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Interim Report
of the Task Force 8 on Improving the Lives of Slum Dwellers

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Note to the reader
This Interim Report is a preliminary output of the Millennium Project Task Force on Improving the Lives of Slum Dwellers. The recommendations presented herein are preliminary and circulated for public discussion. Comments are welcome and should be sent to the e-mail address indicated above. The Task Force will be revising the contents of this document in preparation of its Final Task Force report, due December 2004. The Final Task Force report will feed into the Millennium Project's Final Synthesis Report, due to the Secretary-General by June 30, 2005

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The Millennium Project is the independent advisory body to United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan that is commissioned with recommending, by June 2005, operational strategies for meeting the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). This includes reviewing current innovative practices, prioritizing policy reforms, identifying frameworks for policy implementation, and evaluating financing options. The Project's ultimate objective is to help ensure that all developing countries meet the MDGs.

As a United Nations-sponsored initiative, the Millennium Project proceeds under the overall guidance of the Secretary-General and United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Administrator Mark Malloch Brown in his capacity as chair of the United Nations Development Group (UNDG). Professor Jeffrey Sachs directs the Project, which brings together the expertise of world-class scholars in both developed and developing countries, United Nations agencies, and public, non-governmental, and private-sector institutions. Ten Task Forces carry out the bulk of the Millennium Project's analytical work with support from a small secretariat based at UNDP headquarters in New York. The Task Forces and their Coordinators are listed below.

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Summary for Policy Makers

About this paper

This has been produced by the Task Force on Improving the Lives of Slum Dwellers, a group of experts and practitioners from all regions of the world who have been working for many years in local, national and international settings on the same objective – working with urban poor groups to improve conditions in the settlements where they live or support them finding better quality accommodation. This summary shows that conditions in urban slums are much worse than most governments and international agencies realize. But there are successful precedents to show how to significantly improve the lives of all slum dwellers. The main conclusions of the Task Force's work so far are summarized below.

1. Slums of the world: a grave and rapidly growing challenge

There are several important reasons why we need a much sharper focus on the plight of the urban poor:

a) **The urbanization of the world's population growth.** Cities will absorb more than 95 per cent of the world's expected population growth by the year 2030.
b) **The urbanization of poverty.** Given present demographic trends noted above, the majority of the future poor will be urban.
c) **The sheer size of the world's slum population.** According to the most recent estimates, over 900 million people can be classified as slum dwellers – that is, lacking one or more of the following conditions: access to improved water, access to improved sanitation facilities, sufficient living space, dwellings of sufficient durability and structural quality, security of tenure. In today's world, almost one out of three urban dwellers already lives in a slum.
d) **The concentration of slum dwellers in the poorest countries.** Based on 2001 estimates, 43 per cent of the urban population in the developing regions live in slums. But in the least developed countries, this percentage rises to more than 78 per cent.
e) **The inequitable and/or life-threatening conditions most slum dwellers live under.** Many slums are among the world's most life-threatening environments. In addition, a number of slum dwellers are excluded from the attributes of urban life that remain a monopoly of a privileged minority – political voice, decent housing, safety and the rule of law, education and health, decent transport, adequate incomes.
f) **Escalating numbers.** If present trends continue, 1.5 billion people out of 3.3 billion urban residents will live in slums by the year 2020. However, <u>if policy and structural measures are taken</u> to address this challenge, the incidence of slum dwellers would *drop by roughly 700 million individuals* – almost exactly halving the number that is predicted if there is no effective change of current trends.

In sum, these issues have not been given the attention they deserve, and without significant urgent action and reforms, will worsen. Slum upgrading and urban planning for future generations must become core business for local and national governments alike, and supported by international development agencies.

One of the reasons for the dearth of attention thus far is the inadequacies of data. Such inadequacies leave us only with estimates and make it impossible to say precisely the scale and depth of urban poverty and compare it to rural poverty. However, recent surveys show that urban poverty has been underestimated. Many nations have under-five mortality rates for urban populations that are between 150 and 210 per 1000 live births. Averages for urban populations in infant and child mortality rates or the proportion suffering from malnutrition or in provision for basic services are generally better

than averages for rural populations – but this is not surprising, since most middle and upper income groups live in urban areas. Averages hide how bad conditions are for slum populations. In many slums, infant, child and maternal mortality rates are much higher than rural averages and may be comparable to those experienced by the rural poor. Because slum populations live close to water mains, schools and health centers, it is assumed they have better access than rural dwellers. But they often have as little possibility of accessing these as rural dwellers. Much urban poverty is not because of distance from infrastructure and services but from exclusion. They are excluded from the attributes of urban life that remain a monopoly of a privileged minority – political voice, secure good quality housing, safety and the rule of law, good education, health services, decent transport, adequate incomes, access to goods and services, credit – in short, the attributes of *full citizenship*. Concentrating people in urban areas may bring large potential health advantages because it reduces unit costs for good quality provision for water, sanitation, drainage and preventive and curative health care (and where needed interventions to reduce hunger) but it only does so, if such provisions are made. In the absence of such provision, concentrating people and their wastes (especially with little provision to safely dispose of fecal matter) increases health risks, including the risks of transmission of many infectious and parasitic diseases.

2. The determinants of slum formation (Why do we have slums?)

There are many determinants driving slum formation. However, the two fundamental ones are extreme poverty and inadequacies in urban governance – both of which individually influence the level of social exclusion and the quality of life faced by slum dwellers. Taken together, they produce a dynamic that will only be changed by a comprehensive effort aimed at both these drivers of slum formation. People-led slum improvement and making land available for future urban settlers are powerful mechanisms to address this needed change at a scale sufficient to make a meaningful difference.

As stated in "We the Peoples", "slums and squatter settlements are only partially caused by inherent resource scarcities. Also to blame are poorly functioning markets for property and land, unresponsive financial systems, failed policies, corruption and a fundamental lack of political will. And yet these cities-within-cities are wellsprings of entrepreneurial energy that can be mobilized to provide welfare improvements for their inhabitants and for society at large".

Slums must not be viewed solely in negative terms. They bear testimony to the ingenuity of the urban poor. They also exist because they meet poorer groups' needs, in the absence of effective government policies and societal will. Low-income individuals or households live in slums because these are the only places where they can find affordable accommodation. This explains why, for example, the urban poor evicted by slum bulldozing end up in other slums or create new ones.

The long-term dynamic relationship between income poverty and slum formation is a perverse one. Although living in a slum is often a solution to a problem, it comes at a cost. It typically means more social exclusion (for instance, living in an 'illegal' settlement with no registered address means you cannot vote or send your children to school) and more exclusion creates deeper poverty. The circumstances mentioned in the Secretary-General's report "We the Peoples" are correct – but all of them have a link to the central aspect of poverty. The poor do not have access to formal markets for housing, land for building low cost housing and housing credit that are structured to reflect their rights, This occurs in part because they are not considered attractive or solvent customers. It also occurs because they are simply excluded from a meaningful voice in the political process. Corruption only makes matters worse. It feeds on exploiting the urban poor, through the practices of slum landlordism. The often-lamented "lack of political will" stems largely from the fact that slums can continue to exist, as long as they provide (very poor) accommodation for the providers of cheap labor

and underpaid services, and as long as they can be screened from the rest of the city or accepted as an inevitable aspect of the poverty of nations.

Yet we have precedents to show that this need not be the case. There are local and national governments that have taken seriously the need not only for slum upgrading but also for ensuring that land and finance are available to allow new settlements to develop that are good quality but also affordable to lower-income groups – as in Tunisia and Thailand. There are local authorities that have backed a commitment to citywide upgrading with significant funding and changed legislation to allow slum dwellers to get tenure - as in São Paulo. Perhaps more important than any of these is the growing number of both low- and middle-income nations where organizations and federations of the urban poor or homeless have formed and are working with city governments on upgrading and new settlement development as in India, Thailand, Nepal, Philippines, Cambodia, Vietnam, South Africa, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Kenya and Uganda.

These examples show that the goal of "cities without slums" can be reached but only if city, state and national authorities recognize and work with the slum dwellers themselves and their organizations – at scale. The slum dwellers are not just our target; they are the agents whose investments, ingenuity and organizational capacity are the key to achieving the target. Working with them means that the other goals can be achieved – improved tenure, improved infrastructure and services, savings mobilization, community-executed projects, housing improvement, the gradual evolution of economic activity from the very informal to more formal, organized and income-generating activities.

But slums will not be eliminated simply by improving the lives of existing slum dwellers. As noted earlier, far greater numbers of low-income people will populate cities in the years to come. Thus, procedures have to be reversed – from post-facto remedy to preventive action; from *events leading planning* to *planning leading events*. Experience has shown that the provision of well-planned serviced land is cheaper than regularizing settlements characterized by complex legal situations and consolidated physical layouts and patterns. Facilitating the settlement of new urban dwellers – those who will continue to come to cities because more prosperous economies increase employment opportunities in urban areas – is the best strategy to provide them with a solid foothold for decent and sustainable urban lives.

3. Operationalizing the Target

In September 2000, all Heads of State gathered at the "Millennium Assembly" of the United Nations committed themselves to five measurable targets on poverty, education, maternal and under-five child mortality, HIV/AIDS, and slum dwellers. The "slum target" was "By 2020, to have achieved a significant improvement in the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers as proposed in the "Cities Without Slums" initiative". The target, as explained in the Secretary-General's report "We, the Peoples" ("Freedom from Want" Section, pp. 29-30) was drawn from the Cities Without Slums Action Plan, which called on governments to: Start with the mobilization of political and financial commitment to slum upgrading and gear up the capacity to support large-scale actions (2000); Initiate 20 citywide and nationwide programs in five regions to change the lives of 5 million urban poor (2001); Up-scale the approach over the 2006-2020 period with 50 national programs with slum improvement as a central element of urban development strategies in most countries, resulting in the provision of basic services to 100 million slum dwellers and slum formation stopped. Thus, the 100-million goal was only one feature of the plan – one that was picked up as a target because it was the one *quantified objective of the action plan* directly aimed at positively affecting slum dwellers. The plan, adopted at the end of 1999, could not foresee that its goal, "Cities Without slums", would later be endorsed by the UN Millennium Assembly. Its strategic and funding components were based on

the amount of gradual support and country involvement that could be reasonably envisaged at the time.

While all efforts must be made to take immediate steps toward meeting the 100-million target by 2020, these initial efforts must be accompanied by incremental actions aimed at reducing the current rate of slum formation, in accordance with the "Cities Without Slums" action plan incorporated in the Millennium Declaration wording. These two combined actions would provide a necessary shift away from the decades of misguided or single-dimensional urban upgrading projects which did little to prevent the formation of new slums. The dual-approach of immediate (when possible) and incremental upgrading and planning can effectively achieve the target of improving the lives of 100 million slum dwellers while also deterring the future need for slum formation. In fact, if one were to use projected slum population figures, for example, this could mean bringing down the expected slum population to 800 million (the present 900 million minus the 100 million whose lives would be improved over the same period). Such a calculation exercise also shows that the total number of slum dwellers (1.6 billion) projected to live in cities by 2020 if no remedial and preventive action is taken would be halved, thus aligning Target 11 with the wording found in other MDG targeted objectives.

Therefore, the Task force wishes to propose the following definition of the "slum target":
By 2020, improving substantially the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers while deterring new slum formation

"Cities without slums", "remedial and preventive action" and "deterring slum formation" could be interpreted as recommending slum bulldozing but this is the opposite of what this Task Force recommends. Cities without slums have to be achieved by partnering local authorities with slum dwellers (the principle actors) and their organizations and with low-income groups seeking housing. Such innovative partnerships and local, national, and international policies supporting them can do much to counteract the structural biases which sustain varying degrees of social exclusion faced by the urban poor. Any policy intervention must fundamentally reflect that cities without slums cannot imply in any way a violation of people's recognized rights, be they the right to adequate housing or the "right to the city", particularly in the form of forced evictions, forced relocations, or measures to discourage access to the city. To emphasize this point further, the Task Force wishes to underline principles that cannot be fully incorporated in a concise target. They are:

- Recourse to relocation of existing slum dwellers only when their own lives and /or health are at risk and only through solutions acceptable to and negotiated with these dwellers, with those who are to be resettled being given due legal process, fully involved in planning, and managing the resettlement;
- Provision of secure tenure and in-situ upgrading of existing 'slums' rather than relocation in all other cases, according to criteria and principles negotiated with the slum dwellers and their organizations;
- Incorporation of security of tenure as a fundamental component of the concept of "substantially improved lives", taking into account the need for gradualness and the wide variety of existing options other than outright freehold titles, in order to avoid "market evictions" and tenant evictions;
- Need for pro-active policies, programs, and plans on the part of all spheres of government to ensure there is land, basic infrastructure and basic services available for future settlement needs in cities, so poorer groups need not live in new slums.

4. Key Policy Messages

First: work with slum dwellers to upgrade slums across the board: The forced demolition of urban slums does not reduce poverty, it creates poverty; it does not reduce slums, it simply means new slum formation elsewhere. It is an inhuman practice as it often destroys homes that can easily be improved. It destroys livelihoods and fixed capital, disrupting lives, creating new needs to be met somewhere else, and pre-empting alternative uses of scarce urban land. Relocation is an option only when people's lives are at risk and only through solutions developed with the dwellers that are acceptable to them. In all other cases, the best option by far is the provision of secure tenure in existing informal settlements with the participation and contribution of all existing residents. Sometimes, this involves difficult negotiations, especially between landlords and tenants, but again there are precedents showing this is possible. Public investment in incremental tenure upgrading and neighborhood infrastructure generates substantial investment on the part of the households and communities themselves. With political will, these policies work and must be extended to all cities and to all countries. In sum, national and local governments need to treat slum upgrading as core business.

Second: plan for new urban settlements: The regularization of existing slums will not take care of the additional demand of the more than half *billion* additional poor expected to live in cities by 2020. Planning for future urban settlement also makes economic sense: new settlement is less expensive than upgrading consolidated informal settlements. We have good examples in this area as well. The "Cities without Slums" goal evoked in the Millennium Declaration demands that suitable and affordable alternatives be found for *all* the less fortunate residents of the cities of tomorrow.

Third: Make cities work: Adequate shelter is a human right and a fundamental attribute of human development. Improved living conditions are key to the eradication of poverty. But they are not all that is needed. Escaping the poverty trap means gaining access to adequately paid, safe, and dignified sources of livelihood. For this to happen, cities have to develop the urban infrastructure (roads, communications, transport services, serviced areas) that can attract productive investment from *both* domestic and foreign sources. Concurrently, local authorities must ensure that social equity measures are institutionalized in order to spread the benefits of such investments and infrastructure fairly across the full spectrum of urban residents. This is the way to make upgrading and forward settlement planning part of a sustainable development process, both for the urban poor and for the re-birth of national economies. Good urban governance necessitates socially inclusive and proactive policy formation and implementation – this is the key to making cities work.

Fourth: Take cities seriously and move to scale: As stated before, virtually all population growth over the next 30 years will take place in urban areas in low- and middle-income nations. The multiplier effects of investment in upgrading, new settlement development, and citywide infrastructure and services are proven, and have already been recognized by global plans of action, including Agenda 21. This has to be recognized in addressing all the Millennium Development Goals. Translated, this means that national governments and international agencies will have to take cities more seriously than ever before and work more intently with local authorities, a major partner with slum dwellers. But efforts will never meet the scale required unless both political commitment and resources are brought up to scale. One largely untapped human resource has been the professional services of relevant design, planning and related professionals and their educational and institutional bodies, who should be more powerfully enlisted to collaborate in the improvement of the lives of slum dwellers, as well as the social, health, economic, aesthetic and environmental sustainability of cities. In sum, taking cities seriously means investing in the future in innovative ways and seizing a unique opportunity to make great strides in achieving the Millennium Development Goals.

Disclaimer: The following chapters represent an interim effort of the Task Force to provide recommendations to the UN Secretary-General, under the terms of a mutually agreed upon contract. However, this report is presented with the further understanding that the Task Force will continue to work through issues it deems relevant to Target 11 – discussing more intensely positions of existing consensus and others where disagreement remains – toward the later presentation of a more comprehensively TF-supported and thorough final report.

Chapter 1 – Introduction and Global Context[1]

I. Current State of Affairs

A) *Housing as a Human Right: The Global Mandate*

On December 10th 1948, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted and proclaimed the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, in which Article 25 states:

> ***Everyone has the right*** **to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family**, including **food**, **clothing**, ***housing*** and **medical care** and necessary **social services**, and the right to **security** in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control [emphasis added].

Between that date in 1948 and the turn of the new millennium, two UN human settlements conferences were held to address the growing challenges of urbanization: Habitat I in Vancouver, Canada in 1976 and Habitat II in Istanbul, Turkey in 1996[2]. However, it was not until 52 years after the issuance of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights that in 2000, with a new generation of Heads of State (led by the insightful call of the UN Secretary-General), that governments worldwide *for the first time* recognized the pervasive nature of the problem of hundreds of millions of poor people living in sub-standard conditions in cities, and committed themselves to a program of action with a specific target intended to alleviate the problem.

In preparation for the UN Millennium Assembly held in September 2000, the UN Secretary-General issued a report entitled *We, the Peoples*. Among its recommendations, the report calls for world leaders' commitment and the international development community's focus on improving the living conditions of the urban poor (A/54/2000, Para 137). In that same year, the General Assembly and Heads of State showed considerable foresight in singling out the growth of slums and the plight of slum dwellers, highlighting the fact that world poverty is growing fastest in the urban areas of developing countries. In their *Millennium Declaration*, these leaders called for the following target: "By 2020, to have achieved a significant improvement in the lives of at

[1] Task Force 8 Coordinators Pietro Garau and Elliott Sclar, along with TF8 Senior Associate Gabriella Carolini, would like to thank Shane Taylor and Elizabeth Currid for their research assistance in the early drafting of this Chapter.

[2] For a brief historical perspective on the UN system and the issue of informal settlements, see paper presented to the Inter-University Co-operation Programme Mozambique-Italy by Task Force Coordinator, Pietro Garau (contact: piero.garau@tiscali.it).

least 100 million slum dwellers, as proposed in the Cities without Slums initiative"[3].

Subsequently, the *Millennium Project* was commissioned by the Secretary-General (with the support of UNDP) to prepare a framework for action in order to achieve the proclaimed Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). The Millennium Project works through ten Task Forces, composed of independent experts[4]. One of these ten task forces is entirely devoted to the "slum target" – Task Force (TF) 8 on Improving the Lives of Slum Dwellers. This report represents an interim iteration of TF8's recommendations to the UN Secretary-General.

B) *The Reality – Identifying and Understanding Slums and Slum Dwellers*

1. Introduction

In moving toward the goal of improving the lives of slum dwellers, as with any other MDG, the first step is to *identify* and *understand*[5]. More specifically, the complex scope of scenarios calling for immediate and future action must first be identified and accompanied by a detailed understanding of the network of forces driving these particular states of affairs.

The term "slums" is a short-hand expression intended to describe what are in fact a wide diversity of built physical forms, of depths and scales of deprivation, and of residents. Indeed, a number of policies enacted to "improve slums" have failed simply because rather than examining the particularities of circumstance, instead attempted to operate from a generalized (and poor) understanding of the needs and priorities of "slums" and "slum dwellers". A fundamental goal of this report is to emphasize the importance of identifying and appreciating the range and variety of different "slums" and "slum dwellers", to prevent future misaligned and inappropriate interventions at the local level and to promote a methodology of intervention which places a premium on identifying a specific group's needs and priorities, as identified by the residents themselves.

What is the range and variety of slums?
Form: A portfolio of "slum" forms include, for example, a complete absence of accommodation (as is the case for those sleeping in public places, on pavements, roofs, or in open spaces), overcrowded boarding houses with rented beds, single rooms in tenements housing entire households, informal or illegal settlements (where dwellers are

[3] This "slum target" is one of six specific targets enumerated in the Millennium Declaration, and is listed as Target 11, under Goal 7 (to ensure environmental sustainability).
[4] Each Task Force deals with one or more of the eighteen Millennium targets listed under the eight Millennium Development Goals (See Appendix for a breakdown of the Millennium Development Goals, Targets, and Task Forces).
[5] The most fundamental and elusive of development goals indeed remains how to facilitate and sustain improvement or positive change. The relative nature of such an aim is exposed by the very words we use – *improvement* and *positive* (i.e., improvement according *to whom* and positive *from which perspective*?). Both terms illustrate a weakness in the definition of development, yet these same words provide us with great scope for substantial interpretation according to specific context and potential beneficiaries, as well as greater opportunity for consequential achievements.

renters or de facto owners), amongst other forms.

Depth and scale of deprivation: As discussed in Section 3 below, UN HABITAT has formulated a set of benchmark indicators used to characterize common urban slum conditions. Nonetheless, it is important to highlight here that in calculating the number of slums based on any set of benchmarks, the extant variety in depth and scale of deprivation is highly significant and cannot be ignored by authorities at local, national, and international levels. More specifically, an overcrowded settlement without access to potable water and sanitation, no security of tenure, and dangerously structured shelters most certainly requires distinction in intervention prioritization and "slum" type from a settlement that is overcrowded, but enjoys a secure level of tenure and some basic municipal services – though both are included under the umbrella term of "slum" and both need to be addressed. In drawing such distinctions, one begins to see clearly why understanding local specificity has such great implications for the success of policy interventions – and why support for slum censuses should be an important goal and tool of policy formation.

Residents: Within any urban center, a diverse range of "housing sub-markets" for low-income groups is typically present and reflective of the various drivers of slum formation. The form and relative importance of these housing sub-markets also varies *between* cities and over time (usually much influenced by what governments do or do not do). What lies at the heart of such housing sub-markets? The clear and simple answer is the varying needs and priorities of different low-income residents. For some, price and location are priorities in the search for shelter – we see this in the examples of pavement dwellers, roof dwellers, graveyard dwellers, inner-city tenements, and centrally located, cheap boarding houses. However, other low-income residents place a premium on affordable short-term accommodation – this is most certainly the case for a number of migrant workers, newly arrived immigrants, and mobile workers. In addition, there are those who are mostly seeking permanent, stable, and affordable shelter in the city – these residents include those who invest time, efforts, and personal funds into, for example, building shelters in informal, illegal, or abandoned areas.

This diversity among slum dwellers highlights the fact that slum upgrading – not clearance – is the answer to improving the lives of the urban poor (and the life of the city more generally). In other words, the central policy concern is the need for affordable housing with full municipal amenities. By way of contrast, slum clearance, only results in the relocation of slums within an urban area. It fails to deal with the underlying problem: the lack of affordable housing. Again, as discussed above, this need varies according to the different priorities of the groups or individuals in question. In other words, a solution offering permanent residence to the migrant worker and costly temporary housing to the very low-income family seeking stability and permanence in a particular locale is simply not suitable nor a real improvement. Interventions in improving the lives of slum dwellers must take into account the diversity of what different low-income residents in this definition rubric can realistically afford to pay for housing, their location and quality priorities, size needs, etc.

What are "slum" commonalities?
Just as understanding the diversity of slums are key to moving towards improvement interventions, it is also critical in policymaking to understand the underlying similarity or shared characteristic of slums – *the present vulnerability to serious health risks for their inhabitants due to inadequate provision of adequate shelter, basic infrastructure, and services*, such as water, sanitation, drainage, and often overcrowding. Indeed, building structures can also often threaten health prospects (for instance, when buildings are in risk of collapse, made of flammable materials, or provide inadequate protection against the elements). Furthermore, in many cases, the dwellers' tenure of their accommodation is insecure (for instance when living in illegal settlements at risk of eviction or renting space with no safeguards from landlord exploitation). In fact, in several cities a high proportion of those who live in poor quality accommodation live in illegal settlements – a fact with important implications beyond health risks and insecure tenure. Dwellers in such illegal settlements are commonly denied their civil and political entitlements (i.e., the right to vote, access to basic services, public education for their children), often because they have no official address.

2. Identifying Slums as an Important Contemporary Issue: Background

Slums are not a marginal occurrence, nor a passing one. Rather, they form part of a comprehensive land and housing delivery system – one with many sub-markets which are inextricably linked to one another. In short, slums exist because, as noted above, they meet different housing needs where there are no other viable choices. In outlining the global dimensions of this slum challenge, at least five elements are worthy of note. They are: the sheer size of the world's slum population; its concentration in the world's poorest countries; the inequitable and life-threatening conditions slum dwellers live under; the urban nature of virtually all the world's future population growth; the urbanization of poverty; and the escalating numbers of people living in inhuman urban settings that the combination of these phenomena will bring about unless positive pro-poor action is taken. In more detail:

- **The urbanization of the world's population growth.** Of the 2.2 billion increase the world's population is projected to register between now and the year 2030, 2.1 billion people will be in urban areas.[6] If in spite of potential economic stagnation and/or decline, such growth projections become reality, urban centers will absorb more than 95 per cent of the world's expected population growth by the year 2030. These prospects are far more dramatic than the usual perceptions of "a world of cities", or of an "urbanizing world". Whether or not the extent of population growth predicted is actualized, what the projections clearly indicate is a major trend toward urban life, which means that the future needs of the world's population will have to be handled largely in urban contexts.

- **The urbanization of poverty.** In the mid-1970s, there was a need for a re-orientation of development policies away from 'big infrastructure' to addressing

[6] United Nations Population Division, *World Urbanization Prospects: the 2001 Revision.*

the needs and priorities of poor rural dwellers. But this re-orientation failed to recognize growing levels of deprivation in urban areas. It still does so today, even though urban populations have grown much more than rural populations (for the least developed nations, urban populations have increased more than 400 percent since the mid 1970s while rural populations increased 75 percent). If present trends continue, the majority of future poor will be urban dwellers in the developing world[7], and their proportions will be highest in the poorest countries.

- **The sheer size of the world's slum population.** According to the most recent estimates[8], 924 million people can be classified as urban slum dwellers[9] – that is, lacking one or more of the following conditions: access to improved water, access to improved sanitation facilities, sufficient living space, dwellings of sufficient durability and structural quality, security of tenure. In today's world, almost one out of three urban dwellers already lives in a slum.

- **The concentration of slum dwellers in the poorest countries.** Based on 2001 estimates,[10] the proportion of the urban population living in slums in Europe and other developed regions is "only" 6 percent. By contrast, 43 percent of the urban population in developing regions (i.e., Sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America, and South and East Asia, etc.) taken as a whole live in slums. But in the least developed countries, this percentage rises to more than 78 percent.

- **The inequitable and/or life-threatening conditions most slum dwellers live under.** Many slums are among the world's most life-threatening environments in absolute measures.[11] In addition, while some slum dwellers and their federations have made impressive progress in securing the rights and opportunities of urban citizenship, a number are relatively excluded from the attributes of urban life that typically remain a monopoly of a privileged minority – political voice, decent housing, safety and the rule of law, education and health, decent transport, adequate incomes. Indeed, in virtually all low- and middle-income nations, a significant part of both absolute and relative challenges – including extreme hunger, income-poverty and inadequate provision for water, sanitation, schools and health care – are urban problems. Within most national populations, a significant part of the population that suffers very high infant, child and maternal mortality rates – and very high rates of infection for HIV/AIDs, malaria,

[7] See Ravallion, M. (2001) "On the Urbanization of Poverty", World Bank Working Paper, for more information.
[8] UN-HABITAT, *The Challenge of Slums, Global Report on Human Settlements 2003,* Earthscan publications; UN-HABITAT, *Slums of the World,* United Nations Human Settlements Programme, 2003.
[9] While slums are primarily an urban phenomena, there are important exceptions to this characterization – for example, rural boarding houses for migrant agricultural workers may also fall under the rubric of "slums" according to UN-HABITAT's indicators. However, UN HABITAT's figures are derived from a survey of urban areas – an indication that the extant number of slum dwellers both in urban and rural areas is much greater than current statistics show.
[10] *Ibid*
[11] WHO (1999), "Creating healthy cities in the 21st Century", Chapter 6 in David Satterthwaite (editor), *The Earthscan Reader on Sustainable Cities*, Earthscan Publications, London, pages 137-172.

tuberculosis, and other diseases that the MDGs seek to combat – are urban residents.

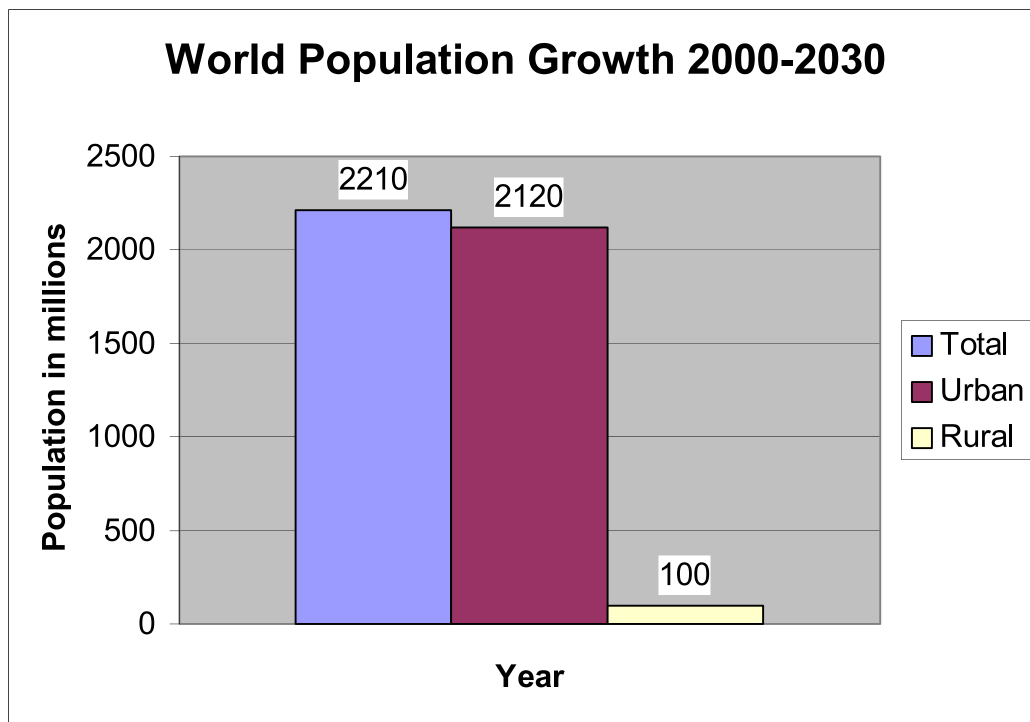
- **Escalating numbers.** If present trends continue, the world's slum population will more than double by the year 2030.

Some of these observations and projections are further illustrated below.

3. Urbanization and Slums: A Connected Reality

The challenges of urban slum dwelling must be considered in the context of the broader global urbanization trends. At present, the world is only about half way through its transformation from a predominantly rural to predominantly urban planet. Since 1950, 60% of population growth has been in urban areas, in particular in the urban areas of the developing world. This proportion is rising dramatically. While the absolute numbers of rural dwellers are projected to stabilize – and eventually decline in about fifteen years' time, virtually all of the world's population growth over the next three decades will take place *in urban centers,* as the figure below starkly demonstrate:

Figure 1: Urban Transformations

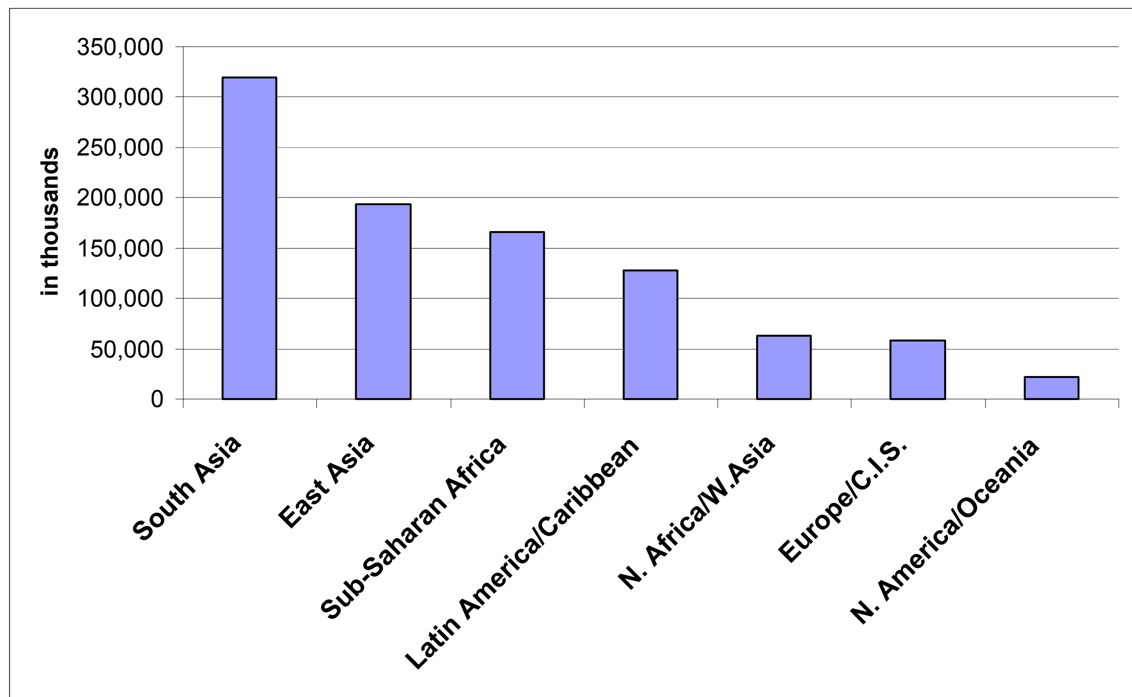


Source: World Urbanization Prospects, The 2001 Revision, Table 1.
Note: Due to rounding errors, the figures above for rural and urban growth do not add up to the total amount noted.

Of the more than 2.2 billion added population expected between now and 2030, all but 100 million of that increase is expected to be individuals living in urban places. Most of

this urban increase will be absorbed by low- and middle-income countries.[12] For some urban centers, such growth pressures have *already* translated into upwards of 70 to 80% of residents living in slum conditions. Recent authoritative publications, such as UN-HABITAT's *Global Report on Human Settlements: The Challenge of Slums* (2003), help us achieve a better understanding of the magnitude and of the importance of this issue. The most recent estimates contained in the Global Report indicate that there are currently more than 900 million slum dwellers (roughly one out of every six people in the world today), distributed as follows:

Figure 2: Global Distribution of Urban Slum Dwellers by Region (2001)

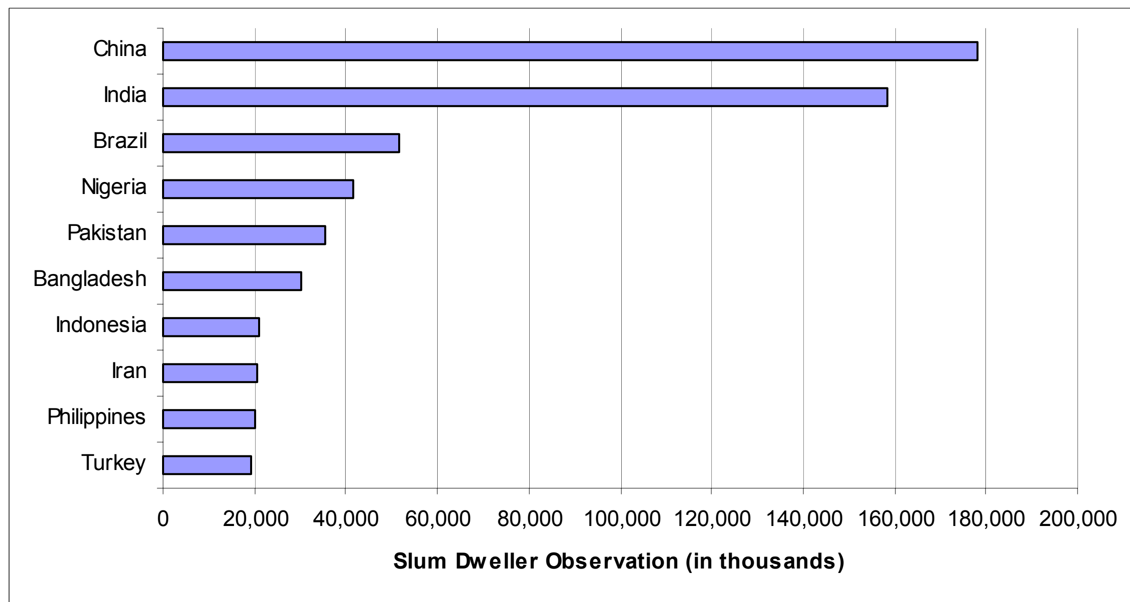


Source: UN Habitat (2003), *Slums of the World*, Annex 3 Statistical Tables.

The above graph illustrates that the largest number of slum dwellers are found in Asia, while Figure 3 below highlights that the greatest clusters are most often found in middle-income countries. However, it is critical to note that the slum dweller population the world-over is significantly dynamic. Although at present most low-income countries are characterized by a relatively low proportion of their population in urban areas, small- (and medium-) sized cities and towns worldwide are witnessing some of the most substantial urban growth, frequently reflected in both the physical and numerical growth of slums (UN HABITAT 2003).

[12] Data from UN Population Division's *World Urbanization Prospects, The 2001 Revision*.

Figure 3: Urban Slum Dwellers by Country – Top Ten (2001)



Source: UN Habitat (2003), *Slums of the World*, Annex 3 Statistical Tables.

4. Identifying Slums and Slum Dwellers

The aggregated figures above emerge from a difficult challenge – that of identifying a slum and a slum dweller. Identification is difficult because of cultural variation in the way people are housed and see their own lives. In *We, the Peoples*, slums were defined as

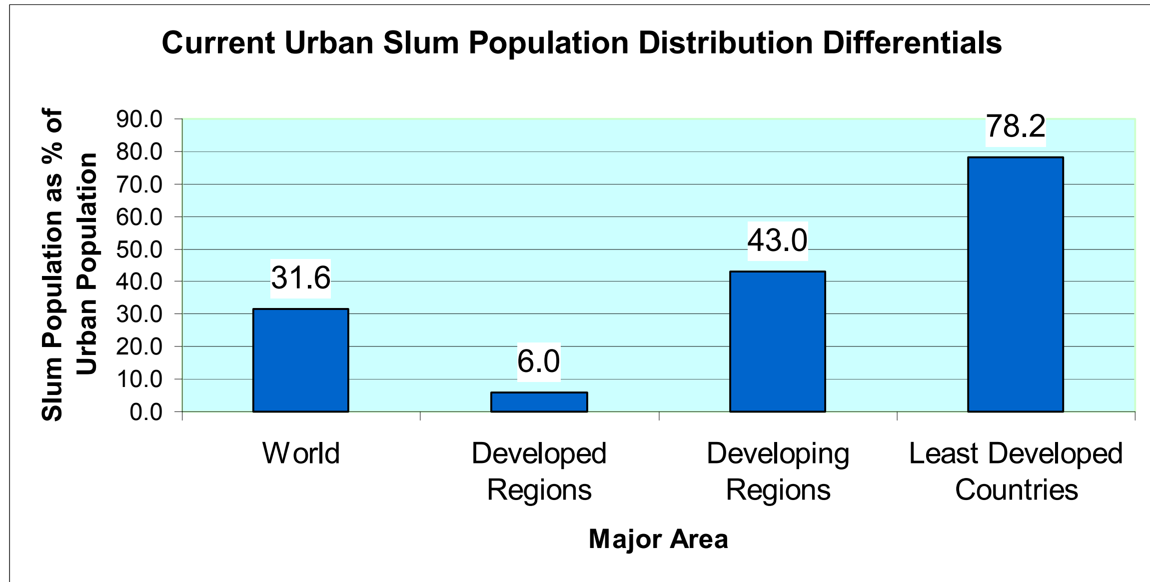
> "…miserable living conditions. Slums lack basic municipal services, such as water, sanitation, waste collection and storm drainage. Slum dwellers live and work in conditions of pervasive insecurity – exposed to disease, crime and environmental hazards". (A/54/2000 Para 135).

In other words, urban slum dwellers live in conditions that severely challenge the basic human rights that the UN General Assembly declared long ago.

Yet acknowledging the challenge of relativity and the wide variety of methodologies for identifying and measuring slums, current efforts to enumerate slum dwellers witness the development of ranges of understanding and measurement so as to ensure that while the net is cast wide, it also remains strong, intact, and meaningful. UN-HABITAT has gone far in such work, and urban slum-specific statistics used here have built off of their quantitative data labors. More specifically, UN-HABITAT developed a complex net of national-level indicators in collecting slum-specific data based on contextual definitions of access to improved water and sanitation, sufficient and not overcrowded living areas, structural quality and durability of dwellings, and security of tenure. Though this data does not necessarily record extant slum populations in the more exacting manner of a slum census, it does act as a proxy for measuring a population which suffers various aspects of deprivation.

Based on estimates using such indicators, we know that today at least 32 million slum dwellers reside in Europe, with Russia having the highest figure at almost six million and high-income countries like Germany, the United Kingdom, and France (along with middle-income Romania) each with between two to three million slum dwellers each. The United States, by these estimates, has over 12 million slum dwellers (again this example highlights the earlier noted need for understanding the varied depth of deprivation that exists whenever using umbrella-terms such as “slum dwellers”). Overall, these figures suggest that although conditions of 19th century slums in now developed urban agglomerations were ameliorated to an extent, new forms of slum dwelling have emerged *despite of country or city income-levels*. Nonetheless, over approximately 62% of the world’s near-one billion slum dwellers live in the cities of just ten countries – all of which fall below national high-income marks (Figure 3). In fact, the percentage of slum dwellers in urban populations appears to have a directly negative correlation with development levels, as demonstrated in the chart below, highlighting the importance of prioritizing efforts in the poorest regions:

<u>Figure 4: Percentage of Slum Population by Major Development Area</u>



Source: UN Habitat 2003 « Slums of the World » Working Paper.

5. Understanding Slum Formation

a. Introduction - Policy and Structural Roots of Slums

Poverty is the most obvious challenge behind urban slum formation – more specifically, this is manifested by the gap between what low-income residents can afford to pay for housing and the cost of the most affordable “non-slum” housing in a particular location. But poverty is itself a complex social driver comprised of specific structural issues and policy decisions. Any campaign to alleviate the problems of slum dwellers must be part and parcel of a larger effort to eradicate global poverty. Clearly, both *local and extra-*

local factors influence the form and relative importance of the affordable housing challenge within particular urban centers. Such micro and macro factors include existing income opportunities, urbanization, globalization, land and tenure rights, and gender relations – all of which are simultaneously rooted in policies at the local, national, and international levels. But they are also systemically interconnected via the existing institutional structure of global trade. It is therefore to the limitations and untested potentials of this structural trading base that we must ultimately turn to alleviate urban poverty because such structural factors influence the sustainability and success of local policy interventions. Indeed, solutions must work in harmony with markets but they must also address the exclusion of significant urban populations from the benefits of full local residential and global citizenship that are manifest in contemporary urban slum dwelling. For example, investments in cities are recognized as an important prerequisite for alleviating poverty and supporting economic development. However, governments seeking to attract such investment must also ensure that the side effects of such new investment (such as pressure on land markets and market eviction), which may be detrimental to the urban poor and can seriously impair their quality of life if unregulated, be mitigated to the extent possible.

In addition, working towards improvements in slum dwellers' lives requires that policy makers objectively address the relationships which benefit from the existence of slums. More specifically, slums exist because they differentially benefit different groups in an urban center as well as the larger economy – be it landlords, illegal land developers, water vendors, politicians who aid their formation, expansion, or servicing, as well as employers who keep wages down, ignore occupational health and safety regulations – or subcontract to other employers who will on their behalf in the name of cost-cutting.

b. Slums and Slum Dwellers as Understood in History

A history of the study of slums and slum dwellers is illuminating and has salience for how we today frame our target and methods of intervention. In particular, queries in the 1950s and 1960s were concerned with the origins of slum dwellers and their lifestyles. For example, one study of that era (though since heavily criticized) was conducted by an American anthropologist working in Mexico City's tenements who examined residents' survival strategies and formulated the concept of the "culture of poverty" (Lewis 1966). It was then postulated that abject poverty constrained those trapped in it to the extent that it became an inherited characteristic of their children. Meanwhile a growing body of research on migration flows to Latin American cities led to the emergence of the concept of "marginality," whereby the peripheral location of shantytowns epitomized the isolation of their residents from the city's society.[13] Both concepts were used to blame the circumstances on the characteristics of the individuals concerned - it was their lack of education, improvidence, inability to maintain a job, and predisposition for petty crime that led to their being slum dwellers. To many actors with a stake in the existing *status quo*, such "victim blaming" social analysis provided a convenient rationale for either doing nothing or attempting to drive the expanding population of urban poor away.

[13] See works of Germani (1980) and Perlman (1979) for more on topic of marginality – the first author contributing to this study and the latter critiquing it.

Among these were many in the bureaucracy and even the state itself. From their vantage point these were rural interlopers who had no place in "their" city.

In another vein of study, observations in Lima, Peru counteracted the negative stereotyped images of shantytowns and their dwellers. These were developed into a "self help" theory of urban evolution (Turner 1967, 1968) so influential with aid donors that 'site and service' programs have been widely adopted as a means by which the poor may attain decent housing over time. Nevertheless, the ability of self-help mechanisms to produce sufficient and adequate housing is limited by the system of both informal and formal political and social structures that circumscribe urban housing and land markets (Ward 1982 and Burgess 1985).

As the research that elaborated upon the initial self-help concepts evolved, greater attention began to focus upon the state and its role in society. It was the state that eradicated or tolerated squatter settlements, hounded or acknowledged their inhabitants, replied to neighborhood demands for services and shaped land and housing markets through policy interventions (or lack thereof), planning mechanisms (or lack thereof), etc. External finance, technology, and planning methods have traditionally reinforced the interests of large-scale entrepreneurs trading land, producing building materials, or supplying services at the expense of small-scale landowners, producers, and suppliers. We are thus here concerned with the creation of mechanisms through which the balance of market power expressed, via legislation and government action, begins to shift. Policy decisions about the shape of market structures are not neutral in their impact. Questions pertaining to finance provision (i.e., by whom, for whom, and to what effect?) must be central to the policy discussion. And the answers must be ones that redress the balance in these market mechanisms to better reflect the interests of the urban poor.

c. Globalization and Slums Today[14]

Several periods of history might somewhat accurately be described as periods of globalization[15], but the current period (gaining particular momentum since the 1970s) has seen communications, trade, and technological innovations dramatically alter the way work is done, the way economies and societies are structured, and how governance is practiced. At an individual level, it has also affected aspirations and broadened hopes of what the future has to offer. Just as earlier transformations of such magnitude were accompanied by population flows, so too in recent decades an enormous number of people have been on the move. Current waves of globalization and population migration are far from even in their impacts. One of the major destinations of many of these people on the move today is the cities in low- and middle-income countries. Consequently,

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[14] Some disagreement exists within the Task Force regarding the extent to which globalization (as herein described), or the lack thereof, has impacted the need for and formation of slums.

[15] Many varied and contextualized definitions abound about the meaning and the range of phenomena that the term "Globalization" can imply. Put simply here, we imply at the broadest level that barriers that once existed between states – legally, politically and physically – have been eroded due to new regimes of power and assisted by new technologies and new identities of citizenship.

understanding the global as well as the local drivers of these migrations is central to comprehensively change the trend lines on urban slum formation.

Analysis of the new global division of labor and the local dynamics of slum formation must be linked to one another. This linkage is necessary because in an increasingly integrated world it is the "pull" of opportunities in the urban labor market teamed with the "push" of meager opportunities in rural agriculture that conspire to create the observed rural- to- urban migration shifts that underlie the statistics cited in the previous sections of this chapter. Because both the pull (in part engendered by lowered trade barriers) and the push (in part engendered by an unwillingness to lower agricultural trade barriers) are both products of the current state of global political economics, it is simply not possible to provide a comprehensive answer to impoverished urban living conditions without resort to an analysis in which the global-local linkage is properly taken into account. Although the case for such linkage is almost intuitive, the specifics of the value and desirability of regulating that linkage are highly contentious, and there are differences within our taskforce as to where to strike the balance between the positive and negative effects of globalization and market forces on the urban poor. However, it is fair to say that there is a consensus that markets that function in the interest of the poor are an important part of any solution. At the same time we also think that steps have to be taken to ensure that mechanisms of social distribution and redistribution also exist. The poor can do a great deal on their own given the right institutional relationships, but the forces at work in the larger global context matter too. Ultimately, it will be via balances drawn within this context that effective solutions to the desperate problems of the urban poor will emerge.

As a result of the easier movement of capital and materials that characterize the present era of globalization, the location of contemporary slums correlates with the new locations for industrial work. In many ways the present mirrors the 19th century, when the full impacts of the industrial revolution became manifest in new industrial cities with a litany of social and health problems that sound disturbingly similar to the ones we identify today. Just as the solution then required the establishment of rules and programs that created social justice in the context of market-oriented expansion, solutions today will ultimately have to take a similar coloration, albeit on a global scale. The principal challenge will be the need to sustain local autonomy as the needs of the world's urban poor must in part be recognized as international in scope. By comparison, the nation state challenges of the creation of institutions of social welfare in the early 20th century seem quite easy in retrospect.

d. Consistent Exclusion

What roots do we unearth in seeking explanations for the various trajectories of urban life? In particular, what complexity of factors has influenced the urbanization of poverty and changes in slum dweller populations? As indicated in the sections above, the answers lie in varying but deep forms of exclusion – both evident and subtle, macro and micro. Exclusion from opportunities and resources in the spheres of the economy, government and politics, as well as within social relations emerge in examination –

sometimes pervasive through all areas of civil life, and sometimes centered within a particular arena.

Indeed, just as the nature of slums varies greatly despite similar general characteristics, so too is exclusion. A fine balance between exclusion and inclusion is maintained at local, national, and international levels, though usually with a biased tilt against benefiting the lives of the urban poor. For example, slum dwellers' livelihoods are quite often an integral part of a city's economy, but if such activities transpire in informal sectors then slum dwellers themselves are not privy to the formal public safety nets they would otherwise enjoy (i.e., labor safety standards, minimum wage, health benefits, etc). In such a case, these low-income urban residents are both included and excluded from the social life of the city, and via the city, national and global activities – an ironic scenario of being included in producing benefits and excluded from receiving them.

Nonetheless, slum dwellers have also made some progress in addressing issues of exclusion. For example, slum dwellers have successfully built up federations which have become important political voices at both local and national levels. Such progressive cases will be further explored in Chapter 2's examination of partnerships and Chapter 3's study of tenure issues and participatory processes in planning and design.

C) The Underestimation of Global Urban Poverty

1. Inadequacies of data

One of the reasons for the underestimation of urban poverty is the inadequacies of data. Such inadequacies make it impossible to describe precisely the scale and depth of urban poverty and compare it to rural poverty. But recent studies show that indeed urban poverty has been underestimated. Many nations have under-five mortality rates for urban populations that are between 150 and 210 per 1000 live births.[16] Averages for urban populations in infant and child mortality rates or the proportion suffering from malnutrition or in provision for basic services are generally better than averages for rural populations – but this is not surprising, since most middle- and upper-income groups live in urban areas. *However, averages hide how bad conditions are for slum populations*. In many slums, infant, child and maternal mortality rates are much higher than rural averages and may be comparable to those experienced by the most deprived among the rural poor. Because slum populations live close to water mains, schools and health centers, it is assumed they have better access than rural dwellers. But they often have as little possibility of accessing these as rural dwellers.

Much urban poverty is not because of distance from infrastructure and services but from

[16] Montgomery, Mark R., Richard Stren, Barney Cohen and Holly E. Reed (editors) (2003), *Cities Transformed; Demographic Change and its Implications in the Developing World*, The National Academy Press, Washington DC, 518 pages; UNICEF - Innocenti Digest (2002), *Poverty and Exclusion among Urban Children*, Innocenti Research Centre, United Nations Children's Fund, Florence.

exclusion. They are excluded from the attributes of urban life that remain a monopoly of a privileged minority – political voice, secure and good quality housing, safety and the rule of law, good education, health services, decent transport, adequate incomes, access to goods and services, credit – in short, the attributes of *full citizenship*. Concentrating people in urban areas may bring large potential health advantages because it reduces unit costs for good quality provision for water, sanitation, drainage and preventive and curative health care (and where needed interventions to reduce hunger), but it only does so if such provisions are made. In the absence of such provision, concentrating people and their wastes (especially with little provision to safely dispose of fecal matter) increases health risks, including the risks of transmission of many infectious and parasitic diseases.[17]

2. Built-in biases in assessing the problems of the urban poor

There are built-in biases which lead to a consistent underestimation of the problems of the urban poor. These biases are rooted in the following definitions, assessments and assumptions:

- *Inappropriate definitions of poverty* (especially through the use of one income-based poverty line in each nation, so that no allowance is made for the higher monetary cost of necessities in many urban contexts and no recognition of the many non-income aspects of poverty);
- *Inaccurate assessments of infrastructure and service provision* (for instance assuming that people classified as having 'improved' provision' or water and sanitation have adequate provision, even though the UN agencies who collect the water and sanitation data state that the criteria set for improved provision are not sufficient to reduce the health risks of insufficient and contaminated water and fecal-oral disease transmission; also assessments of provision based on 'proximity' with no account taken of access: poor urban groups can live next to water mains or hospitals but it does not mean they can get access to them);
- *Out-of-date assumptions about the concentration of population in rural areas* (two-fifths of Asia and Africa now live in urban areas; the urban population of Asia is also under-counted because the urban definitions used in several of the largest population nations understate urban populations);
- *An over-reliance on aggregate data* - so the extent and depth of urban poverty is hidden within aggregate statistics 'for urban areas' that also include most of a nation's middle and upper income groups.

The underestimation bias highlights the need for building an urban bias into health and other development statistics if we are to successfully address the problems of the world's poorest people. Since most middle- and upper-income groups live in urban areas, an urban bias would be expected in, for instance, statistics on average income levels, infrastructure and service provision and health outcomes. Such urban biases should be

[17] UN Habitat (2003), *Water and Sanitation in the World's Cities; Local Action for Global Goals*, Earthscan, London, 274 pages

further reinforced by the fact that urban areas also have potential economies of scale and proximity in most forms of infrastructure and service provision. But the extent of this bias in terms of health outcomes and in terms of infrastructure and service provision, is actually surprisingly small in many nations.

The problem of underestimation has created a “conventional wisdom” that presumes that urban slum dwellers live better lives than their rural counterparts. This results from two sources: a cursory look at the urban context and the use of simple averages in which the very rich and very poor find their incomes summed together to create a single statistic. If urban populations, regardless of income, are so privileged by better infrastructure and services, why are under five mortality rates still between 150 and 210 per 1000 live births for many nations' urban populations – when they would be below 15 in a nation where hunger has been addressed and there are good health care services and good provision for water and sanitation? If under five mortality rates are over 150 per 1000 live births for urban populations, this suggests that one child in three will be dying before the age of five, for many of the poorest groups or within the poorest settlements. For instance, in Kenya, under-five mortality rates in the informal settlements in which half of Nairobi's population live are more than twice those of the Nairobi average.[18]

Indeed, if most middle- and upper-income groups live in urban areas and this is combined with a systematic urban bias in provision for infrastructure and services, one would expect infant, child or under-five mortality rates in urban areas to be at least half those in rural areas. However, among 53 low- and middle income nations for which data are available on infant mortality rates (IMRs) in rural and urban areas from 1990 onwards, only in one (Peru) were infant mortality rates in urban areas less than half that in rural areas. In two nations, they were higher in urban areas than rural areas (Namibia 1992, Eritrea 1995); in seven, the urban rate was 0.9-0.99 that of the rural rate (Gabon 2000, Rwanda 1992, Sudan 1990, Uzbekistan 1996, Bangladesh 2000, Guatemala 1998, Haiti 2000). Overall, 25 out of 53 had urban IMRs of 0.75 or more those of rural IMRs.

3. The pitfalls of aggregated statistics

As noted above, aggregated urban statistics hide the scale or depth of deprivation among poor urban populations**.** The following examples relate this reality in more specific terms:

a) DIARRHOEAL DISEASES: In Kenya, there was little difference between Nairobi (the capital) and rural areas in the prevalence of serious diarrhoea (with the presence of blood) in children under 3 but the prevalence of such diarrhoea was more than three times the Nairobi average or the rural average in the informal settlements where half of Nairobi's population lives. Diarrhoeal disease prevalence among the inhabitants of 'slums' in Bangladesh's two largest cities was also significantly higher than the average for all urban areas or for all rural

[18] APHRC (2002), *Population and Health Dynamics in Nairobi's Informal Settlements*, African Population and Health Research Center, Nairobi.

areas, although the scale of the difference was less dramatic than in the above example for Kenya.

b) NUTRITIONAL LEVELS: The problem of malnutrition among lower income groups in urban areas may be very serious, but hidden in any urban average because of the concentration of well-fed middle and upper income groups in urban areas. A review of available data by the International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI) suggested that childhood stunting and underweight (and also child mortality) are generally lower in urban compared to rural areas whereas acute malnutrition or wasting (as measured by low weight-for-height) and morbidity from infectious diseases is often higher in urban areas. However there is considerable heterogeneity in poverty, morbidity, mortality and nutritional status in urban areas and generally the intra-urban differences in these are greater than the rural-urban differences.[19] An analysis of DHS data found children's height for age being greater in urban than in rural areas for all but one case (Uzbekistan) but the 'urban advantage' for weight for age was smaller and for six nations, weight-for-age was higher in rural areas than in urban areas.[20]

c) PROPORTION LIVING IN ABSOLUTE POVERTY: Given the concentration of most new investments and new employment opportunities in urban areas, one would expect absolute poverty levels to be much lower in urban areas than in rural areas. This is likely to be further reinforced in the many nations where the same income-based poverty line is used for both rural and urban areas, despite the significantly higher cost of many necessities in urban areas (i.e., cost of housing , water and sanitation, keeping children at school, transport to and from work). However, a review of nations for which there are recent statistics for absolute poverty levels for both rural and urban areas[21] showed the high proportion of the urban population that is below the poverty line – for instance over half of the urban population in Angola, Bangladesh, Chad, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras and Niger. This review also showed many nations without large differences in the proportion of the population with below-poverty line incomes or consumption in rural and urban areas – and for some nations, the proportion in urban areas is higher than the proportion in rural areas (Honduras in 1993, Mongolia in 1995).

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[19] Ruel, Marie T, James L. Garrett, Saul S. Morris, David Maxwell, Arne Oshaug, Patrice Engle, Purnima Menon, Alison Slack and Laurence Haddad (1998), *Urban Challenges to Nutrition Security: A review of Food Security, Health and Care in the Cities*, IFPRI, Washington DC.

[20] Montgomery, Mark R., Richard Stren, Barney Cohen and Holly E. Reed (editors) (2003), *Cities Transformed; Demographic Change and its Implications in the Developing World*, The National Academy Press, Washington DC, 518 pages.

[21] World Bank (2002), *Sustainable Development in a Dynamic World; Transforming Institutions, Growth and Quality of Life; World Development Report 2003*, World Bank and Oxford University Press, New York, 250 pages.

II) Case Studies

A. Introduction

In order to provide a tangible snapshot of the global slum phenomena, we introduce in this chapter brief outtakes of historical narratives from nine urban centers, located in eight regionally diverse countries: Bangalore (India), Bangkok (Thailand), Cape Town (South Africa), Chinandega (Nicaragua), Karachi (Pakistan), Mumbai (India), Nairobi (Kenya), San Salvador (El Salvador), and Sao Paulo (Brazil)[22]. There is also a wide range of urban population size and diverse historical, social, political and economic systems represented in these cases. The aim here is to provide a general introduction to readers of some of the historical trajectories influencing how informal settlements have emerged and how different themes (policy, trade, ethnicity, migration, etc) have influenced slum formation or perpetuation and the lives of the urban poor. In section B, we will look at the same cases in more quantitative terms, while in consequent chapters the role of various actors (in this interim report limited to local authorities and their partnerships) and specific key interventions across actor-levels (again limited to land issues and planning/design processes here) will more specifically highlight some of the processes leading the way forward and improving the lives of the global population of slum dwellers.

Brief Narratives

Bangalore, capital of the state of Karnataka, has a history of trade and commerce initially associated with its colonial position as an arsenal and armaments manufacturing locale and the development of a railway. After Independence, the Indian government chose Bangalore as a research center for its space program, which laid the contextual groundwork for later research industries locating there. More specifically, the city had experienced a boom in the software technology sector in the 1990s. This historical trajectory of activity in part explains why many migrants have been attracted to the city for a number of decades. However, in recent years the liberalization of the Indian economy (particularly in the 1990s) saw a shift in the city's key economic base, along with a consequential shift in labor demand and opportunities – with special repercussions for a significant number of migrants. When a countrywide industrial stagnation hit in the late 1990s, employment troubles in manufacturing and its related industries arose, as well as a decline in public sector employment. These challenges to the labor market have put more employment pressures on Bangalore's important small-scale enterprise clusters, typical of informal economies and notably key to the sustenance of slum dwellers. How

[22] There are obvious dangers in wide comparative work, namely the assumptions that similarities or distinctions are the rule or the exception. We recognize here that our understanding of the processes activating and driving slums and related interventions is based on somewhat fragmented evidence. Indeed, research projects referenced are often confined to single cities or a few in one country. The challenges faced in such contemporary studies are best recognized at the outset of any research synthesis. Furthermore, it is through such acknowledgement of a complex web of ranges and relativity that we may yet come to fully know the critical importance of embracing *basic rights and needs* with particular reference to the slum dweller example. Indeed, it is precisely the rights-based approach that ignites the typically elusive political will to comprehensively address urban poverty.

have these events impacted slum dwellers' lives? A divided city clearly appears where amenities and public services are concerned. Public policy is concentrated on the high-tech growth sector, prioritizing large-scale development projects for the high-end economy to attract private investment and revive the economy. Indeed, as the state government controls and regulates land (often using eminent domain to take over land in the city), unequal access to master planning and to the real estate market ensure that slum dwelling remains a solution for low-income individuals in areas like the KT Market and the BTM Layout. Why? Wealthy elite interests have more influence than the poor with the state government and development authorities (whose main interests are more to boost Bangalore's global competitiveness than to invest in, for example, infrastructure in low-income areas). Related to this divide in service interests is, of course, the issue of ethnicity and caste group. Poverty issues plaguing slum dwellers are seen separate from city's concerns by Bangalore's elite, whose ethnic and caste relations are more closely tied to that of government officials in charge of large infrastructure projects.

In **Bangkok**, a financial boom in the 1990s facilitated the growth in income inequality, with stupendous incomes for front-line finance industry employees and low wages for sectors providing their support – an issue which also finds root in the worldwide struggle to develop relevant skills training. Similar to some communities in Bangalore, this significant income inequality created unfair competition for low-income communities searching for desirable residencies in the city, particularly given the real estate speculation enabled by the boom years. Indeed, the lure and financial promise of land speculation led to squatter settlement evictions, which in turn led to greater spatial inequality of service-access among Bangkok's residents. In other words, Bangkok's low-income residents found themselves isolated in new settlements farther away from job opportunities, amenities, and municipal services. A social premium on supportive networks in community rather than individual-centric lifestyles has also translated into tight cohesion and attachment among slum dwellers.

Cape Town's slum dwelling population has obvious direct links with the history of state apartheid. Restrictions on African family residency with male laborers in the city during the time of apartheid led to the establishment of informal squatter camps in and around Cape Town, where families could live reunited. Despite such regulations or quotas on officially sanctioned city residence, industrial-labor opportunities' draw to the city (in contrast with the agricultural labor surplus and rural droughts) spurred rural-urban migration, particularly when Cape Town's residency restrictions were lifted. However, as in most cities with significant informal settlements, the lack of official planning for urban population expansion, as well as periodic clearance of squatter camps without appropriate relocation measures, led to burgeoning squatter settlements in the periphery. Furthermore, with the decline of the urban industrial economic base, residents in these squatter settlements and newly arriving migrants were left with little formal labor opportunities. Instead, low-income residents found themselves isolated from central urban economic activity, in addition to their forced isolation from central city amenities and services - perpetuating the conditions of slum living.

For **Chinandega**, a change in international demand for exports, greater competition, and later socialism led national policy to push for the consolidation of small-scale farms into corporate or state farms, often resulting with a new class of landless rural workers. These workers moved to the city in search of employment. The end of civil war and the return of refugees also influenced migration to Chinandega in the early 1990s. However, urban formal employment opportunities could not keep up with the growing demand for employment accompanying migrants over the last half of the 20th century. Furthermore, there has been crowding in the informal economy in the wake of the consequential high urban unemployment, translating into labor instability and low wages for the majority of informal entrepreneurs. Of course, this trajectory of events within the city was not untouched by larger national plans, particularly in the 1980s. Indeed, the well being of Chinandega's low-income residents was severely stressed in the context of economic austerity policies enacted by the national government in order to qualify for international aid. Austerity policies, as well as the Sandinista national government's preoccupation with fighting their enemies (as well as its agenda to equalize investments in undeveloped rural regions), meant that amenities and municipal services for low-income urban communities were not prioritized in the least during the 1980s. Instead, the priorities of the Sandinista government as well as its successors have most significantly reflected the interests of elite, networked families not held accountable to the larger public. A telling example is in the current political protection afforded to the former Nicaraguan president, Lacayo Aleman, who though under house arrest at time of this research, remains out of reach of corruption charges brought against him in Miami. While such "man-made" travesties abound, Chinandega has also suffered the effects of natural disasters. In particular, hurricanes plague the city, with the last significant one in 1998 eliminating 10% of the city's housing stock.

Karachi experienced an early great influx of migrants resulting from the 1947 separation with India, as well as a more recent wave of refugees from nationalization and ethnic-based conflicts, creating significant population growth pressure on the city. Indeed, such violent conflicts in the city have also driven away a degree of stability in its economic life. Furthermore, the city's (and country's) economy has been challenged by global competition and accompanying structural adjustments that have in part translated into significant public spending cuts, with detrimental effects on social housing provision, increased formal unemployment, and citywide recession – not to mention increased pressures on land and housing markets which have denied the urban poor from most formal settlement options. Nonetheless, residents of various types of informal settlements within Karachi also form the backbone of much of the city's sustained formal employment sectors, including textiles, garments, fisheries, light engineering, transport and port labor. Yet in the wake of the economic challenges noted, informal labor has grown to account for over 80% of informal settlement dwellers' occupations and 75% of the city population's as a whole. While a significant solution to problems of formal unemployment, the growth of the informal economy does not address problems related to the lack of stability in employment or low wages for a majority of urban residents. In fact, quality of life in Karachi, particularly for the urban poor, has been further aggravated by political volatility. Governmental attempts to provide amenities and housing for the growing urban population has been stymied not only by spending cuts but

also by what is largely perceived as a lack of political tenure and the temporal nature of regulations and policies – not to mention notoriously acknowledged corruption in political offices that provide little financial incentive for more equitable behavior. Another interesting perspective on this context highlights that the resulting freedom from influence from even nominal regulation, coupled with relatively low costs, creates an attraction to residency in informal settlements.

In **Mumbai's** case, tenement living finds root in workers' housing during colonial administration, and of course, the development of the industrial revolution. As the city grew (particularly linked with natural disasters in rural areas) in the post-independence era, little regulation was placed on land speculation – creating a small scope of settlement opportunities for low-wage workers. With the challenges of increasingly global competition, Mumbai began to de-industrialize in 1960s, losing factories to other sites in India - with ensuing labor displacement and what Appadurai has called "urbanization without industrialization" or "pauperization without proletarianization". The loss in formal industrial employment opportunities has been in part offset by less stable but still low-wage opportunities in the growing informal economy. However, increased connectivity with the global economy has also translated into land speculation, driving up real estate and accommodation prices, as well as the demand for cheap service-sector labor. Together, these developments sustain the low-wage nature of employment for most slum dwellers that labor in informal economic activities, consequentially forcing workers to seek out low-cost accommodation in slums. The struggle for low-cost accommodation also highlights the diversity of interests in Mumbai, as well as the typical victors in such struggles. Indeed, conflicting urban interests have operated over the years to retard or impede the implementation of city plans. Even national constitutional directives are frequently difficult to fully implement – largely because the interests of the dominant elite have won priority in government to the exclusion of the majority of the city's residents. In fact, in Mumbai there have been deliberate location policies to contain possible upsurges of "toilers" against public order. In other words, public policy has pushed informal settlements to the periphery. This inequality in political treatment also finds root in more salient racism and ethnocentrism - the combination of class and caste issues – resulting in the "decosmopolitanization" of Mumbai along racial, ethnic, and religious lines. These fault-lines break down many of the occupational networks that have existed in some of the city's slums, creating more obstacles for cooperative efforts at improving slum life and sustaining precarious settlements.

The downsizing of public sector employment (in response to structural adjustment priorities and privatization) largely based in Kenya's capital, **Nairobi,** and increased competition faced by Kenyan producers (with the consequential contraction of the manufacturing sector) have translated into a shift in Nairobi's economy toward greater informal employment – especially for slum dwellers. Indeed, the largest single occupational group in one survey of Nairobi's slums is small-scale entrepreneurs, followed by casual laborers. Rural-urban migrants often find employment opportunities in such groups through others who have gone before them – individuals from the same rural ethnic groups clustering in particular informal settlements. Indeed, the ethnic character of sub-sectors of the informal market – as well as slum settlements – reinforces

social networks of support for incoming migrants. Such support was particularly important in the context of increased migration after the striking down of Pass laws restricting African settlement in Nairobi. In the face of such growth, past national governments tried to sway migration movement toward smaller cities in Kenya and indeed Nairobi's population growth has slowed in recent years (for a number of reasons). Nonetheless, past ineffective municipal policies regarding housing and settlements aggravated the quality of life for those already living in the urban area. More specifically, corruption embedded in the structure of city government did much to damage attempts at addressing the needs of slum dwellers. The lack of direct political and financial incentives to fairly address the difficulties slum dwellers faced, past political prioritization of middle-class interests, and a single-minded view of the development of investor-friendly environments (i.e., preference for slum clearance in visible parts of the city over address of root of slum expansion), together translated into a lack of consistent and comprehensive public investments in poverty. As a result, 60% of Nairobi's residents find shelter in informal settlements today. The community perspective also plays into the persistence of slum settlements in Nairobi. Studies of slum dwellers reveal that they perceive their *urban* lives as temporary, with a majority's priorities focused on return to rural homelands and the saving of funds to purchase rural land (as opposed to using savings to improve current urban settlements). Furthermore, where such savings are concerned, research illustrates a relevant difference in savings priorities between men and women in Nairobi's slums. Women often place a premium on the needs of the whole family or on long-term goals, while men prioritize immediate gratification over savings. As such, though women in slums could be effective at saving funds (if they are indeed charged with this responsibility within the household), even their short or long-term goals are unlikely to prioritize improvement of their physical urban settlement. Instead, women tend to save first for food, rent payment, school fees and clothing for children.

In **San Salvador**, the decline of subsistence farming in the face of an increasingly dominant export-crop agricultural model dependent on international trade has led to a consolidation of farmland and an increase in landless rural populations. This development translated into a push factor toward urban migration, particularly given the rural population pressures created by high fertility rates and cultural preferences for large families. Industrialization in the city was unable to absorb the growing workforce pool, which in turn edged on the development of informal settlements with low rents. San Salvador was already suffering from such a housing deficit when the onset of civil war translated into the prioritization of military spending and little government address of urban development problems, despite the increased rural-urban migration. As such, the unprecedented urban growth disrupted social and economic networks and severely taxed the institutional capacity of municipal services. The result is that more than half of city residents live as squatters in either illegal settlements – increasingly on the outskirts of the city - or in dense city-center slums.

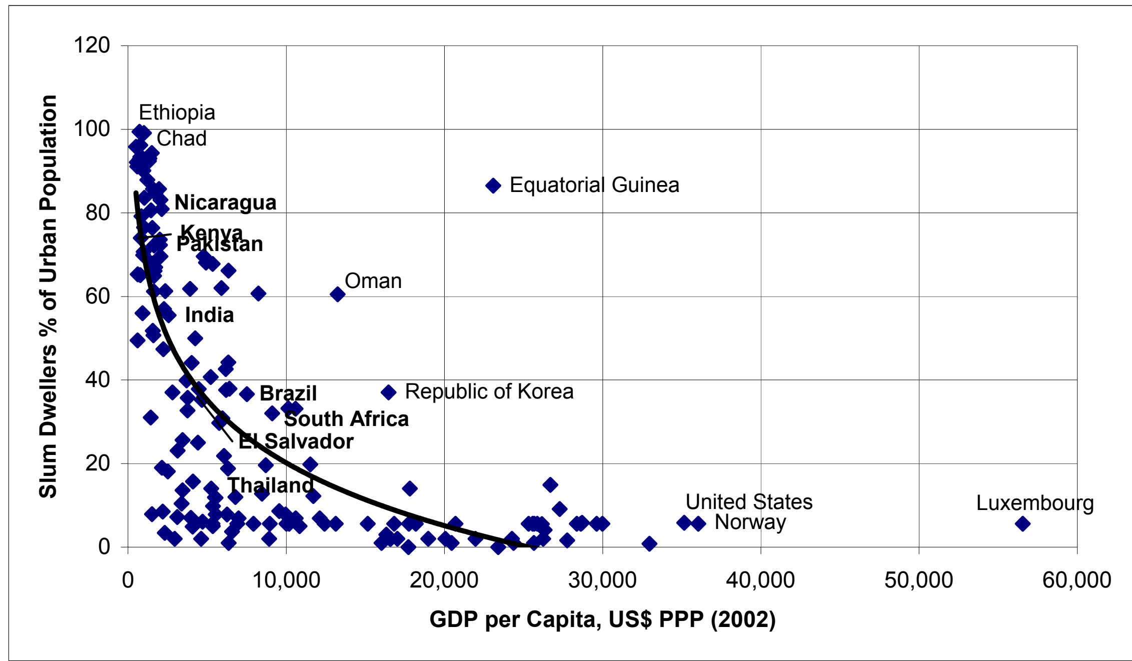
Debt crises and market liberalization in Brazil facilitated the transition of **Sao Paulo's** economic base from one of manufacturing to one of services, with particularly difficult repercussions on the labor market – resulting in displacement from formal employment

and a concurrent rise in unemployment rates and informal economic activities. In order to boost the city's globally competitive stature, public investment was concentrated in high-end infrastructure and tax subsidies to attract foreign direct investment and a highly skilled labor force. Such government priorities – linked to political adherence with structural adjustment programs – resulted with weaker social development spending. The impact of such past national policies on the growth of slums has been aggravated by local-level polar-bent politics. Municipal governments in Sao Paulo since the return to democracy have often prioritized the development of stature-building policies for their associated political parties, with concurrent effects on the sustainability of municipal interventions meant to improve the lives of slum dwellers. More specifically, with the return to democracy in the 1980s and the growth of the slum population associated with economic crisis and austere fiscal policies, informal and over-crowded settlements became highly contested spaces for municipal political power (especially as voting is mandatory in Brazil). Thus consecutive municipal governments throughout much of the 1980s and 1990s have wanted to claim improvement in slums as result of their own initiatives, often leaving interventions started under former opposition party governments to fade. Given such transience of municipal interventions, international agency programs appeared most consistent during these decades – though these (structural adjustment programs in particular) have often aggravated slum situations. Thus, in the absence of a consistent policy seeking to integrate and address the needs of slum dwellers into those of the city at large, longstanding spatial segregation of the classes has remained and been fortified, edged on by sharp land speculation in the real estate market. The result has been concentrated and visibly tangible class-based residential enclaves within close quarters of one another, with increased violence or the perception of violence spurring on security-driven communities, and most importantly the perpetuation of the isolated sense of "other" among divided city residents.

B. Correlations and Characteristics

As the trend-line in Figure 5 below indicates, there is a strong correlation between poverty (as represented by income levels per capita) and the percentage of slum dwellers in an urban setting. In bold are listed the countries of our case studies introduced above, none of which have significantly passed over the 10,000 US dollar per capita level. However, what is also clear in Figure 5 is that there are also cases, like Thailand, where GDP per capital is below US $10,000 and yet slum incidence is also quite low. As such, the figure most interestingly indicates that national income levels have a correlative but not causal relationship with slum incidence. Indeed, it is precisely the outliers to the trend-line that represent great interest. Chapter 2 and 3 of this interim report highlight some of the successful measures taken by such low-and middle-income countries that are improving the lives of slum dwellers and lowering the incidence of slums, an issue that the final report of this Task Force will further address.

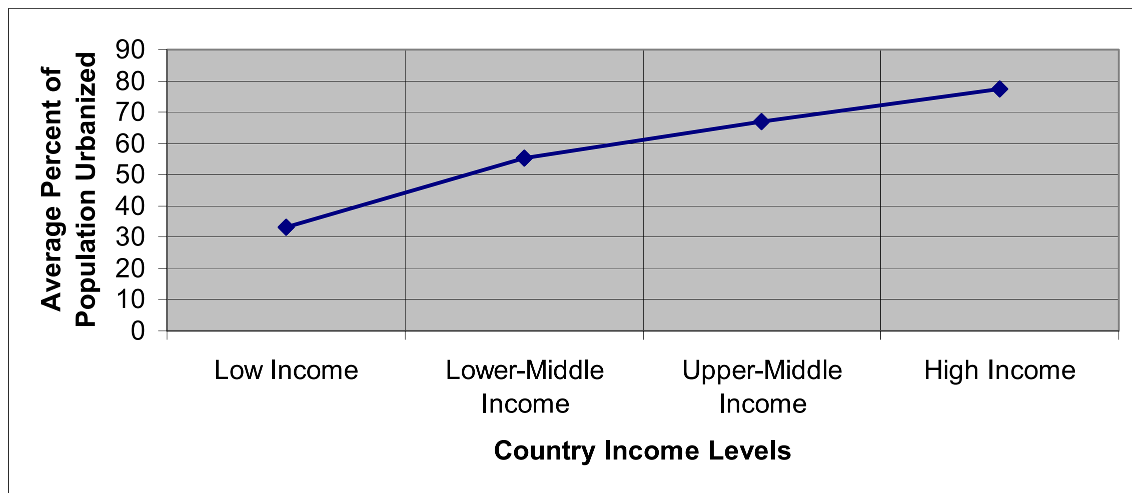
Figure 5: Ratio of Slum Dwellers to Urban Population by GDP per capita (PPP)



Source: Slum Dweller Percentages from UN Habitat (2003); Income data from World Bank (2002) World Development Indicators.
Note: Country case studies bolded.

In addition, there appears a strong correlation between urbanization levels and income levels worldwide, an indication that the trend of urbanization is a positive one where economic development is concerned:

Figure 6: Percent of Population Urbanized by Country Income Levels



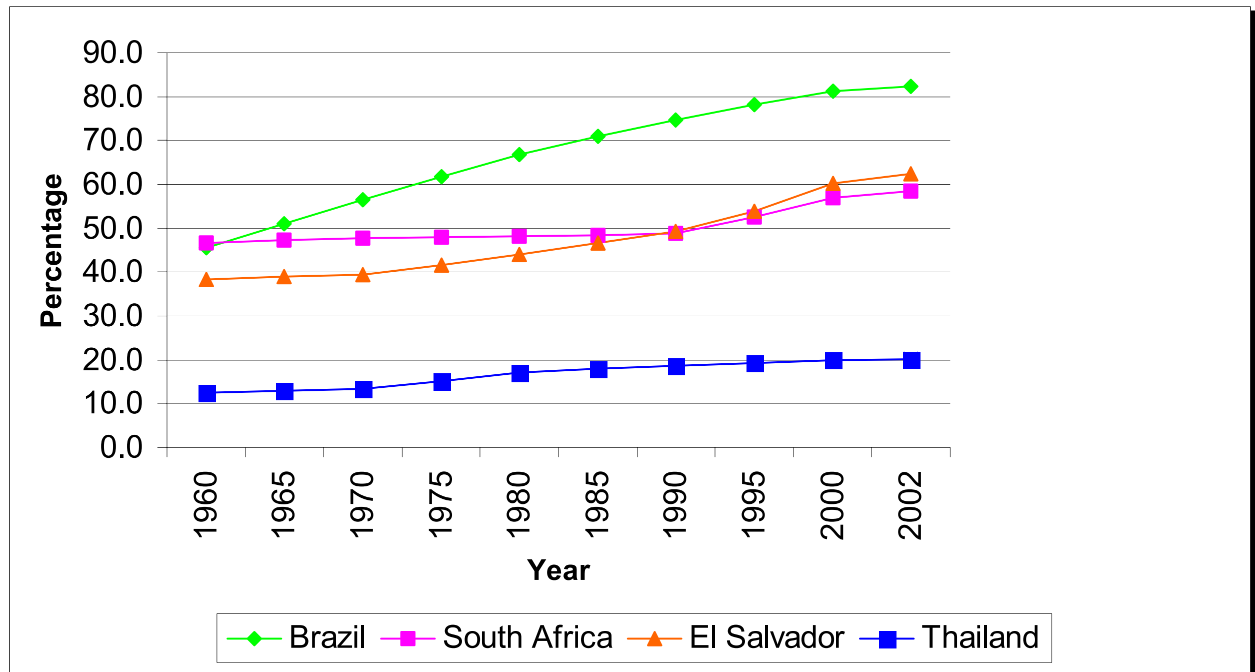
Source: World Bank (2002) World Development Indicators.

Levels of urbanization cited are of course influenced by national definitions of what is or is not urban, as well as the frequency and quality of census surveys. Nonetheless, even with a dearth of very recent census data and the potentially low estimates of what is

deemed urban according to national definitions, the existing data indicate that each of the sample countries has become increasingly urbanized over the past four decades, as illustrated in Figures 7 and 8 below. For example, 81 percent of Brazil's population is now living in urban centers, nearly double the proportion from 1960. Among the middle-income states, however, Thailand has a proportion more similar to three of the low-income countries in our sample, with 20% of its population described as urban – though again here, the influence of national definitions may be significant. On the other hand, Nicaragua, notably among the low-income states, had a fairly high urban proportion in both 1960 (40%) and also at present (57%).

Figure 7: Urban Population as a Proportion of Total Population

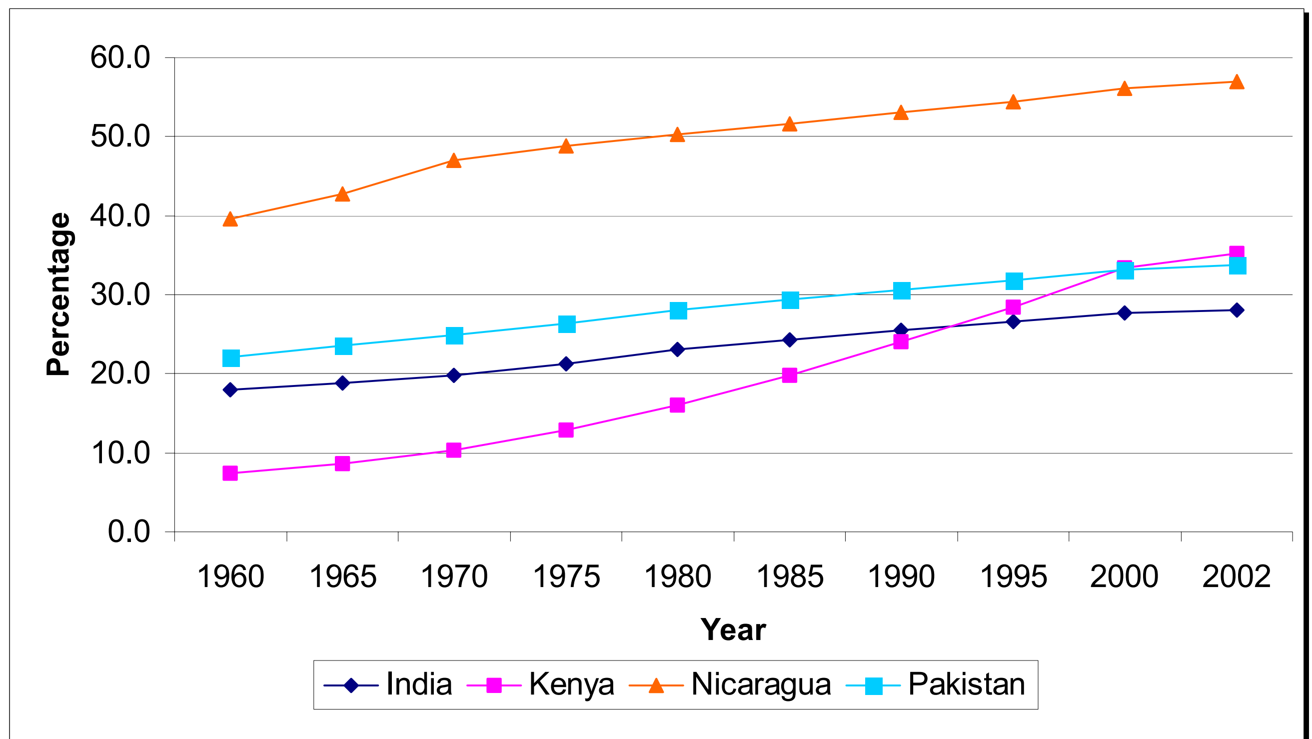
Middle-Income Countries in our Sample



Source: World Bank, 2003, World Development Indicators.

Figure 8: Urban Population as a Proportion of Total Population

Low-Income Countries in our Sample



Source: World Bank, 2003, World Development Indicators.

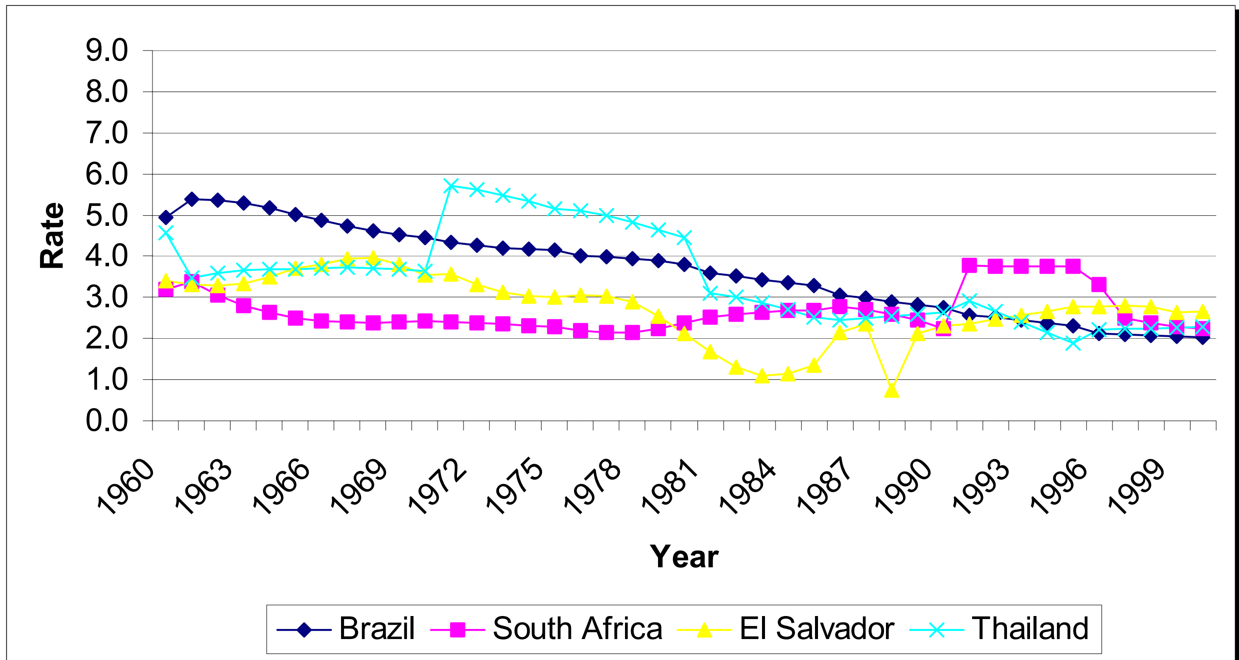
Below, Figures 9 and 10 examine the annual *percentage increase* of urban population growth (i.e., of the rate of urbanization) since 1960, a rate that reflects natural growth (births over deaths), net migration (accounting for movements between urban and rural areas and also international migration), but also changes in national definitions of urban populations. For all years during this period and for all countries in our sample, annual rate of urbanization[23] percentage increases were between two and six percent. One exception was for Kenya, where for its entire post-independence period up until the early 1990s, the annual rates were in excess of six percent (and indeed higher than eight percent for much of the 1970s). Another exception was for El Salvador, where the onset of war in 1980 induced far slower urban growth rates than previously, and annual increases only really gained two percentage points following the cessation of war in the early 1990s and the international emigration of large numbers of refugees (particularly the young).

Still for the other countries in our sample, sustained urban growth rates of between two and six percent each year sets the scene for (*but does not cause*) the formation of slum settlements, perhaps not seen since similar developments in the cities of Europe and North America at the turn of the previous century. Although urban take-off dates vary for a host of political, social, economic and cultural reasons, the global pervasiveness of this growth in the contemporary period is certainly far greater than anything witnessed earlier.

[23] Rate of urbanization is defined as the rate of increase in the level of urbanization.

Figure 9: Urban Population Percentage Growth

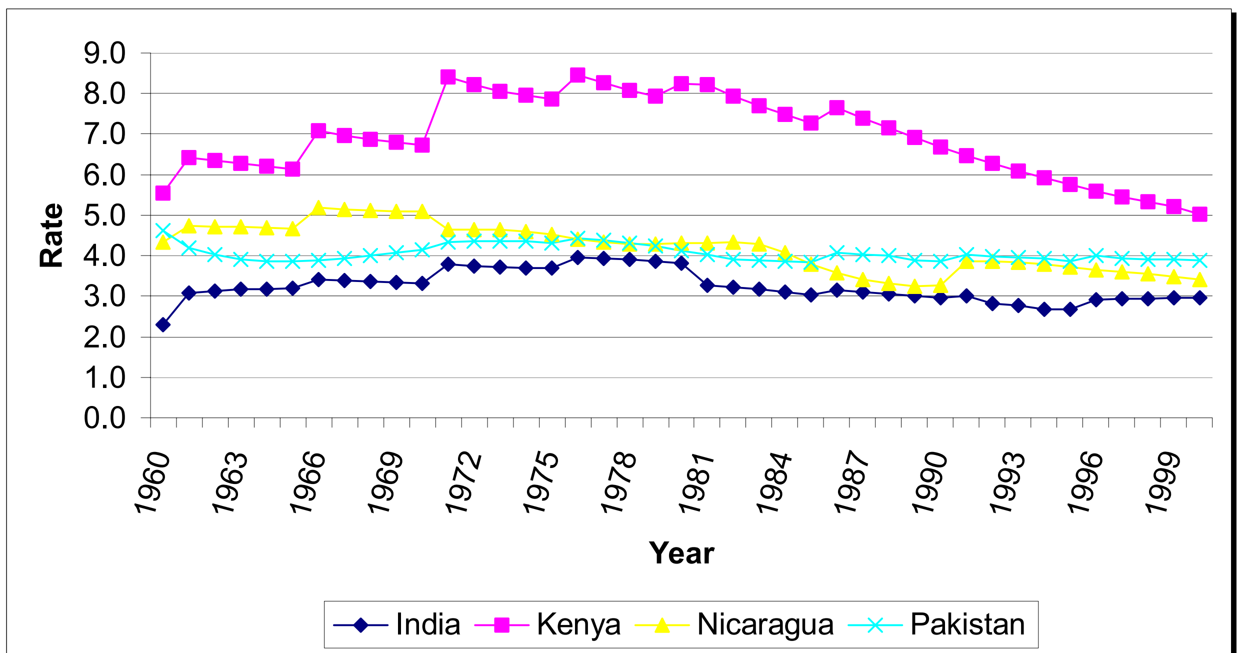
Annual Percentage Increase in Urban Population Growth Rate: *Middle-Income Countries in our Sample*



Source: World Bank, 2003, World Development Indicators.

Figure 10: Urban Population Percentage Growth

Annual Percentage Increase in Urban Population Growth Rate: *Low-Income Countries in our Sample*

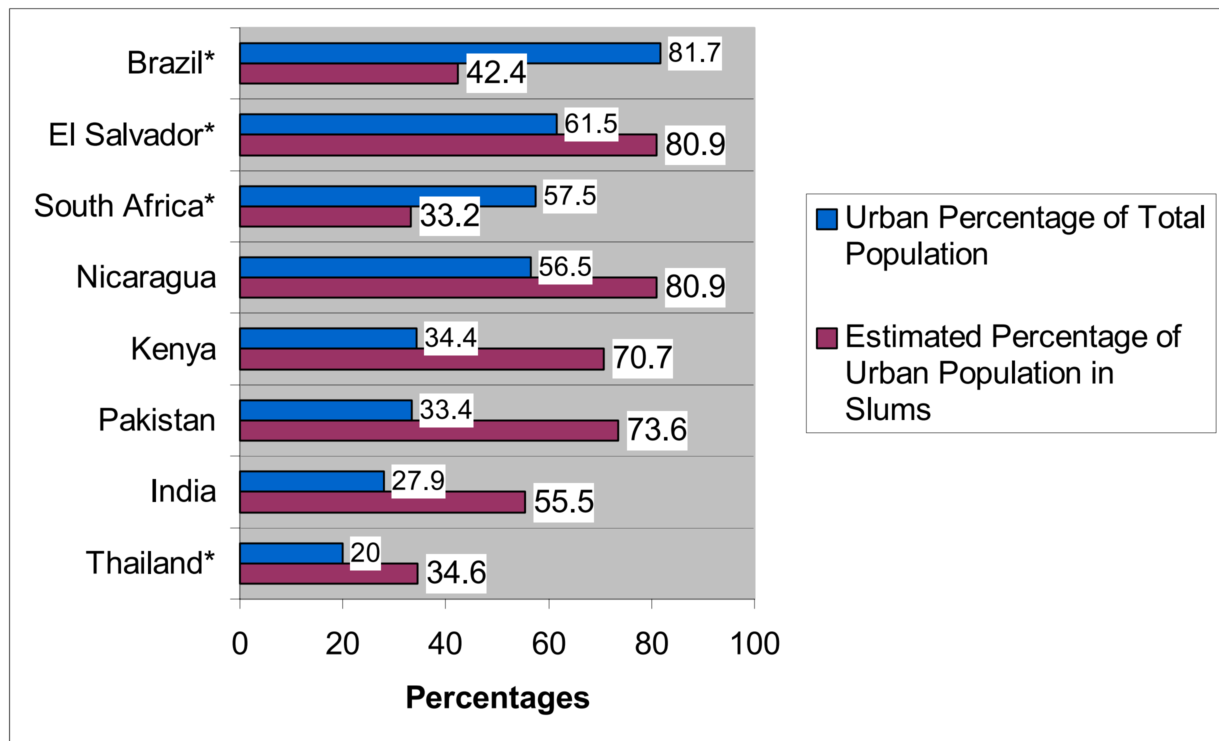


Source: World Bank, 2003, World Development Indicators.

Several other explanations that we explore in more case-specific detail later can also be broadly detected in the rates delineated above. For example, the partial lifting of South Africa's pass laws in the 1980s could be seen to partly induce rising annual urban growth rates there, but more dramatic was the complete removal of movement restrictions coinciding with apartheid's abolishment in 1994. Brazil, now more urbanized than even many European countries, has seen a continuously declining rate of urban annual percentage increase since the early 1960s, not the least because as the proportion of its population living in urban centers increases, the number of migrants to these centers needed to boost growth rates also increases. Indeed, slowing rates of urbanization do not make the work of slum improvement in Brazil any less urgent. Indeed, we see emerging today *two veins of urban challenges* in low- and middle-income countries: that of sustaining urban vitality in cities that experienced early urbanization and accompanied economic growth and that of managing urbanization and ensuring economic growth of cities on the rise – both in manners reflecting the priority of social inclusion.

Furthermore, though these graphs provide a general sense of the global context of slum dwellers, it is also important to delve behind them. For example, one could ask if it were necessary to have a high urban population growth rate or level in order to have a large proportion of citizens inhabiting slums. In fact, those countries with among the highest proportion worldwide of urban dwellers living in slums (Niger, Malawi, Somalia, Uganda, Ethiopia, Chad, Afghanistan and Nepal – each with a figure of higher than 92%) are also countries with among the lowest proportions of their overall population living in urban areas (none has an urban population of more than 28% of the total). Though the cases cited are also examples of countries where income poverty is a significant national challenge, this point demonstrates again the diversity of contexts in which we find sub-standard urban settlements. The graph below with urban and slum dwellers population figures also depicts this point of interest regarding the diversity of urbanization contexts where our case studies are concerned:

Figure 11: Percentages of Urban Population and Slum Dweller Population by Country Case Study



Source: UN Habitat 2003 « Slums of the World » Working Paper, Annex 3 Statistical Tables
Note: An asterisk represents country in middle-income range.

The figure above demonstrates that, with the exceptions of Brazil and South Africa, in all of our case study countries, the population ratio of slum dwellers to urban residents is greater than the ratio of urban residents to non-urban residents nationwide. Again, these data are reflective of how national governments define urban centers, but what emerges regardless is that attention must be paid both to the larger and more urbanized states that numerically dominate the global slum-dwelling figures (i.e., Brazil, South Africa, etc), and to *smaller urban centers* in those countries and regions that are yet to begin heavy urbanization (as self-defined), and areas with high proportions of urban slum dwellers. Indeed, regardless of the level of urbanization boasted by a country, urban centers both large and small within these varied states of urbanization call for attention. Already strained to house and provide jobs and services to residents, the future policies and interventions taking root in urban centers worldwide are tightly linked with any substantial improvement in the lives of slum dwellers.

In summary, our sample countries depict a range of challenges. Figure 11 shows middle-income economies (i.e. countries with asterisks) with proportions of urban populations of between 20 and 82 percent and with proportions of urban slums dwellers ranging from 33 to 81 percent. Our low-income countries have urban populations constituting between 27 to 56 percent of national totals, with urban slum dweller proportions ranging from 55 to 81 percent. The cases themselves include Mumbai (one of the largest mega-cities on the planet) to Chinandega (a small regional urban center of roughly 160,000). We also

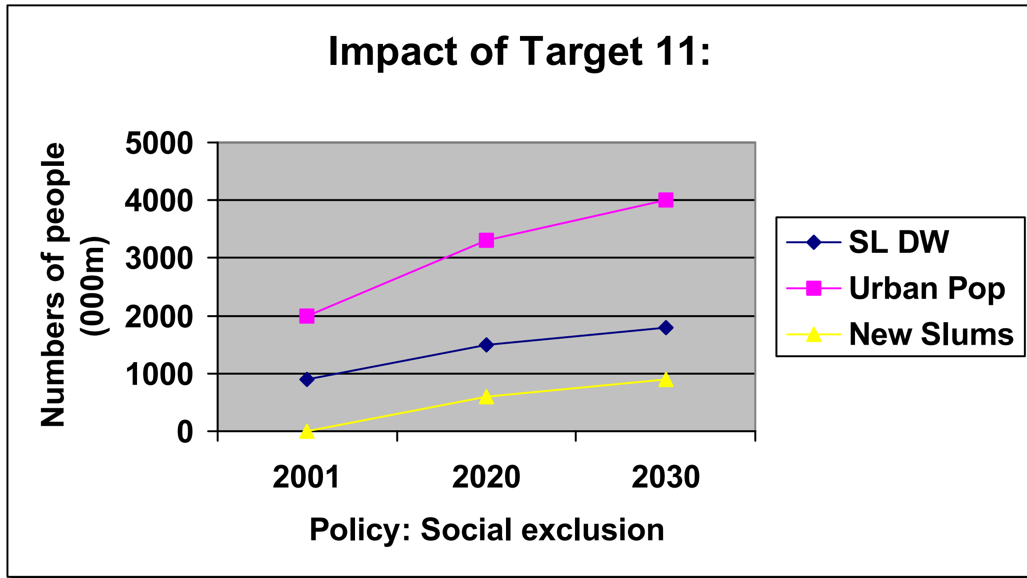
include capital/primate cities such as Bangkok and San Salvador and important non-capital cities like Cape Town and Karachi for the unique issues facing each of these particular city-roles.

III. Concluding Remarks

As the discussion in this introductory chapter demonstrates, connected and varying degrees and sectors of exclusion bear great impact on slum dwellers' lives the world over. Indeed, the perceived significance of particular exclusions, according to communities, governments, or international agencies, determines the focus of various interventions aimed at improving slum dwellers' lives, some examples of which will be discussed in the following chapters. However, independent perceptions at various actor-levels can obscure both the hidden but influential parts of both the historical and current narratives of change (for example, gender relations may not be recognized as a priority target of change for one actor-group, but its pervasive yet subtle importance to improving slum dwellers lives becomes clearer and gender-equality interventions made a priority in the context of larger multi-group initiatives). Indeed, one lesson learned in history is that there is a critical need for addressing comprehensively (i.e., at all actor-levels) urban exclusion at scale in order to positively impact slum dwellers' life-opportunities in *sustainable fashion*. In other words, we need to foster humble yet bold policy *and* practice - humble in the realization of the depth and intricacy behind slum persistence and bold in the ability to take decisive and studied action amidst this complexity. *All actors must be called upon to coordinate* their contributions toward improving the lives of slum dwellers and *to heed the priorities of those they seek to help through interventions*. In the absence of this coordination and attentiveness, we find the perpetuation of urban slums.

Figure 12 below represents a projection exercise demonstrating the impact of leaving existing exclusionary policies intact. More specifically, using UN Habitat estimates, the number of slum dwellers increases from the 2001 figure of some 900 million (45% of a total urban population of 2 billion) to 1.5 billion in 2020 (45% of a total urban population of 3.3 billion). The same trends continue to 2030, and beyond:

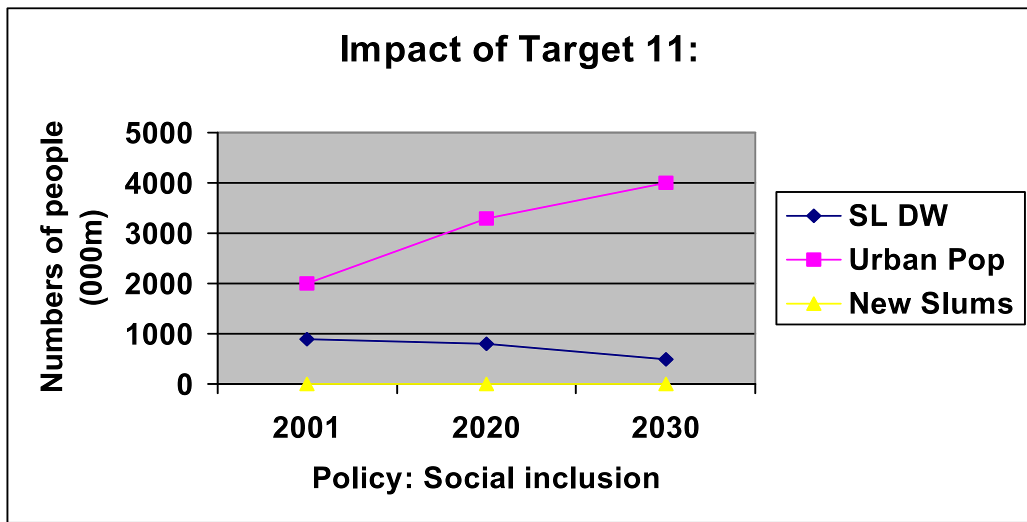
Figure 12: Exclusionary Policy Effect on Slum Dwellers



Source: Task Force 8, Millennium Project (2003).

The projection exercise depicted in Figure 13 demonstrates the global impact of more inclusive policies. The number of existing slum dwellers decreases from UN Habitat's estimate of 900 million to 800 million by 2020 **(**i.e., the 100 million targeted reduction), while new policies ensure that 600 million more people become incorporated into the urban mainstream.

Figure 13: Inclusive Policy Effect on Slum Dwellers



Source: Task Force 8, Millennium Project (2003).

Therefore, the choice to be made is between a worst-case scenario of 45% of the urban population living in slums (the path we are currently on) to a best-case scenario, reducing the incidence of slum dwellers to 24%. The choice is as clear as it is stark.

This proactive, inclusive approach not only constitutes good policy, but is also extremely cost-efficient, when compared to the cost of in-situ upgrading, or upgrading after the event. While each city and country has specific cost variables, it is possible to generalize a cost estimate of around $500 per capita for upgrading existing slums. Numerous slum upgrading experiences from around the world have already demonstrated that this figure can be reduced by between 60%-80% if appropriate policies and planning interventions take place before the slums are created, and not after.

The next chapters highlight what promising processes of coordinated interventions are unfolding the world over. In particular, the initiatives of local authorities and their partnerships are presented, followed by two sector-specific intervention analyses in security of tenure and land issues as well as in participatory urban planning and design processes.

CHAPTER 2
BUILDING SUCCESSFUL PARTNERSHIPS[1]

I. Why Local Government as Broker?

Local government plays an increasingly pivotal role in initiatives aimed at poverty alleviation and fostering social inclusion – largely via its **structural network access and associated ability to broker partnerships and wide participation**. Indeed, local governments provide: a) the forum for democratic governance closest to the people and the territory for meaningful participation of actors operating at the community level; b) the geographic space where political activism is most closely linked to needs and aspirations of people seeking to improve their lives, and where programs can best focus on the most vulnerable groups; and c) the flexibility to respond to communities demanding a stronger voice on issues affecting their lives, and the ability to institute meaningful participatory processes and empowering mechanisms. Furthermore, a rising share of total public expenditures is channeled through the local level as a result of decentralization and economic restructuring, thereby enabling municipalities to implement integrated multi-sectoral initiatives. Such initiatives can significantly contribute to improving slum dwellers' lives by:

1. Instituting participatory urban processes (especially in planning and design) that give a voice in decision-making to poor and marginalized populations.
2. Partnering with communities, community-based organizations (CBOs), and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) (including advocacy groups) on community-based initiatives.
3. Providing access to land (including regularization), infrastructure, and urban services.
4. Initiating integrated programs for the improvement of the urban environment.
5. Supporting the development of small businesses and micro-enterprises.
6. Fostering citizenship and social inclusion, for example through provision of tenure.
7. Collaborating with foundations and philanthropic organizations on social projects.
8. Alleviating the hardships endured by poor and marginalized populations.
9. Initiating special programs to reach vulnerable groups, especially women.

In fact, in order to achieve the "slum target", we shall need stronger, not weaker governments. **Strength does not mean authority. By stronger government we mean democratically elected bodies that are a true embodiment of the heading of the report that led to the Millennium Declaration – *We, the Peoples*.** We need a stronger sense of responsibility, a stronger sense of commitment, a stronger understanding that democracy is not simply *getting elected or voting*, but a day-to-day process that empowers all citizens, and particularly the poor. We need stronger and better relationships among the various spheres of government, because all

[1] This chapter is based on the background report for Task Force 8 prepared by lead author Mona Serageldin as well as Elda Solloso and Luis Valenzuela.

of them have an important role to play. We need stronger governments in terms of their ability to make courageous collective choices about the future, and stronger governments in terms of their ability to create partnerships with the private sector that result in sustainable improvements for all. But this cannot happen without resources. Governments, and particularly local governments, **will need financial inputs to enable institutional support** for successful interventions and to secure the capital investments required to set in motion processes of urban regeneration, social equity, and employment generation.

The following sections outline the expanding trajectory of local government responsibilities and involvement in fostering urban poverty solutions, and then provide a range of local government actions that improve the lives of slum dwellers in the earlier-listed capacities. Highlighted therein are municipalities' relationships with national and international agencies, NGOs and CBOs, and the private sector.

II. Understanding Decentralization and the City

Where *progressive planned devolution* has taken place, the reallocation of functions among levels of government has been guided by the concept of *subsidiarity* with decisions vested with the entity closest to the people that is able to discharge the responsibilities in a more or less cost effective manner, with as little externalization of environmental and social costs as possible. Where *political pressure* has been the driving force, decentralization has proceeded in a sporadic way, resulting in serious imbalances between responsibilities and actual decision-making authority and between budgeting powers and effective control over revenue at the local level.

Yet, regardless of origin, decentralization faces a significant challenge in the face of imbalances between decentralized responsibilities and revenues, or severe budget cuts. Local authorities have been able to use their statutory powers to alleviate the hardships endured by the poor. However, the share of public expenditures controlled by local governments varies widely among regions and within regions. More specifically, it ranges from under 5% to over 15% in Latin America and from less than 10% to more than 50% in Asia, but drops to around 10% in North Africa and under 10% in Sub-Saharan Africa, exclusive of South Africa. Overcoming a tradition of centralized administration is proving difficult particularly in the Middle East-North Africa region and in many Asian countries. Only the most powerful local authorities can escape the tight regulatory and fiscal controls stifling their ability to take speedy action.

Furthermore, central recording of transactions relating to wealth producing assets including land registration and control of high yield tax bases has largely not been devolved nor is it likely to be devolved in the near future. In many countries this situation is hampering the ability of local authorities to implement slum improvement programs, which typically require flexibility, coordination among sectors, and *multi-year financial planning*.

In developing countries (with some notable exceptions such as China, India, and Argentina), **local authorities' own-revenue sources rarely reach 20% of total revenue**. Unrestricted intergovernmental grants and budget allocations cover recurrent expenditures including salaries, while *restricted transfers* and other earmarked grants provide the bulk of the funding for capital investments and program implementation. The situation is exacerbated by the fact that, within the same institutional context, **own-revenues increase with population size**. Smaller localities and municipalities lacking a sizable urban center are financially weak and depend on central and

regional support for their operations[2]. Larger centers attain a critical mass in terms of tax bases and are also better able to diversify their sources of revenue.

Curbs on borrowing, caps on particular categories of expenditures and limits on discretion to reallocate funds among budget categories, while needed to some degree to control irresponsible fiscal management and corruption, can constrain, if carried too far, the flexibility of municipalities to implement integrated development programs. This is particularly the case when devolution of control over expenditures is not matched by a commensurate devolution of taxing authority. The **lack of control over revenues hampers meaningful financial management and programming of capital investments**. This is often the case in developing countries where central governments are faced with a situation of financial crisis or strain.

Nonetheless, public expenditures on budget categories including infrastructure and social services, transport, support of small- and medium-size enterprises and housing have increased with decentralization. *However, this trend does not necessarily translate into a commensurate increase in expenditures benefiting slum dwellers.* The overriding concerns are the state of the economy, the performance of the foreign exchange earning sectors, and job creation. Fear of recurrent recessions and the resultant loss of employment and erosion of the tax base, tends to overshadow social issues. However, since the mid-1980's growing disparities in the distribution of wealth and income, widening social distance, and increased mobility and communication are contributing to sustain mounting political pressure regarding the urgency of addressing the needs of impoverished populations.

III. The City Responds: Local authority-led Partnerships and Initiatives

The ability of municipalities to capitalize on decentralization is directly related to their **capacity to layer action plans** programmatically into components for which institutional arrangements and financial support can be sought separately. This implies a capacity to identify strategic partners, tap multiple sources of funding, leverage resources and coordinate the flow of investment funds to ensure overall coherence in program implementation and operation. In slums and squatter settlements, sustained demand for infrastructure (particularly for water) has led the drive for security of tenure and access to services. Local government response has been conditioned by statutory powers, local politics, and the forcefulness and political potency of various public, private, NGO and community actors operating through formal and informal channels on the local scene. Local government's ability to dialogue and work with these different actors is key to its effectiveness in structuring programs that can significantly improve the lives of slum dwellers. Table 3.1 below categorizes the various associations of local governments and other actors involved, highlighting partnership prevalence according to region.

[2] Given that small- and medium-sized cities are the fastest growing, this dearth of independent financial strength – particularly as it relates to a city's ability to implement plans – represents a serious obstacle to sustainable urbanization and growth.

Table 3.1 Building Partnerships

Partnerships in Locally Driven Initiatives to Improve the Lives in Slum Dwellers								
Local Government Partners / Geographic Region	National Government	Specialized National Agencies	Provincial Government	IDB, WB, ADB, GTZ, USAID, Develop. & Aid Organizations	Intermediary NGOs	NGOs	Private Enterprise	Community Associations & CBOs
AFRICA (12)								
Frequency	16.7%	16.7%	16.7%	25.0%	8.3%	8.3%	50.0%	33.3%
ARAB COUNTRIES (1)								
Distribution in the region	---	100.0%	---	---	---	---	---	100.0%
ASIA (11)								
Frequency	27.3%	54.5%	18.2%	9.1%	---	45.5%	36.4%	36.4%
EUROPE (3)								
Frequency	66.7%	---	---	33.3%	---	---	33.3%	66.7%
LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN (22)								
Frequency	13.6%	40.9%	31.8%	36.4%	9.1%	36.4%	31.8%	54.5%
NORTH AMERICA (1)								
Frequency	---	100.0%	---	---	---	---	---	---
IN TOTAL 50 CASES								
FREQUENCY	**20.4%**	**38.8%**	**22.4%**	**26.5%**	**6.1%**	**28.6%**	**36.7%**	**46.9%**

Source: Center for Urban Development Studies(CUDS), Harvard University 2003.
Note: See Appendix for list of cases reviewed.

Initiatives aiming to improve the lives of slum dwellers and alleviate poverty among vulnerable groups most often receive earmarked transfers over which funding agencies whether national, international or bilateral exercise some oversight. These initiatives require **intergovernmental coordination**, a clear **definition of responsibilities** and a **smooth interface** with communities and households. Proper structure tends to evolve over time as the actors involved gain experience and they redefine their roles. The *evolution from actor to partner* requires a change in institutional culture as well as in procedures. In the countries with the highest levels of decentralization, central agencies have accomplished this shift.

Indeed, in support of their advocacy for such partnerships and decentralization, **international and bilateral development organizations** have emphasized the need to strengthen the role and capabilities of local governments and channel funding to the local level. In the process they have tempered their marked preference for creating special entities and institutional arrangements to implement the programs they fund. They may and often do request recipient local governments to establish within the municipal organizational framework appropriate structures to guide and monitor program implementation.

Paralleling this evolution, **central governments** have been enjoined to progressively withdraw from direct interventions on the ground and involvement in the day-to-day operations of programs. They are instead acting in a supportive role channeling to localities and communities the inputs they need in terms of funds and technical and material resources to assist them in the execution of works and the operation of programs. Similarly, local authorities are enjoined to draw on the efficiencies and financial capacity of the **private sector** for specific program

components and to delegate to **CBOs** responsibilities for organization and management of activities at the community level.

While performance has sometimes been marred by mismanagement and excessive politicization, the best-governed local authorities are taking bold decisions, negotiating with communities and social movements and advocacy groups, entering into agreements with strategic partners and instituting innovative practices. As they move away from promises and projects motivated by electoral tactics to strategies and action plans formulated through participatory processes, local authorities become far more effective in addressing the needs of slum dwellers. **Partnerships, multi-sectoral strategies, and integrated mutually reinforcing initiatives** are the key features of successful programs highlighted in the following sections.

IV. Typology of Local Government Action

Acting on a range of challenges requires a multifaceted approach. With the possible exception of infrastructure (collapsed as a single category, which in practice is rarely the case), local government-driven initiatives involve *multi-sectoral* approaches, as demonstrated by Table 3.2 below, highlighting the initiatives of 49 cases reviewed:

Table 3.2 Initiatives Typology, by Region

Components of Locally Driven Initiatives to Improve the Lives in Slum Dwellers										
Program Components / Geographic Region	Land Regularizing	Infrastructure			Public Health (Health Care)	Social Centers & Services	Education & Training	Small Enterprises Micro credit	Housing	Other Components
		Water Sewerage Drainage	Roads & Transport	Solid Waste Managemen t						
AFRICA (12)										
Frequency	---	50.0%	16.7%	16.7%	---	---	33.3%	16.7%	25.0%	41.7%
ARAB COUNTRIES (1)										
Frequency	---	100.0%	100.0%	---	---	---	---	---	100.0%	100.0%
ASIA (11)										
Frequency	18.2%	63.6%	54.5%	9.1%	---	9.1%	18.2%	36.4%	45.5%	63.6%
EUROPE (3)										
Frequency	---	---	---	---	---	**33.3%**	50.0%	100.0%	**66.6%**	50.0%
LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARRIBEAN (22)										
Frequency	18.2%	54.5%	40.9%	22.7%	9.1%	40.9%	45.5%	9.1%	50.0%	63.6%
NORTH AMERICA (1)										
Frequency	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	100.0%	100.0%
IN TOTAL 50 CASES										
FREQUENCY	**12.2%**	**53.1%**	**36.7%**	**16.3%**	**4.1%**	**22.0%**	**34.7%**	**20.4%**	**46.0%**	**59.2%**

Source: CUDS 2003
Note: See Appendix for list of cases reviewed.

Infrastructure is a dominant component in all the cases reviewed. This reflects the priority placed on access to services. Water supply is a particularly important issue for **women and girls,** who in many cultures have traditionally been assigned the task of fetching water for the family. Concern with sanitation among slum dwellers increases in parallel with the deterioration of conditions in the settlements, as densities rise and overcrowding becomes the norm with multiple families on the same lot sharing highly inadequate facilities. While local authorities are much more concerned with the mitigation of health hazards, their awareness of the broader environmental

issues has increased as a result of the activities of NGOs promoting environmental protection and conservation, and the focus of the international community on environmental issues since 1992.

Adequate access roads, drainage, and transport are essential to integrate peripheral and marginalized settlements in the city's urban fabric and its economy. In the face of growing disparities and economic downturns, promoting local development has to include the necessity of opening up employment and income generation opportunities for impoverished populations. Interlinked multi-sectoral programs address this challenge. Local authorities are the level of government most directly involved, even where national and international funding is available to support particular programs. The statistics reflect the growing importance of local initiatives to support small business and micro-enterprises with and without outside support.

Housing is addressed through a variety of mechanisms ranging from subsidized credit to providing accommodations, to resettle populations living in environmentally hazardous zones, to developing serviced sites and housing for lower income groups. The importance placed on living conditions by slum dwellers can be gauged from the speed at which home improvements are initiated after security of occupancy is granted and settlements regularized. All wage earners in the household contribute cash, building materials and supplies, labor, and furnishings.

Direct involvement of local authorities in health care, education, vocational training and other social services depend on the degree of decentralized delivery of these services in each country and the devolution of functions to the local level. It also reflects the critical role of local governments in reaching and extending services to vulnerable groups. For example, statistics related to regularization reflects emphasis placed on titling and the role of national authorities in the issuance of titles and the recording of property transactions. However, **the recent trends focusing on security of occupancy rather than ownership rights have expanded the capacity of local governments to address regularization on their own**.

V. Mechanisms of Brokering – Successful Approaches to Local Government-led Partnerships

In poorer countries, unplanned urban growth and mounting densities have overwhelmed the capacity of local governments to deliver services and eroded the efficiency of traditional systems. As is usually the case, the poorer neighborhoods are the most affected by curtailment or collapse of service delivery systems. Initiatives aiming to deliver services to poorer communities hinge on the ability to interlink formal and informal actors at a number of actor-levels, operate at different geographical levels, and rely on different technologies.

a) Municipalities, NGOs, and CBOs

Quite apart from their advocacy role, NGOs and CBOs have emerged as key partners of municipalities in efforts to alleviate poverty, regularize land occupancy, deliver services and otherwise act on the multifaceted aspects of social exclusion. Pervasive difficulties in securing financing for capital investments and in building a capacity for outreach and community organization within the organizational structure of local government has been the catalyst and the driving force sustaining the shift towards action through partnerships between local authorities, NGOs, and CBOs. Even in the case of infrastructure, community-based service providers are increasingly involved in the partnered delivery of services to poor communities.

In **Ahmedabad, India**[3] in the mid-1990s, the Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation (AMC)decided to face the twin challenge of providing basic services for its growing population and improving living conditions in the slum neighborhoods. AMC was running budget deficits, with accumulated losses of Rs. 350 million ($9.2USD millions). Sound fiscal and managerial reforms were a precondition to enable the AMC to improve and expand infrastructure services. These included improving tax collections; upgrading the workforce; and partnering with the local business community, NGOs and other organizations to develop new initiatives to reach the poor.

The Slum Networking Project referred to as Parivartan was initiated to provide slums dwellers with infrastructure, including individual water supply, underground sewerage, individual toilets, solid waste collection, storm water drains, internal roads and paving, street lighting and landscaping. The cost of the secondary and tertiary infrastructure required could be covered by municipal budget allocations and national transfers and grants. Resources had to be found to pay the balance, namely the cost of house connections amounting to 6,300 Rs. ($138USD) per household. This cost was divided in three equal parts and it was decided that the household and the municipality would each cover one third and the remaining third would be raised from private donations.

The AMC sought assistance from the Self-Employed Women's Association (SEWA), an NGO established in Ahmedabad in 1992 as a trade union to empower low-income women working in the informal sector (which account for 96% of employed women). SEWA, at the request of its members, established two micro-credit institutions, first, SEWA Bank, a cooperative bank fully owned by SEWA shareholding members and then the Mahila SEWA Trust (MHT) which provides members with legal and technical assistance as well as micro-loans to improve their housing. In 2000, SEWA had a membership of 220,000 and SEWA Bank had close to 113,000 depositors and 36,000 borrowers with a working capital of just over $6USD million.

SEWA accepted to partner with the AMC in the Parivartan initiative. It assumes responsibility for community outreach and organization. A female-led CBO is established in each slum community. Acting as financial and technical intermediary, SEWA assists households in meeting the program's technical requirements and negotiates with AMC on the community's behalf as for example, in defining minimum setbacks for street width and alignments. It extends micro-loans of up to $37USD per household to be repaid in monthly installments of $2.3USD or as a lump sum. The loans carry an interest rate of 14.5%. SEWA also helps AMC raise matching grants from local businesses and philanthropies.

The municipality designates the slums for upgrading and regularizes tenure. All participating households are provided with written documents ensuring security of land tenure for a minimum period of ten years that can be renewed. Participation is optional but conditional on commitment to pay their share of the program's costs: $48 USD towards the infrastructure improvement package and $2.3 USD towards the cost of maintenance. The AMC continues to support communities by holding monthly monitoring meetings with the partners to review work progress and share discussions of future plans. In addition, they maintain office hours to attend to public concerns and provide training to orient the communities on technical aspects of the projects.

[3] Ahmedabad is the major commercial, industrial and financial center in the state of Gujarat. It has a population of 3.5 million of which 41% live in slums and under serviced areas. The bulk of the residents living in the 2000 slums share water supply and more than 25% have no toilet facilities. 90% of the families live in shacks.

Within 5 years, Parivartan reached 9,435 families with 56,610 people in over 40 slums. It is being expanded to include 59 more slums reaching an additional 15,431 households. The impact on the lives of slum dwellers is already evident in the pilot areas. Death rates have declined from 6.9 per 1000 to 3.7 per 1000. Communities have seen an increase in children immunized against disease, from 31.25% to 51.35% of all children and 100% of newborns. General illness incidence has also been lowered from 24.4% to 16.5%, allowing families to decrease their monthly expenditures on health related problems from Rs.131 to Rs.74.

Enhanced ability to generate income and access to employment opportunities has enabled families to increase their monthly expenditures from Rs.2806 to Rs.3740. They can rely on the assistance provided by community-based organizations which have now been established in every slum. The program has also impacted the level of education. Pre-primary and supplementary classes are now being held and literacy rates have increased from 30% to 45%.

In **Indonesia**, decades of improvement in living standards were reversed by the financial crisis and political instability. Tens of millions of Indonesians who had managed to rise above the poverty level found themselves once again struggling in poverty. Today about 30 million urban dwellers live at or below the poverty line, mostly in unserviced settlements.

A poverty alleviation grant funded through the World Bank will assist local authorities working in partnership with CBOs to improve the lives of urban dwellers living below the poverty line. Access to the grant is made **conditional on partnership**, joint preparation of proposals, joint project selection process and joint implementation of activities. Local governments must also commit to cover operational costs and provide for the required matching funds. In addition, they must support community subprojects for which separate block grants (Kehurahan Grants) are provided. The program is structured to ensure that communities participate as full partners in decisions regarding the allocation of funds, to strengthen local authorities' ability to work with CBOs, to foster community ownership of the program and to promote longer term sustainability of the improvements.

b) Regional Authorities and Municipalities

In low- and middle-income countries, the role of provinces and regional authorities varies depending on statutory considerations and decentralization laws. From the viewpoint of localities, they can act as higher levels of authority or as parallel spheres of action with more or less complementary competences. The relations between local authorities and regional and other intermediate bodies are not always smooth. Tensions and distrust prevail fueled by a legacy of central control, the urge to assert local powers and the need to clearly delineate the statutory boundaries of overlapping competences. Yet the different levels of governments have a lot to gain from working jointly as partners in development, particularly since some problems can only be addressed at the regional or metropolitan level while others are best addressed at the municipal level.

In Latin America, dependence on intergovernmental transfers and excessive politicization in local governance hampers the emergence of collaborative action between regional authorities and municipalities. Recent initiatives aim to defuse tensions and build a constructive interface in order to address problems spilling over municipal boundaries. The environmental and social

problems prevailing in the settlements living in the flood plains of urban rivers are a common example of these problems.

In **Recife, Brazil**, 18% of the population of the Metropolitan Area (RMR) lives in the Beberibe River Basin, which covers 3 municipalities: Recife, Olinda and Camaragibe. The population of 550,000 is concentrated in Recife (66%) and Olinda (33%) in settlements considered among the poorest in the metropolitan area: 64.5% of the families earn less than 2 minimum salaries and extreme poverty rates (less than 1 minimum salary) reach 45% in Recife and 3% in Olinda. The communities are the most underserved in the metropolitan area: access roads are poor, transportation is inadequate and only 29% of households are connected to the sewerage network, which lacks treatment facilities. Close to half of the households have no legal rights to the land they occupy and feel socially marginalized. The area includes two of Recife's most violent neighborhoods.

A specialized agency of the State of Pernambuco secured financing from the World Bank for an Urban Upgrading Project. It channeled funds through the Foundation of Municipal Development, the state municipal finance institution, to the municipalities of Recife and Olinda to address the twin challenges of environmental protection in the river basin ad social inclusion in the irregular settlements. The Beberibe River Macro Investments program will improve infrastructure, housing, urban services and public amenities in 8 irregular settlements within the Recife Municipality and 5 within the Olinda Municipality, benefiting 35,000 families. An additional number of 8,000 families could be eventually reached. Environmentally sensitive planning criteria will be established to guide urbanization and environmental education programs will be developed.

There is a high level of social organization in the settlements with over 300 CBOs registered in the Recife portion of the Basin and 90 on the Olinda side. Social outreach and community participation will focus on strengthening these entities and providing opportunities for social inclusion.

c) National Governments and Municipalities

Most national initiatives include pilot sites to test the performance of proposed strategies and mechanisms before attempting to scale them up or transfer the model to other locations. In this respect, it should be noted that the most successful initiatives launched by local authorities on their own with or without outside support have either provided the model for the formulation of a national program or were actually transferred to the central level and mandated to work nationally.

A prominent example is in **South Africa**, which instituted the Municipal Infrastructure Grant Program (MIP) in 1995 to ensure "that all communities have access to at least a basic level of service." The program was part of the government's multifaceted effort at overcoming the apartheid legacy and addressing the sharp inequities prevailing in the country. The concept of services is broadly defined and allows the program to fund all categories of infrastructure, many community facilities and build the capacity of municipalities to manage the services they have to deliver. Similarly basic levels are defined with reference to the threshold of sustainability in particular situations. The program is structured to contribute to 6 strategic objectives: (1) Upgrading the living environment and promoting social equity; (2) integrating divided urban

areas; (3) Enhancing economic opportunity; (4) Generating employment; (5) Training and employing local entrepreneurs, contractors and workers with special emphasis to women and youth; and (6) Providing bulk infrastructure to support the development of housing funded through a separate program.

The program offers grants of R7000 per household, covering the cost of basic services and is primarily oriented to reach poorer urban and rural communities as reflected in the criteria for the allocation of funds: number of families earning less than R800/month; lack of water supply and level of unemployment in the community. It is designed as a partnership between the national government, the provincial government, the municipalities and the communities. **All funding requests must be initiated by the communities. Municipalities then prioritize the requests and provincial governments review their eligibility and submit the proposals to the national government.** The grants are disbursed to the community through the municipality. Municipalities and Provinces can and do supplement the grants with funds from their own budgets. Structured for geographic outreach and speed of delivery, the program has completed 2323 projects with 910 more under construction and 878 in the design stage as of June 2003 – even more recent data indicates that the program reached 2,623,000 poor households by the end of 2003 (almost equally divided among urban and rural dwellers). Furthermore, the program is now also providing funding to the metro-governments which are applying the funds to improve living conditions in informal and migrant settlements and to extend services to new low cost housing sites. The management team has developed indicators to assess the program's impacts and contribution to the government's strategic objectives.

Given the magnitude of the challenges faced, the government in 1998 redefined the program's scope to include upgrading and rehabilitation of existing systems; reinforce links with local economic development, and enhance the retention of funds in the community and expand mechanisms to empower marginalized populations. To meet this more ambitious mandate, the program's budget is being increased from R. 2,246 million ($340 million) in FY 03/04 to R. 2,724 million ($412 million) in FY 04/05 and R. 3,016 million ($457 million) in FY 05/06, underscoring South Africa's Government commitment to the Program's fundamental mission and making it one of the largest and most ambitious programs of its kind in the world.

Another example of innovative and dedicated municipal initiatives finding new substantial support from national government is found in **São Paulo, Brazil**. Indeed, São Paulo's recent housing policies represent **one of the most forward-looking and participatory initiatives** reviewed. More specifically, the Secretariat for Housing and Urban Development (SEHAB) is working on slum upgrading in 30 slums, and has approximately 31,000 housing units under implementation. **SEHAB's Slum Action Plan requires coordination among programs undertaken by different municipal secretariats as well as the state and federal governments**. The plan also importantly **relies on community participation and empowerment.**

The strategies underlying the action plan recognizes the link between slums and social exclusion, and call for the reorientation of municipal housing policy to reinforce the city's efforts at alleviating poverty. The social housing program has been redirected to focus on resettling households living in environmentally hazardous zones and providing relocation units to families displaced in slums upgrading activities and the extension of infrastructure to unserviced zones.

Over 5000 families have received new housing units under programs funded through the Municipal Housing Fund, state and federal programs, and external sources.

To target the most vulnerable groups in an objective and transparent manner, SEHAB partnered with the Center for Metropolitan Studies to develop a spatial and statistical database covering 2018 slums where 289,000 households accounting for 1.16 million inhabitants live in substandard conditions. Mapping multi-dimensional indicators of social exclusion on GIS allows the city to target the communities with the highest unemployment and poverty rates, the lowest educational levels, the most inadequate access to public services and the highest rate of crime and children at risk.

A special feature of São Paulo's program is *Bairro legal*. The program aims to improve slums and deteriorated areas and integrate them as neighborhoods in the city with secure land occupancy, adequate access to services and community facilities, improved urban environment and landscaped open space and recreation areas. Priority is given to the designated special zones of social interest (ZEIS) of which 600 have been delineated to date. The action program includes 3 key components:

1. *Development of housing and urban action plans at the district level*: The plans combine the technical and financial resources of the different municipal departments and leverage local resources by accessing funding from the state and federal governments as well as external sources including the IDB and by partnering with NGOs. Priority is given to districts where CBOs are well organized and actively involved in social issues including control of urban violence.

2. *Slum upgrading and inclusion in the city's physical and social fabric*: The program acts through land regularization; improved access to infrastructure and public services; provision of new housing and community facilities, and social projects. Fostering resident participation in planning and decision-making and ensuring community approval of every stage of the program and its different activities is viewed as a fundamental component of the strategy and the cornerstone of its success. Transparency and trust are a precondition to community ownership of the program and the participation of CBOs in the maintenance of infrastructure and public space and in the physical and social management of the upgraded neighborhood.

3. *Regularization of occupancy in informal settlements and on publicly owned land unauthorized subdivisions*: This program involves the release of municipally owned land to house lower income families; regularization of occupancy in these informally settled areas and granting occupants land concessions authorizing "special use for housing purposes". In 2003, 160 settlements had been regularized benefiting 40,000 families.

Significant national government support was secured in April 2003, when **President Lula announced the creation of a housing fund of R $5.3 billion (US$ 1.6 billion) to finance the construction of new housing units and the upgrading *favelas* and under-serviced areas**. The fund will also provide credit for housing improvement. Several financial instruments ranging from micro-credit to assisted loans will be available to lower and middle-income families. Families with income below US$80 will receive direct subsidies. The Fund will make an

important contribution to social equity and the improvement of living conditions for the poorer segments of the population.

d) Private Sector Partnerships with Municipalities

The participation of private enterprise in locally authority-driven initiatives to improve the lives of slum dwellers has been largely limited to **grants and donations** for particular social initiatives as in the case of Parivartan.

This participation rests on the ability of the local leadership, particularly mayors, to structure civic forums and networks that can **engage the business sector, get entrepreneurs interested and convince them that the resources they provide will be well managed and used for the purposes for which they were donated**. The reluctance of private entrepreneurs to get more directly involved steams from a concern that local governments may shift to them responsibilities for social assistance they are unwilling to assume. In Central and South America, private enterprise is starting to take a more active role in local economic development initiatives. Creative approaches are being developed to integrate poverty reduction and social inclusion in strategies and programs for local development. The experience of Nejapa's Local Development Fund in **San Salvador** is instructive. It demonstrates the resource mobilization potential of these promising mechanisms.

Nejapa is a municipality of 30,000 inhabitants located in the San Salvador metropolitan area, experiencing a very rapid urbanization. Despite its attractiveness as an industrial location due to its water resources and to its proximity to planned major infrastructure projects, development indicators in Nejapa were the lowest in the region. The majority of the populations lived in slums and squatter settlements. Poverty was rampant with 79% of the residents considered poor and 48% were classified as living in "extreme poverty". Educational levels were low, with 30% of the population over 10 illiterate. 38% of the dwellings were overcrowded, 84% lacked water supply and 49% lacked electricity. Deforestation, pollution and uncontrolled sewage discharge threatened the water resources of the area.

A Local Development Fund in Nejapa was established in 1997 to provide a sustainable instrument of mobilization, coordination and integration of the resources and capabilities for development in the municipality. The objectives of the Fund are: to generate a sustained flow of resources for programs and projects selected by local communities; to promote and coordinate the role of key stakeholders and their potential contribution to local development; and to foster a culture of consensus and collaboration as a mechanism for sustainability of local development in Nejapa.

A Compensation Fund was also set up to provide seed capital to enable the municipality to initiate economically viable projects. The Fund was needed to overcome the rigidity of budget procedures in San Salvador, which constrain local government's ability to pre-finance investments.

The Local Development Fund is managed by one representative of the central government; two officials of the municipality; four representatives of the two local enterprises, EMBOLSAVA

(representing Coca Cola products) and the Nejapa Power Company; two representatives of the Association for development of Nejapa (ACDN) which groups different CBOs; two members of NGOs, FUSAI and FUNDE; and two representatives of international investors: the FIA (Inter American Foundation) and SIDA (Swedish International Development Agency).

The Fund mobilized $814,297 for the development of the municipality, of which 64% are grants from International Cooperation, 17% from the private sector, 12% from other local actors, 4% from the Municipality and 3% from the community. The Municipality is expecting to be able to contribute about 20% in the future as a result of the increase in central transfers to local governments.

The Fund is developing 12 projects representing an approximate investment of $368,682, thus directly benefiting 53,753 persons and at least 11 organizations in the public, private and social sectors. Over the past 2 years it financed projects for environmental recovery (reforestation and water-related projects), infrastructures (bridge construction and electricity and lighting), housing, and social services.

e) Informal and Formal Sector Partnerships

Initiatives aiming to deliver services to poorer communities hinge on the ability to interlink formal and informal actors operating at different geographical levels, and relying on different technologies. In West African cities, water supply, sanitation and garbage collection are priority concerns and have reached crisis levels in many locations. Typically, few services are provided in informal subdivisions and none in squatter settlements. The city of Cotonou, Benin, has struggled with these very challenges, but has devised solutions based on partnerships between municipalities, NGO's and CBOs.

Cotonou's Program for the Protection of the Environment (Pr.A.P.E.)[4] focuses on providing a healthy environment for Cotonou's communities. Instituting a functional garbage collection system and reducing uncontrolled dumping of waste in a city of 1 million inhabitants lacking a solid waste management program was conceived as an environmental protection initiative. Pr.A.P.E. is run by an NGO which employs local youths to collect waste. Subscribers to the service pay monthly fees. Two committees composed of community residents were set up. The development committee formulates plans and defines the responsibilities of each partner and the technical advisory committee monitors the activities. Pr.A.P.E. provides technical support and addresses technical issues. The municipality assumes the responsibility of transporting waste from dumping stations to the disposal sites and ensuring that disposal meets accepted environmental standards.

Recycling is considered a cornerstone of the program. It uses ecologically sound technologies including biological treatment of polluted run-off water, control of harmful gas emissions, composting of organic wastes, and reducing 30 dumpsites to 5. Pr.A.P.E. organizes and trains women to collect and resell recyclable materials. Bilateral aid (GTZ-MEHU) provided start up funds for the project in 1995.

[4] In 2002, the "Program for the Protection of the Environment, Pr. APE" in Cotonou, Benin, was recognized as one of the Best Practices worldwide to receive an award for excellence in improving the living environment under UNCHS/Habitat Best Practices and Local Leadership Program.

In the first 5 years of operation, 80% of the population subscribed to the service. Payment rates were on the order of 95% allowing the collection system to become self-financing and 200 permanent jobs to be created. Another grant contributed seed capital to set up a community bank, enabling women recyclers to access micro-credit to start up and expand their activities.

f) Interlinked Partnerships and Institutional Arrangements

In situations involving a multiplicity of local actors and stakeholders, the management of integrated programs can become overly complex. Attempts to combine multi-sectoral initiatives and multiple partners within a single institutional framework for joint action can result in cumbersome processes, unwieldy decision-making and long delays in implementation of activities. **Interlinked partnerships can offer more effective approaches when local authorities have the technical and managerial capacity needed to structure and drive such complex initiatives**.

In 1988, the dynamic mayor of **Cebu,** Philippines, initiated a reform in governance and transformed the way the municipality relates to and serves poor urban communities by developing a set of interlinked partnerships with NGOs, CBOs, and the private sector. City Departments and offices have been grouped into four clusters: (1) Public service; (2) Support services; (3) Revenue generation and; (4) Planning and regulation. A simple interface with the public was developed. New offices were established including special Women's Desks and Child and Youth Sections at every police station.

The Urban Basic Services Programme addressed urban poverty by: increasing geographic coverage and providing security land occupancy; improving access to basic health, education and social services; expanding social welfare and vocational training programs; extending credit to the informal micro-entrepreneurs and organized urban poor groups; promoting home improvements through cooperation with private businesses, community-based housing associations and mortgage credit; coordinating and improving the delivery of special services for street children, single mothers, disabled persons and destitute individuals and families.

The Cebu Commission on the Urban Poor coordinates this complex program. The partnerships involve 13 public agencies, 26 NGOs, and 26 area task forces. A trust fund replenished by proceeds from the sale of city-owned lots was set up to provide shelter and cover related expenditures. The participation of vendors' associations in the management of the markets recognizes the Revised Market Code.

The city has also developed programs to build the capacity of barangays and grassroots organizations to enable them to take an active role in the development of projects. Outreach, community organization, consultative meetings, assemblies and training sessions allowed barangay officials and police, farmers, women, youth, vendors' associations, area task forces, and community-based street educators **to participate fully in planning, implementing and monitoring the different activities and initiatives launched**. In addition, various contractual schemes have been adopted to support partnerships. For example, the Emergency Rescue Unit Foundation receives a subsidy from the city to provide emergency medical services, while the

Cebu People's Multi-Purpose Cooperative provides credit and support services to micro enterprises.

Implementation of the Urban Basic Services Programme in 26 poor barangays has achieved remarkable results. The proportion of fully immunized children increased from 52.1 percent in 1989 to 92.1 percent in 1994. Infant mortality rates declined from 34.2 percent per 1000 live births in 1989 to 20.3 in 1994. Maternal deaths decreased from 0.8 deaths per 1000 live births in 1990 to 0.6 in 1994. The percentage of severely and moderately malnourished pre-schoolers decreased significantly from 16.5 in 1989 to 9.9 in 1994. The number of agencies involved in the Cebu City Task Force on Street Children grew from 4 in 1990 to 21 in 1994[5]. Most importantly, the initiative strengthened civic organization in participating communities leading to the formation of 13 barangay development councils, 13 water users groups, nine multi-purpose cooperatives, three credit cooperatives, and five consumers/credit/production cooperatives.

Another example of an innovative and highly successful multiple-partnership institution is found in **Thailand**. The country's Community Organizations Development Institute (CODI) is an **outstanding example of central initiatives that work in partnership with CBOs**. In 1992, the government set up the Urban Community Development Office (UCDO) to address pervasive problems of urban poverty. UDCO channels funds to **community organizations, savings and loans groups, and NGOs** for income generation activities, housing construction, and improvement. Loans are also provided to **networks of CBOs** for on-lending to member organizations. In 2000, UDCO was incorporated into CODI, which reaches 950 savings groups in 53 provinces and will assume a key role in the government's slum upgrading program.[6]

g) Inter-municipal initiatives and networks

Where decentralization is a recent or ongoing reform, municipalities are particularly reluctant to delegate authority or share revenue with other entities. This reluctance accounts for the difficulties encountered in getting municipalities to collaborate on joint initiatives. Formalizing collaboration through negotiated agreements and inter-municipal compacts is an even more challenging task. As such, the successful initiatives mostly focus on economic development. In poor regions bypassed by economic development, programs promoting such development must also foster *social inclusion*. **Inter-municipal initiatives** can significantly enhance the effectiveness of these efforts.

For example, in the State of **Rio Grande do Sul**, Brazil, the Missões Region is composed by 25 municipalities with a population of 267,567, and is one of the poorest areas in the state. It suffers

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[5] Interlinked initiatives are needed to addressing the needs of vulnerable populations. Worldwide, the number of children at risk and street children has been increasing at an alarming rate. Where this distressing problem was a minor issue it has now become a major concern. Impoverishment and marginalization of large segments of the population, urban and domestic violence, mobility, displacement and civil strife are factors contributing to the erosion of customs and traditional community structures which helped protect vulnerable groups including children at risk. The devastating impacts of neglect, abuse and abandonment of the children have prompted international and national action.

[6] This program and others will be reviewed in a separate background paper for the Task Force's final report, covering community-driven initiatives. Recognizing the importance of local authorities in a decentralized system of governance, CODI plans to involve municipalities as well as CBOs in the upcoming phases of its program.

from rural/urban migration, high levels of unemployment, environmental degradation and low citizen participation. The lack of municipal capacity to manage development impedes the region's ability to mobilize stakeholders, engage citizens, and reverse its progressive impoverishment and decline.

The State Government, with support from UN-HABITAT Urban Management Program PGU/LAC, established a network of local partners to develop joint initiatives among local, state, and federal governments, and civil society in order to reduce poverty and promote development. This Network for Local Economic Development and Social Inclusion is referred to as the *Missões Cities Network*.

Over 90 institutions from the public and private sector, churches, unions, NGOs, and social movements worked together to identify and outline 49 projects. Five thematic commissions grouping institutional stakeholders were formed to identify, outline, and prioritize projects. The proposed actions fall under the following themes: informal economy, formal economy, environmental management, gender and race equity, and local government as a promoter of development. Three committees for Coordination, Co-Management, and Monitoring respectively were formed to organize and manage the development and implementation of an action plan. Funding for the development of the plan was provided by the state of Rio Grande do Sul and the Cities Alliance (through PGU/LAC).

The Thematic Commissions held meetings in the different municipalities to ensure adequate participation, particularly among poorer and marginalized populations, and coordinate among distant entities. PGU/LAC continued to provide technical support to the initiative advising on issues of efficiency and sustainability of proposed activities. Approved in December 2002, the Action Plan focuses on strategies to reduce poverty and exclusion and create jobs in the region. Projects grouped in the 5 thematic areas are outlined in the plan:

1. *Informal Economy*: Creating a community credit institution and developing a center for the commercialization of agro-ecological products.

2. *Formal Economy*: Developing a cultural program to promote tourism in the municipality, developing mechanisms to support agro-industries, providing incentives to support sugar cane production and establishing a regional development fund.

3. *Environmental Management*: Developing a Regional Plan for solid waste management and implementing an environmental education campaign.

4. *Gender and Race Equity:* Fostering the involvement of women in key roles and developing mechanisms to support income generation for working women and for the *guarani* indigenous community.

5. *Municipalities as development promoters*: Implementing training programs for public managers focused on issues of urban planning and resource mobilization, establishing an inter-municipal development agency to implement the action plan, establishing an inter-municipal social observatory to monitor the impact of the strategies on social inclusion, and training public officials in the methods of participatory urban planning and management.

The inter-municipal initiative was able to mobilize 165 representatives from local governments, the private sector, universities and other academic institutions, NGOs, social movements, unions and cooperatives. The participatory process sought the inclusion of previously excluded population groups. Furthermore, the Action Plan provided the Network with a coherent and focused framework to address development and poverty reduction in the region. This enabled the municipalities to obtain financing from several ministries and secretariats in the Federal Government to implement activities included in the Action Plan. The association of Missões local governments has established a local development foundation and refers to the Action Plan for the implementation of activities. As a rare example of inter-municipal and multi-stakeholder initiative in the region, the Association is attracting interest and resources

The State government and the most dynamic municipalities (which are not the largest ones) are contributing funds to the Association. The State aims to alleviate regional inequalities and the municipalities look to the initiative's potential to create opportunities for development. A committee grouping representatives from the 3 levels of government, the private sector and an international investment expert from PGU/LAC focuses on resource mobilization. The active involvement of the Federal and State governments as well as that of municipal associations bodes well for the transferability of the concept to other poor regions.

VI. Conclusions

Three major conclusions regarding local government initiatives can be identified from the discussion above: 1) local authorities able to layer action plans and broker partnerships best capitalize on the decentralized environment; 2) participatory processes in local governance are critical, but require substantial political will both on the part of municipal authorities and local communities; and 3) the development of networks of stakeholders most strongly positions local authorities (and their partners) to address the needs of slum dwellers and the city in sustainable fashion over the long horizon.

The underlying theme to all such initiatives remains **partnerships, participatory processes, and collaboration among local stakeholders**. This theme is already established in the structure of new programs to improve the lives of slum dwellers. However, **partnerships are vulnerable**. When the interest of one or another of the partners change, the whole partnership can unravel and excellent initiatives deprived of political support and resources can collapse. The most common cause of conflict among partners is politics. Excessive politicization of issues and discontinuities in leadership can lead to disruptions. Electoral strategies, political maneuvering and personal conflicts within local authorities and partner organizations can cause partial or total disengagement.

In the fragile institutional context of many development countries, reforms can be reversed with every change in local leadership. Such reversals should not be construed to imply failure or rejection of a concept. **Wide popular support has pressured new administrations to resume suspended initiatives**. Discontinued programs are often simply reinstated under a different name. Sound strategies and well-structured initiatives have managed to survive political conflicts, difficult transitions and recover from these setbacks.

Overall, the initiatives described in this chapter illustrate the **potent reciprocal benefits of partnerships** - how in their capacity to broker, local authorities have managed to extend to slum dwellers empowering rights and opportunities, and how in their capacity to work with partners, local governments have succeeded in effectively *governing and servicing* the *whole* city.

CHAPTER 3
IDENTIFYING PRIORITY URBAN POVERTY INTERVENTIONS

PRIORITIZING INTERVENTIONS

As highlighted in the previous chapter's discussion of the role of local authorities, **policies and supportive multi-level partnerships can influence and direct structural and political change, facilitating the prioritization of key interventions in improving the lives of slum dwellers.** In particular, the Task Force considers key areas of impact to include tenure security, housing, basic services and infrastructure, income generation/opportunities, and participatory community processes in government tools, such as urban planning and design. The mechanisms of achieving socially inclusive and sustainable development in these sectors include the restructuring of institutional organizations (i.e., the establishment of an institutional arrangement that gives roles to different actors, but especially slum dwellers), support for local sustainable finance instruments and programs (i.e., financing beyond external aid), active planning of administrative norms, standards, and procedures, as well as the use of public relations tools, such as advocacy networks.

In this chapter, we will focus on two of the key sector interventions, **both with the potential for immediate impact on improving the lives of current slum dwellers and for targeting the future quality of life for low-income urban populations**. More specifically, this interim report outlines a framework for intervention and highlights successful principles therein for the issues of a) **security of tenure** and b) **urban planning and design**.

I. Security of Tenure and Land Issues[1]

1. Identifying the Challenge

In most cities, "the worsening state of access to shelter and security of tenure results in severe overcrowding, homelessness, and environmental health problems" (Moreno, 2003). This global rise of urban poverty and insecure occupancy status takes place in a context of accelerated globalization and structural adjustment policies combining: (i) deregulation measures; (ii) massive State disengagement from the urban and housing sector; (iii) attempts to integrate the informal markets - including land and housing markets - within the sphere of the formal market economy, especially through large scale titling programs.

These policies, along with the lack of, or inefficiency of, safety net programs and poverty alleviation policies have resulted in increased inequalities in the distribution of wealth and resources at all levels. In most countries, the public sector no longer contributes to the provision of serviced land or housing for the low-income groups. Furthermore the private sector targets its

[1] This section is based on Alain Durand-Lasserve's background paper for Task Force 8 on security of tenure and land issues.

land and housing development activities at high- and middle-income groups with regular incomes and access to formal credit (Durand-Lasserve & Royston, 2002).

As a result, the urban poor and large segments of low- and low-medium income groups have no choice but to rely on informal land and housing markets for access to land and shelter, thus fostering the expansion of irregular settlements in cities. Informal land and housing delivery systems remain the only realistic alternative for meeting the needs of low-income households.

Nonetheless, there is even great variation within this realm of informal housing delivery. For at least three decades (ever since the expansion of "irregular" settlements has been perceived as a lasting structural phenomenon), the debate on housing policy insistently refers to the question of the informality and illegality of human settlements. The term "informality" raises the same definition problems for human settlements as when it is applied to economic activities and to employment: it is *defined negatively*. Its main characteristics are known, but in many situations the borderline between formal and informal remains blurred. A settlement with the same characteristics regarding land, urban planning, and housing (depending on the contexts and public authority interpretations), will be considered either as formal or informal.

The term "illegality" poses the same problem of definition, but with a distinctively more repressive connotation. When used by government authorities, it reveals a clearly repressive intention, or hints at a menace. The most visible expression — if not the most common — of repression is eviction. References to illegality in human settlements refers mainly to conformity with planning and construction norms and, more importantly, to tenure situations.

Settlement type also has direct ramifications on the core issue of impact on the lives of slum dwellers: **tenure**. Land tenure refers to the rights of individuals or groups in relation to land. The exact nature and content of these rights, the extent to which people have confidence that they will be honored, and their various degrees of recognition by the public authorities and communities concerned, will all have a direct impact on how land will be used (Fourie 2000). "Tenure often involves a complex set of rules, frequently referred to as a 'bundle of rights'… Some users may have access to the entire 'bundle of rights' with full use and transfer rights. Other users may be limited in their use of the resources (Fisher, 1995). It is important to bear these words in mind since they underline both **the diversity of rights to land and the existence of a wide range of options, from full ownership to less singular forms of possession and use**.

The areas commonly designated as "slums" in the literature refer to three main types of settlements:
- Squatter settlements on public or private land.
- Illegal commercial sub-urban land subdivisions on private land or customary land[2].
- Occupation of overcrowded, dilapidated buildings in city centers or densely urbanized areas.

UN-Habitat defines slums as contiguous settlements where the inhabitants are characterized as having (i) insecure residential status; (ii) inadequate access to safe water; (iii) inadequate access to sanitation and other infrastructures; (iv) poor structural quality of housing; (v) overcrowding. But for the majority of slums dwellers, insecure residential status means first of all **insecure**

[2] However, not all settlements that are the result of illegal commercial land subdivisions fall strictly into this category.

tenure, as opposed to secure tenure, which "is the right of all individuals and groups to effective protection by the State against unlawful evictions" (UN-Habitat, 2002 c). *Insecure tenure* covers a wide range of local situations, from total illegality to various forms of tolerated occupation, or occupation legitimized by customary practices. According to UN HABITAT, **security of tenure** describes an agreement between an individual or group to land and residential property, which is governed and regulated by a legal and administrative framework (legal framework includes both customary and statutory systems). The security of tenure derives from the fact that the right of access to and use of the land and property is underwritten by a known set of rules, and that this right is justifiable. The tenure can be affected in a variety of ways, depending on constitutional and legal framework, social norms, cultural values and, to some extent, individual preference. **In summary, a person or household can be said to have secure tenure when they are *protected from involuntary removal from their land or residence by the State*, except in exceptional circumstances, and then only by means of a known and agreed legal procedure, which must itself be objective, equally applicable, contestable and independent**. Such exceptional circumstances might include situations where physical safety of life and property is threatened, or where the persons to be evicted have themselves taken occupation of the property by force or intimidation (UNCHS, 2000; UN-Habitat, 2002 b).

2. Understanding Tenure's Links with Poverty and Services

Poverty induces insecure tenure, which itself worsens poverty in slums. Although insecure tenure may have obvious advantages for the urban poor (easy and fast access to land, low housing expenditures), it has a structural negative impact on the situation of the poor in the medium- and long-term (precariousness, vulnerability to harassment, poor access to basic services, health problems). Indeed, studies on the socio-economic situation of households living in irregular settlements indicate a **strong correlation between urban poverty, tenure status, access to services, and citizenship** (Vanderschueren, 1996, UNCHS, 1999 b). Tenure status is one of the key elements in the poverty cycle.[3] Lack of security of tenure hinders most attempts to improve shelter conditions for the urban poor, undermines long-term planning, and distorts prices for land and services. It has a direct impact on access to basic urban services and on investment at settlement level, and reinforces poverty and social exclusion. It **impacts most negatively on women and children**. From the point of view of governments, insecure tenure also has a negative impact on the rate of tax recovery through local taxation on property and on economic activities. In addition, without proper identification of urban services beneficiaries, cost recovery for services and infrastructures is made difficult or impossible.

As suggested by such links, empirical studies carried out in low- and middle-income cities over the last decade indicate that **security of tenure is also one of the most effective tools for alleviating poverty in slums** (UN HABITAT 2003). Deininger (2003) underlines the expected

[3] In most developing cities, empirical observations show that the map of slums and informal settlements coincides with that of urban poverty[3] (UN HABITAT 2003). As underlined by John Turner (1966) nearly three decades ago, **interactions between poverty and insecure tenure contribute to further deteriorate the economic situation of the urban poor**. More specifically, lack of secure tenure discourages household investments aiming to improve their environment and investments in home-based activities, with major impact on poverty alleviation. Further observations confirm that in the opposite scenario, observed in most tenure upgrading and regularisation projects, security of tenure has a direct impact on the mobilisation of household resources at settlement level (Payne 2002).

impact of tenure security on poverty reduction: "For most of the poor in developing countries, land is the primary means for generating a livelihood and the main vehicle for investing, accumulating wealth, and transferring it between generations. Land is also a key element of household wealth…researchers and development practitioners have long recognized that providing poor people with access to land and improving their ability to make effective use of the land they occupy is central to reducing poverty and empowering poor people and communities."

The fact that there is a **tight relationship between lack of secure tenure and lack of basic urban services** compounds the problem delineated above. Insecure tenure negatively impacts the provision of urban services, and consequently on the economic situation of the urban poor. Governments are frequently reluctant to provide basic services in informal settlements in order not to make communities concerned believe that this is a first step toward further recognition of the settlements and tenure regularization. In fact, the first slum upgrading programs carried out in the 1970s with the support of the World Bank and U.N. agencies revealed that one of prerequisites for the provision of basic services at the settlements level was the provision of secure tenure, at least for a certain period of time. Without security of tenure, newly serviced settlements are vulnerable to market pressures. Indeed, slum dwellers have no choice but to rely on informal service providers - especially for water – **at a cost that is much higher than that which other urban households pay**. Costs of transport are also frequently higher for slum dwellers than for other city dwellers, as the location of many slums in peri-urban areas results in long commuting distances. Even in some slum upgrading programs, the cost of services provided cannot be borne by the poorest segment of the settlement population (combination of inappropriate norms and standards and cost recovery policies) (Cross 2002). Furthermore, slums' high service costs, coupled with an insecure physical and social environment, drastically reduce any housing expenditure advantages that slums dwellers might find in informal tenure arrangements or squatting.

What, then, are the main entry points that could break this vicious cycle and – at least – protect slums dwellers against deep poverty? What measures can be taken, especially regarding tenure, in order to induce a dynamic of improvement? In the next sections, we will describe in greater detail the context of the current tenure debate in order to suggest appropriate forms of tenure for slum dwellers and highlight key next steps.

3. The Current Tenure Debate

Framing the Debate

Populations living in irregular urban settlements are all confronted with the same set of interrelated problems: they have no access - or limited access only - to basic services, and they have no security of tenure. Their situation is precarious as they usually belong to the poorest segment of the urban population (Habitat Debate, 1999). However, it must be stressed that **informality does not necessarily mean insecurity of tenure**.

Some forms of residential tenure arrangement can guarantee a reasonably good level of security. This is the case, for example, in sub-Saharan African countries, in **communal or customary**

land delivery systems (even when these are not formally recognized by the state) (Urban Management Programme 1995 a). **Recognition by the community itself and by the neighborhood is often considered more important than recognition by public authorities for ensuring secure tenure**. However, this arrangement can deteriorate under some circumstances. For instance: when the customary system is in crisis; with leadership conflicts within the group of customary owners, especially between those who allocate the land and others members of the group (Rochegude 1998); when multiple allocations of the same plot generate a series of conflicts within the community (this may be the result of illicit land sales by unauthorized persons, a common phenomenon in the absence of any land information and record system); or when a major conflict arises between customary owners and public authorities about the ownership and use of the land, or about the legitimacy of the customary claim. In such cases, alliances often develop between customary owners and the community against public authorities (UNCHS, 1999 c; Rakodi 1994).

According to Durand-Lasserve and Mattingly (2003), **neo-customary land delivery systems** have also been detected in Sub-Saharan African cities. Excluded from formal government and private sector land delivery systems, those who are poor in the cities of Sub-Saharan Africa increasingly take shelter on urban land through other means. Many do this through transactions derived from traditional rural customs of land management. However, rather than allocating a right of use on communal lands, customary owners at the periphery of cities are selling plots of land for housing. Though such informal transactions are rarely legalized (and only sometimes tolerated) by governments, they are accepted by the social networks within which the parties concerned live.

These new customary processes – which blend pre-colonial land management procedures, low-income household strategies for securing access to land, and the production of informal settlements – have their own actors and procedures. However, neo-customary processes are commonly viewed by government officials as generators of problems, giving rise to policies whose unintended impacts can instead reduce the access of poor households to shelter, as well as reduce the security and capital assets of those already housed. However, at the same time that neo-customary systems are delivering land that formal systems fail to provide to poor people for urban housing and basic urban services, official procedures for land development and management seem to become more informal in their nature, perhaps often being re-interpreted by informal /customary actors.

Unauthorized land development on private land also offers various levels of protection, depending on the public authorities' perception of the degree of illegality of the settlement. Even if the area is not suitable for residential development, occupants can generally produce a deed of sale or a property title for the land they occupy. It is worth noting that, in such settlements, **middle and high-middle income groups** are well protected against forced eviction, because of their political influence and their cultural and economic capacity to regularize their situation (International Federation of Surveyors).

In contrast, **squatter settlements** are more exposed to forced evictions, especially those located on private land in prime urban areas that are therefore subject to high market pressures, and those which occupy hazardous or dangerous sites. The poorest communities are especially vulnerable

to external pressures. Frequently there is a lack of any internal cohesion in these settlements, making it difficult for the populations to group together to defend themselves (UNCHS, 1999 a).

Overall, regardless of irregular settlement type, **four main factors contribute to protect households from eviction**: (i) the length of occupation (older settlements enjoy a much better level of legitimacy, and thus of protection, than new settlements); (ii) the size of the settlement (small settlements are more vulnerable than those with a large population); (iii) the level and cohesion of community organization; and (iv) the support that concerned communities can get from third sector organizations, such as non-governmental organizations (NGOs).

Nonetheless, levels of precariousness of occupancy status for tenants in sub-standard rental sectors are quite different, whether in unauthorized settlements, squatter settlements, dilapidated buildings in city centers, or formal settlements (Mitlin 1997). These are the **most vulnerable** groups, especially when they are exposed simultaneously to different levels of informality (e.g. when the owner is himself in an irregular situation) (Laubé, 1994). Except in large and homogenous rental settlements, such as the shack farming settlements on South African urban fringes, tenants are scattered throughout irregular settlements, with a wide range of informal rental arrangements. As such, they are often unable to organize as a pressure group to protect themselves. They are exposed to the arbitrary decision of their land or shelter owner, generally with no recourse to legal advice. Being the poorest amongst the urban poor, they are unable to meet the costs incurred by any improvement of their living environment (UNCHS, 1993 c). Unlike most irregular settlement occupants, they cannot apply for compensation in case of forced removal, and they are generally not eligible for resettlement.

The Debate Unraveled

New approaches to security of tenure by aid and co-operation agencies (as outlined by the UN-New Delhi Declaration, Habitat II Conference, and the World Bank) are emerging. Furthermore, urban actors are changing their strategy regarding secure tenure, with impact on cities' administration, urban governance, and sustainable urban development.

International Policies

Tenure issues and security of tenure policies are given increasing attention by several bilateral co-operation agencies (especially in the UK, Germany, France, the Netherlands, Canada and Sweden) (Bilateral Co-op, GR4 doc). In addition, t**wo main approaches** can be identified in the strategy of **aid and development agencies** as well as **international finance institutions** in defining and implementing tenure regularization policies:

a) The first one emphasizes **the integration of informal markets within the sphere of the formal economy, and the access to land ownership, especially through titling programs**. It forms part of an urban development strategy combining deregulation, privatization, and cost recovery for urban services (World Bank 1991; Deininger 1998). Tenure regularization may be seen either as a prerequisite for slum upgrading programs, or as an accompanying measure, or as a long-term objective. This is the approach developed by **international finance institutions**

(especially the World Bank and regional development banks). It was presented in several policy and strategy papers in the 1990s[4].

The relevance of this development model is now being questioned. International finance institutions[5] are increasingly aware of the perverse social effects of their aid and lending policies, and especially of the limitations of urban development strategies based predominantly on the formalization of urban land markets. They are now attempting to reassess their strategy and redefine priorities.

In particular, the World Bank is manifesting a new interest in tenure issues, in relation to the redefinition of its urban strategy (World Bank, 2000), through the organization in 2002 of four Regional Workshops on Land Issues in Europe, Asia, Africa, and Latin America (Deininger, 2003), as well as through a series of studies on land administration (Land Equity, 2003).

b) The second approach, which is to a large extent that of the UN (particularly UNDP and UN-HABITAT), emphasizes the **social and economic integration of slums and informal settlements**. It requires the formal recognition of legal pluralism regarding tenure, and of the diversity of land markets. This is reflective of most of the principles and strategy orientations regarding land formulated in the New Delhi Declaration of 1996. In addition, access to land and security of tenure as conditions for sustainable development were adopted by the Second United Nations Conference on Human Settlements in 1996. In the Istanbul Declaration (United Nations 1996 b), Member States committed themselves to the objective of:

> "Providing legal security of tenure and equal access to land to all people, including women and those living in poverty… Ensuring transparent, comprehensive and accessible systems in transferring land rights and legal security of tenure (§ 40 a)… Increasing the supply of affordable housing, including through encouraging and promoting affordable home ownership and increasing the supply of affordable rental, communal, cooperative and other housing through partnerships among public, private and community initiatives, creating and promoting market-based incentives (§ 40 h)…".

Strategies for implementing the proposed *Global Plan of Action* emphasized the need for ensuring access to land:

> "Access to land and legal security of tenure are strategic prerequisites for the provision of adequate shelter for all and for the development of sustainable human settlements affecting both urban and rural areas; it is also one way of breaking the vicious circle of poverty (§ 75). In order to ensure an adequate supply of serviceable land, Governments… should recognize and legitimize the diversity of land delivery mechanisms (§ 76 a); decentralize land management responsibilities and provide capacity-building programs

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[4] Examples of this perspective: "Developing property rights. Systems of private, tradable, and enforceable property rights should be developed. Programmes of land registration and regularisation of insecure tenure should be undertaken. Whenever possible, programmes for regularising tenure should go hand-in hand with infrastructure improvement in slum and squatter settlements, and should seek to recover costs. Governments should seek to transfer publicly-owned housing to residents and should involve the private sector in the administration and maintenance of public housing" (Angel, 1993, p20); "The registration of property rights in squatter settlements is one form of the overall process of registering property rights. This process is important in making land and house transaction possible and giving occupants legal protection. It encourages the buying and selling of housing and makes it possible for households to move to a dwelling that suits their needs and their budgets" (ibid, p. 73).

[5] See World Bank 2000 a & b, and 2002.

> that recognize the role of key interested parties, where appropriate (§ 76 b); explore innovative arrangements to enhance security of tenure, other than full legislation, which may be too costly and time-consuming in certain situations" (§ 79 c).

UN-HABITAT also launched the Global Campaign for Secure Tenure in 2000, setting up a Land and Tenure Section within its Shelter Branch. The Global Campaign for Secure Tenure "forms part of Habitat's commitment to contribute to the emergence of a new urban paradigm. The extension of secure tenure is but one part of an integrated approach to improving the access of the urban poor, not only to improved shelter and…basic services, but also to informal and formal employment opportunities, as well as direct political representation… The Campaign is designed to spearhead a shelter strategy that is pragmatic, affordable and implementable" (*Habitat Debate* 1997).

Domestic Policies

On the national and local fronts, slums and the security of tenure issue have undergone a significant transformation in public debate, from non-recognition in the 1960s, to repression in the 1970s and 1980s, to tolerance in the 1990s.

A formidable instance of this metamorphosis is the Cities Alliance. It was conceived in 1999 as a coalition of cities and their development partners, committed to addressing urban poverty reduction as a global public policy approach .The Alliance is now playing a leading co-ordination role in the implementation of the Cities Without Slums initiative, with particular attention to security of tenure issues, in close co-operation with UN-HABITAT.

Overall, responses to tenure insecurity vary according to local contexts, to the types and diversity of irregular settlements, to governments' political orientations, to pressures from civil society in general and from concerned communities in particular. Nonetheless, there are basically **two approaches**, which differ but are not contradictory.

The first one emphasizes **formal tenure regularization at settlement level**. Regularization policies are generally based on the delivery of individual freehold and, more rarely, of leasehold titles. However, the difficulty of finding legal forms of regularization that are compatible with constitutional rules and the legal framework, acceptable to the actors concerned, and in compliance with existing standards and procedures, constitutes a major obstacle for many operations.

The second approach emphasizes one of the components of formal tenure regularization policies, security of tenure. It does not require the provision of freehold individual title, although this is not excluded. Rather, it **combines protective administrative or legal measures against forced evictions** - including the provision of titles that can be upgraded, if required - with the provision of basic services. One of the objectives here is to preserve the cohesion of beneficiary communities and protect them against market pressures during, and more importantly, after the tenure upgrading process (Tribillon, 1995). This approach must be understood as a first, but essential, step in an **incremental process** of tenure upgrading that can lead, at a later stage, to formal tenure regularization and the provision of real rights. Unlike complicated, expensive and time-consuming tenure regularization programs, security of tenure can be provided through simple legal and regulatory measures (Habitat Debate, 1999).

The Task Force's Perspective

The rapid integration of informal settlements through conventional tenure regularization and the provision of freehold titles may hinder community cohesion, dissolve social links and induce or accelerate segregation processes through market eviction. However, **measures aiming primarily to guarantee security of tenure give communities time to consolidate their settlements, with a view to further improving their tenure status**. Improvements to the economic condition of households, the emergence of a legitimate leadership at community level, the identification of right holders, the resolution of conflicts within the community and between the community and other actors involved (land owners, local authorities, planning authorities, central administration in charge of land management and registration, etc.), all form part of this consolidation process. In addition, the time between the decision to guarantee security and further formal tenure regularization and the delivery of property titles can be used to improve the quality of services in the settlement. It also gives households time to define a strategy, and to save or raise funds to pay for the next step in the tenure upgrading and regularization process.

In addition, being given security of tenure without transferable or negotiable property titles lessens market pressures on the settlement and limits market evictions. This is an essential advantage of options emphasizing incremental regularization procedures, where occupants are granted occupancy rights that can, at a later stage, be incrementally upgraded to real rights, such as freehold or long-term leases, if so desired. Such an approach can be used both on vacant land and for regularizing irregular settlements (Christiensen & Hoejaard, 1995, Fourie, 2000).

During the last decade, in most developing cities, the common perception has been that property titles are the best, if not the only, way to ensure security of tenure[6]. Such approaches have achieved limited results. When large-scale allocation of property titles to households living in informal settlements has been made possible, it has often resulted in an increased pressure from the formal property market within the settlement, and/or in an increase in the cost of services, both of which have tended to exclude the poorest sections of the population. As suggested by Krueckeberg and Paulsen (2002), this calls for a critical analysis of the positive and negative consequences of increased formalization and commodification of the urban tenure process.

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[6] During the last 10 years, security of tenure policies have been based predominantly on: (i) the provision of individual property titles, combined with (ii) informal settlement physical upgrading programs; (iii) administrative and regulatory framework reforms; (iv) attempts to simplify procedures for land registration and management; (v) the setting up of cadastres and LIS at city level; (vi) the creation of mortgage finance systems. Despite some successful pilot projects, these measures achieved very limited results in quantitative terms. This approach of tenure insecurity mainly based on the registration of property rights was summarised by Angel & Mayo in 1993: "Systems of private, tradable, and enforceable property rights should be developed. Programmes of land registration and regularisation of insecure tenure should be undertaken. Whenever possible, programmes for regularising tenure should go hand in hand with infrastructure improvement in slum and squatter settlements, and should seek to recover costs. Governments should seek to transfer publicly-owned housing to residents and should involve the private sector in the administration and maintenance of public housing" (p. 20)… "The registration of property rights in squatter settlements is one form of the overall process of registering property rights. This process is important in making land and house transactions possible and giving occupants legal protection. It encourages the buying and selling of housing and makes it possible for households to move to a dwelling that suits their needs and their budgets" (ibid, p. 73).

Indeed, if the long-term objective is to promote private ownership through the allocation of individual freehold/property titles, this approach may in fact have a negative impact on the urban poor. As Payne (1999 b) notes, the World Bank is "surprisingly reticent regarding the impact of its tenure proposals on the rental sector, particularly private informal rental housing, which accommodates a large proportion of the urban population and almost all of the poorest households. There is therefore a real danger that a policy approach that emphasizes the benefits of owner-occupation, and provides various incentives for it, may result in the creation of a large under-class that is denied access to any form of affordable or acceptable housing. This fails to take into adequate account the variety of legal and socially accepted traditions in land tenure systems and distorts land markets in favor of one system at the expense of all others. This is hardly consistent with the objective of improving the equity of urban land and housing markets…The important point is that **policies that emphasize and encourage freehold may unintentionally or inadvertently discriminate against other forms of tenure that may be more appropriate for large sections of the population**. For example, it is common for many low-income households to prefer the mobility offered by rental tenure systems, provided they enjoy adequate security and legal rights. Such protection may be easier to achieve in land markets which encourage a variety of tenure options, rather than one at the expense of others."

Given such arguments, the World Bank has recently adopted a more flexible attitude regarding land titling issues. Deininger (2003) acknowledges that "increasing security of tenure does not necessarily require issuing formal individual titles, and in many circumstances more simple measures to enhance tenure security can make a big difference at much lower cost than formal titles".

In sum, security of tenure does not require the provision of property/freehold titles. All actors do not need a property title, contrary to statements made by international finance institutions until the early 2000s (World Bank, Deininger, 1998 and 2003). The objective is to question the relevance of conventional answers put forward by international finance institutions and development and aid agencies, based on access to land ownership and the need for secure tenure (Durand-Lasserve, CIVIS 2002, Payne, Fernandes, Augustinus-Fourie).

This debate highlights two basic answers to the question of ensuring secure tenure:
1- Through formal land registration and the provision of individual property titles;
2- Through other arrangements: (i) those which give preference to the consolidation of occupancy rights (not to be evicted, to have access to services, etc.) rather than to the provision of property / freehold titles, (ii) those which give preference to collective interests rather than individual ones.

The right answer depends on the original tenure situation. Whereas tenure legalization and access to individual ownership can be an appropriate answer in the case of some informal settlements, or when populations concerned and administrations in charge of land management want and can afford it, "freehold and rigidly individualized title/deed for occupants of customary land is not a recommended approach" (UN-Habitat, 2003).

4. Mechanisms of Secure Tenure: What does not work?

I - Access to security of tenure for the urban poor through formal registration and the provision of individual property titles is rarely possible. There are a number of explanations, including:
a. Technical reasons: Assuming (i) that, in a given city, 1 million households are living in informal settlements, and (ii) that tenure regularization to achieve formal individual land ownership should take no more than 10 years…the administration in charge would need to dedicate itself solely to the delivery of 350 property titles per working day, simply to cope with the existing backlog.

b. Political and administrative reasons: Improving security of tenure requires an appropriate administrative and regulatory environment, adapted to (i) the identification of right holders and households entitled to tenure regularization, (ii) the resolution of land related conflicts, (iii) the allocation procedures of rights on land. At an institutional level, the implementation of regularization policies requires powerful specialized institutions and political and administrative reforms. At the administrative level, implementation and enforcement of tenure regularization policies can prove difficult. What is at stake in many cities is the discretionary power of government officials (i) to allocate land, and (ii) to regularize tenure. In some countries, especially those of sub-Saharan Africa (where the allocation of land remains a State monopoly and where several parallel land markets coexist), illicit practices and corruption undermine all administrations in charge of land management. Major problems encountered in the implementation of regularization policies are the result of the passive resistance of intermediate level officials in administrations in charge of land management.

c. Economic reasons: The importance of the informal rental sector in most cities in low- and middle-income countries; the limited resources of the households concerned exclude most of them from access to land at market prices; administrative or subsidized prices introduce major distortions into the property market and encourage corruption and illicit practices.

d. Cultural reasons: Diversity of tenure systems requires diversity of responses. This is not the case when emphasis is put on one single option such as the delivery of individual property titles. Tenure is a social relation. Social links that are established when land transactions take place - whether legal or illegal - play a major role as asocial function and must not be under-estimated. The mass delivery of property titles may weaken this social link.

II - Access to security of tenure for the urban poor through formal registration and the provision of individual property titles is not always desirable. To illustrate this, let us try to answer two questions: What are the objectives and needs of three broad categories of urban stakeholders regarding tenure? Do these needs require access to land ownership and the provision of real rights?

For households living in informal settlements, the three main objectives are: (i) not to be evicted or harassed; (ii) to have access to infrastructures and basic urban services; (iii) to have the right to sell or transfer the land and house they occupy. These objectives do not require the provision

of property titles, except in cases where the household needs access to mortgage finance. This is the only instance when property titles are requested.

For governments and public authorities the objectives may be: (i) fiscal (it improves the rate of tax recovery or makes possible the setting up of local taxation); (ii) legal: identification of land right holders; (iii) economic: integration of informal land markets into the formal market. Such objectives do require the provision of real rights (freehold or leasehold). However, planning, environmental (sustainable urban development), and social objectives (ensuring social peace and social control) can be reached simply through the improvement of land-related information systems (LIS or GIS) and anti-eviction measures.

For the formal private sector, the objectives are: (i) easier regular access to land with legal guarantees; (ii) easier provision of marketable urban services (pricing and cost recovery); (iii) the development of a formal property market through access to mortgage finance. This does require the provision of real rights, such as property rights.

5. Mechanisms of Secure Tenure: What works?

Various objectives require a diversity of responses. In other words, the objectives of various categories of urban stakeholders differ, as do their needs regarding tenure options. So far, international finance institutions and aid agencies have mainly emphasized options that serve the interests of governments and formal private investors: the provision of real rights and the allocation of individual property titles.

As far as the interests of the urban poor are concerned, access to security of tenure exclusively through the allocation of real rights and individual property titles is not necessarily efficient or equitable. It is not efficient because, with very few exceptions, lessons from experience clearly indicate that it does not work properly and can hardly be implemented on a large scale. Shifting from projects to programs and policies has proved to be difficult, if not impossible. Furthermore, it is not equitable because, if not implemented incrementally, if not accompanied by appropriate actions at various levels (social, finance and credit, etc.) and if not backed by community action at city and settlement levels, it may further accelerate social exclusion and segregation processes.

The following cases[7] represent examples of **what works** – they are successful testaments of **highly innovative approaches to tenure and property rights**:

Botswana: Certificates of Rights (CORs)[8]
This tenure system was introduced in the 1970s to cater for the needs of the urban poor. It provides holders with the right to use and develop land, whilst retaining ownership by the State

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[7] Most cases are drawn from the contributions of Geoff Payne to: Payne, G. (Ed.) *Land, Rights and Innovation. Improving Security of tenure for the Urban Poor* (2002); and Durand-Lasserve, A., Fernandes, E., Payne, G. Smolka, M., *Secure Tenure for the Urban Poor* (2002).
[8] The case of CORs in Botswana is differently perceived within the Task Force. More specifically, there is not agreement on the description of this case as a success, given that the Government of Botswana has discontinued this practice in part due to the argument that middle-income individuals have been using low-income residents as "front-liners" to get access to benefits.

and is estimated to have benefited well over 100,000 people to date. Certificates can be upgraded to Fixed Period State Grants on payment of survey and registration fees.

A limitation of the system is that it has not been accepted by formal private sector finance institutions as an acceptable collateral for loans and the administrative work involved is about the same as for allocating full titles, although computerization has reduced this. The system also has to compete with customary land allocation procedures that are already well known and active in peri-urban areas.[9] Given the limited population growth of urban areas and these alternative options, CORs have been discontinued though may come into their own again if demand increases.

Kenya: Temporary Occupation Licenses:
These were introduced in Nairobi to promote investment in small businesses and the efficient use of idle public land in strategic locations. Licenses are allocated annually on a renewable basis for a land rent and entitle licensees to construct semi-permanent structures. Typical uses include pavement restaurants and kiosks, though some people also live on their sites. Among the advantages of the system is the simplicity of the administrative procedures (no surveys are involved), payment is spread over the year, building standards are flexible and the authorities retain control of the land.

The system has considerable potential for application in other cities where pockets of un- or under-used land exist in central areas.

Kenya: Community Land Trusts (CLTs)[10]:
Though not widespread in Kenya, the CLT has been used as a means of accessing land for housing and related activities, for example in the case of Tanzania Mbondeni in Voi Municipality. The aim of the CLT is to combine the advantages of communal tenure with market oriented individual ownership. By retaining ownership in the hands of a group and allowing members to hold long-term leases, it is possible to control transfers and discourage speculation. The basic principles of trusts are to make the best use of the collective strengths of local communities in obtaining permits and infrastructure, keep all land under one simple title and encourage members to invest in home and environmental improvements. They also enable communities to remain in areas that may otherwise be too expensive if conventional individual titles were provided.

The major limitations of the system are that it is not well understood yet by administrators and requires lengthy documentation. Communal land ownership may also be a disincentive to invest, especially when people are not free to sell directly.

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[9] This interface between communal or traditional patterns of land-holding and the expanding urban periphery is of enormous policy significance, often highly problematic in nature, and needs to be the subject of far more rigorous investigation.

[10] There is some disagreement within the Task Force regarding the success of the community land trust in Kenya. The text description here notes some difficulties, but more specifically there is question as to its viability due to its isolation from the routine land administration system and the survey costs of implementing the necessary changes to the extant regulatory framework in order to make such trusts more sustainable.

Bolivia : the “Anticretico” (‘against a credit’) tenure system
An unusual tenure arrangement in Bolivia has evolved in response to sustained high rates of domestic inflation and weak formal private sector finance institutions. It involves the owner of a house receiving money (dollars) in advance in return for allowing a low-income household to occupy the property for an agreed period, normally of two years. What makes the ‘anticretico’ system different from conventional rental agreements is that at the end of the contract period, (or any agreed extension), the occupants return the property to its owner and the owner returns the full amount received initially from the occupants. For the owner, this is an effective way of raising capital without incurring high interest rates, whilst for the occupants it represents an effective way of living at low cost for those able to raise the deposit. The occupant is required to return the property in the same condition as it was received and may even be able to purchase the property if the owner agrees.

The system is widely used in Bolivia, but depends for its success on a degree of trust between the parties. The government has formalized the system in order to increase security for both parties, but has also increased taxes on such agreements, which discourages it.

Tenure through acquired documentation:
In many countries (e.g. Egypt, India and Colombia), tenure security is achieved over time through the accretion of various documents relating to property taxes, utility charges, voter registration forms, or ration cards, etc. This form of de facto tenure is possibly the most common of all urban tenure systems and, plus sheer weight of numbers, can significantly increase perceived levels of security and stimulate substantial levels of investment in home improvements, local businesses and infrastructure. By ensuring that land and property held under such tenure systems cannot command the full price which formal tenure would entail, low-income households are able to live in areas that would otherwise be beyond their reach. The main limitation of the system is that it is vulnerable to changes in government policy and programs of forced eviction or relocation can seriously erode their advantages.

Thailand: Temporary land rental:
Landowners and low-income groups in Bangkok have evolved a mutually beneficial system of land tenure that enables the poor to live for a short to medium period in inner city areas that would normally be far too expensive for them. This not only enables the poor to obtain easy access to employment centers, but also provides landowners with an income until they decide to develop their site for its maximum commercial potential. Although many arrangements are informal, the system is increasingly recognized and some agreements are legal contracts. Local authorities are willing to provide services according to the rental period and when this finally expires, the communities are given enough notice to negotiate a similar arrangement with another landowner. In this way, the urban poor are able to move ahead of the tide of urban expansion without in any way detracting from the efficiency of the formal land market.

6. Conclusions and Key Recommendations

Conclusions

Tenure is a social relation of appropriation and exclusion. Accordingly, security of tenure issues cannot be dealt with in strictly technical terms. A wide range of alternative tenure options should respond to the diversity of the needs of households living in informal settlements. Local situations and needs must be assessed and evaluated prior to the definition of any tenure upgrading or regularization policy. In particular:

- **Community organization** is a key element for the successful implementation of any tenure upgrading project, especially for maintaining /supplying records of rights on land, defining eligibility criteria for tenure regularization, and promoting suitably adapted financial mechanisms for resource mobilization at settlement level

- In any tenure upgrading project or programme to improve the situation of the urban poor, the main challenge remains **scaling up**. This requires: a unified strategy at national and city/municipal levels; an appropriate and compatible legal and regulatory framework at both national and municipal levels; financial resources and appropriate mobilization mechanisms (financial mechanisms adapted to the resources and needs of populations concerned); political will and continuity

- The lending procedures of finance institutions and commercial banks are not adapted to the needs of the urban poor, especially in cases of tenure upgrading. **Community development funds or mortgage programs** may be efficient tools for mobilizing resources, including for securing tenure (Mitlin and Satterthwaite, 2003).

- Secure tenure alone cannot address the needs of the poor. Improving security of tenure forms part of an integrated urban development approach. One of the main lessons from experience during the last two decades regarding urban land management and security of tenure is that any **tenure upgrading or regularization project must be accompanied by the provision of infrastructures and basic urban services**. Conversely, provision of infrastructure and basic services does require some form of secure tenure.

However, it must be understood that provision of infrastructure and secure tenure will frequently generate various forms of market eviction at settlement level, especially if such projects are not implemented incrementally, are not backed by an organized community, and are not accompanied by measures aiming to improve the economic situation of the households.

Key Recommendations

1. Protection against forced evictions is the overriding priority

Protection against forced evictions is a pre-requisite for the integration of irregular settlements into the city. For households living in irregular settlements, security of tenure offers a response to their immediate problem of forced removal or eviction (*Environment and Urbanisation*, 1994,

vol. 1). It means they cannot be evicted by an administrative or court decision simply because they are not the owner of the land or house they occupy, or because they have not entered into a formal agreement with the owner, or do not comply with planning and building laws and regulations. It also means recognizing and legitimizing the existing forms of tenure that prevail amongst poor communities, and creating space for the poorest populations to improve their quality of life. Security of tenure can be considered the main component of the right to housing, and an essential pre-requisite for access to citizenship

Although very few countries do provide constitutional protection against eviction (Brazil, South Africa) many governments, aware of the political risks of evictions when no alternative is offered to evicted households, have adopted anti-eviction laws. However, as observed by UN-Habitat (2003), “in regard to the protection of individuals where landowners arbitrarily evict occupiers in defiance of the anti-eviction laws, these laws do not provide sufficient protection for the poor, unless legal aid is cheap and accessible and/or special zones for low-income families are declared”.

An increasing number of cities also provide *de facto* protection against forced evictions through various measures that recognize implicitly the existence of informal settlements (provision of basic services, registration or records of slum populations, voter rolls, street numbering, issuance of identity cards). However, in this context, government administrations still retain a discretionary power. Thus, effective protection of the urban poor against forced evictions depends on local patronage, commitment of political parties, NGOs and organizations of the civil society. The level of protection provided depends on the balance of power at local and national levels.

2. Decentralizing land management responsibilities and enabling municipalities to promote tenure upgrading and regularization

On 10 July 2001, a groundbreaking legal development took place in Brazil with the enactment of Federal Law no 10.257, entitled `City Statute’, which aims to regulate the original chapter on urban policy introduced by the 1988 Constitution. The new law provides consistent legal support to those municipalities committed to confronting the grave urban, social and environmental problems that directly affect the living conditions of the 82% of Brazilians who live in cities.

In conceptual terms, the City Statute broke with the long-standing tradition of civil law and set the basis for a new legal-political paradigm for urban land use and development control: the right to urban property is ensured, provided that a social function is accomplished, which is determined by municipal urban legislation. Municipalities are tasked with formulating territorial and land use policies balancing the individual interests of landowners with the social, cultural and environmental interests of other groups, and the city as a whole.

Municipalities are required to integrate urban planning, legislation and management so as to democratize the local decision-making process and thus legitimize a new, socially oriented urban-legal order. The City Statute also recognized legal instruments to enable municipalities to promote land tenure regularization programs and thus democratize the conditions of access to urban land and housing (CIVIS. Cities Alliance, N°3, Sept. 2002. Secure tenure for the urban Poor).

3. Taking advantage of adverse possession procedures

Adverse possession refers to the allocation of property rights, following the continuous and peaceful occupation of land over a certain period of time prescribed by law, without any opposition. It seems particularly adapted to the needs of the urban poor living in informal settlements.
Most countries do have such legislation, but few implement and enforce it.
Since the late 1990s, many Brazilian municipalities have relied on adverse possession procedures to provide the urban poor with security of tenure. Adverse possession applies potentially to over half the *favelas* (squatter settlements) in Brazilian cities. So far, adverse possession procedures have benefited a limited number of slum dwellers: case-by-case court procedures are time-consuming processes, requiring the advertising of the possession to establish legal claimants to the land, and involving the intervention of lawyers.

4. Preventing market eviction of the urban poor

The urban poor are vulnerable to another form of eviction, less visible than forced evictions, and rarely recorded: market eviction. This phenomenon is being observed in all cities, including those in countries that do provide legal or constitutional protection against forced evictions. Market eviction is the result of market pressures exerted on urban low-income settlements usually combined with rapid increases in the housing expenditures of the economically weakest households in the settlements (increase in rents, costs of services, and taxes). Tenure upgrading or provision of urban services in newly regularized informal settlements may result in the departure of the poorest households (Cross, 2002). The allocation of individual transferable real rights (such as freehold) to vulnerable households, without community control, is likely to accelerate the market eviction process.

5. The provision of property titles must be framed over a long-term horizon

The provision of individual property titles should not be rejected as such. It must be considered as a long-term objective. In many cases, emphasis should be put on intermediate options such as the provision of collective titles at settlement levels. The objective is to increase the supply of legal urban land in a range of tenure options (public or private rental, leasehold, freehold, etc.), a range of locations and a range of prices to suit the needs of different socio-economic groups. Experience suggests that legal measures that protect occupancy rights and that guarantee security of tenure, at least for a certain period of time (permit to occupy, long term lease, concession of real rights of use, etc.) are more efficient tools for poverty reduction than the mass allocation of property titles. This is the case in most Indian cities with the issuing of long-term leases, as implemented under the Patta Act[11].

[11] The extension of land tenure rights over government land, locally known as 'patta', to squatters is undertaken as a welfare measure. Tenure rights can be given in-situ or in alternate locations on freehold, lease or license basis. Even though there are cases of group tenure, the granting of individual tenure is the general practice. Current approaches give preference to regularisation in-situ but relocation has been resorted to under specific circumstances. A number of states such as Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Rajasthan and Maharashtra have opted for tenure regularisation as a state-wide policy across all urban areas (Banerjee, 2002).

6. Promoting community ownership and group titling is an important option

As noted by UN-Habitat (2003), "individual titling is costly, time-consuming and often not sustainable for low-income groups, as the procedure involves full surveying and registration. A way forward is to use group registration, blocks and some form of individualized lease rights managed by groups in conjunction with local authorities." An illustration of such practices can be given in Kenya. It is estimated that 60% of the urban population is living in unplanned settlements, with no security of tenure. "Community Land Trusts" are one of the innovative types of tenure that provide residents with a reasonable security of tenure (Payne 2002). Basic principles are as follows: (i) Land is kept in the settlement under one head title held by trustees; (ii) Community's strength is targeted towards resource mobilization, land acquisition, obtaining official permits and getting the government and municipalities to provide infrastructure; (iii) Land acquisition costs are reduced by doing away with title surveys for individual plots; (iv) Communities are encouraged to create governance structures that allow members of the community to participate fully in the affairs of the settlement. By retaining ownership of the land, in the hands of a group, and allowing members to hold leases from the group title, it is possible to control transfers and discourage speculation. The affairs of a Community Land Trust are run by a web of local organizations within a general policy framework established by the Ministry of Local Government through a consultative process (Kiamba, 1999).

7. Incremental approaches to tenure security are needed

As underlined by UN-Habitat (2003), large scale and rapid "sweeping" tenure reform can lead to a loss of security of tenure (underestimation of the record-keeping requirements; creation of a range of contradictory land legislation making it difficult to clean up cloudy title/deeds and undertake formal land delivery; putting pressure on already weak administrations to carry out tasks for which they do not have the human and/or financial capacity). Massive titling campaigns are likely to have the same impact. Once again, the most vulnerable groups are the urban poor. Securing tenure must be seen as an incremental process that may take several years. An incremental approach allows government to build technical and administrative procedures over time and within their own resource capacity, thus ensuring the institutionalization of the new approaches.

Innovative responses emphasize the development of parallel, flexible property registration systems, where the initial secure right is simple and affordable but may be upgraded according to what residents and governments need and can afford at any given time. Provision of individual property titles should not be rejected as such. It must be considered as a long-term objective (Davies 2002). An innovative incremental titling pilot project was carried out in Namibia in the late 1990's: allocation of a simple and affordable initial secure tenure (a "starter title") that could be upgraded to a "landhold title" and then to a "freehold title", in accordance with the needs and resources of individual households and the processing capacity of the administration (Christiensen 1999). Incremental tenure upgrading has other major advantages: it preserves the

social link within the communities and gives them time to adapt, thus limiting the impact of formal market pressure on informal settlements.

8. Explore innovative land management techniques[12], such as "land sharing"

At settlement level, innovative land management and allocation procedures and techniques can facilitate tenure regularization of informal settlements. This can be illustrated by the "land sharing" projects implemented in Thailand during the 1980s and 1990s, and more recently, on a larger scale, in India. The principle is as follows: when the owner of a piece of land which is occupied illegally, usually by squatters who he is not in a position to evict, he agrees to share his property. Occupants will clear part of the occupied land (between 1/3 and 1/2 depending on cases), usually the part with the highest commercial value, and return it to the landowner.
The remaining part of the land is sold out or leased to the occupants, usually at below market price. Physical upgrading and increase in density on this part of the land makes possible the on-site re-housing of the households displaced from land that has been cleared and returned to the owner.

Such techniques do, in principle, enable tenure regularization to be carried out, while taking into account the interests of both the landowner and the community concerned. However, they require a high level of community organization, intervention of mediators and intermediate bodies (such as NGOs), involvement of public administrations and/or agencies, appropriate financial resources, administrative efficiency, transparency, and political commitment, especially at local level. Few developing cities meet these conditions.

Land sharing techniques raise two questions: (i) even when successful on the scale of a settlement, up-scaling remains a major problem; (ii) because it requires significant financial contributions from beneficiary households, land sharing does not respond to the needs of the poorest segments of the slum dwellers.

9. Building spatial and information systems and local land registration and records

As emphasized by Augustinus (2003 a), "new land information management systems can supply some kind of early tenure security to a large number of people, especially to informal settlements…The focus is on using the spatial information associated with an appropriate land information management system which is linked to urban service delivery, as source of legal evidence to validate people's adverse possession claims and/or prevent eviction".
Whenever possible, land records and registration must be carried out at local / municipal levels, rather than being centralized at the government level, for both technical and political reasons: identification of right-holders, the settlement of land-related conflicts, as well as adjudication procedures cannot be carried out at central government level. However, whereas records of land rights can be kept at municipal or sub-municipal level (as is the case in most tenure

[12] For further information on land management and administration systems, please refer to UN Habitat's *Handbook on Best Practice – Security of Tenure and Access to Land*, 2nd Edition and a more specific *Best Practice* report on the evaluation of land administration in the eastern Cape, South Africa at: www.psc.gov.za/docs/reports/2003/doc-2.pdf.

regularization projects), land registration and the delivery of property titles remain prerogatives of central government administrations. Most – especially in sub-Saharan cities – are reluctant to transfer such responsibilities to local/municipal level. In addition, vested interests in the management and provision of public land reserves are such that few central governments are in a position to impose and enforce such reforms.

II. Comprehensive and Participatory Urban Planning and Design[13]

1. Identifying the Challenge

Grassroots initiatives of slum dwellers in developing countries demonstrate that the impetus for a more "inclusive city" begins with the activism and energy of the disenfranchised. However, on their own, such actions are **not enough**. For slum dwellers, it is important to have the means of **holding elected officials accountable**, providing there are structures in place that ensure their voice in development issues affecting their communities. NGOs gathered momentum, in part as an alternative to failing government strategies, and NGOs have been instrumental in providing a voice for many of the world's poor. Nonetheless, while NGOs are well placed to incorporate slum dwellers in planning and design decision-making processes, and well placed to attract resources, there is some questioning about their lack of accountability, transparency, and most importantly, their long-term sustainability in para-governmental services.

As such, the challenge remains **how to better position governments in processes that address the needs of slum dwellers**. More specifically, the challenge of today – *of institutionalizing and scaling up improvements* – and the challenge of tomorrow – *of preventing an increase in the number of people seeking slums as solutions* – require **broader political commitment to the objectives of social inclusion and enhanced structural forms of urban governance that build on and support community-based initiatives**. In other words, *cities need comprehensive, participatory planning and design processes*. Participatory planning systems engage urban residents in planning their cities and communities regardless of their gender, wealth, education, age, or ethnicity. Here we are speaking of ***innovative*** **and** ***sustainable*** **urban communication and implementation partnerships that specifically address social exclusion**, such as those among municipalities, community-based and non-government organizations, universities, professional associations, and local businesses.

Indeed, sustainable cities require an integrated approach to balancing social, economic, and environmental needs through strategic and long-term decision-making processes capable of reconciling the sometime divergent interests of such players. **Urban planning and design professionals can facilitate such long-horizon processes and partnerships** in a variety of concerns, ranging from environmental quality, amenities, infrastructure and service provision, tenure regularization, the identification of appropriate alternative settlement sites, as well as the provision of accessible and affordable housing solutions that reflect local character.

Civic engagement, *particularly in planning*, provides a means of mobilizing people as "the principal wealth of cities"; thus citizens, particularly those usually excluded from decision-making processes, must be empowered and engaged. **Decentralization**, following the principle of "subsidiarity"[14], maximizes opportunities for citizen inclusion in urban planning and service delivery. *Equity* in this context is conceived as **equal access to decision-making processes**, leading to the fair use of resources and "basic appropriate standards of nutrition, education,

[13] This section is based on a background paper prepared for Task Force 8 by lead author Anna Rubbo, as well as Nicole Gurran, Mateo Taussig-Rubbo, and Murray Hall.
[14] The principle of subsidiarity holds that government responsibilities should be devolved to the lowest level appropriate.

employment and livelihood, health care, shelter, safe drinking water, sanitation and other basic services."[15] Similarly, *transparency and accountability* of government processes are important safeguards in securing equal access to decision-making processes and equitable outcomes in planning and design.

This type of citizen participation among the urban poor in the social life of the city often lacks official support. Slums, whether they be in declining or neglected inner city areas, poorly maintained public housing and worker estates, illegal or squatter settlements,[16] clearly represent a **spatial concentration of social exclusion**. Social exclusion occurs when "people or areas suffer from a combination of linked problems such as unemployment, poor skills, low incomes, poor housing, high crime, bad health and family breakdown."[17] Slum residents are frequently excluded from urban opportunities such as education and participation in formal economic sectors, from city services such as appropriate standards of infrastructure, health facilities and policing (hence vulnerability to bad health and crime). These disadvantages contribute to a vicious cycle of poverty and the ***divided city***:

> Slums are designated areas where it is easiest to see poor people in the highest concentrations and the worst conditions, but even the most exclusive and expensive areas will have some low-income people. In some cities, slums are so pervasive that rather than designate residential areas for the poor, it is the rich who segregate themselves behind gated enclaves.[18]

Historically, urban planning policies have explicitly contributed to such spatial segregation through exclusionary zoning approaches. For example, in some US cities early planning codes were designed to exclude certain racial groups,[19] while other cities, such as Johannesburg, were comprehensively planned on the basis of racial segregation. However, *less overt* forms of exclusion also operate through planning schemes that specify residential development regulations which poor people are unable to comply with, ensuring that an area remains accessible only to the middle class or wealthy elite. Similarly, planning policies that divert undesirable activities (such as assigning polluting industries to areas inhabited by poorer and less politically vocal communities) further reduce amenities and land values in slum areas. In addition, planners have been slow to reject more recent manifestations of the divided city, such as the emergence of "gated communities."[20]

Given this history, *identifying and reforming* exclusionary planning practices is an important step toward the full realization of the positive potential of planning as well as toward the achievement of the UN target of an "Inclusive City." To date, there have been few reported attempts by planners to actively resist new urban forms perceived to be popular by their local constituents. Support for this **current move to more inclusive forms of planning depend on planning**

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[15] UNCHS, Good Urban Governance at 6.
[16]This categorization of slum forms is based on that presented in the UN, *Facing the Slum Challenge* at 118-124.
[17] Social Exclusion Unit, *Bringing Britain Together*.
[18]*Id.,* at xiv.
[19] P. Hall, *Cities of Tomorrow; An Intellectual History of Urban Planning and Design in the Twentieth Century* Blackwell, Oxford (1996).
[20] L. Sandercock, *Towards Cosmopolis: Planning for Multicultural Cities*, John Wiley, Chichester (1998).

processes which explicitly provide a voice for all members of the community- not only "legitimate" property owners and developers.

2. Understanding City Planning and Design Links with Poverty and Services

Planning and architectural design have long-established (though historically controversial) links with the address of urban poverty and service provision. **Planning** as a discipline emerged to address the health and sanitation issues associated with the concentration of urban poverty in the industrializing cities of the early twentieth century, though the impetus for this address was not always straightforward or pro-poor. Likewise, **architectural design** – both in forms of landscape and housing designs, had an important imprint in urban poverty interventions in countries experiencing early urbanization. More specifically, interventions in planning included the introduction of fire, health, and safety regulations for new buildings and land-use zoning, while in design included the construction of public spaces and parks as well as social housing designs.

In an important sense, **planning and the slum have given rise to each other** – though slums and informal sectors have usually outpaced the ability of formal planning and design to progressively shape the city. Indeed, the rate of change in cities of today's low- and middle-income countries clearly outstrips the capacity of *conventional* planning and design strategies which rely on bureaucratic interventions designed to restrict "undesirable" developments rather than proactively encouraging solutions to current social and environmental problems. Some commentators have argued that **unchecked formal planning may actually exacerbate the problems of informal developments**, especially by imposing requirements that cannot be met. On the other side of the spectrum of intervention, architects currently participate in creating only about one percent of the world's building culture[21] - with **99% of the built environment, including slum dwellings, not forming a central part of the architect's concern**. How then can the planning and design professions contribute to improving the lives of slum dwellers today and tomorrow? In the following section, we will discuss the role of these professionals in providing scope for new actors to participate in addressing urbanization and in contributing to the redefinition of the world's poor as central actors in 21st century development.

3. Current Trends: A Participatory Paradigm

The **success of planning and design 'technical' activities depends on the full participation and advice of a community itself**, using methodologies such as participatory action research. Not only does this ensure that the plan or project will respond more closely to community needs, it also enables the community concerned to undertake its own research, for future planning or advocacy purposes. Similarly, it is no longer enough to simply prepare a plan or design a project according to the standards of professional or technical wisdom. Rather, a range of options should be provided for consideration (Abbott 1996). Where possible, such options should be

[21] C. Correa, "The New Landscape" in I. Serageldin, ed. *The Architecture of Empowerment: People, Shelter and Liveable Cities*. London, Academy Editions (1997): 34 (hereafter Serageldin, "*The Architecture of Empowerment*"). The 99%-1% is somewhat figurative but helps illustrate the point. In Australia, for example, figures such as 5-10% are often given for architect participation, thus illustrating the difference between more and less developed countries in terms of professional involvement. The term 'building culture' follows H. Davis in the *The Building of Culture*, NY Oxford University Press (1999).

developed in cooperation with local community-based organizations and potentially local entrepreneurs, particularly when these sectors will have a role in implementation. In such a way, the process **shares technical knowledge** with participants and can contribute to enhanced community governance in the future as well as local economic development. For example, architecture students working on the Orangi Pilot Housing Programme in Karachi, Pakistan worked with local construction businesses to improve the choice of building materials and enhance building techniques, resulting in better local housing outcomes and a thriving small enterprise network.[22]

The concept of such collaborative planning has become increasingly influential amongst urban planning academics and professionals. **It emphasizes planning as a process of negotiated decision-making** whereby the **planner's role is to assist members of local communities reconcile often competing agendas**.[23] Healey argues that traditional planning systems and processes "have their power and justification in the role they play in helping the political communities of places work out how to manage their collective concerns about the qualities of shared spaces and local environments," and that:

> Spatial planning efforts should thereafter be judged by the qualities of process – whether they built up relations between stakeholders in urban region states and whether the relations enable trust and understanding to flow among the stakeholders and generate sufficient support for policies and strategies to enable these to be relevant to the material opportunities available and the cultural values of those involved, and have the capacity to endure over time.[24]

This view of planning emphasizes that **community participation** is not only a means to build public support and achieve greater efficiency in plan development or implementation, but rather **is an end in itself** – contributing to social capital. This has been the rationale for encouraging grassroots, collaborative approaches to urban regeneration within deprived neighborhoods in industrialized nations, and bottom-up approaches to poverty reduction in developing contexts.[25]

In addition, effective citizen participation is fundamental to **sustainable development**[26]. This objective has become ubiquitous in official government policies (in both industrialized and non - industrialized contexts), as well as those of international development organizations. Indeed, one of the earliest expressions of community participation was "community development", defined by the United Nations in 1955 as "a process designed to create conditions of economic and social

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22 A. Hasan, "The Orangi Pilot Project Housing Programme, Karachi Pakistan" (hereafter "Hasan, Orangi Pilot Project") in Serageldin**, *The Architecture of Empowerment.***

23 P. Healey, *Collaborative Planning: Shaping Places in Fragmented Societies*, Macmillan, London (1997).

24 *Id.,* at 72.

25 M. Mayo and G. Craig, "Community Participation and Empowerment: the Human Face of Structural Adjustment or Tools for Democratic Transformation?" in G. Craig, and M. Mayo, eds., *Community Empowerment: a Reader in Participation and Development*, Zed Books, London (1995); C. Williams and J. Windebank, *Revitalising Deprived Urban Neighbourhoods: An Assisted Self-Help Approach,* Ashgate, Urban and Regional Planning and Development Series, Hampshire (2001); Social Exclusion Unit, *Bringing Britain Together: A National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal* (1998) (hereafter "Social Exclusion Unit, *Bringing Britain Together*").

26 WCED, *Our Common Future*.

progress for the whole community with its active participation."[27] Rejecting the technologically and professionally elitist approaches to comprehensive "master planning" in the first half of the twentieth century, urban planners since the 1960s have been influenced by the more people-centered approaches to decision-making.[28]

However, beyond meeting the basic legislative requirements (which usually relate to the provision of information and limited opportunities for consultation about land-use plans and development decisions), **in practice authorities and planners have generally failed to achieve broader forms of community participation in urban decision-making**.

Issues in industrialized contexts have included the complexity of planning processes and regulations that are unintelligible to those beyond the planning profession or positions of authority; limited and formalistic opportunities for public involvement that retain responsibility for agenda setting and determination firmly with the planner or other authority; a lack of transparency in decision-making processes; and lack of representation in consultation processes of groups such as the poor, minority communities, and women.

In developing contexts, planning processes are likely to be **even less accessible to such groups**, and will often be regarded as irrelevant to their lives. This is particularly so with regard to comprehensive "master plans" which rarely incorporate adequate public participation in goal setting, and in many cases fail to be implemented.

For example, a recent study of urban planning processes in **Indonesia** found that despite national legislation requiring public participation in plan formulation, guidelines to enact this requirement were lacking, such that planning processes continued to operate in a top-down way.[29] Furthermore, the plans themselves are rarely followed, such that much development continues to occur in contravention of planning regulations. In fact, the UN estimates that 50 percent of housing in the developing and least developed cities of the world does not comply with local regulations.[30] By preparing plans that are "out of step" with the reality of urban conditions and needs, the problems associated with informal development (such as insecurity and poor servicing) are perpetrated.

Other large scale urban interventions, such as major development or redevelopment schemes, public transport and large infrastructure projects, are also unlikely to incorporate adequate public participation during the environmental impact assessment process. Environmental impact assessment methodologies emphasize the need for public participation in identifying and considering alternative options to the proposal (considering overall city development objectives);

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[27] *Cited* in J. Abbott, 1996, *Sharing the City: Community Participation in Urban Development*, Earthscan, London (1996), 5 (hereafter, "Abbott*, Sharing the City*").

[28] This was reflected in the new planning legislation enacted during the late 1960s and early 1970s, such as the UK Town and Country Planning Act of 1968 and the US Natural Environmental Policy Act of 1969, as discussed in R. Roberts, "Public Involvement: From Consultation to Participation," in F. Vanclay, and D. A. Bronstein, *eds*., *Environment and Social Impact Assessment,* John Wiley & Sons Ltd, (1995), as well as similar legislation in Canada, Europe, and Australia.

[29] N. Suhartini, *An Analysis of Community Participation in Planning Processes in Jayapura City Indonesia*, Unpublished Masters Dissertation, University of Sydney (2003).

[30] *Facing the Slum Challenge 2003*.

identifying the immediate and long-term social, economic, as well as environmental impacts of the proposal; and identifying mitigating strategies if the project is to go ahead. **However, the nature of such projects and the environmental impact assessment process is such that they are rarely considered within a strategic or participatory framework.** Even when public consultation is included in the assessment process, public involvement is rarely representative of the various community interests affected and community participants are typically regarded as another stakeholder amongst powerful political and financial interests.

Sherry Arnstein proposed one of the most influential conceptualizations of citizen participation in 1969.[31] Arnstein described a *ladder* of citizen participation, with steps up from "manipulation and therapy" (forms of non-participation) through to "informing, consultation and placation" (degrees of tokenism), and finally "partnership, delegated power, and citizen control" which she regarded as degrees of citizen power. Arnstein's ladder is sometimes dismissed as simplistic and paternalistic. However, it expressed two important concepts – firstly, that there are **varying degrees of intensity in participatory processes**, and secondly, that **less privileged citizens are entitled to participate in decisions that affect their lives**.[32]

Following Arnstein's categorization, it is possible to distinguish between forms of participation that are primarily managed by an official organization responsible for ultimate decision-making (usually a level of government), and types of participation shared or driven by citizen groups themselves. Here relevant distinctions are: *who sets the agenda and terms for the participation*; *how participants are recruited and by whom*; and, *how the final decision is made*. Broader conceptions of participation emphasize holistic self-determination and empowerment, resulting in increased personal capabilities, choices, and freedoms.[33] An empowering process is therefore one in which **communities themselves set their own goals and objectives**, **identify and assess alternatives, and take responsibility for actions to achieve this**. This understanding is consistent with the objectives of grassroots community-based organizations (CBOs) and non-government organizations (NGOs) and ultimately aims to transform power relations where authorities have been unresponsive to resident needs. However, recent reflection on participation has focused on the intersection of power and knowledge, and questions the effectiveness of participation as well as the degree to which it may be co-opted by powerful organizations.[34]

Where participatory processes are managed by an official organization (in high-income contexts this is usually local or regional governments, but in low- and middle-income countries this could also be an international donor agency, NGO, or project manager), the term "**public involvement**" is appropriate to describe the type of participation that occurs. For example, when preparing a strategic plan for urban land uses, infrastructure, or services, the responsible authority seeks public input, and this constitutes a form of community participation. . The key issue in this scenario is that involvement in strategic planning processes is a **voluntary activity that frequently favors those with sufficient access to information, confidence, time, and**

[31] S. Arnstein, "A Ladder of Citizen Participation," [1969] in Stein, *Classic Readings*.
[32] *Abbott, Sharing the City*; Hamdi and Goethert, *Action Planning.*
[33] N. Singh, and S. Wanmali, "Participatory Assessment and Planning for Sustainable Livelihoods," United Nations Development Program, accessed online @www.undp.org/sl/Documents/documents.html (22/7/03) (1998).
[34] B. Cooke and U. Kothari, eds., *Participation: The New Tyranny?*, London, Zed Books (hereafter "Cooke and Kothari, *Participation: The New Tyranny?*") (2001).

financial means to participate. Special strategies are therefore needed to *include those otherwise unlikely to participate*.

Where the impetus for the plan or responsibility for its implementation at least partly originates within the community, the term "**community empowerment**" may be more appropriate. Examples of these processes include the urban regeneration initiatives in industrialized contexts (where these have a strong community development focus), and the many grassroots projects of the urban poor in developing nations (discussed further below). However, these processes may also suffer from a lack of broad-based participation unless particular strategies to encourage the engagement of disadvantaged groups are employed (as demonstrated by several of the following case studies). It is also important that significant community-based initiatives are recognized by and linked to the broader urban planning processes described above, although the literature reveals few examples of this. As such, **the challenge remains how to better link urban planning and civic-based initiatives in addressing the needs of slum dwellers**.

4. Key Considerations in Participatory Planning and Design Projects

Toward the goal of building a framework to bridge community initiatives with broader urban planning and design processes, we here outline a range of important considerations in any participatory projects:

1. *Lead organization(s) and key stakeholder(s)*

There are a range of project design implications associated with **who initiates and manages** the project, as well as the range of participants or key **stakeholders** involved[35]. For example, international NGOs in combination with CBOs can be particularly effective in achieving participatory projects with low-income urban communities, as demonstrated by the activities of Slum/Shack Dwellers International (SDI) (Patel 2001). SDI has resourced a range of projects, many of which emphasize transferring the knowledge and skills needed by slum dwellers to participate effectively in urban planning processes. Activities include community-driven mapping and surveying of slum areas, assisting in negotiations with municipalities and local governments for secure tenure and for improved infrastructure and services to slum communities, and construction of model housing projects. In some cases, however, the involvement of international players such as aid agencies and development banks can actually create barriers to grassroots participation, due to their inability to deal directly with local communities and institutions (Satterthwaite 2001).

In addition, it is very common for participatory projects to involve **a range of institutions**. For example, the Participatory Action Planning Project in Habli-Dharwad, India, involved several local and international universities and research institutions, international and local NGOs, a number of CBOs, as well as numerous government institutions at local, district, state and

[35] Potential groups involved include a government agency or agencies (at the national, regional or local level, or a combination of these); an international or local NGO or group of organizations; a CBO or organizations; an academic institution such as a university; or a professional body or firm. Some or all of these groups may also work collaboratively on a project or be involved as key stakeholders.

national levels.[36] In this case, the involvement of multiple players was regarded beneficially as it enabled different institutional strengths to contribute to the project (although it was found that the range of organizations involved did not necessarily facilitate the involvement of the poorest sectors of the target population).

There are also many examples of effective participatory urban processes resourced and guided by **municipal governments**. Municipal responsibilities for urban planning and services, the environment, and in some cases, health, education and policing, mean that projects initiated at this level are likely to have a significant impact on the lives of low-income urban communities. In Porto Alegre, Brazil, citywide improvements in living standards were experienced due to a variety of participatory development projects implemented by the municipal government.[37] Locating project responsibility at this level can also reduce the complexities associated with multiple decision-makers, as demonstrated by the successful Favela Bairro neighborhood upgrading project in Brazil.[38]

Research and educational institutions can be effective as independent project leaders able to facilitate skills within the community itself needed for ongoing sustainability. One of the earliest examples of this is the Orangi Pilot Project, established in Karachi in 1980.[39] Here the lead organization regards itself as a research institution and rather than carrying out development work itself, *provides the technical support* for the community to undertake its own improvements.

Professional organizations or firms may also be successful in leading participatory planning and design projects, or in enabling local groups to participate directly in urban processes. "Community Design Centres" established throughout the United States provide planning, architectural, and development services to civic organizations or community-based development corporations, and thus provide a useful model for emulation (Sanoff 2000). In the U.S., University-Community design partnerships have had resurgence lately [40]. The Rural Studio in Alabama[41], Jan Wampler's Microvillage in Turkey (MIT), and Sergio Palleroni's design build studios in Mexico (University of Washington) are some of the better known initiatives, but there are many western universities that focus on developing teamwork skills in situated learning situations. An Australian example of community–university collaboration is profiled in one of the following case studies.

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[36] M. Halkatti, S. Purushotaman, and R. Brook, "Participatory Action Planning in the Peri-urban Interface: the Twin City Experience, Hubli-Dharwad, India," *Environment and Urbanisation,* 15,1 [date] 149 – 158 (hereafter "Halkatti, Participatory Action Planning").
[37] R. Menegat, "Participatory Democracy and Sustainable Development: Integrated Urban Environmental Management in Porto Alegre, Brazil," *Environment and Urbanisation*, 14,2 (2002) 181 – 206 (hereafter "Menegat, Participatory Democracy").
[38] J. Brakarz, (2002), *Cities for All; Recent Experiences with Neighbourhood Upgrading Programs*, Inter-American Development Bank, Washington.
[39] Hasan, The Orangi Pilot Project.
[40] J. Pearson and M. Robbins, eds., *University -Community Design Partnerships: Innovations in Practice*, US National Endowment for the Arts (2002).
[41]Dean Oppenheimer, *A Rural Studio: Samuel Mockbee and Architecture of Decency*, New York, Princeton Architectural Press (2002).

2. Participants

Who are the **key participants** in the project? In some cases, the participants themselves may be the project managers (particularly when there is strong involvement by CBOs). In other projects, participation may be open to all members of the public, may be targeted through representative structures, or include focused strategies to engage particular groups such as women or youth.

In the case of Rufisque, a township outside Daka, Senegal, the low-income urban community itself has stepped in to assist local government finance and provide essential sanitation facilities.[42] Similarly, the Khuda-Ki Basti Incremental Development scheme, in Hyderabad, Pakistan, relies on the self-help efforts of households (with technical assistance from the Hyderabad Development Authority and an NGO), to develop housing and contribute to the provision of services and infrastructure.[43]

In many cases, **a combination of open and representative structures** is used to ensure widespread community participation. For example, in Porto Alegre, Brazil, members of the public are able to participate in plenary sessions concerning urban planning and development (environment and sanitation, city planning and housing), traffic management & public transport, health and social welfare, education, culture and recreation, economic development and taxation. At these sessions, they are also able to elect representatives for higher-level forums such as the Participatory Budget Council that identifies funding priorities and allocations for the local municipality.[44]

In Canaansland, a squatter community of Johannesburg, South Africa, a participatory research project documented the lives of children from their initial settlement through to eviction and resettlement.[45] The project was unable to influence the broader decision-making processes responsible for the enforced resettlement of the community. Similarly, a project in Bangalore, India, included a youth participation component as part of a broader community planning process.[46] In this case not only did the participation of children mean their needs were met in the planning process (for example, engaging children ensured that their favorite play space was not used for the community toilet); but the participatory methods developed their self-esteem and communication skills.

3. Project focus

The project may focus on a **single category of issue** – such as legal regularization of settlements, upgrading of infrastructure, or housing. The project might also incorporate **a range of projects** extending from savings and credit schemes through to broader community development or environmental initiatives.

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[42] M. Gaye and F. Diallo, "Community Participation in the Management of the Urban Environment in Rufisque (Senegal)," *Environment and Urbanisation* 9,1, 9 – 29 (1997).

[43] L. Ekram, "Khuda-Ki-Basti Incremental Development Scheme, Hyderabad, Pakistan, " in Serageldin, *The Architecture of Empowerment*.

[44] Menegat, Participatory Democracy.

[45] J. Swart-Kruger, "Children in a South African Squatter Camp Gain and Lose a Voice," in L. Chawla, ed., *Growing Up in an Urbanising World*, UNESCO Earthscan, U.K. (2002) (hereafter "Swart-Kruger, Children").

[46] (Banerjeee and Driskell 2002)

In the case of Barrio San Jorge, one of the poorest neighborhoods in Buenos Aires, Argentina, working on a variety of projects ranging from basic community development facilities to street improvement and tenure regularization, was advantageous. **Such multi-tasking enabled the process to address diverse needs**, access different funding sources, and provide alternatives if one project stalled.[47]

4. Participatory methods

The project may use a range of different methods and techniques to **involve various members of the community**, may focus on one key approach, or might utilize cumulative or staged approaches to participation. Participatory methods might focus on the planning and design of the project, more directly on its delivery, or both. Furthermore, special participatory strategies to target special groups who are often underrepresented may be used.

Participatory approaches to the delivery of urban projects include **self-help schemes** where participants are directly involved in constructing housing or providing infrastructure (such as the Orangi Pilot Project in Karachi and the Favela-Bairro in Rio de Janeiro). Involvement may also be **financial,** through direct monetary contributions for benefits received or a system of revolving credit. In addition, these initiatives often include a **technical training** or capacity building component for local builders and laborers. It may be easier to achieve direct participation in projects that are seen to make an immediate difference in living circumstances, rather than in broader planning processes. However, once a project is completed, community mobilization may dissipate.

In participatory urban planning and design processes, it is common to employ a range of techniques relating to each phase (needs identification, setting objectives and priorities, defining strategies, implementation and evaluation). For example, an initiative to support community-based projects in the low-income neighborhood of San Fernando, Buenos Aires, involved a three-stage participatory planning process. This included public forums to identify vulnerable groups and their needs, workshops to develop strategies to address these needs, and finally, the definition of neighborhood projects and implementation arrangements. Participatory methods[48] used in this and similar cases included:

- Public meetings and Forums
- Smaller working groups on specific issues
- Participatory research methods such as community driven surveys and mapping
- Intensive "community action planning" processes
- "Micro-Planning" workshops that focus on specific issues and priorities relevant to a particular neighborhood
- Street plays, posters and pamphlets, to raise awareness of semi- and illiterate stakeholders
- Advisory and representative committees for ongoing community input

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[47] R. Schusterman and A. Hardoy, "Reconstructing Social Capital in a Poor Urban Settlement: the Integral Improvement Programme in Barrio San Jorge," *Environment and Urbanisation*, 9/1. pp. 91 – 119 (1997) (hereafter ("Schusterman, Reconstructing").

[48] For a comprehensive description of participatory tools and methods appropriate for development processes, see UNCHS 2002, Imparato and Ruster[48] and Hamdi and Goethert, *Action Planning*.

• Training and knowledge transfer to enable more equal participation by community groups in planning processes and negotiations
• Design Charettes [49]

Hamdi and Goethert's enabling participatory action planning methods address some of their critiques of the development process, and propose that any action should have the following characteristics:

- Problem based and opportunity driven
- Based on achievable actions
- Participatory, encouraging rapport and partnerships
- Reliant on local knowledge, and skills and traditional wisdom
- Non-reliant on complete information
- Small in scope, community based
- Incremental rather than comprehensive plans
- Starting points rather than end states
- Fast, not rushed
- Visible, tangible outputs[50]

Special or targeted participatory processes are often needed to engage particular groups, such as women, young people, those with a disability, etc. In some cases, it is sufficient to establish separate meetings or workshops with these stakeholders. However, special methodologies might also be needed. In engaging children of slum community in Johannesburg, successful methods included participatory research workshops whereby children worked in small groups, held larger discussions, and even proposed some of the methods of data collection including drawings, maps, and the use of role plays.[51]

5. Timeframe

What is the **timeframe for the project**? Is a long timeframe important or is a short-term project with demonstrated outcomes preferable? Are mechanisms in place to support the ongoing operation of the project?

In the case of the Integral Improvement Programme in Barrio San Jorge, Buenos Aires, the continuous support of an external team within IIED – America Latina over a decade was found critical to managing a range of diverse, multi-sectoral projects and to building ongoing processes for community development.

6. Scale and linkages

Is the project based within **a single neighborhood or does it cover a larger geographical area**? This can have significant implications for project design and implementing participatory structures. A further consideration is whether the project facilitates links to broader citywide urban planning processes or programs. Lastly, many participatory projects begin as small-scale pilot initiatives but are later replicated at a larger urban or even national level. While this

[49] Halkatti, Participatory Action Planning.
[50] *Id.*
[51] Swart-Kruger, Children.

suggests project success, ensuring that these projects remain responsive to local context and continue to promote widespread participation, may become difficult.

Three civic organizations in Mumbai, India—the NGO, SPARC, the National Slum Dwellers Federation and Mahila Milan—have supported community-to-community visits between slum residents in different countries. These international linkages between slum communities have excited some commentators, seeing in these networks the possibility of a "deep democracy" and "globalization from below" linking similarly situated communities.[52]

While based within the single Barrio San Jorge, the Integral Improvement Programme in Buenos Aires has also established a representative community organization now able to negotiate with the municipal government regarding the legalization of tenure, as well as provisions for water and sanitation services.[53] The integrated environmental management projects in Porto Alegre, Brazil attempts to engage the community in all aspects of city planning, including urban planning and development, transportation, education and culture.

Although the Local Development Programme (PRODEL) in Nicaragua has been extended since its commencement in 1993 to seven mid- and small-sized cities, a local emphasis has been maintained by a project methodology that devolves responsibility for administration to municipal governments.

7. *Relation to the state*

The relation to state and public power in general is touched upon in many of the preceding headings, and it deserves to be singled out for separate consideration. For some commentators, the state is distant and buffeted by globalization, the rise of the NGO, and self-help. Indeed, disillusionment with public power and the lack of positive state intervention are virtually part of the definition of a slum. It is thus understandable that many have turned away from the state, and national government in particular. Alternatively, the state and political power may be construed as more integral to the resolution of many of the difficulties that slum residents face. From this perspective, **the state (oftentimes national government) can bring sustained focus, as well as ideological and material resources**. Entering the formal political sphere and seeking specific legal and other formal remedies may be critical.[54]

[52] Arjun Appadurai, "Deep Democracy: Urban Governmentality and the Horizon of Politics" in *Environment and Urbanisation*, vol. 13, 2 (2001), 38 (hereafter "Appadurai, Deep Democracy").

[53] Schusterman, Reconstructing

[54] Imparato, *Slum Upgrading,* at 255, for example, has this discussion of the changing position of the state, municipal government in particular: "as the role of the state is progressively redefined and urban governance relies more an more on participatory mechanisms, the reality of the city is the product of the actions of myriad public, private and community based actors. Development activities in complex urban situations thus need to involve a growing numbers of stakeholders, all with vitally important functions and roles, As we have stressed…when we speak of participation, we refer to a broader concept than simply the relationship between promoters and beneficiaries of projects. The surge of new actors on the urban scene implies various changes many of which open a route to a more democratic, participatory, and sustainable development of cities. All urban policies - and all activities realized through urban programs and projects- are influenced by these trends. Municipalities stand out among these emerging players. …By contrast the community -based urban movements that were so strong in Latin America in the 1970s and 1980s have declined in recent years and new forms of partnership with civil society have become increasingly common. Such organizations as development and environmental NGOs and professional associations (of engineers, architects, or lawyers) are showing increasing capacity and a more professional attitude. Finally, phenomenon such

5. Participatory Planning and Design Projects in Action

A number of case studies have been selected to illustrate different aspects of participatory planning and design. The case studies also highlight aspects of the interface between professionals (or students) and communities, and thus attempt to explore some of the opportunities and problems that arise in participatory partnerships.

a) Favela Bairro, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

In 1994 there were 661 favelas, housing over one million people in Rio de Janeiro. The majority (around 60%) lived in favelas of between 500 and 2000 households. Rio's 1992 master plan identified the need to address the housing problems of the poor as part of a citywide urban development strategy. The Municipal Housing Department (SMH) was established in 1993 with a mandate to progress the legalization of sub-divisions, to provide land titles, encourage the use of vacant land, resettle those housed in at-risk locations, and generally upgrade the city's favelas. Favela-Bairro was launched by the SMH in 1994 with the aim of physical and social transformation of Rio's medium-sized favelas of 500-2000 households.

An important aspect in the success of Favela-Bairro has been the establishment of a Popular Settlements Program and two macro-planning committees, one dealing with urban components, the other with the social components of the program. This has enabled cross-sectoral planning within the municipal government. In addition, an architectural competition was launched in 1994 to generate a methodology for the program. This was an innovation in the approach to upgrading, acknowledging a role for design in urban upgrading processes. Following the competition 16 settlements were selected, and the successful architectural firms were invited to proceed with an upgrading project. In its second stage, the program addressed 18 favelas and a system of tendering replaced the competition. The SMH negotiated the involvement of more municipal departments, boosting the range of social services available to favela residents. More NGOs also became involved. One significant advance was the establishment of the Municipal Employment Department (SMTb) in 1997, thus broadening the sustainability objectives of Favela Bairro.

A Favela Bairro upgrading project follows a number of stages that are pre-defined and overseen by SMH and the Pereira Passos Urban Institute (IPP). Once a settlement is chosen, the SMH holds meetings with the local residents' association and outlines the objectives, characteristics and procedures of the program. Next the project is put out to tender. Whilst bidding is open to anybody, including non-architects, in practice a limited number of architectural firms dominate the project design stage. To mount a bid a firm must undertake a rapid assessment of a community's problems and demands. Once awarded a contract, it must then progress through the stages of project preparation: diagnostic study, intervention plan, pre-project and executive project. Some of these stages include consultations with the community, which must formally

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as the privatization of utility services and the large-scale upgrading projects that involve construction and engineering firms and other for-profit actors create new roles for private enterprise. These roles include traditional areas such as engineering, planning, and construction as well s new opportunities in project management, quality control, and socio-technical support."

approve the final project before the implementation phases. By the end of 2004, the aim is to reach 555,000 people in 141 communities. To date, some 446,000 householders have benefited.

Nonetheless, not all architects involved with Favela Bairro would be uncritical. One architect noted that the management of the architectural consultancies mean that they have relatively little to do with the favela residents, thus perpetuating the division between the social and the technical roles. This architect thought the process and outcomes would have been improved if the architects were more involved in the community, as this would have enabled them to better interpret through design, people's needs and ideas. Moreover, an opportunity for transfer of professional skills would appear to have been missed, in a way similar to that noted in PRODEL. Stein's comment is pertinent: "Technical and financial officers …think that training and empowerment is something done by social workers; they do not become involved in transferring know-how to communities."[55]

b) Guarapiranga, Brazil

The Guarapiranga Dam provides water to over three million residents. During the 1970s and 1980s, the growth of irregular settlements in the dam's catchment area brought about deterioration in water quality. Environmental and sanitation issues provided the catalyst for a major urban upgrading program, called the Guarapiranga Program. Instigated by the municipality, coordinated by the Department of Housing, and funded by the World Bank, the project may be critiqued because there was no cost recovery, nor was it integrated with employment and economic generation activities. The project did not grow out of the community, although initial resistance gave way. However, in terms of physical outcomes, the project is considered a success, and the water issues were successfully addressed. But some limitations on its overall sustainability are noted below.

The project offers insights into the participatory processes, professional roles and attitudes, and the involvement of the private sector. It began with a pilot project that was then scaled up. The nature of the project required a broad and integrated multi-sectoral approach to wastewater collection, roads, storm-water drainage and water supply, and housing. From 1993-2000 US $190 million was invested, benefiting 200,000 people in squatter settlements and informal land subdivisions. Specialized services required for the project included planning, engineering, subproject management, construction quality control, and buildings firms. These services were contracted through competitive tenders.

Interestingly the socio-technical support (i.e. social workers) was included in the construction contracts. (There is no indication that community members were part of the socio-technical support personnel). The degree of private sector participation was higher than any previous project in Brazil, and is considered to be one of the project's major achievements. This participation improved both the efficiency and flexibility of the project. [56]. It also introduced new

[55] A. Stein, "Participation and Sustainability in Social Projects: the Experience of the Local Development Programme (PRODEL) in Nicaragua", *Environment and Urbanisation*, 13/1, 11-35 (2001).
[56]However, there was no consideration for socio-technical support after completion. This proved to be a mistake as Imparato and Ruster (p. 64) note:

actors to the slum upgrading process who learned new ways of working with communities that they did not usually encounter and which proceeded on a different schedule to other construction work.

Community participation was introduced to ensure the project's implementation. In the project's pilot phase, there was inadequate social support for the community. In later stages, increased private sector socio-technical support services were introduced. A female community leader commented, "at first we doubted the project because here in Brazil, people are accustomed to doubting everything. " [57] She stated that upon reflection:

> "We feel that life improved. With the project, the quality of the environment improved. Better hygiene improves the health of the population. Even those that didn't get a new house give thanks to God because improving the level of the neighborhood improves everyone's life, and consequently property values are raised. …We have gone through a radical change here. There is a climate of euphoria, and everybody wants to finish their houses, to clean them up…You see children who have started to go to school for the first time, and men who have begun to work again.[58]

The community pressured for increases in the level of investment in urban upgrading. As Imparato and Ruster note, however, in spite of these gains the distance between public policy makers and the community remained large. They also note that this was a common theme in the interviews they conducted with institutions involved in the Guarapiranga Program. "**The improvement of the physical environment can produce a very positive impact, but the engine of change is the community,** which must be mobilized to continue the development process. Without a strategy for long-term participation, no project will be truly sustainable."[59].

For the purposes of this paper this case study demonstrates two key points. Firstly, adequate **resources were required to ensure a more than token participatory process**. Second, in involving the private sector, **professional actors** (architects and engineers) became participants. In the process they experienced significant changes in attitudes towards the urban poor, as well as discovering a level of job satisfaction they had not anticipated. Thus, in thinking about participatory planning and design, cultural changes of this nature at the personal level must not be underestimated; rather they need to be built on as part of a strategy of building new professional cultures.

> Assisting communities with organizational support and environmental education in the post-implementation phase would have contributed greatly to the conservation of the benefits and the continuity of the development process. …For all its accomplishments, focus on feasibility of implementation, rather than sustainability, has kept the project from realizing the full potential of participation.

The program manager concurred with this assessment: "The speed of deterioration of the completed infrastructure is very high; the only way to stop it is a post implementation package including socio-technical support and environmental education" (p. 359).

[57] *Id.,* at 335.

[58] *Id.,* at 358, 360.

[59] *Id*.

c) Gujurat Earthquake, India [60]

Central Gujarat experienced a devastating earthquake in January 2001. Nearly 20 million people live in the area and five districts were especially hard hit. The worst was in Kutch. Four towns and more than 400 villages were hit. The death toll was nearly 14,000, with another 167,000 in injuries. More than 1.2 million homes were destroyed or badly damaged. Livelihoods were severely impacted, including those of 19,000 artisans and several thousand salt farmers. Some 20,000 cattle perished. A joint assessment report by the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank a month after the earthquake recommended that given the scope of the damage, "the majority of the reconstruction should be undertaken by the affected population themselves." Three NGOs also considered community-driven reconstruction to be the key to recovery.

Kutch's largest town, Bhuj, was one of the worst affected, with over 7,000 deaths, as well as loss of infrastructure and community assets. Municipal buildings and records were lost, and with deaths and injuries amongst municipal staff, the Municipality was unable to operate normally. Caste-based and special interest groups stepped into the fray, and contributed by leading relief efforts for their various communities.

"Build back better" became a defining principle for disaster mitigation and reconstruction. In the absence of an appropriate regulatory framework (the development Plan for Bhuj had been prepared 25 years before the disaster), there was an opportunity for the State Government to develop new regulatory mechanisms.[61] There were also a number of key professional and community-based actors involved. They included the Environmental Planning Collaborative (EPC), a national NGO, founded in 1996 to provide support to urban local bodies in planning and development; the City Managers Association of Gujarat (CMAG), a national association with a US affiliation and a focus on capacity building and modern urban management methods; and Kutch Nav Nirman Abiyan or the Kutch New Building Movement (KNNA), a collective organization of 14 grassroots NGOs supporting natural resource management, health, and micro-credit programs. KNNA began in 1998 following the June cyclone to do relief and rehabilitation work.

The three organizations called themselves the Earthquake Technical Assistance Cell. They made an assessment of damages and helped establish an information management system and communication network. They joined with two other groups (TCG International, LLC) and formed the Initiative for Planned and Participatory Reconstruction (IPPR) and sought USAID funding, which was obtained in March 2001.

At the time there were various government agencies and donors developing conflicting information systems. The Gujarat State Disaster Management Authority (GSDMA), the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and the KNNA merged their efforts to avoid duplication, under the name Kutch Rehabilitation Information Cell (KRIC). This 14 member

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[60] C. Billand and K. Desmond, "Initiative for Planned and Participatory Reconstruction," Project Notes, 29 May 2002, Indo -US Financial Institutions Reform and Expansion Project -Debt market Component FIRE (D).

[61] A. Tyabi and B. Balachandran, "The Construction of Bhuj: A Case Study in the Integration of Disaster Mitigation into Planning & Financing Urban infrastructure After an Earthquake," USAID Sponsored Asian Regional Conference on Urban Infrastructure Financing and Disaster Mitigation, March 14-15 Colombo.

team included their own professionals, five national UN volunteers and three staff people. Data gathering proceeded, including the use of GIS technology, and was analyzed in such a way that stakeholders could use it to frame recommendations.

In the historic city of Bhuj work began in the residential neighborhoods of Soniwad and the nearby areas of Saraf Bazaar. Some 10,000 people lived and worked in this approximately 0.5 square kilometer walled city where more than 75% of buildings were either destroyed or very badly damaged. They began with two meetings of residents and business stakeholders. Major problems (including schools not operating, lack of places to live, business closures, and trauma) were identified, and a list of preliminary strategies prepared. Eight micro-projects were proposed including temporary shelters, a business directory, Picture Bhuj! (a community image database form reconstruction), a mobile library, street theatre on post disaster issues, art therapy workshops form the injured and establishment of in. Not all projects proceeded. Following the Soniwad experiment, the Asian Development Bank lent its support to the state government's effort to reconstruct Kutch's four devastated towns. EPC proceeded with the Bhuj Development Plan, building on previous work.

The information gathering and sharing was a challenging process, given the low literacy rate, language differences and the dispersed population. As such, **understanding the local community** and **listening** were perhaps the most needed skills. Over four months the planning team held 150 consultations, identifying micro-projects, followed by longer term proposals for re-building the social and physical infrastructure. The process, begun in one neighborhood, was scaled up to develop a development plan for city of 150,000-200,000 people. What is noteworthy is the comprehensiveness of the development plan, which in the past only dealt with the physical structure. The devastation of the earthquake required all aspects of life had to be considered:

> In addition to land use and infrastructure strategies the plan defined 14 strategic social infrastructure projects including: setting up temporary markets; developing new industrial infrastructure, developing wholesale markets and a freight complex; preparing an asset management plan; shifting the bus terminal to the old railway station; town planning outside the Walled City; construction educational and health facilities for senior citizens; and encouraging lakefront development, urban water harvesting and heritage conservation.[62]

d) The Kampung Improvement Program, Indonesia

The Kanpung Improvement Program (KIP) has its origins in Jakarta in 1969 and is widespread throughout Indonesia. KIP has reached more than fifteen million low-income urban residents in over 500 cities and towns. Over the years funding has come from UNICEP, UNEP and the World Bank. By 1979 KIP recognized the difficulties with top-down approaches to improving urban viability and sustainability. In the 1979-1984 Repelita 111 (Indonesia's Five Year Development Plans) the strategy changed, and the government's role became that of enabler. The results were informed by goals of community health, well-being, and economic

[62] Project Notes at 7.

sustainability. In addition to the improvements (and empowerment) experienced by residents, KIP has received three Aga Khan Award's for Architecture[63].

Kampung Kali Cho, one of the Aga Khan Award winning projects, was built on a refuse dump on the banks of the River Cho-de in Yogyakarta, Central Java. In 1983 Y.B Mangunwijaya, an architect and social worker with the village leader Willi Prasetya, established a permanent cooperative system. Demolition plans for the village were abandoned. Residents provided volunteer labor, Mangunwijaya provided technical skills and fund management and Prastetya the political liaison. The first step was the construction of a "House of the Brotherhood of Neighbours," a site where community dialogue could take place. Villagers determined priorities, which included flood abatement measures and the building of some model houses. Homes were replaced as necessary, based on a model of the traditional tribal house, using readily available and easy to maintain bamboo and coconut wood. Each room constructed required a contribution from the cooperative. Gardens were integral to community development. Villagers also decided to build structures for homeless children, guests and visitors.[64]

A second example is from Surabaya[65] where 70% of Kampungs in Surabaya underwent some form of upgrading in the period 1984-1990, improving the living conditions of 1.2 million people living at densities of 400 people per hectare (approximately 30 times densities of urban USA). Again, professional connections were important. The Institute Technology 10 November (ITS) lent strong support. The KIP program and a sister program of 'soft' urban renewal through the construction of walk-up residences has been successful.

A key feature of the Surabaya example is **urban environmental sustainability**, showing how greening and reduced travel needs go hand in hand. Greening occurred along the extensive new pathways introduced into the Kampungs, with decorative plantings and food plants providing a new focus for the community, women especially. The design strategy encouraged street life and communality, while the scale of pathways cut down vehicle traffic. Local residents in KIP in Surabaya, with self and external funding achieved 220 kms of footpaths and upgraded roads; 93 kms of drains and culverts; 56,000 ms of water pipes; 86 public bathing, washing and toilet facilities.

New employment opportunities were also generated. The walk-up flats have been very successful, erected in places where housing stock was in poor condition. Designed by architects, with intense community participation, and with key information provided by ITS studies, the buildings are sensitive to climate and retained elements of the Kampung social structure, and, for example, income generating possibilities, common cooking, communal living areas and shared toilets. As Kenworthy concludes: "Programs have built on a long tradition of self-help in Kampung environments, assisting inhabitants to achieve an even greater degree of self empowerment, teaching how to embrace appropriate aspects of modern technology, management

[63] The non-elitist architecture award was established in 1977. For a thoughtful critique of recent award cycles, *see* K. Bartsch, "A Prize for Progress: Transnational Practice and the Aga Khan Award for Architecture" in SAHANZ, *Progress* (2003) 11-17.
[64] I. Serageldin, "Kampung Kali Cho-De Yogyakarta, Indonesia" in Serageldin, *The Architecture of Empowerment* at 96.
[65] J. Kenworthy, "Urban Ecology in Indonesia: The Kampung Improvement Program (KIP)." CITE

and organization, without being overrun by them and losing valued traditions and culture."[66]. One of the primary lessons of this kampung improvement, therefore, is that **culturally sensitive upgrading is worth pursuing.**

e. Capetown, South Africa

Two case studies will be described here: the provision of housing through the "People's Dialogue";[67] and work of private architects for communities.

1. The People's Dialogue

There are now some 15 million people squatting in shacks throughout urban areas in South Africa. The Reconstruction and Development Program (RDP), adopted in 1994 by the new government, had as its aim the redressing of social and political injustice through a process of empowerment through participation. A key tenet of the RDP was that the development "be 'people-driven' and be not about the delivery of goods…but about active involvement and growing empowerment…[In other words, to] democratize the country through active participation of the citizenry in decision making." [68]

The NGO People's Dialogue on Land and Shelter was established in 1991 and is the NGO partner to The South African Homeless People's Federation. The latter is a national network of over 1,500 local organizations of poor urban households that have developed savings and loans schemes so that people can build their own housing. The People's Dialogue facilitates participatory planning that brings people together from different communities who are engaged in the same sort of work. The results of these initiatives help strengthen and consolidate local leadership. These exchanges are not between professionals. As Bauman, Bolnick and Mitlin observe, "this methodology relegates professionals to **the role of facilitators of processes** rather than implementers of solutions. Because the solutions are organic and experimental, training by outsiders cannot diffuse them successfully."[69]

Drawing on community views, they underline the point by quoting from Federation members: "[t]he federation is a University. Although we are uneducated, professionals and experts come to us to learn. Me, like many, I came for a house but I got an education." The negative impacts of the wrong sort of professional input are described by another member: "when I asked the technician…to show us how layout plans are designed, he used such a sophisticated jargon, that I barely understood a word he said…during our last evening, we asked a woman to draw us a plan. When she explained house modeling, I understood and felt that I too could do it."[70]

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[66] *Id.*
[67] T. Baumann, J. Bolnick and D. Mitlin, "The Age of Cities and Organisations of the Urban Poor: the Work of the South African Homeless People's Federation," (hereafter "Baumann, The Age of Cities") in D. Mitlin, D. Satterthwaite, eds., *Responding to Squatter Citizen : The Roles of Local Governments and Civil Society in Reducing Urban Poverty* [2003] [forthcoming].
[68] M. Lyons, and C. Smuts "Comparative Agency in the New South Africa: A Comparative Approach" in *Urban Studies*, 36,12 (1999), 2151-2166 at 2155 (hereafter "Lyons, Comparative Agency in the New South Africa").
[69] Baumann, The Age of Cities at 216.
[70] *Id.* at 217.

People's Dialogue sets out some principles for empowering communities. They are **linked processes that support a 'process ' rather than a 'delivery ' approach to development**. The way in which Peoples' Dialogue differentiates 'delivery' from 'process' development, while not an obviously helpful analytic, is of central importance. Delivery refers to the production of measurable tangible outputs, and is usually seen as the province of the experts. More specifically, "designing houses, installing infrastructure, managing credit are seen as *products people need, not things they necessarily know how to do*. Poor people may be consulted about their problems, but perceiving, conceiving, organizing and implementing solutions are left to professionals."[71] On the other hand the process approach emphasizes that "the development of local capacity in the knowledge, skills, and practices of the poor themselves. It is vital that in the long run…the poor [establish] their development process and become central to its expansions and growth."[72]

The role of professionals in participatory planning and design here is based on advice on savings and loans, land issues, gathering data and making decisions about social and physical planning directions, or the building of house and community infrastructure. It is implied that a different sort of professional is required, not that planning and design professionals have little to offer.

2. Private sector, public projects

The Ulwazi Youth center began with a public meeting of concerned parents to deal with youth gangs. CS Studio architects were invited to the meeting based on their experience and history of involvement with community projects. The suggestion for a youth center came from gang members themselves.

The Ulwazi Youth center was successful in training and capacity building for members of the board and steering committee, through development and training workshops. Youth went to training, leadership, and skills building programs. The project was planned jointly with the youth through a series of workshops. According to Lyons and Smuts, it had an empowering effect. Some 75% of the youth gangs went back to school, colleges and universities.

After completion, however, the project didn't fare well. The first three years the building was successfully managed, but by the end of the third year it was heavily in debt, and it almost closed. Staff lacked accounting expertise and there were complaints of self-dealing and lack of accountability. As such, while the Ulwazi Youth center had a high level of participation in its early stages, this did not translate to interest necessary for its future success. Because of a drawn out and ineffective processes in establishing a steering committee, certain interests captured the project. There was also conflict with the youth gangs who did not accept full participation of adults in the center.

Another project, the Masiebensizane creche, provided full-time employment for 15 people and has allowed mothers to work and has been a positive addition to a weak school system. In contrast to the Ulwazi Youth center, the Masiebensizane creche implemented a participatory

[71] *Id*. at 226.
[72] *Id. at* 226.

democratic process where "all decisions are taken by an elected management committee, with consultation at public meetings, and participation of external organizations is monitored and encouraged."[73]

Lyons and Smuts acknowledge that these public amenity projects demanded less of residents than housing, sanitation or water projects might. Nor did they involve "as thorough-going an upheaval in personal terms, or as widespread a collaboration in project planning terms, as would a housing project."[74] Nonetheless, the two projects discussed above demonstrate the complexity of achieving a successful building outcome, and just how important it is for those involved in projects to have multiple skills, and the capacity to work across disciplinary boundaries.[75] Lyons and Smuts observe that since national policy increasingly drives local government policy (but also noting local government's increased responsibility), national standards may be necessary. "As the new structures of local and provincial government are held increasingly accountable, a normalization of the participation process and its boundaries are inevitable. The successful cooperation of the two relies on a mutual accountability which will necessarily be institutionalized in time."[76]

f. Karachi, Pakistan

Karachi has a population of about 12 million, over half of whom live in squatter settlements.[77] Since its inception in 1980, the Orangi Pilot Project (OPP) has addressed the sanitation, health, housing, family planning, and supervised credit issues facing the one million residents of the Orangi township, located in the west district of Karachi, Pakistan. It has also been one of the most successful improvement programs, precisely because of its adherence to participatory, empowering, and educating outcomes. As Arif Hasan writes of the OPP, "The purpose of the project was to develop models of community participation and local resource mobilization that could overcome the problems government programs face in upgrading poor settlements and in poverty alleviation" [78]

The OPP-RTI's **mode of operation consists of identifying "community organizations and supporting their activists financially and technically. Where organizations do not exist, activists are supported to create and organization."**[79] OPP-RTI recognizes that slum

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[73] Lyons, Comparative Agency in the New South Africa at 2161.
[74] *Id.* at 2162.
[75] Architect David Week emphasizes this point, and demonstrates the range of skills an architect can bring. A current project is the provision of 500 schools in Laos. His role has been to devise a delivery system with the national education authorities that enable local communities to build their own schools, within a design and construction framework that enables an accountable and transparent funding and inspection process to be carried out. Designs are developed by communities based on a palette of options derived from vernacular traditions, and locally available skills and materials. Personal communication.
[76] *Id.* at 2164).
[77] A. Hasan, *A Case Study of The Orangi Pilot Project-Research And Training Institute, Karachi, Pakistan* Prepared Max Lock Centre, Westminster University, London, UK [forthcoming] (hereafter "Hasan, *Case Study*").
[78] Hasan , *Case Study*
[79] I*d* at 66. See also , p. 67, 68 OPP Procedures and Principles which include:

1. Identification of existing community organizations and dialogue with them
2. Survey and documentation of what exists; physical, social (actors and their relationships), economic conditions, technology in use. This is done with the help of actors involved in infrastructure development.

residents can benefit from their expertise, but leaves key stages of implementation to local actors. OPP offers many lessons for emulation, not the least being the way in which it encourages the mobilization of local resources and co-operative approaches to action. However, it is important to note that the model has evolved through trial and error and has been developed in response to circumstances in Pakistan. Hasan quotes founder Akhtar Hameed Khan at some length, outlining how OPP began as a research institution "whose objective was to analyze the outstanding problems of Orangi and then, through prolonged action research and extensive education, to discover viable solutions."[80]

Indeed, the OPP provides technical expertise and functions as a social catalyst. It combines a clear concept of the role that technical expertise can play—for example in providing an objective analysis and critique of local building techniques—with efforts to provide that expertise in a manner that can be adapted by local residents.[81] As a result, the OPP's Low Cost Sanitation Programme has built 6,251 lane sewers, 417 secondary sewers and 93,995 latrines. The programme is being replicated in 160 Karachi settlements through government agencies, NGOs, and CBOs. [82]

In addition, this program encourages residents to organize themselves at the lane, or street, level to construct underground sewage systems for their lanes. These sewers drain open drains, then trunk drains and finally to treatment plants. The first three parts of the drain OPP describes as "internal development," which it claims can be built by residents. The OPP provides lane groups with estimates, plans, and tools for the work. The cost to the lane group for the first three stages of the drain comes to US$30.[83]

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3. Development of a conceptual plan on the following principles:
   Division into internal and external infrastructure components.
   Component sharing between community, NGO and or government (never cost sharing)
   Decentralizations and miniaturization of functions/technology.
   Establishment of optimum relationship between needs, resources and standards but appreciating that all three are dynamic ban can change over time.
4. Using the above principles to build on what exists.
5. Identification of activists and support them financially and technically
6. Development of skills within the community: conventionally trained professionals are not an alternative to local para-professionals and technicians.
7. Monitoring: it simply means weekly meetings, informed discussions between staff and community members (occasionally with support from resource persons), minute keeping and regular follow up.
8. Documentation dissemination and modification of programme (involvement of consultants, academic institutions and local people).
9. Account keeping: all accounts including salary of staff members should be published regularly and made public.
10. Collective decision-making; all decision making should be made through consensus between resource people, activists staff members government officials.
11. Relate local level issues to larger urban realities (dialogue with government agencies and politicians)

[80] *Id at 30*
[81] This description of the OPP is drawn from, *Id*., and Hasan, The Orangi Pilot Project.
[82] Hasan *Case Study* at 2.
[83] Hasan, The Orangi Pilot Project.

The Low Cost Housing Programme benefits approximately 4000 houses per year and has entailed a detailed examination of the construction techniques of local builders, the *thallas*. OPP found a number of defects in their techniques, leading to problems such as subsidence and cracked foundations. OPP has joined with several *thallas* to provide better training to masons and other technical support. One of the central recommendations was that the *thallas* use mechanically produced concrete blocks. The mechanized blocks are produced in Orangi, which has subsequently become a major supplier throughout Karachi.[84] The OPP-RTI trains para-professionals (mostly unemployed youth from Orangi) to provide advice to homebuilders on design, light, ventilation and other aspects of the building process. These young para-professionals are paid by the house builders.

OPP also has a long relationship with academic institutions, and OPP-RTI offers lectures by planners, sociologists, economists and educationalists to the Orangi residents - thus building capacity amongst residents. This educational and training function has been scaled up: since 1992, 957 training groups (3116 individuals) have visited OPP-RTI. Overall, training has been provided to "Pakistani NGOs and CBOs, UN organizations, the World Bank, ADB, USAID, government agencies groups from Central Asia, Nepal, South Africa, Vietnam, Cambodia, Japan, and numerous local and foreign academic institutions."[85]

g. Aboriginal Australia

Australia has around one million people living in poverty, approximately 5% of its population. Aboriginal Australians are amongst Australia's poor despite many policy initiatives to remedy the situation. Aboriginal health indicators match those found in many low- to middle-income countries. The failure of many initiatives can be traced to a lack of community participation. There has been little housing development that has been empowering, culturally appropriate, or that has addressed health needs.

An exception to this rule is discussed here: "the Block" in inner city Redfern, initiated by the Aboriginal Housing Company. This example serves as a reminder that there are slums and poverty in richer countries as well, and therefore that even when a society does have substantial resources, improving the lives of slum dwellers requires *political will* and also *appropriate and sustainable strategies*.

1) The Block

The *Block* sits beside the Redfern train station, and is located close to Sydney's downtown and the University of Sydney. Now 30 years old, and in its third wave of self-destruction and renewal, the Block covers 0.8 hectares and has 85 dilapidated Victorian terrace houses. As James et al write, "during 2002-03, in response to the escalating social problems and the deteriorating housing stock, the Aboriginal Housing Company (AHC) Board, staff and local volunteers developed the Pemulwuy Redevelopment Project for inclusion in the NSW Strategic

[84] *Id.* at 85.
[85] Hasan *Case Study,* p.5

Plan for Redfern, Everleigh and Darlington- the RED Strategy…[with the major goal of the project being the development of] 62 homes commemorating the Gadigal people."[86]

The project began with a participatory Community Social Plan, prepared by a planner working with the AHC. This outlined the community's response to the physical and social deterioration of the Block, and identified a community commitment to "generating new sustainable and culturally appropriate housing options for the Redfern Aboriginal Community and rebuilding a spirit and sense of community for both former and prospective residents of the Block."[87] Among the 12 social planning objectives are reconciliation and social harmony, appropriate and affordable housing, cultural appropriate services and faculties, community safety, supporting women and children Aboriginal health, Aboriginal identity, culture and spirituality, training, skills and employment, ownership and management, Aboriginal enterprise, ecological and environmental sustainability, and contact with nature.

This social plan was then taken up by a group of Sydney University Architecture students, who worked closely with the AHC and community members to develop proposals for the new housing and community facilities. In mid 2002, over three hundred community people reviewed the projects in a number of community and feedback sessions. The project helped local people understand possible options and directions, and gave them confidence in the reading of drawings and models. It also helped refine aspects of the social plan, and helped bring together some of the conflicted groups within the community.

In addition, community members visited a number of housing projects in Sydney. Their preferred model was the housing development Newington, built originally as the 2000 Olympic Village. Currently, there are plans to put the design work out to tender to selected architecture firms (the budget is AU$20 million), and the AHC will be centrally involved in the selection and design development stages. The community is providing the land as their contribution. An Aboriginal architect from the NSW State Government's Aboriginal design unit Merrima[88] will be involved throughout the project, acting with and for the AHC and the community.

6. Conclusions and Key Recommendations

Communities need to be able to **influence and define planning and design agendas** at crucial points of the design process. Processes must be inclusive, with sustainable long-term objectives. Processes that enable the sharing of knowledge and skill between poor communities, nationally and internationally, have proved to be very productive. There are powerful examples of this in the work of Slum/Shack Dwellers International. Where professionals, including NGOs, are involved, asking the right questions, having good local knowledge, judging the appropriateness

[86] C. James, A. Pitts, and D. Komumberrie, "Indigenous Housing Design: Social Planning Determinants at Redfern" in P. Memmot, ed., *Take 2: Housing Design in Indigenous Australia*, RAIA Australia (2003) 107 (hereafter "Memmot, *Take 2*"). Also, the Gadigal people are the Sydney tribe who were wiped out by the smallpox and other colonial impacts shortly after European settlement.
[87] *Id.*
[88] Merrima Aboriginal Design Unit in the Department of Public Works is staffed by young Aboriginal architects in charge of government projects for Aboriginals. In this work they employ participatory techniques and seek to explore Aboriginal architecture. Thus they are very actively engaged in the cultural design paradigm. *See* K. O'Brien "Architecture and Aboriginality" in *Progress*, SAHANZ proceedings (2003) 219-225.

of strategies and means of communication, putting in place good roll-out strategies, and enabling the transfer of knowledge and skills are central to what works.

In Bhuz, local NGO planners referred to an ethnographic approach as being desirable. In the community building projects in South Africa, attention was drawn to the need to develop community project management skills during and after completion. In many instances there is a division between the social work (by those who interface with the community, generally social workers) and the technical work (generally by design, engineering, and other 'technicians') that may inhibit transfer. In Nicaragua, this has been commented on by PRODEL, and also in Favela Bairro in Brazil. Processes that work best occur where there is **institutional flexibility** that facilitates processes and methods particularly suited to the task at hand. Just what constitutes the task at hand (needs, priorities etc.) can be arrived at in a variety of ways. **Trust and the ability to negotiate** are essential components of planning and design processes in all contexts, whether they are involve professionals or whether they are community-driven. This lesson is emphasized by a number of successful case studies in South Asia that found that "[p]articipative decision-making should not therefore be reduced to some formulaic process, but should be rooted in a dynamic relationship of mutual trust and respect."[89]

Planning and design processes work especially well when there are educational and knowledge building links, particularly where knowledge is co-created by communities, professionals and often students. Through these strategies, practical knowledge is disseminated and expanded, as in the Orangi Pilot Program. Similarly, knowledge about the culture of cities and culturally relevant design allow attention to the meaning of place and region. The international explorations in Favela Bairro and the upgrading of the Block in Sydney illustrate this benefit of participatory planning and design processes.

Additional keys to successful participatory projects include:

- Diverse opportunities for participation in planning and design processes, to ensure the engagement of a wide variety of stakeholders;
- Appropriate and consistent approaches to evaluating the quality and efficacy of participatory processes- for example the proportion of overall population (and sub-sectors) involved in the process over time;
- Technical outcomes that are simple and accessible, such that communities retain responsibility for managing, maintaining, even generating business opportunities over time (as demonstrated by the Orangi Pilot Project in Karachi);
- Strategies to ensure that once a project is finished, social capital and energy is sustained – particularly in relation to projects that have a single focus;
- Properly trained staff, adequate lead-time and funding for participation.

Finally participation is about people working with and learning from people. Throughout the literature it is often women who are the most active and there would seem to be a **feminization of participatory processes**. This can be a powerful force for bringing women into citizenship, and processes may need to be considered to bring more men and youth into this. .

[89] J. Hailey, "Beyond the Formulaic: Process and Practice in South Asian NGOs" in Cooke and Kothari, Participation: The New Tyranny?, at 101.

In conclusion, the goal of achieving greater participatory planning and design approaches to enhance the lives of slum communities involves multiple challenges. These include:

- Developing sound technical responses to the social, environmental, and economic issues affecting slum communities through methodologies which **transfer, rather than privilege, professional expertise**;
- Recognizing and building on the rich social and cultural capital inherent in slum communities through accessible and affordable planning and design strategies that **reinforce locale community networks and the local vernacular aesthetic**;
- Building on **existing environmentally sustainable strategies**, and promoting non-fossil fuel dependence via sun, wind, and water in relation to the home, work, and community, including transport;
- Engaging existing grassroots initiatives benefiting slum communities within broader city planning processes and **ensuring that city processes no longer perpetuate exclusionary planning outcomes**.

A recurring theme in this discussion has been the notion of *expertise* – who has it, who needs it, and how is it reproduced. We have seen examples of communities developing their own expertise, often in collaboration with NGOs and education and research organizations, but it may just be the governments, NGOs, and financial institutions that need the education. To what extent does "participation" require that experts become little more than "facilitators" or technicians as they are often referred to? *How, in other words, is one to deal with the problem of the professions?*

Often professionals are cast as agents of top-down approaches, locked into inappropriate paradigms that may benefit professionals in the various institutional arrangements (mainstream and alternative, including the private sector) more than the urban poor they are meant to serve. Of course there are also many examples where planners and design professionals have been essential team members in the process of community development. We have mentioned the particular knowledge and skills these professionals can bring and outlined the areas in which they can contribute to a vision for the future, as well as helping articulate solutions to the present. The work of planners can powerfully impact social exclusion. Pursuing Indian architect Charles Correa's line of thinking, it is very important to value the visual aspects of the built environment. "Improving the habitat" writes Correa " needs visual skills." In his view, a prime responsibility for architects is "to help generate the urban context…. The architect is the generalist who speculates on how the pieces could fit together in more advantageous ways; one who is concerned with what might be."[90] The visual but also *sustainable* aspects of the urban environment must be taken into account. The fact that this form of professional practice is not mainstream, institutionally recognized, or accepted is evident in the way we have relied on individual examples as a means to talk about it.

The Task Force takes the view that professional expertise needs to be appropriately sown, harvested, and directed. How are professional cultures, largely inexperienced with working with what we have called "the 99%" to be of most use to slum dwellers, including those who are subject to natural and man-made disasters? How might these new roles be fostered in high-, middle- and low-income countries, and through what channels?

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[90] Correa, C. "The New landscape" in Serageldin *The Architecture of Empowerment*.

The following recommendations provide a starting point:

- **Learn from communities**, especially broad-based organizations (for example, Slum and Shack Dwellers International) in terms of their values and ideas, and respect their views and methods;
- **Learn from exemplary organizations** such as OPP-RTI;
- **Review the adequacy of funds** set aside for participatory processes by local, national, and international bodies, and whether the level of funding and approaches promote sustainable development;
- Learn from the **range of institutional arrangements** within communities, NGOs, and governments, and how planning and participatory design might be incorporated;
- Learn from those **practitioners** who have developed a virtuous cycle within the terms of their various disciplines and who add social, cultural, economic and environmental value.
- Further **develop a critique of the 'professional problem'** with key actors, and propose new professional and education paradigms.
- Work with national and international **professional planning and architectural institutes, educational institutions and organizations, architectural and planning NGOs** to develop ways of responding to the critique, and propose new paradigms;
- **Encourage schools and professions to adopt MDGs** as they relate to their work and to take up the recommendations of the UNESCO/ UIA Charter for Architectural Education;
- Encourage **information exchange between professionals, students and communities**, in multi-disciplinary settings.
- Consider the potential for **'sister university' and 'sister city'** arrangements
- **Liaise** with organizations and institutions dedicated to improving the lives of the urban poor and to alternative professional visions, such as the Aga Khan foundation.
- Create a **database** of the organizations worldwide, through which voluntary and other contributions can be channeled.

A final suggestion is that professionals must *come down from the veranda*, as Malinowski famously urged of anthropologists, and into the hut, the tent, and the slum. They should not aim to go native, but to imaginatively examine the worlds that slum residents inhabit, and find linkages with their own skills that can be of assistance. In addition to the more established practitioners and educators, there are many young professionals and students- in the developed and developing countries- with a genuine interest in helping address the challenges facing the urban poor. This interest not only stems from a planning or architecture "as service" mentality, but also because the cities of the low-income countries are some of the most dynamic and interesting sites for new thinking and ideas. These cities will also be critical to global ecological sustainability, and confronting their complexities calls for the most creative minds. The poor – one of the most creative groups – must be subjects, not objects of development. The features of a different professional have been canvassed here, but there must be greater and more systemic efforts to connect such professionals with the creative minds within slums and to institutionalize such partnerships on a greater scale. Some specific suggestions have been offered above; the principles that must underpin moves to bring new actors and new skills forward must be: **advocacy** (via the Taskforce and other appropriate bodies), **reform** (via education and curricula changes), **commitment** (via professional associations), **government reform** (via new government agencies, and planning legislation which is pro-poor, enabling and realistic) and

resources (via international funding, research, institution building). However, as the case studies show there is great diversity, and while setting in place new principles, actions and solutions must be **appropriate and culturally situated, broadly supported, and above all based in partnerships with the urban poor**.

CHAPTER 4
RECOMMENDATIONS FOR NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL ACTION

Policy makers at all levels of government and development agencies alike should reflect on the fact that, despite five decades of development initiatives, pilot programs, and upgrading projects, any impact is dwarfed by the rate of increase of slums. The centerpiece of the *Cities Without Slums* initiative referred to by the Secretary General was the need to **move to scale.**

The lessons of bottom-up led, partnered interventions and participatory urban decision-making processes highlighted in Chapters 2 and 3 should have great influence on how national and international bodies help address the various challenges of slums at greater scale. More specifically, the political and financial support of national and international players to tackle such challenges (including low-income housing and upgrading, urban economic growth opportunities – particularly in labor markets, the provision of public services such as *health, infrastructure, education, transportation*, and the means to access finance at scales relevant to low-income individuals, local communities, and municipalities) is necessary to ensure the future viability of the city for <u>all</u> its residents[1].

<u>I. National Policies</u>

Multi-sectoral support for slum dwellers within the realm of national policies will call for:

- The **recognition of the fact that slum communities are both principle development actors and valuable development partners**, able to organize in their own best interest and actively contribute to upgrading, and to the city as a whole;
- The setting of **long-term local and national targets for slum upgrading**, with resources committed from both local and national budgets;
- The realization that the **demolition of slums and a policy of mass evictions is a self defeating strategy**, which causes social disruption, aggravates dysfunctions, and never solves the problem it purports to address. Where relocation is unavoidable, it should be undertaken *<u>after</u> an appropriate process of consultation with the affected communities*;
- Enabling **legislation to promote open and transparent land markets**, and achieve the tenure and physical upgrading of informal settlements (occupation rights, provision of infrastructure and services);
- The granting of **secure tenure** to all slum dwellers, utilizing a full range of appropriate tenure options discussed in Chapter 3;
- The active **mobilization of domestic private sector involvement and investment**. In this regard, it is very important that the private sector is engaged

[1] For more specific examples, see Appendix for table summarizing the impact of achieving the MDGs on slums.

as a *risk-sharing partner*, rather than merely acting as a contractor to the public sector;

- National and local policies should emphasize the economic imperatives of viewing cities as economic and trading centers – quite simply, **those cities which leave 40%, 50% or 70% of their populations in slums are not going to attract stable and desirable local, national or international investment**;
- Inclusive economic policies, including **legislation supporting informal-sector activities**, both in the slums themselves and in the city as a whole;
- **Proactive strategic planning** and the release of resources to accommodate future growth, to create the pre-conditions needed to avoid the haphazard utilization of urban space, and to prevent and mitigate disasters to which the urban poor are particularly vulnerable (especially in precarious settlements within disaster-prone areas).
- The active **mobilization of planning, design, and related professions** to work in partnership with governments and communities to make healthy livable cities that enhance the public and private life of all residents.

Such domestic policy frameworks must be coherent, coordinated, and complementary at all levels (national legislation, regional government policy, *and* local government action). In particular, since **local governments** are central to the achievement of the target and the requisite broker with the slum dweller community (as discussed in Chapter 2), it is imperative they are **provided with the resources and the enabling financial legislation they need in order to carry out actions that are sustained over time**.

II. International Policies

There is a consistent body of normative recommendations guiding human settlements development. The 1996 Istanbul Conference (Habitat II) issued an exhaustive set of recommendations centered around two main goals: adequate shelter for all and sustainable human settlement development in an urbanizing world. These recommendations, known as the Habitat Agenda, have been re-emphasized in all international fora. Indeed, the **international development community** has an extremely critical role to play in helping improve the lives of slum dwellers *at scale* – one that extends far beyond the substantial increases in the quantity and quality of international assistance. In particular, the following areas need to be prioritized:

- **De-linking international assistance from the purchase of skills and services from the `donor' country**, in line with the OECD DAC recommendations;
- **Providing support to national and local governments** in partnership with other international agencies, thereby increasing the coherence of effort in international assistance;
- **Supporting those national and local government initiatives that *already exist***, and encouraging other countries to take the lead in devising their own city and national initiatives;
- Supporting networks of local authorities at global, regional, and national levels.

- **Explicitly supporting scaled-up programs** that address the fundamental causes of urban poverty and the growth of slums, and *moving away from sectoral projects* as the main instrument of international assistance;
- **Providing more resources to act as a lever to attract local and national investment from a variety of sources**, including the municipal budget, domestic private sector, and slum dwellers themselves.

As an overarching principle, international assistance should be geared to supporting **internally driven local and national reform processes**. Furthermore, rich countries face major responsibilities. The burden of facilitating political will to improve slum dwellers' lives on a global scale rests, first of all, on them. In the human settlements area, the agenda is there – they know what needs to be done. They have the influence and the capacity to support genuinely pro-poor policies in the developing countries. This may imply courageous choices – for example, an honest assessment of the implications of the current set of development policies on the poor – both urban and rural – of the developing world. For example, there should be acknowledgement that, for debt-ridden countries, it is virtually impossible to apportion resources that do not exist to improving the lives of slum dwellers, let alone conceive of far-reaching plans for a future that looks like more than day-to-day survival.

III. Conclusion: Critical Partnerships

Though the discussion above highlights recommendations for national and international policies moving forward, it is also **important to recognize positive policy shifts on the global scale** that have been realized already. The policy environment in the developing countries with regard to the "slum target" is far more favorable than it was only a few years ago. Few national or local governments still rely on mass evictions in order to fulfill the agenda of "cities without slums". Decentralization has gone ahead in most developing countries, with local governments empowered with new responsibilities, and in some cases, with increased resources. Participatory planning, as well as urban management, is beginning to be recognized as an essential tool to realize urban sustainability. Most importantly, governments and cities are beginning to value new approaches that position citizens, including the urban poor, as central actors of policies, plans, programs, and interventions. A new generation of national and local leaders (as well as design and planning professionals) is introducing positive innovations, all based on a real dialogue with the urban poor and in the incorporation of all citizens in decision-making processes. Slums are no longer simply seen as embarrassing patches on the urban map, but more and more as informal neighborhoods that need to be consolidated and improved.

The new policy environment noted above presents great opportunities for **cooperation, partnerships, and structural change at scale**. It also presents risks. The greatest one is to assume that international solidarity can be replaced by a combination of sound macro-economic policy and sweat-equity on the part of the poor. If this happens, the strong ones will proceed even further, and the weakest will lose even more ground. We do not want

to live in a world where disparities among people and among countries widen instead of diminishing.

In sum, the Task Force has identified a number of generic partnerships that are likely to greatly assist in the promotion of such long-term, sustainable urban upgrading and poverty reduction strategies. It is worth re-emphasizing that the following **partnerships are most likely to flourish within a clear and consistent enabling policy and institutional framework, both at a national and local level**:

- As a point of departure, slum dwellers and their representative organizations need to be recognized as legitimate and credible developmental interlocutors – **indeed, engaging meaningfully with slum dwellers, and supporting NGOs, is often the single most important step that a local government can take**. It is presently the case that, as a category, slum dwellers are already the largest producers of shelter in the world, often in the face of official hostility or indifference.
- The **domestic private sector, local and national**, needs to be engaged as a long-term partner, both for their involvement as local stakeholder, and for their long-term investment.
- The greatest brokering role, and most significant responsibility, undoubtedly lies with the **local government**, and the city management. There is little or no chance of implementing a long-term and sustainable strategy without clear and resolute leadership from the Mayor, setting the agenda, making the budgetary commitments, treating slum upgrading as core business, helping to mobilize the resources and removing the obstacles.
- National government has many roles, crucial amongst which are the **setting of appropriate national frameworks**, and the **systematic empowerment of sub-national government**, including local governments, ensuring that power and responsibility is exercised at its lowest effective level.

There are very few, if any, examples in the world where a sustainable upgrading strategy has been implemented with international donor assistance as the main resource. While there is a critical leverage role for some international assistance, **the bulk of the resources are generally to be found in the city and national economies and people**. As such, **the most critical partnership is between the slum dwellers, the city, and the private sector**. Although other players can provide very significant inputs – such as international development agencies or NGOs – **local players** hold the key to their city's, and their country's, future.

POST-SCRIPT

Task Force 8's Final Report 2004

It is with an eye to comprehensive, socially inclusive policy actions that the Task Force will continue to seek out and highlight the benefits and challenges of participatory processes in sectors and themes not directly addressed in the current interim report, including the costing and financing of interventions, utilities and infrastructure provision, the local economy, housing, urban development strategies, as well as the specific work of actors such as community organizations and private-sector partners. Most importantly, for its final report, the Task Force is commissioning work on a more detailed description of slum dwellers and their livelihoods, in order to better understand the wide variety of challenges they face and the scope of solutions they offer.

APPENDIX

CHAPTER 1: Introduction and Global Context

Table 1.1: Millennium Development Goals and Targets

Goal 1: Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger	
Target 1	**Halve, between 1990 and 2015, the proportion of people whose income is less than one dollar a day**
Indicator 1	Proportion of population below $1 per day (PPP values)
Indicator 2	Poverty gap ratio [incidence x depth of poverty]
Indicator 3	Share of poorest quintile in national consumption
Target 2	**Halve, between 1990 and 2015, the proportion of people who suffer from hunger**
Indicator 4	Prevalence of underweight children under five years of age
Indicator 5	Proportion of population below minimum level of dietary energy consumption
Goal 2: Achieve universal primary education	
Target 3	**Ensure that, by 2015, children everywhere, boys and girls alike, will be able to complete a full course of primary schooling**
Indicator 6	Net enrolment ratio in primary education
Indicator 7	Proportion of pupils starting grade 1 who reach grade 5
Indicator 8	Literacy rate of 15-24 year olds
Goal 3: Promote gender equality and empower women	
Target 4	**Eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary education, preferably by 2005, and to all levels of education no later than 2015**
Indicator 9	Ratios of girls to boys in primary, secondary and tertiary education
Indicator 10	Ratio of literate females to males 15-24 years old
Indicator 11	Share of women in wage employment in the non-agricultural sector
Indicator 12	Proportion of seats held by women in national parliament
Goal 4: Reduce child mortality	
Target 5	**Reduce by two-thirds, between 1990 and 2015, the under-five mortality rate**
Indicator 13	Under-five mortality rate
Indicator 14	Infant mortality rate
Indicator 15	Proportion of 1-year-old children immunized against measles

Goal 5: Improve maternal health	
Target 6	**Reduce by three-quarters, between 1990 and 2015, the maternal mortality ratio**
Indicator 16	Maternal mortality ratio
Indicator 17	Proportion of births attended by skilled health personnel
Goal 6: Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases	
Target 7	**Have halted by 2015 and begun to reverse the spread of HIV/AIDS**
Indicator 18	HIV prevalence among 15-24-year-old pregnant women
Indicator 19	Condom use rate of the contraceptive prevalence rate
Indicator 20	Number of children orphaned by HIV/AIDS
Target 8	**Have halted by 2015 and begun to reverse the incidence of malaria and other major diseases**
Indicator 21	Prevalence and death rates associated with malaria
Indicator 22	Proportion of population in malaria risk areas using effective malaria prevention and treatment measures
Indicator 23	Prevalence and death rates associated with tuberculosis
Indicator 24	Proportion of tuberculosis cases detected and cured under DOTS (Directly Observed Treatment Short Course)
Goal 7: Ensure environmental sustainability	
Target 9	**Integrate the principles of sustainable development into country policies and programs and reverse the loss of environmental resources**
Indicator 25	Proportion of land area covered by forest
Indicator 26	Ratio of area protected to maintain biological diversity to surface area
Indicator 27	Energy use (metric ton oil equivalent) per $1 GDP (PPP)
Indicator 28	Carbon dioxide emissions (per capita) and consumption of ozone-depleting CFCs (ODP tons)
Indicator 29	Proportion of population using solid fuels
Target 10	**Halve, by 2015, the proportion of people without sustainable access to safe drinking water**
Indicator 30	Proportion of population with sustainable access to an improved water source, urban and rural
Target 11	**By 2020, to have achieved a significant improvement in the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers**
Indicator 31	Proportion of urban population with access to improved sanitation
Indicator 32	Proportion of households with access to secure tenure (owned or rented)
Goal 8: Develop a Global Partnership for Development	
Target 12	**Develop further an open, rule-based, predictable, non-discriminatory trading and financial system [Includes a commitment to good governance, development, and poverty reduction – both nationally and internationally]**
Target 13	**Address the Special Needs of the Least Developed Countries [Includes: tariff and quota free access for LDC exports; enhanced program of debt relief for HIPC and cancellation of official bilateral debt; and more generous ODA for countries committed to poverty reduction]**
Indicator 33	Net ODA, total and to LDCs, as percentage of OECD/DAC donors' GNI
Indicator 34	Proportion of total bilateral, sector-allocable ODA of OECD/DAC donors to basic social services (basic education, primary health care, nutrition, safe water and sanitation)
Indicator 35	Proportion of bilateral ODA of OECD/DAC donors that is untied
Target 14	**Address the Special Needs of landlocked countries and small island developing States (through the Program of Action for the Sustainable Development of Small Island Developing States and the outcome of the 22nd special session of the General Assembly)**
Indicator 36	ODA received in landlocked countries as proportion of their GNIs
Indicator 37	ODA received in small island developing States as proportion of their GNIs
Target 15	**Deal comprehensively with the debt problems of developing countries through national and international measures in order to make debt sustainable in the long**

	term
Indicator 38	Proportion of total developed country imports (by value and excluding arms) from developing countries and from LDCs, admitted free of duties
Indicator 39	Average tariffs imposed by developed countries on agricultural products and textiles and clothing from developing countries
Indicator 40	Agricultural support estimate for OECD countries as percentage of their GDP
Indicator 41	Proportion of ODA provided to help build trade capacity
Indicator 42	Total number of countries that have reached their HIPC decision points and number that have reached their HIPC completion points (cumulative)
Indicator 43	Debt relief committed under HIPC initiative, US$
Indicator 44	Debt service as a percentage of exports of goods and services
Target 16	**In co-operation with developing countries, develop and implement strategies for decent and productive work for youth**
Indicator 45	Unemployment rate of 15-to-24-year-olds, each sex and total
Target 17	**In co-operation with pharmaceutical companies, provide access to affordable, essential drugs in developing countries**
Indicator 46	Proportion of population with access to affordable essential drugs on a sustainable basis
Target 18	**In co-operation with the private sector, make available the benefits of new technologies, especially information and communications**
Indicator 47	Telephone lines and cellular subscribers per 100 population
Indicator 48	Personal computers in use per 100 population and Internet users per 100 population

Table 1.2: Millennium Project Task Forces

Task Force 1 on Poverty and Economic Development
Task Force 2 on Hunger
Task Force 3 on Primary Education and Gender Equality
Task Force 4 on Child Health and Maternal Health
Task Force 5 on HIV/AIDS, Malaria, TB, Other Major Diseases, and Access to Essential Medicines
Task Force 6 on Environmental Sustainability
Task Force 7 on Water and Sanitation
Task Force 8 on Improving the Lives of Slum Dwellers
Task Force 9 on Open, Rule-based Trading Systems
Task Force 10 on Science, Technology, and Innovation

CHAPTER 2: Building Partnerships

List of Initiatives Reviewed

Table 2.1: Local Government Initiatives by Partnerships (CUDS 2003, Harvard University)

GEOGRAPHIC REGION / LOCAL GOVERNMENT PARTNERS	National Government	Specialized National Agencies	Provincial Government	IDB, WB, ADB, USAID, GTZ Devel. & Aid Organiz.	Intermediary NGOs	NGOs	Private Enterprise	Community Associations & CBOs
AFRICA								
SUB SAHARAN AFRICA								
Tanzania - Community Infrastructure (Upgrading) Program				■				
Cote d'Ivoire - Institutionalizing Community-Based Development, Abidjan								■
Burkina Faso - Ouagadougou Project							■	
Mali - Bamako							■	
Benin - Program for the Protection of the Environment, Pr. APE, Cotonou	■			■				■
Angola - Luanda Sul Self-Financed Urban Infrastructure Program, Luanda		■	■				■	■
Namibia - Relocation of Backyard Tenants, Walvis Bay								■
SOUTHERN AFRICA								
S. Africa - An Integrated Development Project in the Greater Mafikeng Area		■					■	
S. Africa - Housing and Infrastructure Dev. through Self-reliance, Klapmuts	■		■					
S. Africa - Durban Water Services: Sewage Disposal Education Program				■	■		■	
S. Africa - Inclusion of Salvagers in the Waste Management, Odi-Moretale			■			■	■	
South Africa - Municipal Infrastructure Program	■							
ARAB COUNTRIES								
Morocco - Shelter Upgrading in Agadir		■						■
ASIA								
EAST ASIA								
China - Housing Settlement Project in Shanghai		■						
China - Xin Xing Housing Cooperative of Beijing		■					■	■
China - Comprehensive Revitalization of Urban Settlements, Chengdu.	■		■					
China - Poverty Eradication and Living Environment Improvement,Zhulin		■	■					
Indonesia - Kampungs Improvement & Java Urb.Dev. Program, Semorong								
Philippines - Partnerships for Poverty Alleviation in Cebu City		■		■		■	■	■
SOUTH ASIA								
India - Ahmedabad: Innovative Urban Partnerships		■				■	■	
India - Community-based Women-oriented initiative to fight poverty, Kerala			■			■		■
India - Initiative towards All-2 Million Housing Program, New Delhi	■	■						
India - Parivartan						■	■	■
Pakistan - Khuda-Ki-Basti - Innovation and Success in Sheltering the Poor						■		■
EUROPE								
ce - Housing mmodation program for Tsigan population, Sofades								
Poland - Local Initiatives Programme, Lublin								■
Spain - Integral Intervention Project in the Ribera Neighbourhood, Cordoba			■	■		■	■	■
LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN								
CENTRAL AMERICA								
El Salvador - Nejapa Local Development Compensation Fund				■		■	■	■
Honduras - Santa Rosa de Copan				■			■	■
SOUTH AMERICA								
Argentina - Emphasis on community development		■	■					
Argentina - Urban Agriculture for Agroecological Develop. Camilo Aldao	■				■	■		■
Argentina - Vacant Land use optimization, Rosario								
Colombia - Neighborhood Improvement Program: Urb. Consultation, Neiva				■			■	■
Colombia - Improved Housing and Environment		■	■	■				
Brazil – Solid Waste Collection and Recycling Project, Recife		■				■	■	
Brazil - Communidades Program & Self-help Housing: Mutirao, Fortaleza			■			■		■
Brazil - Santos: Integrated Children's and Family Program				■				■
Brazil - Environmental preservation in Low-income Areas, Espirito Santo	■	■						
Brazil - Housing,Infrastructure & Poverty Eradication, Teresina	■	■						
Brazil - Revival Project - PROJETO RENASCER, Londrina, Parana			■				■	
Brazil - City Networks for Development & Social Inclusion, Missoes Region		■	■	■		■	■	■
Brazil - Settlements of Low Income Population in Urbanized Lots, Brasilia		■	■					

GEOGRAPHIC REGION / LOCAL GOVERNMENT PARTNERS	National Government	Specialized National Agencies	Provincial Government	IDB, WB, ADB, USAID, GTZ Devel. & Aid Organiz.	Intermediary NGOs	NGOs	Private Enterprise	Community Associations & CBOs
Brazil - Housing and Participatory budget, Belo Horizonte								
Brazil - Housing and Participatory budget, Sao Paulo								
Brazil – Environ. Sanitation & Program for Social Inclusion, Santo Andre								
Brazil - Urban Upgrading Project PROMETROPOLE, Recife								
Ecuador - Integrated Solid Waste Management Programme, Loja								
Uruguay - Improvement of Governance Capacity in Montevideo								
Venezuela - Urban and Environmental Development of Catuche Ravine								
NORTH AMERICA								
Canada - Safer Cities Initiatives, Edmonton, Alberta								
TOTAL 50 CASES	**9**	**19**	**14**	**14**	**3**	**15**	**18**	**24**
PERCENTAGE	**18%**	**39%**	**29%**	**28%**	**6%**	**31%**	**37%**	**49%**

Table 2.2: Central Initiatives Channeled through Local Authorities (CUDS 2003, Harvard University)

GEOGRAPHIC REGION / CENTRAL GOVERNMENT PARTNERS	National Government	Specialized National Agencies	Provincial Government	IDB, WB, ADB, USAID, GTZ Devel. & Aid Organiz.	Intermediary NGOs	NGOs	Private Enterprise	Community Associations & CBOs
AFRICA								
SUB SAHARAN AFRICA								
Mauritania - Urban Development Project								
ASIA								
EAST ASIA								
China - Shanghai Urban Environment Project								
China - Sichuan Urban Environment Project								
China - Guangxi Urban Environment Project								
China - Chongqing Urban Environment Project (CUEP)								
Indonesia - Urban Poverty Project								
Mongolia - Ulaanbaatar Services Improvement Project								
Thailand - National Government Development Program								
EUROPE								
Albania - Urban Land Management Project								
TOTAL 9 CASES	**5**	**5**	**1**	**7**		**3**	**3**	**4**
PERCENTAGE	**50**	**50%**	**10%**	**70%**		**30**	**30%**	**40%**

Table 2.3: Local Government Initiatives by Program Components (CUDS 2003, Harvard University)

GEOGRAPHIC REGION / PROGRAM COMPONENTS	Land Regularizing	Infrastructure			Health Care	Social Centers and Services	Education and Training	Small Enterprises / Microcredit	Housing
		Water Sewerage and Drainage	Roads and Transport	Solid Waste Management					
AFRICA									
SUB SAHARAN AFRICA									
Tanzania - Community Infrastructure (Upgrading) Program		■	■						
Cote d'Ivoire - Institutionalizing Community-Based Development, Abidjan		■					■	■	
Burkina Faso - Ouagadougou Project									
Mali - Bamako									
Benin - Program for the Protection of the Environment, Pr. APE, Cotonou				■			■	■	
Angola - Luanda Sul Self-Financed Urban Infrastructure Program, Luanda		■	■						■
Namibia - Relocation of Backyard Tenants, Walvis Bay									■
SOUTHERN AFRICA									
S. Africa - An Integrated Development Project in the Greater Mafikeng Area		■							
S. Africa - Housing and Infrastructure Dev. through Self-reliance, Klapmuts		■							■
S. Africa - Durban Water Services: Sewage Disposal Education Program		■					■		
S. Africa - Inclusion of Salvagers in the Waste Management, Odi-Moretale				■			■		
South Africa - Municipal Infrastructure Program									
ARAB COUNTRIES									
Morocco - Shelter Upgrading in Agadir		■	■						■
ASIA									
EAST ASIA									
China - Housing Settlement Project in Shanghai									■
China - Xin Xing Housing Cooperative of Beijing									■
China - Comprehensive Revitalization of Urban Settlements, Chengdu.		■	■						■
China - Poverty Eradication and Living Environment Improvement,Zhulin		■	■	■					■
Indonesia - Kampungs Improvement & Java Urb.Dev. Program, Semorong	■	■	■						
Philippines - Partnerships for Poverty Alleviation in Cebu City		■					■	■	
SOUTH ASIA									
India - Ahmedabad: Innovative Urban Partnerships		■	■			■		■	
India - Community-based Women-oriented initiative to fight poverty, Kerala							■	■	
India - Initiative towards All-2 Million Housing Program, New Delhi									■
India - Parivartan	■	■	■						
Pakistan - Khuda-Ki-Basti - Innovation and Success in Sheltering the Poor		■	■					■	
EUROPE									
Greece - Housing accommodation program for Tsigan population, Sofades						■			■
Poland - Local Initiatives Programme, Lublin								■	■
Spain - Integral Intervention Project in the Ribera Neighbourhood, Cordoba							■	■	
LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARRIBEAN									
CENTRAL AMERICA									
El Salvador - Nejapa Local Development Compensation Fund		■	■			■			■
Honduras - Santa Rosa de Copan		■		■					
SOUTH AMERICA									
Argentina - Emphasis on community development	■	■							■
Argentina - Urban Agriculture for Agroecological Develop. Camilo Aldao							■		
Argentina - Vacant Land use optimization, Rosario									
Colombia - Neighborhood Improvement Program: Urb. Consultation, Neiva		■	■						
Colombia - Improved Housing and Environment	■		■			■			■
Brazil – Solid Waste Collection and Recycling Project, Recife				■			■		
Brazil - Communidades Program & Self-help Housing: Mutirao, Fortaleza		■				■	■	■	■
Brazil - Santos: Integrated Children's and Family Program							■		
Brazil - Environmental preservation in Low-income Areas, Espirito Santo			■			■	■		■

PROGRAM COMPONENTS / GEOGRAPHIC REGION	Land Regularizing	Infrastructure			Health Care	Social Centers and Services	Education and Training	Small Enterprises / Microcredit	Housing
		Water Sewerage and Drainage	Roads and Transport	Solid Waste Management					
Brazil - Housing,Infrastructure & Poverty Eradication, Teresina									
Brazil - Revival Project - PROJETO RENASCER, Londrina, Parana									
Brazil - City Networks for Development & Social Inclusion, Missoes Region									
Brazil - Settlements of Low Income Population in Urbanized Lots, Brasilia									
Brazil - Housing and Participatory budget, Belo Horizonte									
Brazil - Housing and Participatory budget, Sao Paulo									
Brazil – Environ. Sanitation & Program for Social Inclusion, Santo Andre									
Brazil - Urban Upgrading Project PROMETROPOLE, Recife									
Ecuador - Integrated Solid Waste Management Programme, Loja									
Uruguay - Improvement of Governance Capacity in Montevideo									
Venezuela - Urban and Environmental Development of Catuche Ravine									
NORTH AMERICA									
Canada - Safer Cities Initiatives, Edmonton, Alberta									
TOTAL 50 CASES	**6**	**26**	**18**	**8**	[illegible]	**11**	**17**	**10**	**23**
PERCENTAGE	**12 %**	**53 %**	**37 %**	**16 %**	[illegible]	**22 %**	**35 %**	**20 %**	**46 %**

CHAPTER 4: Recommendations for National and International Action

Table 4.1 Slums and Achieving the MDGs

Going to Scale: Tackling the MDGs in the World's Slums	
MDG Goal	**Impact in the Slums**
Goal 1 Eradicate extreme hunger and Poverty	• Granting secure tenure to slum dwellers allows them to invest in their own housing and economic opportunities;
Goal 2 Achieve universal primary education	• Inclusive policies, including adequate public transport, allow slum children to attend school • Children perform better at school with a more secure home life, and with access to essential services such as water, sanitation and energy.
Goal 3 promote gender equality and empower women	• Support girls' entry into schools • Providing secure tenure and access to credit to women are key to household stability and income generation;
Goal 4 Reduce child mortality **Goal 5 Improve maternal health**	• Inclusive policies ensuring access to basic services and adequate housing reduce health risks for mothers and children;
Goal 6 Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases	• A variety of diseases can be prevented with reduced overcrowding, the improved provision of water and sanitation, and with proper drainage and control of disease vectors; • Slum dwellers are high-risk categories for contracting both TB and AIDS • Inclusion will allow slum dwellers to access support for those with HIV/AIDS
Goal 7 Ensure environmental sustainability	• The provision of quality water, sanitation drainage and solid waste management has an immediate, and life-changing impact on slum dwellers and the urban environment; • Slum upgrading programs, supported by national and local government, directly benefit slum dwellers and the wider community;
Goal 8 Develop a global partnership for development	• Partnerships between slum dwellers, private sector and local government lay the foundations for sustainable local development; • Slum dwellers, local governments and other partners can best be supported by international development assistance provided on a programmatic, long-term basis

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CHAPTER 2: Building Partnerships

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CHAPTER 3: Prioritizing Interventions

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