very limited because the community is prevented from expressing their true wishes or because there is little possibility of having their wishes granted. As such, communities see little point in expressing their opinion to the government authorities. Fortunately, not every government falls into this category.

Many governments have bureaucracies which lack human relations skills. Sometimes this is due to the elitist attitudes of their personnel; sometimes it is due to a lack of understanding of what is required in communicating with local communities; sometimes it is due to the poor working conditions of the officials which dissuades them from taking their work seriously. However, it is clearly possible to train officials in communication skills. Whether the working conditions for government officials can be made attractive is another question. Current pay rates and working conditions make the retention of high quality personnel in the public sector difficult in many countries. As a result, expertise is lost and a process of retraining is constantly underway. Community participation is also hindered where complex bureaucracies each employ different procedures and agents to consult with communities. Too many officials, with overlapping functions, are clearly harmful to good bureaucracy-community relations. Sometimes slum-upgrading programmes manage to develop an integrated and close relationship with the community. However, the difficulty is knowing how to integrate such programmes into the wider bureaucratic structure and replicating such close bureaucratic-community relations with the wider constituency.

IMPROVEMENT STRATEGIES AND THE POTENTIAL FOR SUCCESSFUL IMPLEMENTATION

Four major strategies have been employed in Lagos and Nairobi to improve the living environment of the urban poor. These strategies are slum clearance and rehousing, public housing schemes, sites and services programmes, and slum upgrading. All of these strategies have both strengths and weaknesses. Slum clearance for example leads to the relocation of poor families despite their frequently expressed wish to remain in the area. Here the main beneficiaries of slum clearance may be higher income groups who move into the new accommodation. Similarly, public housing clearly adds to the housing stock, but the quality of accommodation is too expensive for the poorest groups in the city or requires major subsidies from the urban administration.

There was considerable discussion about whether these four strategies were sufficient to resolve the housing and environmental problems of the poor. Clearly, policy outcomes do not generally reach the majority of the population in low-income settlements. Perhaps broader policy instruments are required including provisions for tenants who form the majority of the population in most African and many other third world cities. Such policies would also include institutional reforms affecting housing finance, land tenure, and service delivery. There is also a major need for policies which go beyond the housing situation per se, but which are critical to its resolution. Such policies include governmental efforts to generate more jobs, create a more favourable climate for urban growth, or to redistribute income and wealth.

Whether living conditions are improving or deteriorating is currently often little more than a matter of judgment. There is often a lack of basic statistics and data through which change can be evaluated. This is less true of specific projects than of citywide conditions. Few cities have the basic data on which to base a temporal comparison of living conditions. Such data should reflect local values and standards; it may be unwise to adopt universal measures of housing quality. Nevertheless, in evaluating change through time, the following indicators should be included: Coverage of services and housing improvements, access of the poor to basic services and decent housing, changes in the availability of employment, and the degree of neighbourhood involvement.

Clearly, if the major problems facing the cities of poor countries are to be reduced, creative planning and administration is required. Governments must not only be sensitive to the wishes of the population and aware of the major problems facing them, but they must also be sufficiently committed and efficient to help remedy those problems. Most governments are now struggling against the accumulated deficit of past neglect. Too few resources are being matched against years of inadequate action. This backlog must obviously be cleared as quickly as possible, but perhaps the biggest challenge to government is to anticipate future requirements and provide for them. Most cities can expect huge increases in their populations. Governments must ensure that serviceable land is available to provide plots for the majority. Public service companies must anticipate the future demands

for water, electricity, schooling, and health care. It is such anticipation that lies at the heart of good planning and administration; urban living conditions will not be improved until this becomes the norm in third world cities.

FORMS AND EFFECTIVENESS OF COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN SQUATTER SETTLEMENTS

Community participation in urban areas is highly diverse and therefore various conceivable lessons can be drawn from it. For that reason, people of all persuasions continue to press for community participation. But, communities, like people, are not wholly predictable and the circumstances conditioning their reactions clearly differ considerably. As such, perhaps the only valid conclusion that can be drawn is one of tempered enthusiasm for the idea and then always subject to local circumstances. Community participation is worthwhile and can help improve the living conditions of low-income communities. But, since it can also be used to their disadvantage, the poor might sometimes limit their involvement. In Latin America, community action programmes have more often than not been primarily concerned with political control. Such programmes have often been highly effective from the regime's point of view, but engendered little but apathy among the poor.

Perhaps this is the most important lesson for those eager to increase levels of community participation. Only when people see the offer of real benefits will they collaborate with governments on community matters. The numerous instances of land invasion and spontaneous community organization that have occurred throughout developing countries testify to their ability to participate and work together. The poor are often willing to cooperate but only when they are sensibly motivated. In establishing community programmes, therefore, governmental or nongovernmental organizations must be sensitive first to the interests of the populace. The designers of community projects must offer reciprocal benefits to the poor; if they do not, then people will not participate. Meaningful, sustained community participation requires that government offer some tangible reward for the efforts required by the population.

PRIORITY AREAS OF TRAINING

The participants discussed priority areas (subject domains) for training to improve planning and management of urban shelter and basic services for the poor. It was felt that priorities should be on identifying basic needs (recognizing that community's priorities might be different from those of the service organization), and so the focus could be on "how to gather relevant information." The size, age, and structure of the target group might also affect selection of the method.

It was suggested that training be appropriate at two levels: (1) look at developing understanding of issues -- not in a technical

sense, (2) seek to develop management skills at the local government level, recognizing that local communities can be socially and politically sensitive and require experienced staff. The focus of training should be on community development and interpersonal communication skills for policymakers need to be sensitized to the needs of the community.

Some training in how to deal with donor agency officials would be useful. But the view was expressed that they, too, might benefit from training to make them more responsive to indigenous solutions.

There should be some emphasis on developing interpersonal skills for those at the cutting edge as well as material and training which deals with appropriate technology training related to "appropriate technology."

Some national/local courses already exist and so far as subject domains are concerned, subject areas that were covered include:

- (a) appropriate technology
- (b) urban administration (including budgeting, finance, etc.)
- (c) international finance procurement, World Bank loan procedures and administration
- (d) community development -- interpersonal communication skills.

Training sessions involving a number of countries would increase the possibility of transferring appropriate policies and approaches from one country to another. However, rather than always adopting wholesale ideas, countries should carefully adopt new ones.

In designing training programmes, the already existing efforts at national and local levels should be taken into consideration. The view was expressed that the first priority here should be focused "on the trainers" themselves. Requirements may vary between nations.

The group recognized the desirability of all "stakeholders" to be participants of such training. However, it was felt that it could take place in specific situations. Interest was also expressed in strengthening the capacity, specifically at the local government level.

In addressing the "sensitizing" of top level policymakers, it would be useful to develop "demonstration packages" (video, etc.). These could draw on successful case study material and demonstrate a variety of minimum or low-cost approaches. Evidence suggests that in some nations, policymakers simply do not realize the extent of the problem or are unwilling to give these programmes adequate priority.

A wide scope was seen as appropriate for country specific courses which would enable indigenous solutions and techniques to be developed and applied. At the same time, it was also agreed that multinational

training courses did offer scope for broadening perspectives. Training should be at regular intervals. Training should emphasize the need for short-term solutions which should be couched in the long-term perspective.

Reference was made to the need and intention to undertake consultation with donor agencies such as the World Bank, Asian Development Bank (ADB), etc. In response to some critical points made about some donor agency's criteria, it needed to be recognized that they too are willing to learn from experience, and adapt to client's needs. It was noted that there would shortly be a meeting in Manila jointly organized by ADB and UNCRD to explore further opportunities for cooperation.

In developing "sensitization packages," both successful and unsuccessful case studies could be used. It was noted that successful case studies are better able to inspire. Generalizing criteria for selection of trainees is difficult and therefore should be done at country level. In focusing on the need to sensitize and increase awareness of these issues on the part of the policymakers, a sufficiently broad vision was required. The aims here might be:

- (a) To see the trans-sectoral implications of housing and services policy (i.e., related to employment, health, education, etc.);
- (b) To enable policymakers to become more aware of policy implementation problems;
- (c) To recognize the need to combine technocratic and social aspects and to demonstrate the benefits to be derived from closer cooperation.

TRAINING SEMINAR FOR POLICYMAKERS AND ADMINISTRATORS

The participants proposed the following framework for the proposed seminar:

A. OBJECTIVES

To provide a forum or venue for sharing of knowledge and experience on, and discussion of, the following topics:

- (1) Formulation and implementation of housing and social policies and programmes for the urban poor within the framework of overall national development.
- (2) Promotion and strengthening of the comprehensive approach in the delivery of housing and basic services for the urban poor.

- (3) Helping secure meaningful and effective involvement from the nongovernment organizations (NGOs), the private sector, and the target beneficiaries.

B. PARTICIPANTS

All policymakers who, directly or indirectly, are involved in the provision of housing and basic services for the urban poor. Since legislators are the primary and ultimate policymakers, they may also be invited.

C. CURRICULUM AND COURSE CONTENTS

- (1) Background and overview of the Nature and Scope of Housing Policies and Programmes:
 - (a) Critical review and appraisal of current shelter and basic services, policies, and programmes; what policies/programmes facilitate or hinder the poor's access to (a) land, (b) design types/extension services, (c) funds and other resources, (d) collective action, and (e) easy and affordable repayment terms;
 - (b) Identification of areas for policy and programme changes -- inter-country success lessons to address the above through reorientation of policies, strategies, and structures;
 - (c) Self appraisal of prospects for the immediate future; -- each country to reflect on their policies and identify a concise list of concern areas needing reorientation/reorganization;
 - (d) Impact of housing policies vis-à-vis other related sectoral policies -- rationale for inter-agency/inter-department coordination and cross-supplementation of efforts.
- (2) Institutional Machinery
 - (a) Review of administrative capacity for delivery of housing services -- on the administrative and financial procedures responsive to community aspirations;
 - (b) Nature and types of needed organizational and functional linkages -- what agencies/departments can help make the programmes more long-term and effective;
 - (c) Synchronization of planning, programming, and budgeting -- integration and convergence of sectoral inputs available for the urban poor areas;

- (d) Alternative mechanism for improving existing institutions and accomplishing coordination:
 - clarity of role and responsibilities among agencies
 - building operational capacity at metropolitan levels.

- (3) Participatory Planning and Management
 - (a) Nature, scope, and rationale of participation;
 - (b) Problems and prospects faced in mobilizing people's involvement in shelter and social activities;
 - (c) Alternative methodologies for ensuring participatory planning and management -- regulatory procedures that call for community specific planning as a prerequisite for allocation of resources.

- (4) Monitoring and Evaluation of Implementation of Housing Policies and Programmes
 - (a) Need for regular monitoring and evaluation; the need for establishing benchmarks and indicators to monitor progress and measure impact of programmes;
 - (b) Review of existing practices and experiences;
 - (c) Formulation of benchmarks and impact indicators -- the need to obtain theoretical and research support from universities.

- (5) Housing Finance
 - (a) Traditional and non-traditional sources;
 - (b) Resource mobilization, e.g., options such as community-based credit unions to act as intermediate institutions for formal sector lending groups (borrowing in bulk and breaking down into smaller loans).

- (6) Training of Implementors
 - (a) Review of current administrative and technical resources;
 - (b) Progress for upgrading administrative and technical resources.

D. TRAINING METHODS AND STRATEGIES

- (1) Use of seminar and forum format;
- (2) Use of case studies and country papers;
- (3) Conduct of field trips;
- (4) Use of visual aids;
- (5) Use of role playing methods.

**OUTLINE FOR A TRAINING COURSE FOR MANAGERS
DIRECTLY INVOLVED IN PLANNING AND IMPLEMENTING
URBAN SHELTER AND BASIC SERVICE PROJECTS**

A. GENERAL OBJECTIVES OF THE COURSE

1. To develop a range of practical skills for urban shelter and service project design, management, and evaluation;
2. To develop an awareness of the social, cultural, and economic milieu of poor urban settlements;
3. To develop awareness and skills needed for improving personal ability and organizational capacity for intra-organization and inter-agency communication and coordination in project implementation;
4. To develop knowledge of low cost and appropriate alternative methods of providing shelter and basic services.

B. COURSE CONTENT

The course should focus on practical skills and common problems encountered by urban managers.

Six steps were identified in project implementation:

1. Developing an understanding of the internal dynamic conditions of urban poor communities;
2. Reorientation and restructuring of government agencies and NGOs to strengthen relationships among themselves and with poor settlements to enable convergence of shelter, infrastructure, and service improvements;
3. Finding mechanisms to make more land and services available and accessible to the urban poor;

4. Mobilization of resources including community contributions and reorientation of government and international institutions' funds to make infrastructure, services, and credit available to the urban poor;
5. Establishment or adaptation of community organizations which become the channel for all activities to be implemented at the community level;
6. Developing an information, monitoring, and evaluation system which provides feedback to poor communities and government agencies to continually improve shelter and services.

Based on the process described above, the following specific subjects were identified and classified:

1. Analysis of community situation
 - (a) situation analysis techniques
 - (b) community self-survey methods
 - (c) community structure and dynamics
 - (d) community resources and facilities.
2. Institutional reorientation and restructuring
 - (a) alternative modes for enhancing intersectoral and interlevel coordination
 - (b) consensus building techniques
 - (c) project team building
 - (d) reorientation from service provision to facilitating community based services
 - (e) motivating and supervising staff to assure competent performance
 - (f) simplifying and decentralizing monitoring and reporting
 - (g) enhancing media and communication skills.
3. Methods to increase access to land and basic services
 - (a) analysis of existing land use and tenure systems
 - (b) alternative experiences in transferring land use and rights to the urban poor
 - (c) identification of alternative, low-cost, appropriate technologies, and strategies for shelter and services.
4. Resource mobilization
 - (a) identifying and mobilizing community resources
 - (b) availability and procedures for international donor funding
 - (c) strategies for national and local budget reorientation
 - (d) identifying and mobilizing resources of NGOs.

5. Community organization

- (a) establishing rapport with the community
- (b) social communication skills
- (c) methods for mobilizing and training community leaders and residents.

6. Monitoring and evaluation

- (a) community-based monitoring and evaluation
- (b) process monitoring systems
- (c) impact evaluation and feedback.

C. TRAINING METHODS AND STRATEGIES

1. Problem-solving directly related to participants' work
2. Simulation and role-playing for participatory planning and intersectoral coordination
3. Group discussions
4. Case studies of participating country programmes and projects
5. Readings on thematic issues and concepts
6. Intra- and inter-country field visits
7. Multi-media use.

D. TYPES OF TRAINING MATERIALS NEEDED

1. Case studies on urban shelter and services
2. Readings on urban shelter issues, policies, and programmes
3. Simulation exercises
4. Examples of application of specific techniques and skills in urban planning, management, and evaluation
5. Self-teaching/learning modules
6. Videos, slide/tape productions

E. PARTICIPANTS

The group recommended that participants come from three to five countries within a region. A maximum of twenty persons will participate in the course. They will come from a mix of disciplines and agency departments working within urban poor settlements. The participants themselves may act as trainers or resource persons during the course.

In addition, follow-up contact and support was seen as vital to reinforce the training course experience. One way of achieving this could be by building into training courses an output requirement related to the participants' normal work. Further enhancement of the training effect might be achieved by encouraging governments, donor agencies, universities and research institutions to lend their support to those programmes.

Considerable resource material (including case studies) can be developed or already exists and will assist in focusing attention on real world problems. It was suggested that training courses should be client oriented.

PART II

SUMMARY OF PROCEEDINGS

WELCOME AND KEYNOTE ADDRESS

Distinguished Participants:

I am pleased to welcome you to the United Nations Centre for Regional Development (UNCRD). I am grateful that despite your busy schedules, you have been able to accept our invitation to participate in this Expert Group Meeting on Urban Shelter and Services for the Poor in Metropolitan Regions.

To those of you who have not been to our Centre before, I extend a special welcome and would like to say a few things about UNCRD.

UNCRD'S PURPOSE

The purpose of UNCRD, which was established in 1971, is to assist developing countries in strengthening their capabilities for regional and local planning and management. To this end, the Centre has a wide range of activities which are organized into four areas of concern: training, research, information dissemination and exchange, and advisory services. Every year, we offer a two-month international training course in regional development planning. In addition, the Centre is developing Advanced Trainers' Training Courses in Local and Regional Social Development Planning; Environmental Planning and Management; and Regional Development for Disaster Prevention.

Our research projects focus on themes and issues which are of particular interest to developing countries for promoting local and regional development. The present research projects deal with Environmental Management; Urban Shelter and Services; Information Systems for Local and Regional Development; Planning and Management for Development and Conservation of Asian Metropolises; Social Development Alternatives; Rural Development Alternatives and the Role of a Local Level Development Strategy -- the Case of Africa; and Increasing the Absorptive Capacity of the Urban Economy: Planning for Strengthening Functional Linkages in Asian Metropolises. The Centre also provides advisory services, on request, to developing countries and disseminates relevant information to planners, scholars, and practitioners in institutions and agencies which are concerned with local and regional development. The Centre has several country-specific programmes. These include: (1) Regional Development Planning in China; (2) Local Level Planning and Management in Malaysia; and (3) Local Level Planning in the South Pacific.

The Centre provides a forum for exchange of experiences by working in close collaboration with administrators, planners, and researchers from developing countries. In our research and training activities, we collaborate with national training institutions, universities, and research institutions. The Centre also works in cooperation with other international organizations such as United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), Asian Development Bank (ADB), and

United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) which share common development concerns with us.

URBAN GROWTH AND METROPOLITAN REGIONS

The total urban population in developing countries increased from 267.6 million in 1950 to 972.4 million in 1980. The percentage of urban population to total population during this period increased from 16.2 to 30.5 per cent.

One of the characteristics of urbanization in developing countries is that the rate of growth of large size cities has been significantly greater than that of small cities. By 1950 the population of cities of 100,000 or more was 49.6 per cent of the total urban population, and by 1980, it had increased to 64.1 per cent -- significantly more increase than for other groups. In many developing countries, a significant portion of the urban population is concentrated in the large capital cities. For example, the populations of Bangkok and Colombo are 60 per cent of the total urban populations in Thailand and Sri Lanka, respectively. Similarly, 35 per cent of the urban population in the Philippines lives in Manila, and 26 per cent of the Indonesian urban population is in Jakarta. Nearly all demographic projections show that the urban populations in developing countries will continue to grow rapidly over the next two decades. The United Nations Population Division's projections indicate that, from 1975 to the year 2000, the percentage of the population living in urban areas of developing countries will increase from 28 per cent to 44 per cent.

One of the consequences of urbanization in developing countries is that the total number of the urban poor is rapidly increasing. During the 1960s and 1970s, dwellers in slums and squatter areas made up an average of 30 to 60 per cent of the urban poor in developing countries. It is estimated that at present about 50 per cent of the urban population is living in extreme poverty, and that by the year 2000 about one billion urban dwellers will be classified as poor.

There are severe shortages of shelter and basic urban services in metropolitan regions of developing countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. This requires appropriate policy and programme responses at national and international levels.

As you are aware, 1987 has been declared the International Year of Shelter for the Homeless. This meeting is listed as one of the activities in the UNCHS (United Nations Centre for Human Settlements - HABITAT) calendar of events relevant to the International Year of Shelter for the Homeless. We should review the management and implementation of urban shelter policies and projects to draw lessons from experience and identify training needs and approaches to facilitate the implementation of future programmes.

POLICY ISSUES IN URBAN SHELTER AND SERVICES

Experiences of developing countries show that a number of issues emerge in the process of formulating and implementing development programmes and projects aimed at providing shelter and services to the poor.

These include:

- (1) Mechanisms to provide access to land for shelter and services;
- (2) Mobilization of resources;
- (3) Affordability and cost recovery of the government-initiated programmes;
- (4) Role of the informal service sector;
- (5) Capabilities of implementing agencies;
- (6) Integration of physical and social improvement in poor settlements; and
- (7) Community participation in formulating and implementing development programmes.

A great deal of attention has been given to the economic and technical aspects of extending urban services in developing countries and the managerial and organizational aspects are often overlooked or considered only after programmes are underway. The experience of developing countries, however, shows that institutional capability is one of the critical factors in solving development problems. It is through government and nongovernment institutions that human and financial resources are mobilized and used to achieve societal goals. It is for this reason that research on institutional dimensions of local and regional development is one of the main areas of UNCRD's concern.

ABOUT THE RESEARCH PROJECT

UNCRD has commissioned three concept papers on specific themes related to urban shelter and services for the poor. We have also requested that collaborating training and research institutions in selected developing countries prepare case studies of metropolitan regions dealing with key policy issues in providing shelter and basic services in slums and squatter settlements.

The concept papers to be presented at the meeting are: (1) Land Supply for Low-Income Housing: Issues and Approaches; (2) Forms and Effectiveness of Community Participation in Squatter Settlements; and (3) Urban Low-Income Settlements in Developing Countries: Characteristics and Improvement Strategies. Case studies of selected metro-

politan regions deal with profile of slums and squatter settlements, administrative structures for implementing urban shelter policies and programmes, evolution of shelter projects, issues in planning and managing the improvement of low-income settlements, and actions needed at national and international levels to provide shelter and services. Specifically, the studies attempt to answer the following questions:

- (1) Why and how were the upgrading projects in the selected metropolitan regions initiated?
- (2) What improvement strategies have been utilized to provide shelter and basic urban services?
- (3) What changes have taken place in the selected metropolitan areas concerning the mode and extent of community participation in the process of upgrading low-income settlements, the security of land occupation and tenure, provision of finance to residents to improve their dwelling units, affordability and cost recovery, and the integration of social and infrastructural improvements?
- (4) What have been the major anticipated and unanticipated consequences -- economic, social, and political -- of the efforts to upgrade the settlement? To what extent have the services provided been accessible to the poor?

We would like the participants to discuss training needs for effectively implementing urban shelter and basic urban services programmes and projects. We would particularly appreciate your advice about (1) categories of urban managers and administrators who need to be trained and (2) content, training materials, and pedagogy of training.

We are grateful to the UNICEF East Asia and Pakistan Regional Office which has been cooperating with UNCRD on this research project. Part of the financial support for this project was provided by UNICEF.

I would like to take this opportunity to again thank all the participants for their goodwill and valuable contributions to this project. With these words, I declare the meeting open.

Thank you.

Hidehiko Sazanami
Director, UNCRD

RAPORTEURS' REPORTS

SESSION 1

Monday (12 January)

Topic: Urban Low-Income Settlements in Developing Countries:
Characteristics and Improvement Strategies

Chairperson: Darrundono

Speaker: Stephen H.K. Yeh

Discussant: James Conner

Rapporteur: Jo Edralin (Ms.)

Yeh's summary presentation is an analysis of the relationship between the characteristics of low-income settlements and improvement strategies in developing countries. He gave several reasons why typologies in themselves do not constitute sufficient grounds for improvement strategies. There is a need to specify the kind of improvement strategies needed -- whether national or locality-based such as slum improvement. Further, there is an intricate relationship between improvement strategies at the national level such as land policies and housing finance, and slum improvement.

- (a) At least 90 per cent of the time, the formulators of the typologies are not the users of the typologies for policy-making purposes. More often than not, typologies are usually formulated by academicians for cross-national comparative research and not so much for operational purposes in a policy context.
- (b) Typological thinking is aesthetic; it does not always call attention to the processes and causes that underline the characteristics that are being categorized. This is not to say that typologies are not useful, but one must not end with typological thinking. From the classification of the characteristics which may be seen as indicators, one must use these indicators in searching for improvement strategies.

Yeh then proceeded to consider some of the well-known typologies, including "slums of hope," "slums of despair," and John Turner's typology of urban transitional settlements (i.e., the "very low-income bridgeheads," the low-income consolidators," and the "middle-income status seekers").

It is quite clear that in order for typologies to operate at a general level, typologies have to be relatively abstract. The more general or abstract the level, the further it is removed from reality. And therefore, if one were to come up with typologies that are highly general, more often than not a great deal of local characteristics

cannot possibly be taken into account. Even Turner's classification which was appropriate in Lima, Peru, may not be applicable in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, or in other countries.

In sum, Yeh stated that typologies are useful but they do not directly or even indirectly perhaps suggest improvement policies.

In the second part of his paper, Yeh suggests that what is probably more useful from policy perspectives is not so much to borrow the existing typologies but to look at the policy and strategy relevance of some selected characteristics of settlements. Generalizations are difficult but one could perhaps say that the variables of the size of settlements, the density, and so forth differ between slums. In planning the improvement strategies, one must take into account certain characteristics at the settlement level, including size, density, contiguity, terrain, location, and land tenure pattern.

The emphasis is on locality-based improvement strategies and not on strategies to improve low-income housing. There are at least three different locality-based strategies:

- (a) One with a social purpose, i.e., slum improvement, with the objective of helping people who live in a particular site;
- (b) One with an economic objective, i.e., economic renewal (e.g., Singapore, Hong Kong, or the Republic of Korea), with the purpose of improving the economic viability of the site;
- (c) One for public works purposes (e.g., klongs or esteros have to be cleared because of the existence of sanitation projects or highways).

In a policy context, there are two ways of using these characteristics, each with different policy implications:

- (a) At the micro-level, the characteristics of settlements are studied very carefully, and depending on what one learns from the characteristics one can suggest or refine the improvement strategies. For example, squatter settlements located along railway lines are usually not suitable for improvement.
- (b) To some people, settlement characteristics are more like symptoms than the cause. They look at the manifest conditions for what these indicate in terms of processes, causations, and problems.

As pointed out in the 1976 United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (Habitat), (UNCHS) meeting, undesirable housing conditions are really the symptoms of something much larger, such as poverty and so on. Therefore, improvement strategies can only be considered if one simultaneously looks at national level policies, because the housing problem is really a problem of poverty and uneven income distribution. At the highest level, unless national level strategies

are formulated, slum improvement represents something more like treating the symptoms than the cause.

In concluding his presentation, Yeh referred to an idea from Alan Gilbert's book. The question is, after all these improvements in policy in a number of countries, are housing conditions in the metropolitan areas improving or deteriorating? The answer depends on how one looks at it. From one point of view, if one takes Bangkok or Manila, as an example, the average population growth is 3 per cent a year, metropolitan population grows at the rate of 5-6 per cent a year, slums and squatter population grows at the rate of 12 per cent a year, and year after year, no matter the magnitude of slum improvements statistics show that things have become worse. Another way is to look at it as a spatial relocation of poverty, i.e., the poor people who came from the countryside into the metropolitan area brought their poverty with them.

DISCUSSION

Two basic questions emerged from Yeh's presentation:

- (1) Typologies and improvement strategies
- (2) Community organization and participation.

Typologies and Improvement Strategies

One view was put forward by James Conner. He said that typology of indigenous self-help housing has the potential for having a significant impact on the policy implementation process, because that typology actually builds into the policy implementation process the values of the target population.

However, Alan Gilbert has pointed out that it may be extraordinarily difficult and risky to generalize about slums and squatter settlements across three major continents and even within individual cities. He said that we should be very wary about saying conditions are not improving without looking at the objective criteria; moreover, we should be very wary of the variations between one place in one continent and another, and indeed between conditions in different cities in one country. He noted that in Latin America people are constantly saying that things are getting worse simply because the proportion of people living in cities is increasing or because of some definition of shanty town areas. But when we look at the objective conditions in Latin American cities at least up to 1980, then we can normally claim that there is no urban crisis. Overcrowding has not worsened and service levels have actually improved because the World Bank and the local polities are improving them.

Roland Fuchs added one point which followed Gilbert's, i.e., we must be careful to separate objective reality from perception. He said that it is important to consider the perception of the longer term residents of the city who are familiar with the overall

conditions of the city and know whether they are improving. He believed that the urban crisis is generated by the increasing flow of Western observers, tourists, and urban housing specialists.

In relation to Fuch's point, Conner made the observation that housing problems could well be about disparity, aspirations, and perceptions. He referred to the results of a survey on housing in Australia which suggest that clearly one's perception of satisfaction is based upon what one can afford and what one's aspirations are.

Clarence Shubert saw the point about being very careful in how we define slums and squatter settlements, because the slums and squatter settlements that are still called such are now fully serviced and stable communities, with rapidly improving housing conditions, as in Indonesia and Thailand. What are defined as slums and squatter settlements in one community or country may be different from another. Shubert went on to say that we should not be the ones to define whether it is a slum, neighbourhood, or community; rather it should be the people that live there and how they feel about it. This also applies to how we approach the problems of the community and how we identify the problems. So we should make sure that when slums and squatters settlements do develop, they develop in ways that are satisfactory to the people who live in them.

R.A. Obudho suggested that in defining and categorizing slums and squatter settlements we should be concerned about the area where the slums and squatter settlements are located, the type of people who stay there, and the type of settlements, particularly in third world countries. He defined urbanization (e.g., in Kenya or Nigeria, as a process of coming from the rural area of one culture and entering a new culture). Comparing the process with medical practice, the urbanization process is a means of improving the system.

Leo Fonseka endorsed this view, saying that urbanization is certainly an improvement process, including relationships of those who are moving into the city because of the prospects. The question is: If people want to get into new relationships within society, what are they looking for, what are these new relationships which will take them to new aspirations? Any response to this question will take into consideration the real articulator or silent needs of the people. Therefore, in discussing typologies for settlement improvement programmes, the needs articulated by the people should be considered.

M. Laique Azam emphasized that the urbanization process has to be seen in a political context and in the context of the sociopolitical situation of the city and power groups. From the Pakistan context, or even India, Sri Lanka, or Bangladesh, the urbanization process (i.e., people coming from rural areas to urban settlements and forming squatter settlements) is often viewed as a clash of culture; however, Azam was inclined to think that it is assimilation, but at the same time it is also diversification. He added that it is not consensus-oriented and sometimes it is very hostile.

In the area of urban settlement improvement strategies, Hidehiko Sazanami pointed out the need to coordinate various existing programmes, to formulate innovative policies based on urban indicators, and to consider not only the social aspects but also the economic aspects of urbanization (e.g., employment opportunities and informal sector activities).

Community Organization and Participation

Conner stated that urbanization is about change and uncertainty, and involves changing and not maintaining the complex bureaucratic structures and value systems. People in squatter settlements may not want to maintain these structures.

Conner considered the concept of participation by slum dwellers in community activities, to achieve social stability and integration with the larger society, to be a somewhat paternalistic and patronizing attitude. He said it may well be that the assumption that they seek social stability is incorrect.

Monday (12 January)

Topic: Land Supply for Low-Income Housing:
Issues and Approaches

Chairperson: Darrundono

Speaker: Paul Baross' paper presented by Ken Lowry

Discussant: Clarence Shubert

Rapporteur: Jo Edralin (Ms.)

Lowry attempted to summarize what he saw as the main points and the logic of Baross' paper. The author calls his paper a radical departure from the orthodox quest of providing either finished housing units or serviced land for low-income families.

Premises on Urban Land Management

Baross begins with three premises:

- (1) Third world cities will grow rapidly in the decades to come.
- (2) The sheer growth of demand on the relatively inelastic supply of urban land inflates land prices without any appreciable investment by landowners.
- (3) The conversion of land from nonurban to urban uses, or the intensification of existing urban uses, is facilitated by public investment in physical and social infrastructure of all kinds.

These conditions, he argues, provide a partial justification for a government role in guiding development, including taxation of windfall profits in order to pay for public infrastructure. Such governmental guidance is rarely successful, he argues, because of the numerous implementation problems, including lack of tools and procedures for land registration, poor tax records, absence of legal frameworks for land acquisition, political manipulation of infrastructure location decisions, frequent violation of planning, zoning, and building by-laws, and others.

However, even more radical interventions have not been successful, he argues. Nationalization of land and large-scale acquisition by government of land such as in Nigeria and India, have frequently resulted in making land available to middle and high income groups but not to low income groups.

Similarly, legal attempts to limit the size of individual land holdings such as the Indian Urban Land Ceiling and Regulation Act have had very limited success.

An alternative approach to land acquisition for development and distribution is to collaborate with owners of agricultural land and the conversion of their property for urban uses by means of guided land development or land pooling and readjustment, such as has been used to some advantage in Australia, Canada, Japan, the Netherlands, Republic of Korea, and Taiwan. He argues that the conceptual appeal of this technique is not only that it can lead to more controlled and planned urban growth, but that the cost of providing roads, public utility networks, and land for social functions can be recovered out of the increased land values generated by government participation in the process. However, it is precisely these land price increases which undermine the credibility of the land pooling technique as a relevant land management tool for low-income housing. He cites some examples of increased land values in the Republic of Korea and Taiwan. These examples, the author states, illustrate the tension between a normative consensus for some kind of governmental role in land management and the practical difficulties of finding appropriate instruments for management. The reason that instruments are slow to emerge is that the task they are expected to achieve is unrealistic.

Alternative Models of Urban Land Development

Implicit in governmental attempts to intervene is the sequence of appropriate steps by which efforts to intervene occurs. He argues that the typical land development sequence is planning, servicing, building, and occupancy (PSBO). This sequence which he calls the model of development assumes that city growth and land use mosaic is planned in advance, preferably integrated with the national urbanization policy and regional development plan. The land parcels designated in the plan will be converted from nonurban to urban uses because of the advanced installation of municipal infrastructure; with the application of micro-scale planning and management tools, zoning, and building controls in particular, the serviced land will be built upon, and ultimately families will come to live as owners or tenants in this built environment.

In practice, he argues, the pattern is entirely different. Low-income families occupy the land; they begin to build structures; they demand services; and governmental attempts to respond to this pattern of occupation and building ultimately is unproductive because typical methods are designed for other land development sequences. This is not to say that the planning, servicing, building, occupancy sequence, or model is inappropriate, rather that it is incidental to management problems that third world cities have to address.

Obstacles to PSBO Type of Development

Seeing this alternative sequence, Baross identifies four sets of obstacles or problems in responding to this sequence. These are:

- (a) access to land (possession)

- (b) access to development rights (tenure)
- (c) access to development assistance (servicing)
- (d) access to development protection (eviction).

He argues that while access to land is usually cited as the most important obstacle that low-income families face, it is not necessarily the case. In most cities, the "informal" supply of land is substantial, whether because of weak or corrupt enforcement officials, because of pirate developers, or whatever. He says that the reality is that the overwhelming majority of these people bought the land that they occupy.

The problem of access to land is not so much the quantity and the price, but the location and the developmental suitability.

Further, he argues that the majority of low-income households who possess land parcels in the cities do not have development rights. Purchasing land from pirate or corrupt officials does not confer development rights. Lack of development rights means that eviction or demolition is always a potential problem faced by low-income dwellers.

Probably the more serious problem is that without development rights there is no access to services.

Malawi and Colombia are examples of countries where development standards have been reduced for new urban development in order to increase the accessibility of legally developed land to low-income families.

Plots without infrastructure are now offered in Tanzania and Sudan for self-help builders and housing cooperatives.

In Indonesia, a policy of "guided development," not yet at the implementation state, is designed to facilitate the continued evolution or traditional kampongs.

Tenure legalization programmes in Peru, Turkey, and Pakistan are examples of providing development assistance. The exceptions are Indonesia and Colombia.

In Karachi, Baross suggests there is nongovernmental organization which works with a population of about 800,000 people in developing low-cost sanitation and drainage solutions which would be built and financed by the residents.

In conclusion, Baross argues that recognizing this alternative sequence of development (i.e., the PSBO sequence) and devising economically, legally, and institutionally appropriate tools of response will be a challenge to urban planners and managers in the future. And he suggests that recent experiences with "urban amnesty," with "settlement improvement" and "neighbourhood development" schemes are the forerunners of these tools.

Shubert's Comment

Shubert's critique of Baross' paper centred on five issues:

- (1) Shubert had questioned Baross' second argument -- that the increased value of land will accrue to those who have capital or access to capital. It is possible, though highly unusual, that those with capital and access to capital (financial) do not necessarily control urban land (though they usually do). But there are a few instances, for example in Malaysia, where there are the so-called Malay preserves, with two groups having some influence -- the Chinese have financial capital while the Malays have control over land. Probably most of these problems might be overcome by using front men so that in fact capital might control the land. But there might be cases where control over land could be separated from control of capital.
- (2) With regards to Baross' point that the way to overcome some of the problems is to make ownership and control socially responsible either by socializing land in urban areas, by more equitable distribution of land, or by more equitable distribution of increased value as a result of public action; however, it is clear that these approaches do not work out very well. Examples show that the agency that is to bring about this greater equity (i.e., the government) is also controlled by the very people who own the land and own the capital; therefore, they are not likely to seriously damage their own interests by imposing some laws and regulations which cannot be bypassed, if it would mean actually having to redistribute their wealth or land.
- (3) Regarding Baross' juxtaposition of the two approaches (i.e., what he calls the PSBO model which is the traditional approach to traditional planning of urban development vs. the OBSP model), it is obviously an oversimplification for several reasons. The stages are not discrete and separate stages, nor are they always sequential; therefore, they are used as a device to shock us a bit, to make us start thinking about things in a different way. As a device for doing that, it was quite effective. In Shubert's own experience, it was useful because he had previously thought in somewhat vague terms about a technocratic, physical development approach vs. a humanistic community development approach. This way of looking at it in terms of the sequence of processes helps him think more clearly about his own definitions of these two approaches. In previous meetings concerned about this research project, they came up with a notion about different management approaches or management style, one being provider of services which follows the process of PSBO model vs. the facilitator of services which follows the OBPS approach. This distinction between provider vs. facilitator led to a lot of insights in terms of how one approaches the problems of urban

development and urban services for the poor, where most of them have already occupied the city and one has to catch up in servicing.

Baross documented the failure or the lack of adequacy of the PSBO approach in different countries and pointed out their relative success at least in terms of the expansion of the areas which were occupied and built before they were serviced. That approach which is normally termed slums and squatter settlements has been quite successful in terms of its quantitative role. Baross postulates that the reason why the occupancy and building before servicing and planning model dominates in third world cities is because of economics. Economic studies show that 50-80 per cent of the population cannot afford the standard housing units that are being produced. This is a bit too simple. There is an interrelationship between the economic situation and the planning standards and policies. If planning standards and policies are adapted to the situation of the economy, in fact the other approach could also work. It is just that it is seldom adopted because the planning standards and policies are based upon the perceptions and the aspirations of the planners who are upper and middle class people. So therefore those standards almost never get adapted to the realities of the poor. For example, in the Republic of Korea and Malaysia where some work had been done, there are still a lot of squatters and slums. In the circumstances of their income levels there is really no reason why there should be slums and squatters in those countries, except that the policies and standards create them -- and it is not all an economic issue in this regard. One can even go to other countries with much lower income levels and argue the same thing successfully.

- (4) Regarding access to land, Baross distinguished between access to occupancy vs. access to tenure security, access to development assistance, and access to development protection. These four categories should be further simplified down to three -- access to occupancy of land, access to tenure security, and access to services. The access to development protection is the same thing as tenure; therefore, we can eliminate that last category without damaging it. These categories relate right back to the PSBO business, and these accesses are part of the problem of carrying out these functions. What Baross left out is that planning is the process of legitimizing the way in which people build and occupy land. This may be a very peculiar definition of planning by professional planners, but the net result of planning is that it legitimizes.
- (5) Shubert's last point is that it is useful in the PSBO model to try to closely link planning and servicing, and building and occupancy as there is a strong linkage between these stages. The real problem is that governments fear that if

we (the planners) allow building and occupancy, this will encourage further occupancy of land (squatting), and if we allow or encourage servicing, this will create legitimacy; so therefore we should not service. So we see ourselves placed in a dilemma where people who should be legitimizing and supporting the poor feel that they cannot because it will further encourage people to squat and occupy other land. However, hardly anyone comes to the rural areas because there is a great place to squat in the city. They come because of jobs and possibly to get education for their children. And therefore, to support people who have occupied land does not in any way exacerbate the problem of irregular urbanization but merely helps to resolve that problem which will persist in any case.

Monday (12 January)

Topic: Forms and Effectiveness of Community Participation in Squatter Settlements

Chairperson: Darrundono

Speaker: Alan Gilbert

Discussant: Dietrich Thranhardt

Rapporteur: Aminta Lara-Peters (Ms.)

The discussant expressed great sympathy with what he referred to as the realistic tone of Gilbert's critique of the concept of community participation. He particularly agreed with Gilbert's criticism of the loose way in which the ideal of participation is used even to implement repressive policies. He also emphasized Gilbert's point that participation and self-help should not be used to rationalize the monopoly of resources by the upper and middle classes. The various interests of the different participants must be taken into account, it was pointed out, as effective participation may increasingly be incorporated by the owners rather than the tenants. Accentuating this, it was stated, it might be preferable to put the idea of collective self-help and association at some distance from government experience, models, programmes, and so on, and to argue that governments refrain from too much intervention when they can neither provide (or want to provide) adequate funding nor have clearly defined concepts. To illustrate this point, the discussant mentioned the case of homes sometimes being demolished in Turkish cities when at the same time the city did not conform to its own development plans.

Regarding the problems of responsiveness on part of the governing bodies, the various kinds of legalization have been a quid pro quo, e.g., votes in return for land titles, water supply, etc. So it was felt that a programmatic attitude on squatter associations may be more important as an end in itself than what social scientists observe. An ability for collective action was of course pointed out as a precondition for this.

Most observers are impressed with the abilities and energies of squatters groups, the discussant said, and here again Gilbert made a decisive point by emphasizing the central issues behind squatter activities. The point was brought up that squatter participation has a life cycle, such as the settlement phase, the service phase, and the improvement phase. At the later stages, it was said that a lot depends on the administrative and political culture of the given country. Finally, it was pointed out that a lot can be learned from comparative research, such as the structure and function of the traditional self-help kind of organization found in Japan, called iichikai, which is of current interest in Europe.

Objection was voiced on Gilbert's critique of community participation on the grounds that "it is like turning the clock back" on what has been achieved up to now. The Lima and Guayaquil experiences in community participation were said to have basically motivated Asia to think about participation during the last fifteen years, and successful case study examples were upheld as evidence that people can get together and accomplish wonders which government and the formal systems can never dream of. When people get involved in the planning process and come to understand the process itself, it has been observed that people start realizing the limitations of the government, its limited resources, and come up with their own ideas and solutions.

It was also pointed out that people's participation does not disregard professional needs, but rather, many of the tasks could not have been accomplished without the people bringing the technicians and/or professionals onto the scene. To look at meetings in the way suggested was felt to be mistaken, and a cautionary note was sounded on the criticisms raised about participation. It was felt that participation cannot be systematized because it is not a system. If communities want to participate, it was felt that they should indeed be helped to understand that they need to be consulted about their attitudes, needs, and aspirations.

Regarding Gilbert's point about squatter settlement tenants and owners, 90 per cent of squatter dwellers in Pakistan were said to be owners. It was believed that community participation as so far discussed here has been misunderstood, for the definition of a squatter settlement is a tangible expression of people's participation. This was said to be so in Pakistan, where despite the availability of housing loans, 37 per cent of the people in Karachi who live in squatter settlements do not take loans but through their own efforts build their own houses, thus reducing the government's burden.

It was emphasized that we need to understand community participation from the community's point of view, from the point of view of the people who work together to do things for themselves through their own efforts without the government's help or resources. In rural Africa, it was said, people have been participating in building their own houses, and as people move into the urban areas they continue to participate in building slum squatter settlements without help from anybody. What people in Kenya have asked the government to do is to stop providing housing for government employees, because if they themselves who are poor are able to provide housing for themselves, surely government workers must be able to do so too. However, can it be expected of poor people in urban squatter areas to improve a settlement if they do not own the land? It was said that if poor people were given a plot of land, we would then be able to see real participation.

Gilbert's presentation was complimented on being a stimulating one. The Peruvian experience, however, was said to have considerably improved as far as community participation is concerned. This sponta-

neous kind of participation was said to be an ever-evolving process that has its historical roots, and is based on the need to work together in self-help tasks; later, when the government entered into the picture and tried to promote participation in every field, it killed people's initiative through its strong manipulative interventions. The most recent experience in Peru is sort of a joint venture relationship between local people's interests and government against the motion of popular action in big areas or groups. It was pointed out that this ongoing process is more complex than that presented by Gilbert. The evolution of relationships between people and government has in different ways evolved into different forms of participation. It is important to try to understand how participation has evolved in one situation in order to ascertain its relevance to other situations and as a way of developing new ideas in policymaking.

The Japanese experience in community participation was briefly mentioned. After the Second World War, it is said, the government instituted a relatively attractive lifestyle for the people. As more than 90 per cent of the people desired such a way of life, it was a costly package which nevertheless was successful because of Japan's rapid economic development. This was said to have its negative consequences, such as undermining the power of the *jichikai* (community self-help organizations) mentioned earlier by the discussant. It was pointed out that what makes community participation strong in Japan is that action is based on land tenure, mainly from the position of landownership. In squatter areas in developing countries, however, the threat of eviction was felt to make it difficult for people to participate. Therefore, it was concluded that migration, land shortage, land tenure, participation, and so forth, seem to constitute part of the same problem.

Gilbert's reply: Gilbert initiated his response by stating that it is already symptomatic that participation is being discussed in very different ways than he had intended. The idea that obviously self-help settlements have been built by the people themselves was considered a worthwhile comment. But it was pointed out that what is considered "community participation" in one context may not be considered so in another, as the family relationships which normally provide such a function do not exist. What has happened is that all of those individuals have built their own houses; so it really amounts to individual self-help and not community participation *per se*. This results in very different linkages, i.e., linkages between individuals. Indeed, one of the biggest problems is getting those individuals to work out or develop their own interests towards their own community's physical improvement, that is, to actually work together for the improvement of their community. Were it not for the participation of the people, Gilbert said, there would be no community at all. He pointed out that moreover, this kind of individual self-help does not constitute actual participation as discussed in his paper. The Pakistani example seemed an exception.

SESSION 2

Monday (12 January)

Topic: Shelter and Services for the Poor in Karachi
Chairperson: Hidehiko Sazanami
Speaker: M. Laique Azam
Discussant: Jaime Tan
Rapporteur: Aminta Lara-Peters (Ms.)

According to the discussant, the speaker presented a good review of the policies regarding land and the urban poor in Pakistan, and the central argument in the paper was substantiated by what was discussed in the papers presented earlier. Azam also discussed what was said in Paul Baross' paper about the type of occupancy, the building, and then the responsiveness of that type of model. The discussant pointed out that at the same time, however, this particular project reflects a lack of policies on the part of the government regarding such matters. It seemed like the project was looking at the macro-level looking at the symptoms, he said, and in no way is any relationship between the particular project and the macro level indicated; in other words, the characteristics of this particular slum are merely seen as symptoms of larger problems in the society and present difficulties with linkages between the macro- and micro-levels.

Another difficulty pointed out is the extent to which people's capacity can be built up, given Pakistan's current sociopolitical structure. The paper was said to not have described this point sufficiently enough to guide us to the extent that this process is genuinely developing people's participation in improving slums and squatter settlements.

The project described was rather thought to be a kind of community organization for people to accept a certain "product," and nowhere does the paper say that the people were really involved in the planning or that they were involved at all in the design of this particular project. In a sense, although Azam was able to show great improvements that were accomplished under this project, this was mainly done through a "soft-sell" or form of "social marketing" by the community organizers who are well-integrated with the community. It was pointed out that what was lacking was that the community could have designed their own type of sanitation system or planned it together rather than merely accepting a certain commodity.

The paper was felt to be too United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) oriented. In fact, it was stated that it seemed that the whole project was designed by UNICEF to cater to the needs of the community. In this regard, reference was made to page 78 of Azam's

paper which reads: "We are satisfied ..." and the comment was made that "We" could very well be referring to UNICEF's or the programme implementor's satisfaction with what was happening. But, it was asked, to what extent was there the same degree of satisfaction on the part of the participants in the project. It was felt that more could have been described about the process along these lines.

It was noted that young people play a significant, active role in community participation and organization. But their real success in launching a project or convincing other people to accept it through their own leadership, to the point that they would be able to bring it to another town, was questioned. It was pointed out that Azam did not discuss what factors, aside from the face to face communication, the immersion of the programme implementors, and the indication of the community organizing made it possible to initiate other projects like literacy and primary health care. It was believed that it would have been more instructive had the reason for, and extent of, participation been explained, and related to the real objectives of the young people responsible for promoting it, in terms of the entire current political situation in Pakistan.

The questions raised in pages 101-11 were said to emerge from the more programmatic concerns of the three projects carried out, i.e., the sanitation system, literacy, and primary health care. Although these questions were really meant to stimulate discussion, it was thought that some of them would not have been raised had more social investigation and data gathering been done on what were truly the needs and demands of that particular community.

Finally, the discussant brought up the point that it is equally essential in such programmes and projects to discuss the costs involved, not necessarily of the entire project, but at least the cost per household, including, management and other factors which are considered to have helped the internal managers with the planning of the project.

On the question of how this project relates to the macro- issues of development in Karachi and Pakistan in general, it was said that this has been a concern with UNICEF for some time now. And such a concern will be addressed at UNICEF's upcoming meeting in Pakistan on the policies of integrated urban development. This same project will be presented at this meeting as an example of one way that services can be provided in these communities, but it was said that this should not be seen as the only way. In the context of Pakistan, however, where because of the nature of the government and the situation in general, there are constraints on the government's ability to organize communities, the role of nongovernment organizations (NGOs) has become increasingly important; these NGOs have become a kind of technical service organization to help other communities organize similar kinds of projects and act as a consultant to the government as a training institution. The hope was expressed that this role will eventually generate a more general approach to working in slums (Katchi abadees) in Karachi. One aspect about this that is very important was said to be the linkage between NGOs and community organizations which are also

nongovernmental, and government organizations, and how they can interlink and support each other to bring about services improvements, be it sanitation, education, health, or housing. Their interlinkages and the roles that each of them can play more effectively were said to be issues that are more generally applicable to the meeting's discussions.

The question was asked in what cities around the world are poor people allowed to invade or squat on land? This was considered critical because if there is squatter land it means that squatters do not have to pay out a large sum in deposits. If this is so in Karachi, it was thought to be unusual under a military dictatorship. Except for Lima in the 1940s, it was pointed out that in Latin American countries under military dictatorship, no planning committee has properly dealt with the issue of "invasions". The question emerged what this might have to do with the land tenure situation and the alternatives on the value of land available. For example, in the case of Lima, the invasions took place in barren, desert-like lands without access to water. Is this perhaps also the case in Karachi, it was asked? It was felt that this was a critical point in understanding the success of self-help participation. In a city like Bogotá, Colombia, for instance, people must pay large sums of money to buy a plot of land which is illegal and unserviced. It was pointed out that this slows down the whole process of self-help participation. It was asked whether the success in Karachi might have to do with this kind of land invasion process. Finally, the question was raised whether there is any problem with population density in Karachi, as in other cities in developing countries.

Azam's reply: On the question of linkages between the micro- and macro- or overall context, Azam said that the question of linking has to do with political will and with those institutions that look into aspects of society where the requirement is very intense. Pilot projects, we were reminded, are by nature experimental and to test or basically to build a comprehensible theory.

He said that if a project is implemented successfully and if implementation methodology is also involved, then the role of national institutions comes in to accept and absorb those philosophies, approaches, programmes, and mechanisms in the overall national context. These grass-root level experiments have worked, he said, and it is now up to the administrator, the planner, and the politician to accept them.

On the question of the national political situation in Pakistan and other developing countries, it was pointed out that neither the scholar, nor the grass-root worker, or the implementor have an effective direct role to play. The important roles are rather played out by people who are in very high political positions.

On the point about "social marketing" or preparing people to accept a programme or project, Azam partially agreed that initially it was a sanitation project which involved people accepting a certain design which was considered to be durable. People complained about

the local type of soak pit that they had which had many disadvantages, and sought technical expertise for an improved model. It amounted to a kind of upgrading. Then, Azam said, it was through the ingenuity and innovativeness of the organizers of the project that other programmes emerged out of this sanitation project, i.e., the initial plan for education, the health care and income-generating plan, and the overall enhancement of people's consciousness.

On the question of the land situation, Azam outlined three basic patterns of squatting in Karachi.

- (1) The mass invasion pattern, typically found in Peru, Brazil, and Mexico, where there is indeed vast state lands. Some activist organizer discovers it and organizes a plan to invade it on some auspicious national day; he is the organizer, initiator, and administrator of this land invasion, and his interest is to become the social leader of this settlements;
- (2) The collusion pattern of invasion can also be found in Karachi, where there are periodic clashes between the local authorities, like the police, and the local musclemen of the settlement to sell and resell the same land at a very low price over and over again in conniving complicity; and
- (3) The cohort pattern of land invasion involves a "milkman" who invades a piece of land and invites a number of people to come live alongside of him, initially free, but once twenty to thirty, persons have settled, he extracts a low fee. The state does not intervene in such a case, but if so, it does so at the lower levels through the local administration in order to extract money by way of bribes, corruption, and so forth.

Regarding the expansion and density of population in Karachi, Azam stated that yes, it is very high and expected to increase in the future.

Monday (12 January)

Topic: Shelter and Urban Services for the Poor in Metropolitan Bangkok

Chairperson: Hidehiko Sazanami

Speaker: Suchitra P. Bhakdi (Ms.)

Discussant: Steven Kelman

Rapporteur: Jim Goater

This presentation was divided into four parts, which the speaker began by delineating:

- (a) Brief description of current situation concerning Bangkok's slums and squatter settlement;
- (b) Problems and issues arising therefrom;
- (c) Strategies to tackle these problems; and
- (d) Is it possible to have innovative housing policies?

Bangkok has one-fifth of its population in substandard housing, which amounts to about 1 million people. The World Health Organization (WHO) defined substandard housing as housing which could be grouped into seven categories, all included in the paper. There is an important distinction to be made between slums and squatter settlements in Thailand. The latter group is ineligible to receive urban services -- legally (i.e., medical, sanitation, or education). Inhabitants circumvent this unofficially with access to water and/or electricity running as high as 90 per cent. Bangkok Metropolitan Administration (BMA) grants licenses to some people who are otherwise not entitled to receive services, thus enabling them to send their children to school or to receive some other service.

Of the areas defined as "slum and squatter settlements" only one-sixth are squatter settlements -- slums, therefore are considerably more prevalent (83 to 17 per cent). Squatter settlements exist on government-owned land and public property, making the issue a political one, i.e., what right do public agencies have to appropriate land and then do nothing with it? The speaker notes that the largest squatter settlement in Bangkok, population 5,000, is far smaller than other countries' urban squatter areas.

How poor are urban squatter/slum dwellers? The speaker's conclusion is that these people are not necessarily poorer than people who live elsewhere in the city. Referring to income levels, it was noted that there was not a great deal of difference in income levels with other groups, 24 per cent of the population below the poverty line, but only 4 per cent in Bangkok. Squatters are poorer, generally, than

slum dwellers and are insecure by not owning the land on which they live.

What is the most serious deficiency? Water and electricity are not serious problems, neither is health care. Improper drainage perhaps constitutes the principal problem, along with inefficient garbage collection. Resultant flooding is particularly serious for the poor. Most urban dwellers suffer floods, but vulnerable groups lack the ability to recover following inundation.

Moving on to the second section of the paper, the speaker posed the questions, "What problems are we talking about?" and, "How do we define the problems?"

Focusing principally on squatters rather than slum dwellers, it was noted that what strategies should be adopted very much depends on what problems are defined. If the problem is seen mainly as one of drainage, then strategies will be adopted, based thereupon. The speaker believed "political will" was perhaps a fundamental problem, i.e., whose land is it? All agencies felt helpless, due to the political nature of the problem. An illustrative example from Klong Thuey was used to back up this point, but nothing was done. The land tenure issue in the speaker's opinion remains the most perplexing.

Slum improvement has a very low priority. The national government regards the problem as a local one -- for the BMA, in fact, between 1984/86 there was no budget allocation. However large numbers of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) are tackling fundamental problems -- which raises the question of how coherent, innovative policies can be implemented in such a situation? BMA currently has nineteen social workers in the squatter areas, chronic understaffing. Its budget is smaller than the Bangkok Electrical Authority.

Nevertheless, the speaker felt that although no striking success stories were evident and that Thailand remained a poor country, on a cumulative level, all these small efforts were showing signs of success in terms of health levels, education, income levels, etc., and that current efforts were headed in the right direction. This concluded the presentation.

Discussion

Steven Kelman, as discussant, delivered a few comments from a self-professed "outsider's perspective." He was surprised by the fact, contained in the paper, that only 23 per cent of slum/squatter settlement dwellers describe themselves as being "poor," also by the fact that average tenure is eighteen years. Squatter housing sometimes exceeded the National Housing Authority size specifications. The rest of Kelman's comments focused on the case study of Klong Thuey (not included in the oral presentation). The study indicated that people subject to resettlement programmes, from this squatter area, ended up worse than before, i.e., lack of proximity to work, rent payment, unappreciated services. Thus his conclusion was that the

relocation policy was unsuccessful. Here, the speaker interjected stating that on the whole people preferred to relocate, gaining security of tenure. The discussant reiterated his impression that a fairly negative view of the process was evident in the paper. The increase in economic opportunities was noted, resulting from relocation; in fact, the illegal reselling of relocation rights was prevalent. A final point centred on the nature of the government agencies which are implementing these policies. Questions arose as to what kind of people staff them -- idealist or exploiters, and how can organizations be made to work better.

The chairperson requested supplementary comments from Pralom Sakutanaga, Deputy Permanent Secretary of State, Bangkok Metropolitan Administration. The BMA had to provide social improvement, not physical improvement. It was also to encourage self-help programmes. She also noted that the Klong Thuey slum improvement project was generally outside the jurisdiction of her agency and fell within United Nations Children's Fund's (UNICEF's) brief, as that organization was running the project. In terms of social improvements, there was not only the Government Department of Social Welfare but other departments, such as the Department of Health. Thus health workers can be the 'spearhead' of improvement measures; notifying other agencies of areas of need. World Bank loans are utilized for construction of high standards. Can the BMA cope with the economically sinking city? Ms. Bhakdi stated that this was a citywide problem, not just slum/squatter settlement problem. Questions arose from the floor on the following topics:

Regarding the National Housing Authority standards, clarification was sought concerning the speaker's assertion that standards are too high. Was the paper referring to slum improvement standards or public housing standards?

The speaker denied the assertion; further points from the same questioner (Steven Yeh) concerned the Thai government's commitment to slum improvement -- he believed it has never been very high e.g., there was always political reasoning, and also a consistent reliance on World Bank loans by the NHA. However, ceilings for loans recently have been brought in, entailing an uncertain future for slum improvement programmes.

Fuchs stated that a picture was emerging of governments that were simply not working for the people. Governments are placing more emphasis on increased economic opportunities than physical improvements. For example, educational facilities are limited, and that in itself is a block to further economic opportunity.

The speaker's response first tackled the limited educational opportunity point. Agreeing that this constituted a constraint, she outlined training programmes which had failed. It was also stated that slum improvement has never been of high priority. Sights and services programmes have not worked; the latest NHA approach, "land pasharing" whereby sub-let land is utilized, has shifted emphasis

since responsibility for slum improvement now rests with the BMA. The Community Improvement Programme has a more secure financial base.

"Slum dwellers can deliver votes." This response concluded with an account of the political complexity of the situation, Shubert added a note, observing that although it was agreed that slum improvement generally had low government priority -- most slums/squatter settlements had rudimentary services. Drainage was a citywide problem, while garbage collection was poor largely because of access, but water, electricity, and health care all had reasonable levels of coverage. This concluded the session's first presentation.

Monday (12 January)

Topic: Shelter and Basic Urban Services in Colombo
Chairperson: Hidehiko Sazanami
Speaker: Susil Sirivardana
Discussant: Dietrich Thranhardt
Rapporteur: Jim Goater

The Housing and Urban Development Programme is the second leading development strategy in Sri Lanka. In 1978, the Hundred Thousand Houses Programme (HTHP) was begun in the hopes that by 1983, a hundred thousand new houses would be built, with 30,600 units being occupied by the lower income groups. Although not all units were constructed, in 1982 the housing focus began to shift towards low cost housing projects for low-income groups.

The Slum and Shanty Upgrading Programme (SSU) which was implemented from 1978-84, was developed for the urban inhabitants. Since most of the slums and shanties are concentrated in Colombo, the SSU programme was mainly targeted here. Among the strategies employed by SSU are the following:

- permanent upgrading,
- temporary upgrading,
- relocation within site, and
- relocation to alternative site.

Pricing was given to areas considered to be the worst, and the strategies most frequently employed and preferred, were the upgrading programmes.

The most important achievements of SSU were:

- (1) The approval of a programme granting forty-year leasehold rights to shanty dwellers in selected areas.
- (2) The approval of a programme granting five-year renewable tenants' rights to non-nationals
- (3) The successful implementation of Pilot Projects which used a methodology of upgrading.
- (4) The declaration of low income areas as Special Project Areas, thus providing them with their own building regulations and guidelines.
- (5) The acceptance of a policy preferring upgrading to removal.

- (6) The implementation of the Project Environment Health and Community Development in Slums and Shanties in Colombo city, which reached 13,000 families.

The HTHP accounted for as much as 14 per cent of general public investment and unseen access to housing. Based on the experience of HTHP the Million Houses Programme (1984-93) was evolved. Four per cent of the annual public investment is to go towards housing and 8 per cent towards water supply and drainage.

There was a shift in state housing policy; provide-based housing was replaced by support-based housing in the Million Houses Programme (MHP). The state would now utilise mainstream traditions of building and housing, thus overcoming constraining official building standards. Among several strategies the state now intended to employ are the following:

- Minimal intervention and maximum support by the state;
- The creation, by the state, of opportunities in order to strengthen the existing mainstream;
- Cost effectiveness and maximum uses of scarce resources;
- The decentralization of management and decision making; and
- Delivery of serviced land as opposed to delivery of homes.

Two of the six sub-programmes which make up MHP are the Rural Housing Sub-Programme (RHSP) and the Urban Housing Sub-Programme (UHSP). The two offer access to loans, basic amenities, and other resources not easily obtainable. Support-based housing, where the urban poor are encouraged to develop their own housing, is now a frequently used strategy, established through Community Development Councils.

Monday (12 January)

Topic: Shelter and Services for the Poor in Metropolitan Manila

Chairperson: Hidehiko Sazanami

Speaker: Asteya M. Santiago (Ms.)

Discussant: Stephen H.K. Yeh

Rapporteur: Kenji Oya

Presentation by A.M. Santiago was broadly divided into three parts:

- (1) A brief summary of highlights of urban growth in Metro Manila;
- (2) A case study of an upgrading project site in Manila; and
- (3) A summary of observations and conclusions of the case study.

After a brief presentation on the demographic trends of Metro Manila, the administrative framework of the region and the locational dimension of urban growth, housing policy in Metro Manila was reviewed. The speaker noted that each evolution of the housing policy has been the output of the following factors:

- (1) Practical considerations which were derived from its actual experience;
- (2) Requirements of its commitment to international organizations, like the World Bank; and
- (3) Overall national policies and priorities; e.g., (i) the importance being placed on community participation having been enshrined in the proposed constitution of 1986; (ii) heavy social justice orientation; and (iii) a more comprehensive approach to development which affects not only the urban areas but even the rural regions.

Insofar as the institution for delivery of housing and related social services is concerned, it was pointed out that Metro Manila is atypical in the sense that there is another layer of authority, i.e., the Metro Manila Commission which is not present in other urban areas nationwide. But with the possible approval of the proposed constitution, proliferation of such a metropolitan government might take place all over the country.

With his brief introductory remarks, the speaker proceeded to the explanation of her case study area (San Martin de Porres in Cubao, Quezon City) which is one of the 13 settlement upgrading project sites

sponsored by the World Bank. The project site is both typical and atypical of the 13 projects sites being upgraded by the National Housing Authority (NHA). It is atypical in the sense that it may not be replicated in any other part of the country for financial constraints and also because of change of housing thrusts. It is typical in the sense that its development has taken place in accordance with the book, such as the NHA manual, the World Bank requirements, and the NHA's code of policies.

The case study is considered to be a showcase of issues and problems that arise in the process of implementing a settlement upgrading project. The distinctive features of the case study project are as follows:

- (1) In terms of land acquisition, attention should be given to the fact that it is in this area that the NHA had the most expeditious type of land acquisition because they had to deal with only one landowner, instead of having to deal with fragmented ownership which is the case in most of the ZIP sites;
- (2) The case study project site is an area where there was active community participation, although it did not necessarily measure up to the expectation of the housing authority;
- (3) In the field of services delivery, it is atypical in the sense that, being located in the heart of a thriving community, it was not necessary to introduce all the generally required components of other upgrading projects. For instance, the livelihood component, which would have allowed loans to resident beneficiaries, did not receive as much attention as it did in other project sites, simply because (i) there were other options available in the commercial areas nearby, and (ii) the process of loan application was too cumbersome.

Concluding remarks made by the speaker were as follows:

CONCLUSIONS

1. The Philippine case study presentation of the transformation of an upgraded site from an unplanned area with a reputation for being a "Second Tondo" because of its environmental and socioeconomic conditions, into a vibrant community which hardly carries any trace of its notorious origin but had blended well with the thriving commercial area can be considered a measure of the success of this particular upgrading programme. Across the 12 other ZIP sites, this has been more or less the situation. This becomes no mean feat when viewed against the tremendous financial, sociocultural and political obstacles that the housing authorities had to cope with.

2. Financial constraints are something that may be considered common and obvious among developing countries that they may not therefore be worth repeating. However, in the case of the Philippines whose economy has been punished with severe inflation and substantial flight of capital, even the basic issue of priority to be accorded to housing has become a controversy that had to be raised time and again. It has also become a major element in assessing the opportunities for further outside financial assistance to housing even if the very usefulness of such assistance may not remain questioned.
3. Political intervention and pressure may likewise be dismissed as a factor that is an inevitable component of the macro-environment for housing in any developing country. However when this factor becomes a major determinant in some of the more critical housing policy decisions to be made and has caused confusion and uncertainty in the directions to be followed, then, it becomes a matter that deserves more than cursory attention, this becomes more significant to consider when inevitably, it affects and modifies to a large extent the people's sociocultural behaviour. A critical housing agency like the NHA, for instance which had to undergo changes in the thrusts of its mandate, not because existing developments so validly demanded, but because it was more politically desirable, would readily agree with such an observation. The fact too that these housing programmes took place during a period when a display of general public support and acceptance of the government was a major concern not only for local but also international consumption had incalculable effects on policies affecting the urban poor which constitute the bulk of the mass base. That this segment of the population had suffered the confusing pull and push in many directions, from the ever present legal threat of eviction to some form of moratorium later on, from a "land to the landless programme" to an aborted effort to shift to leasehold of all public lands, from being coddled, to being disciplined would show to what extent politics had made its presence noticeably visible in the housing arena, and to what extent it had influenced sociocultural behaviour, especially among the urban poor.
4. Having laid the groundwork, it becomes easier and more feasible to examine the country's experience in the delivery of housing and related support services. The country had, in the tradition of other developing countries which had relied on substantial outside financial assistance evolved housing policies that are partly its own making based on its own indigenous experience and perception of the various components of this service and partly in response to its international commitments.
5. From a simple, even simplistic and fragmented approach to housing needs such as shelter production to a more comprehensive and holistic strategy of "community building," involving socioeconomic engineering, the shelter service had found a parallel need for the involvement of not just the housing agency but the whole spectrum of government line ministries in charge of

what has now become indispensable components of housing delivery -- the ministries of public works, social services, the economic agencies too. It was inevitable that the difficult aspect of coordination of efforts and the synchronization of what otherwise are independent programmes and budgets had to come in. To a government that has only been recently making headway in the "comprehensive approach" to development, it was understandable that the same problems confronting the other government programmes would otherwise affect housing. Thus the San Martin de Porres case study shared with other ZIP programmes this problem of delineating and firming up of roles and commitment of a number of government agencies at various stages of the execution of housing programme.

6. The livelihood component of the ZIP programme, for instance, which was indispensable for making the residents not only productive but to improve his affordability level involve not one or two but, for a real "comprehensive strategy" possibly a dozen agencies including the private sector. For the livelihood component involves not just financing, but technology development and transfer, skills training, and marketing and advertizing. These agencies may be easily identified but may not be as easily tapped or snatched away from their long-term commitments of manpower and finances to other programmes. Their primarily sectoral orientation also may not be that easily shifted to a comprehensive one which demands concurrent activities and sharing of the decision making and planning and programming activities. This also indicates many areas for training involving not just the residents (from new skills and craftsmanship to acquiring business sense and ability for responsive decision making) but also of the involved government agencies and the private sector.
7. Community participation had also gained headway in a country where in the past, it involved passive acceptance of information and decision preconceived if not already predetermined. A more meaningful involvement not only of the targetted beneficiaries but also the concerned populace in general has now moved on from being merely paid lip service to an aspiration that has become a concrete reality where more importantly, the institutions and processes have already been put in place. All it requires now is for this community participation to be sustained beyond the period when major individual and community concerns have been satisfied.
8. Exclusively from the viewpoint of the paper writer, the major contribution of what this case study included and failed to include would be to indicate what efforts of the government it is representative of. For simplicity, I have summarized them as follows:
 - (a) A serious and genuine effort although perhaps not necessarily effective at alleviating the plight of the urban poor through various programmes -- from provision of housing to sites and services to resettlement. In the process of

executing these programmes it has supported the related government effort of stemming and regulating the tide of urban migration which exacerbates the housing problem by assisting in the "return to the rural areas" movement, complemented by its regional housing efforts.

- (b) Adoption of a comprehensive and total approach to housing which also manifests a radical shift from the very strong emphasis on the physical component to the equally important aspect of restoring dignity and self-worth to erstwhile dependents of society, by fostering social interaction and integration with the mainstream of regular settlements and by making them economically productive members of society, sharing with the government the responsibilities for providing them with their basic needs.
- (c) Continuing effort at reorganizing the institutional machinery and procedure for implementing the housing programme characterized by strengthened functional linkages, coordinated delivery of complementary services and a more synchronized timetable and budget for execution of relevant sectoral programmes.
- (d) A serious commitment to maximizing community or citizen participation in all major decisions by enshrining this in the proposed Constitution of 1986 and Government code which govern the operation of local governments. For this purpose, among others, it has proposals for community self-help projects modifying its community-based structure by shifting from a leader-based to mass-based community participation.
- (e) Major efforts at training and retraining programmes involving the following:
 - (1) Training in management of housing programmes involving its staff;
 - (2) Training in community leadership and mobilization;
 - (3) Training in management of medium and small-scale business;
 - (4) Training in acquisition of new skills by resident beneficiaries.
- (f) Conduct of continuing studies on the following:
 - (1) Alternative land tenure schemes;
 - (2) Alternative land acquisition schemes;
 - (3) Review of programme administration;

- (4) Improved and realistic regulation and design standards appropriate to low-cost housing and upgraded settlements.

The past decade has shown the tenacity of the housing bureaucracy to survive against all odds which can be safely said to be peculiar to the country. It is expected that the next decade would provide the opportunity not only to hurdle but to reverse these odds in favour of better housing provision for the country's urban poor.

Discussion:

Stephen H.K. Yeh, as discussant, commented on Santiago's presentation by sharing her optimism, especially in light of the current changes of government, and hope for the future, but also expressed his concern that the carrying capacity/financial capacity of the government to undertake the huge scope of housing projects may not be rosy in the foreseeable future. He argued that given the external debt situation of the Philippines, coupled with the current policy priorities for economic growth, financial resources required for housing projects may not readily be made available.

Secondly, he raised a question concerning the National Confederation of the Urban Poor which was referred to in Santiago's paper, particularly in terms of its overall objectives, its relation to slum improvement programme in Metro Manila, and whether it has something to do with an earlier movement initiated to organize politically and socially the residents of squatter settlements into a united front as a political force.

The third point raised by the discussant concerned the NHA's site selection criteria for slum improvement. As in the case of Bangkok, one of the determining factors for site selection for slum improvement in Manila is the ease with which the national housing authority can acquire the land. If this criterion is persistently applied, the discussant argued, there would not be any discrimination against other squatters sitting on private land.

Fourthly, the discussant wanted the speaker to elaborate on the community participation experience in other squatter areas of Manila which may not be the same as what has taken place in Tondo.

Lastly the discussant raised a question whether, based upon the Philippines experience, employment generating exercise could better be promoted as integral part of slum improvement, or it is at the higher level of exercise beyond the immediate task of settlement upgrading.

Z.J. Amador from the Philippines responded to some of the points raised by the discussant. First, with regard to foreign borrowing, it was mentioned, since it is almost impossible to service the debts in the long-run, various attempts are currently being made to minimize foreign borrowings by way of, for example, reducing the development standards to be applied to slum improvement projects accelerating the privatization of housing efforts through catering to the secondary mortgage market thereby concentrating government housing efforts on the lower 30 per cent income group, and institutionalizing the community self-help approach to slum upgrading.

Secondly, with regard to site selection for slum upgrading, Amador mentioned that what is needed is to prioritize the 245 sites that have been identified as being appropriate for slum upgrading, and in this connection the ease of land acquisition is a convenient criterion for determining the project sites because funds become available only on certain specific timetable. So the land being the

stumbling block for the government to enter slum improvement is given most consideration in ranking the 245 sites.

Lastly, Santiago responded to the questions raised by Yeh. First, regarding the National Confederation of the Urban Poor, it is a confederation of small organizations involved in the concerns of urban poor, but not necessarily confined to the slum and squatter areas. There was intensification of the movement just before the 1986 revolution and this has been carried on even after the revolution.

Second, on the matter of land acquisition, the presidential directives have been very helpful in making acquisition much easier, for instance, by expanding the scope of socialized housing and acknowledging that the socialized housing has in fact a public purpose. So it does not get to be questioned any more in court because by legal provisions it has been considered as public housing.

Third, on the matter of community participation, Tondo is atypical because it has had a long history of almost eight to ten years in slum upgrading unlike other ZIP sites. So most of the slum upgrading sites have had no opportunity to exploit the type of community activism Tondo has had.

Fourth, on the matter of employment generation, Santiago expressed optimism insofar as considering the employment generation in slum and squatter areas complementary to an overall national programme for employment which is being handled by the Ministry of Industry and Trade and other related agencies. There has been a lot of talk of concerning a commission for the urban poor precisely for this purpose. There is in fact a national programme for employment creation in the Philippines.

SESSION 3

Tuesday (13 January)

Topic: Shelter and Basic Services in Jakarta Metropolitan Region

Chairperson: Roland Fuchs

Speaker: Darrundono

Discussant: Clarence Shubert

Rapporteur: Nguyen Tri Dung

Darrundono noted that high population growth (a 2 per cent average growth between 1961-80) and uneven distribution of population were the two most critical problems in Indonesia. In 1980, Java shared 70 per cent of the total population and contained sixteen out of forty-two urban centres with populations of more than 100,000. Darrundono started his presentation by giving a brief description of Jakarta Metropolitan Government structure, which has a governor and elected city council. He then continued to highlight the Kampung Improvement Program (KIP). During the First-Five-year Development Plan, Pelita I (1969-74), KIP was introduced to construct basic services and improve infrastructure of those Kampung with the poorest conditions such as inadequate water supply, no toilets, no roads, poor drainage, no schools, or health facilities, etc. It was considered as a human investment programme to try to stimulate the neighbourhood and individual effort to improve and take care of houses and the environment. The idea was "to make the people, as human resources, ready in the development era of the country." The main feature of the KIP programme is to stimulate inhabitants to utilize their potential and resources to improve their own environment. In other words, it is a people's participation oriented programme. There were more than 400 Kampung which covered an area of more than 7,000 ha in 1969. Factors of selection criteria for improvement were as follows: age of Kampung; flood occurrence; drinking water; sanitation problems; health problems; land use; income; population density; and infrastructure conditions. The steering committee proposed a list of selected Kampung through a scoring system to the governor for final selection. Since 1969, the evolution of the Kampung Improvement Programme could be divided into three main phases:

- (1) The First Phase (Pelita I) 1969-74
- (2) The Second Phase (Pelita II) 1975-84
- (3) The Third Phase (Pelita III) 1985-90

During the First Five-year Plan, (Pelita I), 1969-74, there were eighty-nine improved Kampung, covering 2,400 ha with a total popula-

tion of 1.2 million, and a population density of 500 people per ha. In this period, the KIP programme was financed by local revenue. However, during the Second and Third Five-year Plans (Pelita II and III), the KIP programmes covered a total area of 8,800 ha, with a total population of 2.7 million. Presently, there are more than 5 million people living in the improved Kampung.

According to the speaker, there was no problem of cost recovery because the main principle of the programmes was that "the rich help the poor" through the cross subsidy system. The property tax would be increased only after two years following improvement and land taxes differ according to the value of the land. The success of KIP is due to the community participation in the spirit of self-help from the very beginning of the planning process. This could be proven by the fact that 90 per cent of the total budget was shared by the people themselves. The community participation was not only in the form of sacrificing land and buildings but also the people's involvement in monitoring and implementing the projects and in the maintenance of components. The government encouraged this participation by guaranteeing there would be "no big change in the next ten years to come." Moreover, a community could also apply for land occupation rights if they possessed the legal land documents. In addition, there are also other indirect benefits of KIP, which could be mentioned as follows: Increase in productivity, better nutrition, decline of mortality, better health, better housing and transportation, etc.

In conclusion, Darrundono's view was that after ten years of implementation, the KIP is presently facing new challenges with 25 per cent of the houses still dilapidated. And there is a tendency of declining quality of life in many parts of the society.

The slide presentation showed the development process from the unplanned Kampung, in which there was no road pattern or regular housing layout, to the planned Kampung, in which there was a clear-cut road design and uniform housing design. The speaker also mentioned that the KIP helped almost 70 per cent of housing problem and there are more than 400 cities in Indonesia implementing KIPs.

As the discussant, Shubert, was impressed by the wide scope of the paper on the question as to "why the KIP was able to have such massive coverage very quickly as compared to the same programmes in many other countries." Several factors could be identified. The first was that KIPs started from local initiatives with no anticipation of outside funding. However, KIPs developed into full coverage because improvement standards were set at lower levels which the local communities could afford.

Second is the institutional aspect where the existing system of government structure was used. So, there was little extra budget required.

In addition, the discussant also emphasized the role of the World Bank, which was more supplementary than "demanding" as in most other cases due to its involvement being about five years after the

establishment of the KIP. Consequently, no special government agency was created outside of the existing government system, and the question of "cost recovery" was not an important issue because the cost was quite low in the first place and because of the obvious increment of property value as well as taxation as a result of the improvement.

Third is that the land issue did not pose as many problems as in other countries. The fact that the land was provided "by the people" not "to the people," and that the government could actually acquire land following the KIP is a very important and distinct characteristic of the KIP in Indonesia. In summing up his comments, Shubert remarked that there was a close relationship between this issue of occupation and building and the issue of services and tenure security. The KIP in Indonesia is a good case to indicate that by improving the services or by including the people in the planning process on services, you legitimize the community so that inhabitants come forward both improving their houses and also asking to legitimize their property title in one way or another, which has an additional effect in making them liable to taxation and therefore the revenue of the city will be increased.

Discussion

Steven Kelman asked how to train people to keep up with the programme.

Leo Fonseka followed with a similar question regarding the type of training programme and its staff.

Stephen H.K. Yeh's comments concerned the current criticism on the low standard of the large-scale KIP, in which the Indonesian government sacrificed long-term urban development programmes for the sake of the short-term one. In the same vein, UNCRD Director Sazanami's question was on the long-term policy to cope with the continuing increase of in-migrancy into Jakarta. Dietrich Thranhardt sought clarification on the control ability of the central government in the implementation of KIPs.

In discussing the points, the speaker outlined the main principle of KIP which is "learning by doing." So the problem is not how to train the people in the first place but to identify what are the most urgent needs of the people -- to formulate a KIP according to those needs, which guide implementation. There were several difficulties at the beginning but gradually the situation became better through people's participation. Instead of having formal special training programmes, the mechanism or organization was based on the people participation approach, in which the site manager, actually the district head, was assisted by engineers. The staff training focused not so much on formal programmes but more on how to deal with the people, i.e., how to make them understand and participate in a KIP by learning from the people and responding whenever there was a problem. The Jakarta Metropolitan Government always took both policies, long-

term and short-term. However, one may notice that the guided urban land development policies were rather difficult, as very limited urban land was left for planning. Nevertheless the role of the central government in the planning process of KIPs has been supervisory, not interventionist.

Tuesday (13 January)

Topic: Urban Shelter and Services in Metropolitan Lima
Chairperson: Roland Fuchs
Speaker: Carlos Williams
Discussant: Alan Gilbert
Rapporteur: Suchitra P. Bhakdi (Ms.)

Presentation

Thirty per cent of the population of metropolitan Lima lives in shanty towns. Land improvement and construction on land has been for the most part informal. The history of informal land improvement in Lima shows: 1) governmental incapacity to cope with the housing needs of the poor; 2) a growing acceptance of informal modes for acquiring land, shelter, and services.

The case of Muaycan (in which 12,000 families are expected to settle) provides an example of land that is invaded by consent of the central government, under the direction of the local mayor, and with popular participation and initiative.

The housing question in Peru cannot be dealt with using a technocratic approach. It is a problem that requires solution through the political process.

Discussion

(Gilbert) Lima is no different from other Latin American cities where informality is the model. In fact, given that Lima has experienced forty years of self-help, encouraged directly although covertly by the government, the results are disappointing. Since levels are low (water and electricity in particular), and the fact that it takes twenty years to legalize and service shanty towns indicates that politicians have not learned how to handle this problem.

(Azam) Karachi is similar to Lima in that land invasions occur on land that has little economic value.

(Cheema) The Lima case may be compared with Asian cities on three dimensions: (1) value of the land; (2) levels of local organization and politicization, (3) responses of national and local governments. By comparison, Peru shows far stronger levels of local organization and the response by government has been the most enlightened.

(Shubert) Why is the coverage of services in shanty towns so low?
(referring to page 36 of the paper).

Speaker's Response

Peru's administrative structure is not suited to the country. This accounts for many administrative shortcomings that are reflected in the inadequacy of provision of services.

Lima is different from other Latin American cities in that growth is occurring at the periphery. This inhibits adequate service coverage.

Tuesday (13 January)

Topic: Management of Social Services to the Poor:
The Case of Badiya, Lagos

Chairperson: Roland Fuchs

Speaker: Paulina Makinwa-Adebusoye (Ms.)

Discussant: Ken Lowry

Rapporteur: Prisca Molotsi (Ms.)

To give further understanding about the problems in Badiya, a brief description of Lagos was given. Lagos has a population of 6.4 million people, 7 per cent of the Nigerian population. Lagos is peculiar in that it is both a state and national capital, and like most capital cities it developed at a very fast rate, thus experiencing problems that other third world capitals are experiencing as a result of accelerated urbanization.

Many people migrate to Lagos from other areas, and a result of this mass migration is large-scale unemployment in the city. Most migrants are fortunate in that they can live with relatives until they find jobs and accommodation of their own, the lack of housing is not, therefore, a hinderance to rural-urban migration. Another factor that has added to the large urban migration problem is the agreement among the Economic Community of West African States (ECWAS) members that:

- (a) Citizens of ECWAS countries may establish businesses in other West African countries.
- (b) Citizens of ECWAS countries may enter other West African countries and stay for a period of ninety days without a visa.

Illegal immigration into Nigeria has become a great problem, with most of the illegal immigrants residing in Lagos city. The projected population of Lagos by the year 2000 is 14-24 million people.

The Urban Poor

The definition of "urban poor" as given by the speaker refers to those who earn such low incomes as not to provide the minimum daily nutrient requirements for themselves.

The poor in Lagos are segregated according to the type of housing they have. The poor migrants reside in housing they can afford, and usually this housing is located in slum areas. Services in these areas are appalling and usually inadequate.

Traffic in Lagos is congested and poses many problems. In order to alleviate this problem, a traffic plan, devised six years ago is being enforced. In this plan, motor vehicles having number plates beginning with odd numbers can only use the roads on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, and motor vehicles with number plates beginning with even numbers can use the roads only on Tuesdays and Thursdays. All motor vehicles can use the roads on Saturdays, Sundays, and Public holidays.

The number of schools in Lagos is minimal, and does not meet the needs of the people. Until 1981, there existed three daily shifts at school. The morning shift, the noontime shift, and the afternoon shift. This enabled more students to attend classes. This type of system was dubbed "functional classes" and was instated by the previous governor. With the coming of the military regime, this system of education has been stopped.

The reason that there is so much chaos in Lagos is because of:

- (a) The fast population growth
- (b) Inadequate services for the people
- (c) The planning machinery's disjointed history.

There was no planning until 1928, then it was forcefully introduced as a result of a plague that killed thousands of people. The Lagos Executive Development Board (LEDB) was formed in order to upgrade slums. Old units were demolished and new ones constructed in a planned layout.

In the 1950s, the British Government was getting ready to move out of Nigeria. They divided the country into three parts, North, East, and West for administration purposes. As a result, part of Lagos was taken by the West, and the LEDB could not complete work in this area. There was conflict between the Federal government and the Western government in Lagos, which threw planning in Lagos into a state of confusion.

After Independence, centralized ministries were established in order to deal with health, education, roads, etc., and all had a say in the planning and provision of services in Lagos. The three regions were changed into twelve states, and in 1967 Lagos became the capital of the Lagos state. There is still conflict between the Federal government and the state government in Lagos, e.g., roads that belong to the Federal government, that traverse Lagos, are the property of the Federal government and only the Federal government can maintain these roads.

Badiya Slum and Squatter Settlement

Badiya is one of several slum and squatter settlements in the Lagos Metropolitan area. During the last civilian government's reign, it was found that demolition and rebuilding was too costly and destructive, so instead, the government adopted the idea of upgrading.

Organizations were formed in order to involve the people in the projects, for example, the Community Development Council (CDC). With the help of the CDC, projects could be implemented.

The type of land in Badiya consists of:

- (a) Land acquired long ago by the colonial government, intended to be used as railway terminals, but the land remained vacant as the projects never materialized.
- (b) Land owned by wealthy individuals. This land was undeveloped because it is swampy. Slum dwellers have nevertheless built themselves homes here.

There are no access roads to these areas, the housing is poor and dangerous, and the government has to constantly remove the residents forcefully. The CDC is still trying to upgrade these areas.

The following issues were raised by the participants:

- (a) What was the planning chronology and how were problems determined?
- (b) How were decisions made about location and distribution of services? Who made these decisions and how? What were the political, social, and physiocultural assumptions made?
- (c) What additional information is required about the role of CDC and financing of projects?
- (d) What role can be played by the community?

In response, the speaker said the following:

- (a) Standard plots were reduced because there was insufficient area. Slum clearance was dealt with in sections in an attempt to house people in metropolitan areas.
- (b) There exists in Nigeria, abandoned low cost housing units nicknamed "Shagari housing" after the previous president, as it was his government with the help of the World Bank that made decisions about these houses and erected them.
- (c) Financing comes largely through the consensus of the Lagos State Government. Budgeting of urban projects is done through the ministry. Experts from UNCHS, World Bank and other organizations helped come up with the master plan of Lagos Metropolitan area. They also determined the forty-two slum and squatter areas to be upgraded.

- (d) There is a strong link between the urban and rural areas. Much of the urban wealth goes back to the rural areas, and community organizations encourage this. Additionally, organizations are more effective under a civilian government.

SESSION 4

Tuesday (13 January)

Topic: Urban Shelter and Services in Nairobi

Chairperson: Chakrit N. Padungkarn

Speaker: R.A. Obudho

Discussant: Wilbert Gooneratne

Rapporteur: Prisca Molotsi (Ms.)

The problems that Kenya is facing today are related to its history. Until Kenya was colonialized, Nairobi did not exist. There were no urban centres before the colonial days, and the problems started at the turn of the century.

Kenya has a low rate of urban development, between 19 per cent and 20 per cent. The urban areas are increasing due to the following reasons:

- (a) Rural urban migration
- (b) The increase of the city boundaries
- (c) The migration of non-Kenyans into urban and not rural areas.

Urbanization is very fast in East and Central Africa. The population increase in Kenya is high, about 4.3 per cent, and Nairobi is growing at a rate of 7-10 per cent per annum.

The speaker defines the following terms.

Slum: Any settlement previously established for Africans only. The substandard manner in which they were built during the colonial days, remains the same today.

Squatter: Low-income housing areas that surround the city.

Sixty per cent of the people in Nairobi live in either a slum or a squatter area.

Planning housing is very difficult in Nairobi as most residents have "one leg" in the city and one in the country. The Kenyan government decided to provide housing for most urban people, and found that they could not do it. The speaker suggests that perhaps housing in the urban areas be left to the private sectors.

There are four types of slum and squatter housing:

- (a) Permanent rural

- (b) Permanent Urban, mainly in the centre of the city
- (c) Temporary Urban, usually illegal
- (d) Temporary and permanent

Mathare Valley is a large area, originally designated for Africans. In the African areas, there are a log of slums, these are common in Nairobi.

Two strategies are employed in Nairobi:

- (a) Sites and Services introduced by the World Bank, United Nations Centre for Human Settlements, and United States Agency for International Development (USAID).
- (b) Upgrading, this is taking place in Mathare Valley

The self-help strategy is also employed. Some of the strategies are very recent, starting after independence in 1962.

In Mathare Valley, people are building and improving the area. The population here by December 1980, was 100,000 people. Mathare Valley is a place where "everything goes." A lot of agencies have taken interest in improving the area.

In order to improve housing in Kenya, one has to look at the planning strategies, at the Nairobi level, Mathare Valley level, and the Kenya level, and by doing this, one can come up with a development strategy that is effective.

The issues raised by the discussants were as follows:

- (a) There is a need for giving a greater role to the poorer community, and a need to develop a multi-faceted approach to the urban poor.
- (b) There is a need to assign a major role to the informal sector in shelter and services to the poor.
- (c) There is a need to strengthen potential linkages, e.g., the potential for generating employment in building. The linkage between housing and related industries has to be strengthened.
- (d) There is a need to secure land tenure and a need to place slums and squatters in the overall question of poverty.

Rural poverty pushes people to cities, because of the absence of amenities. In some regions of Africa, conditions are worse in rural areas than they are in urban areas.

The questions raised by the participants were:

- (a) What is the assessment of making rural areas an alternative for jobs?
- (b) With regard to the problem of land tenure, it is a problem in developing countries and for rural families that depend on land for life. Therefore, is it possible to expect great wonders in solving the land tenure issues in urban areas, so as to benefit the poor?
- (c) The speaker in his paper, with regard to slum upgrading schemes has mentioned that there is nothing wrong with the concepts, merely with the implementation. It is pointed out that various types of agricultural and rural programmes have failed previously, so why has the blame been put, not on implementation, but on the laziness of the people?
- (d) With regard to income as it relates to the poor:
 - (1) At what levels can unemployment be taken care of by the project, at the local, regional, or nation level?
 - (2) How important is returning to the homeland for the squatters?
- (e) There is inadequate transportation in Nairobi, the World Bank agreed to help finance transportation improvement, but the city could not even finance the local portion of the project. What kind of improvement has been made?

The response to the issues and questions was as follows:

- (a) The failure of upgrading was that the upgrading was supposedly intended for lower income areas, but middle income people have control of lower income areas.
- (b) There is still a problem with transportation. The president has proposed the introduction of a new bus line, subway, new highway, and an overhead railway.

The speaker states that transportation fees are rather high. Therefore, poorer people cannot afford to use public transportation.

**GROUP REPORTS ON KEY ISSUES
IN URBAN SHELTER AND SERVICES**

SESSIONS 5 AND 6

Wednesday (14 January)

GROUP A:

1. What are the major constraints on access to land for shelter and basic urban services in metropolitan areas? What actions are needed to make land for shelter and basic urban services accessible to the urban poor?

How do people get hold of land today?

Lima: Some invasions on private subdivisions take place, but principally public land invasion occurred, except for the years 1968-71.

Colombo: Squatting on crown land takes place.

Karachi: Incremental invasion and selling of illegal subdivisions at very low prices.

What type of land is invaded?

Lima: Public land principally is invaded, but since 1980, some private land. Invasions on some archaeological sites and parks have been repressed.

Colombo: Crown lands are invaded.

Karachi: Public lands are invaded.
In each city, the land that is occupied has low economic value, is often located on hillsides, or is liable to flooding.

Residential segregation.

Lima: Substantial residential segregation occurs but less marked than twenty years ago.

Colombo: Invasion areas are located close to higher income areas and are spread haphazardly throughout the city.

Karachi: Mixed residential groupings are being created as in Colombo.

Recent changes in the housing situation.

Lima: Belaunde introduced large-scale conventional housing programmes, since 1985, complete emphasis has been on

sites and services; 1979 repeal of land titles which allowed titles to be sold; and in 1985, Garcia allowed titles to be given to existing settlers.

Colombo: The socialist government decreed that no one could own more than one house; houses therefore were given to tenants. The government encouraged home building by giving substantial tax incentives.

Karachi: In 1982 a land ceiling of 1000 sq. yds. (836m²) per plot was introduced in order to increase housing densities. In 1985, any squatter settlement with more than forty families was given a land lease for ninety-nine years. New settlements after that date would not be regularized, but in practice twenty to thirty new settlements appeared with residents claiming that they had been there for years.

Renting and tenants in the city.

Lima: Twenty-six per cent of the population rents, with only 10 per cent of the population of the shanty towns renting.

Colombo: There are now no tenants as a result of earlier policy changes except for public housing.

Karachi: Tenancy is common among the middle class but common for only a few renters in the shanty towns, with tenancy proportions unknown across the city.

Policy towards squatting.

Lima: Evictions take place when land close to the central city is occupied, particularly when it is needed for parks.

Colombo: No new settlements are permitted and demolition gangs are used.

Karachi: No new settlements are permitted.

2. What has been the extent of political and financial support (or lack of it) for improving slums and squatter settlements? What actions are needed to mobilize government and nongovernment (community) resources to improve housing and basic urban services in poor urban settlements?

What are the major constraints on service delivery?

Lima: Low density development makes service delivery difficult creating shortages of capacity especially with respect to water.

Colombo: No significant problem.

Karachi: No significant problem.

What are the policies that should be introduced over the next few years?

Lima: Provide areas for self-help settlements; provide better services for the growing city; higher priority for servicing low-income groups by diverting government resources away from defence and other kinds of expenditure; and harness the energy of the people.

Colombo: Continue to improve the management capacity of the local authority; continue to receive requests from community councils on a cost-recovery basis; continue to tax business premises and high income residences and allocated resources to poor areas.

Karachi: Greater sensitivity by the government bureaucracy; approach the community to consult with residents on project plans; reduce corruption and elitist planning; encourage communities to put up some of the cost of projects.

GROUP B:

1. This group saw community participation as taking three major forms:

- (1) Persuading people of the desirability of change -- including maintenance of new facilities and adaptation of customs to new facilities (e.g., use of new sanitation facilities);
- (2) Registering preferences about the shape of policies for these slum and squatter areas e.g., people stating whether they'd rather see priority go to street upgrading or garbage collection;
- (3) Self-help in improving community conditions -- both private housing construction and infrastructure.

Possibilities for community participation in slums and squatter settlements vary depending on the traditions of community organizations in the different countries. In Indonesia, there is a well-developed religiously-based community structure organized around the local mosque, and there are political community organizations as well. In Thailand, by contrast, this is much less the case in urban areas.

The group agreed that:

- (1) In the three countries, there are few direct constraints at the national level to prevent community participation on local issues;
- (2) Persuasion -- in particular persuasion to motivate and teach people to change their behaviour to reflect the new social services that become available -- is often the most difficult part of community participation;
- (3) Resolution of land tenure issues provides an incentive -- or, rather, removes a disincentive -- to community participation.

The actions needed to promote community participation follow from this diagnosis.

2. The general view within the group was that there was a relatively good level of technical and human relations skills among professionals concerned with shelter and basic services. The following observations were made about the skills of these individuals:

- (1) For civil servants, it is normally not the case that they seek employment in government agencies concerned with shelter or social services in order to serve the poor. In

Thailand, for example, the people who join these agencies are those trained in social work, and social work is generally a lesser-status university subject, with many of those students not being accepted into more desirable programmes. Additionally, the initial motivation to serve the poor may be stronger for people going into NGOs.

- (2) The organizations can work to improve the performance of those working there. In Indonesia, engineers are all trained in community relations techniques. Interdisciplinary project teams in the Philippines teach civil servants with academic background, and dedicated leaders can acquire an understanding for the organization as a whole.
- (3) There was concern expressed that uncompetitive wages and poor working conditions in the civil service were causing people to leave government jobs.

There was some discussion on ways that bureaucratic structures needed to adapt to the special circumstances of community-based programmes. In particular, civil servants in these programmes cannot expect -- and should not be expected to work normal office hours, since the people they will often need to talk with are at work and not available during the day.

Finally, there was discussion of the appropriate long-term focus for slum improvement programmes -- whether it should be a separate independent authority or whether it should be part of the local government. On the one hand, it was argued that the long-term goal of these programmes should be to become integrated into the normal structure for urban service delivery, which argues for local government assistance. On the other hand, it was felt that an independent authority was less subject to having programmes exploited for partisan gain by political factions and to the frequent policy shifts that can take place in local government.

GROUP C:

FOREWORD

The group discussed the two assigned issues focusing solely on the Lagos and Nairobi case studies. The statements and conclusions that follow therefore are drawn from the experiences from the above-mentioned cities.

WHAT STRATEGIES HAVE BEEN UTILIZED TO IMPROVE THE LIVING ENVIRONMENT IN SLUMS AND SQUATTER SETTLEMENTS IN THE METROPOLITAN REGIONS? WHAT HAVE BEEN THE STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES OF THESE STRATEGIES?

Four major strategies were identified. These are:

- (1) slum clearance and rehousing;
- (2) public housing schemes;
- (3) provision of sites and services; and
- (4) slum upgrading.

All the above fall under the major category of "urban redevelopment."

Slum Clearance and Rehousing (Mainly from Lagos since Nairobi only had slum clearance without rehousing).

Weakness: The intended families did not benefit. Although the families whose houses were demolished were given compensation, this was not enough for them to buy back redeveloped lots. Also, in some instances, there was joint ownership by several families of the cleared lots, so the compensation was divided. Thus, these families were not able to buy back the land.

Strengths: If viewed from a purely urban planning point of view, the slums were cleared and urban redevelopment occurred. Although the land now is owned by high income groups.

Conclusion: The concept of slum clearance and rehousing is sound as a strategy of urban redevelopment. It is the design and complementation which have been faulty, e.g., compensation given was inadequate and other alternatives could have been made available.

Public Housing Schemes

Weaknesses: In Lagos, it has become more expensive than originally planned. The targetted low income groups do not benefit. Public housing was built far from people's work place, and no basic services were provided. In Nairobi, for the low income groups to pay rent, heavy government subsidy was needed. Thus, now, the Nairobi City Commission is going into tenant purchase schemes. Admittedly, only the middle and high income groups will benefit.

Strengths: During the period of the civilian government in Nigeria, public houses were built where the people wanted them, which was near their work place. The general impression was that this benefitted low income groups. However, no hard data has been available to prove that the poor benefitted.

Conclusions: The cost and standards of public housing schemes have been too high to benefit the poor and the government could not acquire appropriate locations for public housing.

Provision of Sites and Services (Only in Nairobi)

Weakness: Provision of sites and services were meant for rural migrants and relocated squatters. However, the original owners have sold their lots to middle income groups. House building was done on a self-help basis, but the persons in charge of supplying the materials overcharged; so the majority of the absolute poor did not benefit.

Strengths: Basic services were made available. Transportation facilities to work places were provided. Access to employment and income opportunities, both in the formal and informal sectors was enhanced.

Slum Upgrading

Both Lagos and Nairobi have started on this. It is still too early to draw conclusions on its effects and impacts. However, certain positive trends can be identified, namely: There is strong government commitment; basic services are being provided; and there is a strong community organization to continue to pressure for these services.

SPECIAL NOTES:

The groups went into a discussion on whether the abovementioned strategies are "strategies" or are they "projects." Prof. Yeh's concept paper explained the presence of a hierarchy of strategies: The micro-level strategies which included slum upgrading; the mid-level strategies which include institutional reforms, policies on land use and land tenure, and the institution of house financing/second mortgage markets; and the macro-level strategies which view housing as interrelated with employment and income distribution.

Additionally, a fifth (5th) strategy was being considered -- this is the role of the private sector in low cost housing. Nairobi has very little experience on this and there is a need for improvement while in Lagos, it is virtually nil.

GIVEN THE POLITICAL AND FINANCIAL CONSTRAINTS ON THE IMPROVEMENT OF LOW-INCOME URBAN SETTLEMENTS, WHAT SEEM TO BE PROSPECTS FOR THE SERVICE COVERAGE IN POOR SETTLEMENTS?

In both Lagos and Nairobi, the prospects are good. Both have shown political will to deliver services, and resources have been made available for basic infrastructure (a system of revenue collection still needs to be instituted in Nairobi). Caution was also mentioned in that large infrastructure projects require initial high financial outlay and cost recovery is slow through payment of revenues. Both have the advantage of "primacy" among other cities in their countries. The presence of strong and active local organizations also augurs well for greater coverage.

WHAT INDICATORS SHOULD BE USED TO MONITOR AND EVALUATE THE IMPACT OF IMPROVEMENT STRATEGIES IN METROPOLITAN REGIONS?

There is a need to have benchmark indicators to be able to determine impacts at a later stage. Benchmark indicators also serve other purposes such as they can be used as criteria for priority selection of areas for upgrading; and to learn the replicability and developing patterns or models of urban redevelopment.

Lagos and Nairobi still have to determine and collect their benchmark indicators for these improvement strategies.

Suggestions were made that these indicators should include social indicators which are qualitative in nature.

A criticism was made of the World Bank indicators developed by consultants. There are few efforts to have the processes of monitoring and evaluation transferred to and internalized by national institutions. Usually, once data is gathered and indicators constructed, the information is printed by the Bank but rarely shared with the countries which are to benefit. The Bank has also come up with standardized indicators for different countries to use. However, the groups recognized the need for a country to develop its own indications which are relevant to its needs and characteristics.

Some basic minimum guide questions in assessing impacts that have been used are:

- (1) Did it increase in coverage?
- (2) Was there an increase in access for the target groups?
- (3) To what extent did it give access to employment?
- (4) To what extent was the informal sector involved?
- (5) To what extent were local organizations involved?

GROUP REPORTS ON IMPLICATIONS FOR TRAINING

SESSION 7

PROPOSED QUESTIONS FOR GROUP DISCUSSIONS ON IMPLICATIONS FOR TRAINING

Group A

1. What are the priority areas (subject domains) for training to improve planning and management of urban shelter and basic urban services programmes and projects in developing countries?
2. What categories of persons (target groups) need to be trained to improve the formulation and implementation of urban shelter policies and programmes?

Group B

Topic: Two-week Training Seminar on Urban Shelter and Services

Terms of Reference:

1. To develop an outline of a two-week training seminar for senior-level planners and managers involved in planning and/or implementing low-income settlement improvement policies, and programmes.
2. To suggest:
 - (a) objectives of the course
 - (b) course content or curriculum
 - (c) training methods and strategies
 - (d) types of materials needed.

Group C

Topic: Training Course for Middle- and Senior-level Managers

Terms of Reference:

1. To develop an outline of a two-week training course for middle- and senior-level planners and administrators who are directly involved in planning and implementing specific urban shelter and basic urban services projects.
2. To suggest:
 - (a) objectives of the course
 - (b) course content or curriculum
 - (c) training methods and strategies
 - (d) types of training materials needed.

WORKING GROUPS

Group A

- James Conner
- Darrundono
- Masayuki Doi
- Paulina Makinwa-Abebusoye (Ms)
- Carlos Williams
- Sirisena Cooray
- Alan Gilbert
- Roland Fuchs

Group B

- Toshikatsu Iwami
- R.A. Obudho
- Asteya Santiago (Ms)
- Dietrich Thranhardt
- Steven Kelman
- Zoilo Joaquin Amador
- Leo Fonseka

Group C

- Laique Azam
- Pralom Sakuntanaga (Ms)
- Kem Lowry
- Clarence Shubert
- Stephen H.K. Yeh
- Jaime Z. Galvez Tan
- G. Shabbir Cheema

WORKING GROUP A

Q.1. WHAT ARE THE PRIORITY AREAS (SUBJECT DOMAINS) FOR TRAINING TO IMPROVE PLANNING AND MANAGEMENT OF URBAN SHELTER AND BASIC URBAN SERVICES (PROGRAMMES AND PROJECTS) IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES?

Three cities were represented -- Jakarta, Lima, and Lagos.

In Jakarta it was felt that priority should be on identifying basic needs, recognizing that community priorities might be different from those of the service organization, and so the focus could be on "how to gather relevant information." Note that the size of the target group might affect selection of method -- and perhaps, too, its age and structure.

In Lima it was suggested that training is appropriate at two levels -- one which looks at developing understanding of issues -- not in a technical sense. The other which might seek to develop management skills at the local government level, recognizing that local communities can be "delicate" and require experienced staff. The focus might be on community development and into personal communication skills. Policymakers (top level politicians or military) can't be trained -- but may be sensitized (see later).

In Lagos -- it was suggested that almost any sort of training would be welcomed. There is no existing group skilled at interfacing, and at the moment it is largely university students or staff doing research, as best they can.

The point was made (Lima) that some training in how to deal with World Bank officials would be useful. But the view was expressed that they, too, could do with some training -- for they tended to impose their value systems on the local populace to the point of excluding indigenous solutions.

It was suggested that skills could be developed in circumventing World Bank requirements -- one needed to be creative -- it could, and has, been done.

On the question of "transferability between countries" it was agreed that this could and does work -- so there was some point to holding training sessions with a number of countries represented. Countries can ADAPT rather than ADOPT technology and ideas.

While there was some emphasis on developing interpersonal skills for those at the cutting edge -- there was also scope for developing courses which also dealt with "appropriate technology."

Some national/institutional courses already exist (Jakarta) and so far as subject domains are concerned, subject areas covered include:

- (a) appropriate technology
- (b) city administration (including budgeting, finance, etc.)
- (c) international finance procurement, World Bank loan procedures (and how to subvert!)
- (d) Community development -- interpersonal communication skills.

Such training could be of two weeks duration and aim at personnel in direct contact with community groups.

Q.2. WHAT CATEGORIES OF PERSONS (TARGET GROUPS) NEED TO BE TRAINED TO IMPROVE THE FORMULATION AND IMPLEMENTATION OF URBAN SHELTER POLICIES AND PROGRAMMES?

The view was expressed that first priority here should be "on the trainers" themselves. Requirements may vary between nations.

We addressed the question of "all stakeholders" but there seemed no or qualified support for "groups" to be trained together, it was generally held that this approach was probably valid only as a national or citywide venture.

Support was expressed for training programmes that potentially could "trickle down" (or up!) following on, say, UNCRD initiatives. Organizations need to be able to institutionalize their learning.

Interest was also expressed in strengthening the capacity specifically at the local government level.

In addressing the potential "sensitizing" of top level policy formulation people, while the group saw difficulties with this, it also believed that it may be feasible for UNCRD to develop "demonstration packages (video etc.)." These could draw on successful case study material and demonstrate a variety of minimum or low-cost approaches. Evidence suggests that in some nations, these people simply do not realize the extent of the problem or are unwilling to give these programmes adequate priority.

Scope was seen for country specific courses which would enable indigenous solutions and techniques to be developed and applied. At the same time, it was also agreed that multi-national training courses did offer scope for broadening perspectives. The comment was offered that training needs to be continuous.

The question of "band-aid" vs "antibiotics" (short-term/long-term) was raised again. While training in this area may lie outside the scope of this workshop it was felt that a component of training for short-term solutions might also include the process of assessing the futurity of those decisions -- as a means of keeping open long-term goals on options.

END NOTE

While the group did not address itself to Table no.3 in Conner's paper (see pages 12-13 of "Urban Low Income Settlements in Developing Countries: Characteristics and Improvement Strategies") points made in the discussion did suggest that the "Democratic Education" paradigm was appropriate.

GROUP B: TRAINING SEMINAR FOR POLICYMAKERS AND ADMINISTRATORS

The group outlined the objectives of the training seminar and emphasized the need to bring the relevant policy and programme issues to the attention of the participants.

The meeting felt that the use of the word "housing" as distinct from "shelter" may create in some quarters the impression that only public housing activities were involved excluding other basic urban services. It was also noted that it might not be possible or desirable to altogether neglect the public housing area. The response to squatter housing needs should be within a sound-public housing programme.

The group felt that focus on the poor should be emphasized. It was felt the following key six areas should be considered for possible incorporation in the training seminar:

- (1) land
- (2) resources
- (3) reorienting the bureaucracy
- (4) institutionalization of participation
- (5) strengthening government and private enterprise linkages
- (6) training.

It was argued that this course, aimed at senior policymakers should not attempt to offer solutions, but develop attitudes and awareness. It was also felt that in many cases, the existing bureaucracy could not respond effectively to the problem and it might thus need to adapt or seek some solutions. How to adapt and respond might thus be the focus of the training seminar.

The discussion concluded by reinforcing the view that this course should aim at developing an atmosphere within which there could be an open and frank exchange between policymakers, project managers, NGOs, developers, and the beneficiaries.

Recognizing the aforementioned issues, the participants proposed the following framework for the proposed seminar:

A. Objectives

To provide a forum or venue for sharing of knowledge and experience on and discussion of the following topics:

- (1) Formulation and implementation of housing policies and programmes for the urban poor within the framework of overall national development.
- (2) Promotion and strengthening of the comprehensive approach in the delivery of housing and basic services for the urban poor.

- (3) Helping secure the meaningful and effective involvement of the NGOs, the private sector, and the target beneficiaries.

B. Participants

All policymakers directly or indirectly involved in the provision of housing and basic services for the urban poor. Since legislators are the primary and ultimate policymakers, they may also be invited.

C. Curriculum and Course Contents

- (1) Background and Overview of the Nature and Scope of Housing Policies and Programmes:
 - (a) Critical review and appraisal of current shelter and basic services policies and programmes; what policies/programmes facilitate or hinder the poor's access to (i) land, (ii) design types/extension services, (iii) funds and other resources, (iv) collective action, and (v) easy and affordable repayment terms;
 - (b) Identification of areas for policy and programme changes -- inter-country success lessons to address the above through reorientation of policies, strategies, structures;
 - (c) Self appraisal of prospects for the immediate future -- each country to reflect on their policies and identify a concise list of concern areas needing reorientation/reorganization;
 - (d) Impact of housing policies vis-à-vis other related sectoral policies -- rationale for inter-agency/inter-department coordination and cross-supplementation of efforts.
- (2) Institutional Machinery
 - (a) Review of administrative capacity for delivery of housing services -- on the administrative and financial procedures responsive to community aspirations;
 - (b) Nature and types of needed organizational and functional linkages -- what agencies/departments can help make the programmes more long term and effective;
 - (c) Synchronization of planning, programming, and budgeting -- integration and convergence of sectoral inputs available for the urban poor areas;

- (d) Alternative mechanism for improving existing institutions and accomplishing coordination:
 - clarity of role and responsibilities among agencies;
 - building operational capacity at metropolitan levels.
- (3) Participatory Planning and Management
 - (a) Nature, scope and rationale of participation
 - (b) Problems and prospects faced in mobilizing people's involvement in shelter and allied activities
 - (c) Alternative methodologies for ensuring participatory planning and management -- regulatory procedures that call for community specific planning as a prerequisite for allocation of resources
- (4) Monitoring and Evaluation of Implementation of Housing Policies and Programmes
 - (a) Need for regular monitoring and evaluation; the need for establishing benchmarks and indicators to monitor progress
 - (b) Review of existing practices and experiences;
 - (c) Formulation of benchmarks and impact indicators -- the need to obtain theoretical and research support from universities.
- (5) Housing Finance
 - (a) Traditional and non-traditional sources;
 - (b) Resource mobilization, e.g. options such as community-based credit unions to act as intermediate institutions for formal sector lending groups (borrowing in bulk and breaking down into smaller loans).
- (6) Training of Implementors
 - (a) review of current administrative and technical resources;
 - (b) Progress for upgrading administrative and technical resources.

D. Training Methods and Strategies

- (1) Use of seminar and forum format;
- (2) Use of case studies and country papers;
- (3) Conduct of field trips;
- (4) Use of visual aids;
- (5) Use of role playing methods.

E. Types of Materials Needed

- (1) Use of transparencies and overhead projectors;
- (2) Slides and video presentation or, among others, the perception and aspiration of the poor and their levels of satisfaction.

GROUP C: A TRAINING COURSE FOR MIDDLE-LEVEL MANAGERS DIRECTLY INVOLVED IN PLANNING AND IMPLEMENTING SPECIFIC URBAN SHELTER AND BASIC URBAN SERVICES PROJECTS

GENERAL OBJECTIVES OF THE COURSE:

- (1) To develop a range of practical skills associated with urban shelter and services project design, management and evaluation;
- (2) To develop an awareness of the social, cultural and economic milieu of settlement;
- (3) To develop the awareness and skills associated with the personal and organizational dynamics of project implementation, intra-organization and inter agency communication and coordination;
- (4) To develop an awareness of alternative methods of providing shelter and basic services.

COURSE CONTENT:

The groups decided that the course should focused on practical skills on common problems encountered by urban middle-level managers.

Six (6) steps were also identified which urban project implementors usually follow.

- (1) Organizing the community which can either be through an external agency or through the internal dynamic conditions of the community;
- (2) Reorganization of the government machinery at the grassroot level to strengthen relationships with settlements;
- (3) Finding mechanisms to have more land and services available and accessible;
- (4) Access to resources, which includes mobilization of community resources and reorganization of government financial institutions to make credit available to the urban poor;
- (5) Establishment of the community organization which can become the centre for all activities to be implemented;
- (6) Community's own information, monitoring and evaluation system is put into operations.

Based on the above, three (3) major groups/classifications of the content was carried out. These are:

1. Participatory Planning

- situation analysis techniques
- community context
- social/community preparation
- social communication with communities
- project team building
- community self-survey methods
- identifying and using community resources
- community based monitoring and evaluation

2. Organizational Adaptation and Staff Capacity Building

- staff performance evaluation
- developing a service oriented organizational culture
- supervision of staff
- staff support to community
- brief report writing
- reporting skills
- organizational skills and linkages
- intersectoral coordination including NGOs
- documentation skills i.e. urban project histories

3. Technical Aspects of Project Design

- problem identification
- selection of appropriate technologies/identification of alternative strategies
- project monitoring and evaluation

TRAINING METHODS AND STRATEGIES

- Problem solving exercises
- Simulation
- Role-playing
- Group discussions
- Case Studies
- Theoretical readings
- Inter-country field visits
- Use of multi-media
- Lecture-discussions

TYPES OF TRAINING MATERIALS NEEDED

- Case studies of urban shelter and services projects
- Readings on urban shelter issues, policies, programmes
- Simulation exercises
- Examples of application of specific techniques and skills in urban planning, management, and evaluation
- Self-teaching/learning modules
- Videos, slide-tape productions

NOTE: The group recommended that participants come from three to five countries within a region. A maximum of 20 participants will comprise the course. They will come from a mix of disciplines/departments of agencies working with urban poor settlements. The participants themselves may act as trainers or resource persons during the course.

APPENDICES

AIDE-MEMOIRESponsorship and Purpose

An Expert Group Meeting on Shelter and Services for the Poor in Metropolitan Regions will be held under the auspices of the United Nations Centre for Regional Development (UNCRD) in Nagoya, Japan from 12 to 16 January 1987. The purpose of the meeting is: (a) to review the findings of case studies and concept papers undertaken by collaborating training and research institutions dealing with urban shelter and services; (b) to analyse the implementation of shelter policies and programmes in the developing countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America; and (c) to identify training needs for urban administrators and managers concerned with planning and implementing shelter policies and programmes.

Background

During the past three decades, rapid growth in urban population has taken place in the developing countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. This has resulted from large-scale rural to urban migration as well as natural urban population growth. Two consequences of urbanization in the developing countries should be noted. First, there is an alarming increase in the number of urban poor who usually lack adequate education and skills and are thus forced to work at low wages to meet their basic needs with most of them living in slums and squatter settlements. Second, the provision of urban services and facilities has not kept pace with the increasing demand for them. There are acute shortages of low income housing, educational and transportation facilities, water supply, and public health and sanitation services. Governments have played a leading role in providing these services, but due to the lack of adequate resources and other constraints they have not been able to meet the deficiencies.

The urban poor in general and residents of slums and squatter settlements in particular have been affected most adversely by urban service deficiencies. The quality and coverage of urban services tends to be the worst in the poorest neighbourhoods. Most slums and squatter settlements in developing countries lack basic urban services such as water supply, sewerage, roads, garbage disposal, and health services. Even where adequate services and facilities are available, slum and squatter settlement dwellers might not have access to them. Due to their low income, the urban poor cannot afford to pay for basic services. They may not have legal ownership of the land they occupy. They are usually not effectively organized and are only indirectly, if at all, involved in the identification of community priorities, formulation of local projects, or in the implementation of development activities.

The increasing number of squatters and slum dwellers in third world cities indicates the incidence of urban poverty and the magnitude of the problems in providing shelter and other basic urban services in low income settlements. The situation is likely to become even more serious in the future. As World Bank studies show, by 1990 more than half of the absolute poor will be concentrated in urban areas.

During the 1960s and 1970s, governments in developing countries initiated several types of policies, programmes, and projects to provide shelter to the urban poor and upgrade slums and squatter settlements in metropolitan regions. These included on-site improvements in slums, upgrading squatter settlements, regularizing land tenure, and site and service schemes.

Recognizing the significance of the problem, in 1983 UNCRD launched a comparative research project dealing with the management of urban shelter and services. The main findings of the first two phases of the project have been included in two of UNCRD's publications: (1) Reaching the Urban Poor: Project Implementation in Developing Countries (Boulder and London: Westview Press, 1986); and (2) Urban Services in Developing Countries: Public and Private Roles in Urban Development (London: Macmillan, forthcoming).

To disseminate research findings, UNCRD has already organized senior-level policy seminars in Lahore, Seoul, and Nagoya. The present phase of the project attempts to examine key issues, the effectiveness of upgrading strategies, and site and service schemes in selected metropolitan regions.

Focus of Discussion

The meeting will focus discussion on the following interrelated questions:

- (1) Why and how were the upgrading projects in the selected settlements initiated?
- (2) What were the modes and the extent of community participation in the process of upgrading settlements?
- (3) What changes have taken place in the selected metropolitan areas concerning the security of land occupation and tenure, provision of finance to residents to improve their dwelling units, affordability and cost recovery, the integration of social and infrastructural improvements, and the role of the informal service sector in providing basic services to residents?
- (4) What have been the major anticipated and unanticipated consequences -- economic, social, and political -- of the efforts to upgrade the settlement? To what extent have the services provided been accessible to the poor?

- (5) What are the training needs for effectively implementing urban shelter policies and programmes, and who are the urban managers and administrators to be trained? What should be the content, teaching materials, and pedagogy of training?

Studies

The Centre has commissioned three concept papers by well-known scholars on the following themes: "Forms and Effectiveness of Community Participation in Squatter Settlements"; "Land for the Urban Poor: Issues and Approaches"; and "Low-Income Settlements in Developing Countries: Characteristics and Improvement Strategies". UNCRD had further commissioned case studies on the urban situations in Bangkok, Colombo, Jakarta, Karachi, Lagos, Lima, Metro Manila, and Nairobi. Each case study has examined the socioeconomic and physical characteristics of settlements, evolution and implementation of upgrading projects, modes of community participation, security of land tenure and occupation, and similar key issues related to slums or squatter settlements. The services to be examined in the case studies are water supply, sanitation and health services, educational facilities, and shelter for the urban poor. The case studies are being undertaken by the following collaborating training and research institutions in the respective countries: National Institute of Development Administration, Bangkok; Urban Development Authority, Colombo; MHT Kampung Improvement Project, Jakarta Metropolitan Government; University of Karachi; University Nairobi; Faculty of Architecture, National Engineering University, Lima; School of Urban and Regional Planning, University of the Philippines; and Centre for Social, Cultural and Environmental Research, University of Benin, Nigeria.

Expected Output

It is hoped that the meeting will:

- (1) Provide a forum for an exchange of views and experiences to participating researchers, planners, and practitioners dealing with the above aspects;
- (2) Lead to a better understanding of the process of providing shelter and social services to the urban poor;
- (3) Generate new ideas with regard to the access of the urban poor to government facilities; and
- (4) Lead to the delineation of training needs, contents, methodologies, and materials in order to improve the management of government policies and programmes dealing with urban shelter and services.

Participants

The participants will include:

- (1) Researchers who have prepared concept and case studies for presentation at the meeting;
- (2) Development practitioners from developing countries who are responsible for implementing slum and squatter settlement improvement programmes; and
- (3) Other relevant experts from research institutions, universities, and international agencies.

Organization

During the first three days concept papers and case studies will be presented for discussion. On the fourth day, discussion on training needs will take place in working groups. On the last working day, the report of the drafting committee will be presented at the plenary session.

Administration and Finance

The United Nations Centre for Regional Development will provide financial support for the participation of those researchers who have already been requested by the Centre to prepare concept papers and case studies. Others who are interested to participate in the meeting are suggested to explore the possibility of funding from United National Children's Fund (UNICEF), Ford Foundation, International Development Research Centre (IDRC), and other relevant organizations. For more details, write to:

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PROPOSED RESEARCH FORMAT
FOR CASE STUDIES

The purpose of the proposed case studies are to examine the magnitude of shelter and basic urban service deficiencies in poor settlements of selected metropolitan regions and analyse the effectiveness of government policy responses. Each case study will consist of three parts: Part A will discuss profile of slums and squatter settlements, administrative and management structures, and key programmes and projects in the selected metropolitan region. Part B will be focused on a specific squatter settlement in the metropolitan region. It will examine socioeconomic characteristics of the settlement, evolution of and implementation of settlement upgrading projects, modes of community participation in the settlement, security of land occupation, and other key issues in upgrading a squatter settlement. Part C will discuss implications for action to improve delivery of shelter and basic services.

PART A
REVIEW OF SHELTER AND BASIC SERVICES
IN THE METROPOLITAN REGION

A. INTRODUCTION (3-5 PAGES)

1. Brief description of urban growth in the selected metropolitan region during the past thirty years.
2. The extent of shelter and urban service deficiencies in the region with a focus on low-income housing, water supply, electricity, primary health care, and drainage, sewerage and other sanitation services.
3. The purpose and the scope of the study.

B. PROFILE OF SLUMS AND SQUATTER SETTLEMENTS IN THE REGION (8-10 PAGES)

1. The number and size of slums and squatter settlements in the region.
2. Patterns of formation and growth of these settlements.
3. Physical characteristics of these settlements.
4. Urban service deficiencies in slums and squatter settlements with focus on water supply, electricity, drainage, sewerage and other sanitation services, primary health care, and education facilities and services.

5. Socioeconomic characteristics of squatters and slum dwellers.
- C. ADMINISTRATIVE AND MANAGEMENT STRUCTURES (4-6 PAGES)**
1. Brief description of administrative and management structures in the metropolitan region responsible for shelter and basic urban services in low-income settlements.
 2. Linkages of these structures with local/community level organizations.
 3. Linkages of these structures with national level agencies.
 4. Key managers and actors for slum and squatter settlement upgrading.
- D. REVIEW OF PROGRAMMES AND PROJECTS IN THE METROPOLITAN REGION (15-17 PAGES)**
1. Identification of main slum upgrading, squatter settlement improvement, and sites and service projects implemented in the metropolitan region during the past two decades (including ongoing projects).
 2. Evolution of the projects: why and how did they emerge?
 3. Stated objectives and services and facilities provided through these projects.
 4. Analysis of capabilities and resources of implementing agencies: technical and managerial skills of agencies, interorganizational relationships and linkages.
 5. Funding sources and the extent of political support for these projects.
 6. The extent and modes of community participation in the process of planning and implementing the project and mobilizing community resources.
 7. Performance and impact of these projects:
 - (a) what the projects actually accomplished in terms of original objectives; and
 - (b) what were the major unanticipated consequences and outcomes -- economic, social, and political -- of the projects.

PART B
CASE STUDY OF A SQUATTER SETTLEMENT
IN THE REGION

A. SOCIOECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SETTLEMENT (8-10 PAGES)

1. Formation of the settlement and its growth processes: reasons for growth.
2. Forms of land occupation and tenure in the settlement.
3. Economic conditions and employment and occupational patterns.
4. Physical condition of dwellings and residential densities.
5. Formal and informal community organizations existing in the settlement.
6. Infrastructure and basic service deficiencies, e.g., water supply, electricity, primary health care, drainage, sewerage, and other sanitation services, and transportation, educational, and other facilities.

B. DESCRIPTION OF UPGRADING PROJECT IN THE SETTLEMENT (25-30 PAGES)

1. Genesis and evolution of the project.
 - why and how was it initiated?
 - stated objectives
 - services provided through the project
 - funding sources
2. Capabilities and resources of implementing agencies.
 - technical and managerial skills of implementing agencies
 - interorganizational coordination and linkages among implementing agencies; roles of urban managers at different levels
 - budgetary and other allocations for the projects
 - political support for upgrading at metropolitan and national levels
3. Extent and modes of community participation in the settlement.
 - (a) participation in the identification of community needs
 - (b) participation in the project planning process
 - (c) involvement in the choice of community leaders, location of services, and project beneficiaries
 - (d) control over allocation of project resources
 - (e) participation in mobilization of community resources

(f) participation in implementation, periodic monitoring and evaluation of community level projects.

4. Security of land occupation and tenure: What is the present government policy with regard to occupation and security of land in the settlement? Have there been shifts in the government policy on this issue and why did these take place?
5. Financing and resource mobilization: To what extent and how are resources being mobilized by government and nongovernment agencies for upgrading the settlement? What are the sources of finance available to residents for improving their dwelling units and basic services? To what extent have they actually used these sources?
6. Informal service: To what extent and in what ways does the government support or utilize informal service sector in providing basic urban services in the settlement? To what extent has the informal sector contributed to improvement of dwelling units, provision of basic urban services, and generation of employment opportunities?
7. Affordability and cost recovery: To what extent has the cost of services provided through upgrading projects been recovered and what mechanisms for cost recovery have been used? What steps have been undertaken to ensure affordability of services and facilities? Have alternative codes and standards for building urban infrastructure in squatter settlements been promoted by government agencies?
8. Integration of social and infrastructural improvements: Is the provision of basic social services in the settlement linked to infrastructural improvements?
9. Performance of upgrading schemes and access to urban services: What has the project accomplished vis-à-vis original objectives, and what were the major unanticipated consequences and outcomes -- economic, social, and political -- of the project? What are the socioeconomic backgrounds of those who directly benefited from the upgrading project?

PART C
IMPLICATIONS FOR ACTION
(6-8 PAGES)

A. IMPLICATIONS FOR ORGANIZATION AND MANAGEMENT OF UPGRADING PROJECTS CONCERNING:

1. Process of project identification;
2. Capabilities of implementing agencies and project resources; and
3. Extent and modes of community participation in shelter and basic urban services projects.

B. IMPLICATIONS FOR IMPROVING PUBLIC POLICIES TO INCREASE ACCESS OF THE POOR, TO SHELTER, AND BASIC URBAN SERVICES CONCERNING:

1. Cost recovery, affordability, and replicability;
2. Security of land occupation and tenure;
3. Financing and resource mobilization for shelter and basic services;
4. The role of the informal service sector;
5. Integration of social services and infrastructural improvements; and
6. The elimination of administrative, political, social, and economic constraints on the poor to acquire shelter and basic services.

LIST OF PAPERS

Concept Papers

- | | | |
|----|------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. | Paul Baross | Land Supply for Low-Income Housing:
Issues and Approaches |
| 2. | James R. Conner | New Training Programmes for Urban
Managers |
| 3. | Alan Gilbert | Forms and Effectiveness of Community
Participation in Squatter Settlements |
| 4. | Stephen H.K. Yeh | Urban Low-Income Settlements in Develop-
ing Countries: Characteristics and
Improvement Strategies |

Case Study Papers

- | | | |
|----|-----------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. | Darrundono | Shelter and Basic Services in Jakarta
Metropolitan Region |
| 2. | R.A. Obudho | Shelter and Services for the Poor in
Nairobi, Kenya |
| 3. | Paulina
Makinwa-Adebusoye | Management of Social Services to the
Poor: The Case of Badiya, Lagos |
| 4. | M. Laique Azam | Shelter and Services for the Poor in
Karachi |
| 5. | Carlos Williams
and Gustavo Riofrio | Lima Squatters and Shanty Towns 1986 |
| 6. | Asteya M. Santiago | Shelter and Services for the Poor in
Metropolitan Manila |
| 7. | Sunimal Fernando,
W. Gamage,
and Dharmawansa Pieris | Navagampura and Aramaya Place: Two Urban
Case Studies of Support Based Housing
and Basic Services |
| 8. | Suchitra
Punyaratabandhu-Bhakdi | Shelter and Urban Services for the Poor
in Metropolitan Bangkok |

PROGRAMME

Monday (12 January)

09:30-10:00 Opening Session

- Welcome and Keynote Address:
Hidehiko Sazanami, Director, UNCRD
- Adoption of agenda, nomination of chairpersons, discussants, and rapporteurs, and introduction of participants:
G. Shabbir Cheema, Project Coordinator

10:00-10:15 Coffee/tea break

SESSION 1

10:15-11:00 Topic: Urban Low-Income Settlements in Developing Countries: Characteristics and Improvement Strategies

Chairperson: Darrundono

Speaker: Stephen H.K. Yeh

Discussant: James Conner

Rapporteur: Jo Edralin (Ms.)

11:00-11:30 Topic: Land Supply for Low-Income Housing: Issues and Approaches

Chairperson: Darrundono

Speaker: Paul Baross' paper presented by Ken Lowry

Discussant: Clarence Shubert

Rapporteur: Jo Edralin (Ms.)

- 15:45-16:30 Topic: Shelter and Basic Urban Services in Colombo
- Chairperson: Hidehiko Sazanami
- Speaker: Susil Sirivardana
- Discussant: Dietrich Thranhardt
- Rapporteur: Jim Goater
-
- 16:30-17:15 Topic: Shelter and Services for the Poor in Metropolitan Manila
- Chairperson: Hidehiko Sazanami
- Speaker: Asteya M. Santiago (Ms.)
- Discussant: Stephen H.K. Yeh
- Rapporteur: Kenji Oya
-
- 18:00-20:00 UNCRD reception

Tuesday (13 January)

SESSION 3

- 09:30-10:15 Topic: Shelter and Basic Services in Jakarta Metropolitan Region
- Chairperson: Roland Fuchs
- Speaker: Darrundono
- Discussant: Clarence Shubert
- Rapporteur: Nguyen Tri Dung
-
- 10:15-11:00 Topic: Urban Shelter and Services in Metropolitan Lima
- Chairperson: Roland Fuchs
- Speaker: Carlos Williams
- Discussant: Alan Gilbert
- Rapporteur: Suchitra P. Bhakdi (Ms.)

11:00-11:15 Coffee/tea break

11:15-12:00 Topic: Management of Social Services to the Poor: The Case of Badiya, Lagos

Chairperson: Roland Fuchs

Speaker: Paulina Makinwa-Adebusoye (Ms.)

Discussant: Kem Lowry

Rapporteur: Prisca Molotsi (Ms.)

12:00-13:30 Lunch

SESSION 4

13:30-14:15 Topic: Urban Shelter and Services in Nairobi

Chairperson: Chakrit N. Padungkarn

Speaker: R.A. Obudho

Discussant: Wilbert Gooneratne

Rapporteur: Prisca Molotsi (Ms.)

14:15-14:30 Coffee/tea break

14:30-17:00 Group discussion on issues arising from case studies and concept papers

Wednesday (14 January)

SESSION 5

09:30-11:00 Topic: Presentation of group reports and discussion

Chairperson: Alan Gilbert

Rapporteur: M. Laique Azam

11:00-11:15 Coffee/tea break

11:15-12:30 Topic: Presentation of group reports (continued)

Chairperson: Alan Gilbert
Rapporteur: M. Laique Azam

12:30-14:00 Lunch

SESSION 6

14:00-14:30 Topic: Implications for Training
Chairperson: Alan Gilbert
Speakers: James Conner and G. Shabbir Cheema
14:30-15:45 Group discussion on training implications
15:45-16:00 Coffee/tea break
16:00-17:00 Group discussion (continued)

Thursday (15 January)

SESSION 7

09:30-11:00 Topic: Presentation and discussion of group reports about implications for training
Chairperson: Carlos Williams
Rapporteur: James Conner
11:00-11:15 Coffee/tea break
11:15-12:30 Presentation and discussion (continued)
12:30-14:00 Lunch

SESSION 8

14:00-17:00 - Finalization of reports by groups
- Drafting Committee meeting
(members: Yeh/Obudho/Gilbert/Shubert/Cheema)

Friday (16 January)

SESSION 9

09:30-11:00 Presentation of the report of the Drafting Committee

Chairperson: Steven Kelman

Rapporteur: G. Shabbir Cheema

11:00-11:30 Closing

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UNCRD Publications Related to the Research Project on Managing Urban Development

G. Shabbir Cheema, ed., Managing Urban Development: Services for the Poor (Nagoya: UNCRD, 1984).

"Report of the Expert Group Meeting on Policy Issues in Urban Services for the Poor," Nagoya, Japan, 13 to 17 August, 1985.

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