COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION: A REVIEW OF FOUR PARTICIPATORY HOUSING PROJECTS IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES.

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ABSTRACT

Although community participation is a popular catchword in contemporary development planning in developing countries, there is no consensus as to what it means and what function it should perform. The diversity of definitions and approaches reflects ideological range of interpretations of development. Community participation, therefore, is a complex and controversial issue in development planning.

What are the roles of the state, the community, funding agencies, professional planners, architects, and social workers in participatory housing projects? When and how far should the community participate in projects? Should participation be limited to the 'boundary' of a community and a project? What type of community participation is 'appropriate' for development? What are the necessary conditions for successful community participation for development? These are some of the fundamental questions this thesis addresses.

This thesis argues that for community participation to bring about fundamental and meaningful change in housing, it should not only involve the community in decision-making, but more importantly it should create an oppurtunity for capacity building , consciousness raising, and empowernment that will ultimately lead to community desired actions. Here, empowernment means to enable those who have been marginalized economically, politically and culturally to claim in every respect, a status as full participating members of a community. Empowernment requires putting in place mechanisms that allow the marginalized to seize and fully utilize opportunities for equal and active participation. For empowernment to take

place, real power should be develved to local communities and financial and technical assistance should be accorded to the communities.

This thesis begins by highlighting some of the major controversies that attend to the notion and practice of community participation. One of these, which is the primary focus of this thesis, is the role of the state in promoting community participation. A review of four recent participatory housing projects is provided. Lessons from the study are drawn and suggestions are made as to how community participation can be put to the service of human development.

ABBREVIATIONS

AFSC   American Friends Service Community

CUAVES   Communidad Urban Community of Villa El Salvador

FUNDASAL   Fundacion Salvadorena de Desarrollo y Virenda Mininia

IBRD   International Bank of Reconstruction and Development

NGOs   Non-Governmental Organizations

SINAMOS   Sistema Nacional de Apoyo a la Mobilizacion Social (National System to support social mobilization)

UN   United Nations

UNICEF   United Nations Children's Fund

UNRISD   United Nations Research Institute for Social Development

USAID   United States Agency for International Development

WHO   World Health Organization

INTRODUCTION

Community participation has become a popular catchword in contemporary development planning in developing countries. Its current "rhetorical" prominence as a development approach in developing nations has been largely promoted by the United Nations, international development agencies, national governments, and academics. Today, the notion of community participation is being applied to housing, rural and urban development, education, health care, and social work in both governmental and non-governmental programmes. As a concept, it has been significantly influenced by conflicting political and social theories and by the more recent failure of the community development movements of the 1950s and the 1960s. The diversity of definitions and approaches reflect the ideological range of interpretations of development and different approaches to community development. It also reflects ideological beliefs derived from political and social theories about how communities can be organized for development. Community participation, therefore, is a complex and controversial issue in development planning.

At the heart of the debate and the practice of community participation are issues related to the roles of the state, the community, funding agencies, professional planners, architects, and social workers. When should the community be involved in participatory community projects? How far should the community participate in projects? What are the necessary conditions for successful community participation? Should participation be limited to the 'boundary' of a 'community' and a project? There are no easy

answers to these questions because the questions are ideological, as are the answers.

Although there is no consensus as to why community participation is important in development planning, two arguments appear to dominate the debate. First, community participation is a reaction against centralization, bureaucratization, rigidity and remoteness of development agencies.* In such cases, the powers of the state and development agencies are considered to have extended too far, diminishing the freedoms and rights of ordinary people to participate in 'development' that affects their well-being. Here, the emphasis is placed on decentralization and giving "power" to the local people .Second, with the diminishing roles of most governments in developing countries in the development of their nations, community participation is a way of shifting the responsibility for development to the community itself. Here, the emphasis is placed on self-help as a means of acquiring labour and enhancing project efficiency. The community is not involved in decision making but rather at the project implementation stage where their labour and "co-operation" are valued most.

Community participation does not take place in a vacuum but rather in a concrete and specific socio-cultural, economic, political and historical context. It is, therefore, imperative that an analysis of community participation and its dynamics should examine the roles of the state, the community, and project implementing agencies in a given context; because the parties involved in community participation influence the nature and outcome of the participatory process.

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*   For a view on the pitfalls of centralization in community development planning, see Amitai Etzioni, "The Fallacy of Decentralization." In Terrace E. Cook and Patrick M. Morgan, <u>Participatory Democracy</u>, New York: Canfield Press; 1974, pp. 63-68.

This thesis will examine the role of the state in promoting community participation in 'participatory housing projects', and how the objective for participation in such projects dictates or influences when and how the community actually becomes involved in the projects. It is important to indicate at the outset of this thesis that, whereas the objective for community participation influences when and how the community becomes involved in a project, more often than not, the stated objective is either not adhered to or the result of participation is different from the stated objective. Attempts will also be made to investigate how the roles of funding agencies influence the nature and outcome of participatory housing projects. The roles of implementing agencies, professionals involved in community participatory projects and the community will also be explored. The thesis will demonstrate that community participation personnel must be "appropriately" trained in the field of participation and that community participation also requires 'adequate' funding.

In this thesis, I will argue that for community participation to bring about a fundamental and meaningful change to the underprivileged in developing nations (especially in the "field of housing"), it should not only involve the community in decision-making, but more importantly it should create an opportunity for capacity building, consciousness raising, and empowerment* that will ultimately lead to community desired actions and human development. Here, empowerment means to enable those who have been marginalized economically, politically and culturally to claim, in every respect, a status as full participating members of a community. Empowerment requires putting in place mechanisms that allow the

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*   For an indepth analysis of empowerment and its implications for human development, see Roger Simon, "Empowerment as a Pedagogy of Possibility". In the Journal of Language Arts. Vol. 64, No. 4, April 1987, pp. 370-382.

marginalized to seize and fully utilize opportunities for equal and active participation. Through real dialogue and consciousness raising, parties involved in community participatory development will be empowered to collectively act and change their conditions. For empowerment to take place, real power should be devolved to local communities and financial and technical assistance should be accorded.

Empowerment is an on-going process- it is not an end in itself. The learning involved in the process of empowerment benefits not only the underprivileged, but also those in positions of power, professional planners and other professionals involved in community development. For empowerment to have far-reaching effects, there is need for flexibility and patience.

It is, however, important to bear in mind that participation for empowerment will ultimately lead to participation or the quest for participation in other spheres of the national life. It is this aspect that is bound to lead to some forms of conflict and confrontation; more so under dictatorial political regimes. Despite the potential for conflict and confrontation, community participation for empowerment is the most viable approach to development planning; because it puts people at the center of development and is bound to check and reverse contemporary trends of underdevelopment. If conflicts and confrontations arising from community participation for empowerment are to be minimized, then the existing socio-political and economic structures must be changed.

METHODOLOGY:

In order to achieve the objective of this thesis, a number of things will be done. First, by way of background, the thesis reviews some of the

'dominant' forces that have not only contributed to the emergence of community participation, but have also continued to influence the contemporary concept and practice. This will help to highlight the current controversies respecting community participation. It will also provide a framework for the analysis of subsequent issues.

Second, attempts will be made to provide a review of the participatory procedures in four housing projects which incorporated community participation as one of their objectives. The review of the four case studies will illustrate different approaches to community participation and also highlight some fundamental contradictions inherent in community participation.

This approach, however, has certain limitations. First, participation in housing projects does not adequately represent how participation takes place in other development projects. Here, the objective for participation and the source and nature of funding often make a big difference. Second, a review of only four participatory projects will not bring out all the issues that affect community participation in every individual participatory housing project. Third, reliance on secondary sources has the potential of minimizing the level of objectivity in this type of study. This challenge has called for careful "verification" of available secondary information. Nevertheless, the approach will bring out some important issues that are common in the sphere of participatory housing projects in particular, and participatory development projects in general.

The "field of community participation in development" is complex, controversial and quite diverse. Consequently, no single work can claim to cover all the areas. It is, therefore, imperative to urge those who are interested in community participation in health care, and education, to

investigate further in order to gain a broader understanding of some of the issues raised.

This thesis comprises three chapters. Chapter one will attempt to review the historical emergence of community participation and examine its conceptual content. Efforts will also be made to highlight some of the controversies that attend to the idea of community participation.

Chapter two will provide a review of four participatory projects that incorporated community participation as one of their main objectives. These projects are: the Lusaka Project, the FUNDASAL Project, the Villa Project and the San Judas Barrio Managua Project. These projects have been selected out of nine projects which I reviewed. The nine projects included: The Dandora Project, Nairobi, Kenya, the Hyderabad Project, India, the Baldia Soak Project, Karachi, Pakistan, the Oragi Project, Karachi, Pakistan, and the Kabele 41 Project, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. The four projects which will be reviewed illustrate some major contradictions inherent in all nine projects and many more. Although there is only rudimentary information on the San Judas project, the common theme available in the literature highlights some important points which the other eight do not; that is, participation for empowerment should provide equal opportunity to women and men, "skilled" and "unskilled."

Chapter three will attempt to draw some lessons from the analysis of the four participatory housing projects and will also mention a few significant ones which have been carried from the other five projects and other literature. It is hoped that the lessons will provide a new direction to debate in the field and also lead to a more progressive approach to participatory planning.

The study will conclude by highlighting the need for a radical change in the roles of the state, funding agencies, non-governmental/voluntary agencies, and planners. It will be argued that is only through a fundamental change of behavior and approach to community participation that 'community participation' will cease to be an empty rhetoric.

CHAPTER ONE: COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION: HISTORY, CONCEPTS AND CONTROVERSIES

BACKGROUND: COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

Although the concept and practice of community participation is an ancient one and finds expression in cultural traditions of many communities in developing nations, the contemporary concepts and practice of community participation are comparatively recent in origin. The idea that the disadvantaged and oppressed should mobilize themselves and/or be mobilized by 'external' agents to participate in decision-making and in other areas of development at the local and/or national level was formalized only a few decades ago.[1] The contemporary ideas of community participation have many historical antecedents and draw on a complex and varied tradition of practical experience and intellectual thought.

It is imperative to indicate at the outset that current notions of community participation in development projects are only part of a wider debate about popular participation in the development of developing nations as a whole. The United Nations, national governments and academics have produced substantial literature on the subject of popular participation. Most of them have argued that a concerted effort should be made to establish and strengthen institutions for the mobilization of popular participation in developing countries.[2] The concept of popular participation is essentially concerned with broad issues of social development and the creation of opportunities for the involvement of people in the economic and social life of the nation. By involving people actively in the development process, efforts to promote socio-economic progress can be enhanced. At the same time,

popular participation has the potential of ensuring that the benefits of development are equitably distributed. In order to enhance popular participation, proposals have been made for decentralization of government and the redistribution of income and wealth.

AN HISTORICAL SYNOPSIS OF COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

Contemporary concepts of community participation are based on a rich legacy of ideas and practical agendas which have helped to facilitate the formulation of present day proposals for the involvement of the local people in development programmes. It is impossible to review these antecedents here in any detail; however, some of the more important influences on contemporary community concepts and practice require a brief review. Among these are western ideologies and political theories, community development movements of the 1950s and 1960s, and finally, western social work.

SOME WESTERN IDEOLOGIES

Among the various historical influences on the development of contemporary community participation principles, the debt to the western democratic theory would seem to be quite obvious. By arguing that ordinary people have a right to share in decision-making, proponents of community participation reveal the inspiration of western democratic ideals. However, according to Dahl, R. and E. Tufts, Size and Democracy (1973), this inspiration is not based on the classical notions of representative democracy, but rather on "a modern variant of liberal democratic theory known as neighborhood democracy."[3]

Many proponents of community participation are sceptical of representative democracy and its possibility of providing meaningful opportunities for the involvement of the underprivileged in the political and socio-economic affairs of developing nations. Drawing on the theory of neighborhood democracy, they advocate the creation of small scale institutions for the realization of political and socio-economic aspirations of the underprivileged in urban neighborhoods and villages in developing nations.[4]

Community participation is also infused with the populist notions which, Wiles, P., "A Syndrome, Not a Doctrine" (1973), pointed out, are characterized by the belief that "virtue resides in the simple people who are in the overwhelming majority, and in their collective traditions."[5] It is important to bear in mind that there are many definitions of populism; however, common to most is the idea that the disadvantaged are oppressed and exploited and left out of the development process. They may be perceived to be the victims of economic disruptions or thought to suffer from the insensitivity and arrogance of an inflexible bureaucracy. In these circumstances, populist movements often claim to champion the cause of the underprivileged and to rally their support.

Populism has considerably influenced development approaches in developing countries. According to Worsely, P., The Third World, (1967) "the development plans of many Third World countries are strongly populist in character, placing emphasis on cooperative and communitarian forms of social and economic organization; stressing the values of self-help and self-sufficiency"..[6] Among prominent proponents of populism is Julius K.

Nyerere of Tanzania with his idea of Ujamaa Villages and "African Socialism."*

The influence of populist ideas on the advocates of community participation has been quite considerable; indeed, it may be argued that community participation is a primary expression of populist ideals in developing nations.[7] As in populism, "current community participation 'theory' suggests that ordinary people have been exploited by politicians and bureaucrats and that they have been excluded, not only from political affairs but also from the development process as a whole."[8] So by mobilizing local people and raising their consciousness about their situation, community participation provides a mechanism for collective means of redress.

THE INFLUENCE OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

The community development movements of the 1950s and the 1960s are another source of inspiration for the contemporary community participatory concept. Indeed, the two approaches have had much in common. Like community participation, community development focused on small communities, seeking to establish democratic decision-making institutions at the local level. It also attempted to mobilize people to improve their social and economic circumstances through a variety of development projects.[9] However, the decision making process was generally top-down. The policy and plans originated at the 'national' level filtered down to the people via the technical activities of community development officers. The fundamental process of underdevelopment was untouched. Although participation was stressed, it was participation within a system very firmly

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*   See Knud E. Svendsen and Merete T., eds; Self-Reliant-Tanzania, Dar es Salaam: Tanzania
        Publishing House, 1969.

administered from the top which did not begin to challenge the distribution of political and economic power. There are other clear differences: the community participation concept evolved partly in response to criticisms which have been made of the community development movement. By reacting to its inadequacies, community participation advocates have sought to formulate a more politicized and people-centred approach* which conceives of participation in a more dynamic way.

Among the first proponents of community development in many developing nations were missionaries and colonial administrators; as Mayo, M. "Community Development: A Radical Alternative?" (1975); pointed out:

> Community development was also significant
> ideologically in encouraging favorable institutions
> and attitudes, and in discouraging those unfavorable
> ones that might lead to the development of a radical
> change. To the economic and political establishment,
> community development thus represented an attempt
> to create a capitalistic 'free market' economic
> development---and colonized people successfully
> indoctrinated to participate voluntarily in
> accelerating the process.[10]

The dual colonial mandate to "civilize" while exploiting the use of forced labour under the pretext that it was an indigenous institution and to establish "durable" and "responsible political structures", all facilitated the evolution of early forms of community development.

In some parts of Africa, missionary effort to promote education led to the creation by the Colonial Office in London of the Advisory Committee on Native Education which produced a number of reports on colonial

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* On the question of people-centred approach to participation, see Hari Mohan Mathur, Administering Development in the Third World: Constraints and Choices, London: SAGE publications, 1986.

educational policy. The 1944 report on Mass Education in the Colonies was particularly important, for it placed emphasis on literary training and advocated the promotion of agriculture, health and other social services through self-help.[11]   The British government implemented many of the recommendations of the report and established community development programmes in many African countries. It also supported training and research in the field. The latter activities produced a variety of books and manuals on the subject. Those by T.R. Batten. Training for Community Development, (1962) and The Human Factor in Community Development, (1965) are perhaps the best known.[12]

In India, as S.N., Bhattacharyya, Community Development: An Analysis of the Programme in India (1970) observed, community development drew inspiration from both missionary and indigenous sources. Of the indigenous sources, the philosophies of Tagore and Gandhi were particularly important.   After independence, when India's development community programme was launched, the debt to Gandhi's philosophy was clear.[13]

Drawing extensively on the British literature and the African and Indian experience, the United Nations and the American government contributed to the refinement of community development ideas. Community development featured prominently in the United Nations documents which were published in the 1950s and the 1960s; and the organization actively encouraged the promotion of these activities. Also during this period, the American aid program provided liberal financial support to developing nations. A number of American academics were recruited as advisors and experts. It is, however, important to note that American financial aid for community development was also intended, according to Brokensla, D. and

P.Hodge, Community Development: An Interpretation, (1969) "to contain subversive influences."[14] It is, perhaps not surprising, that American community development expenditures were highest in countries such as Thailand and Vietnam which were considered to be most threatened by communism.[15]

In spite of the rapid expansion of community development, disillusionment with its achievements was widespread in the 1970s. Many governments, particularly those in Africa, failed to provide adequate financial support; but nevertheless extolled the virtues of self-help. Community development was soon recognized to amount to little more than a slogan which brought few tangible benefits. In many African countries, civil servants came to regard community development as a relatively unimportant field of public service. As Ministries of Education lost interest, community development activities were promoted on a haphazard basis by poorly funded ministries such as ministries of Social Affairs.[16]

Corruption, maladministration and inefficiency were rampant and it often seemed that the only beneficiaries of community development were the workers and officials who staffed the community development bureaucracies. Perhaps, a clear indication of the declining fortunes of community development was revealed in the decision of the government of India in 1978 to restructure its community development programme, renaming it the Integrated Rural Development Programme.[17]

Although community development may be regarded as an immediate precursor to the community participation movement, some contemporary community participation advocates have been vociferous critics of community development, claiming that it failed because of its bureaucratic administration and superimposed direction. This not only stifled the innate

capacities of ordinary people to determine their own destiny, but also perpetuated the structures of inequality and oppression both at the national and local level. They (the advocates) argue that an alternative grass-roots approach which liberates the powerless and ensures the involvement in community life is vital for the promotion of 'genuine' participatory development.[18]

INFLUENCE OF WESTERN SOCIAL WORK

Whereas social work is often concerned with the problems of needy individuals and their families, it has also, since its inception in the late 19th century, focused on communities seeking to organize and mobilize people to improve local amenities and social services.[19] Among the first attempts to systematize community work practice and give it a theoretical base were the reports edited by Lane (1939, 1940) for the National Social Work in the United States.[20] Later publications by Harper and Duhman (1959) refined these ideas and helped to establish community organization (as it became known) as an accepted method of social work.[21] In the 1960s the ideas of community organization were further developed by writers such as Morris (1964), Lauffer (1972) and Perlman and Gurin (1972) to incorporate notions of social planning in community organization procedures.[22]

The development of community organization in Europe lagged behind and was largely influenced by American ideals. American style community organization was never fully adopted, instead a more radical style of community work took root. As Fred M. Cox, et al; Community-Action, Planning, Development: A Casebook, (1974), indicates; this new approach changed the conventional methods of community work. It mobilized the

people to take more direct political action and to demand changes in their environment[23].

One important source of community work radicalism in the U.S.A was the ideas and activities of Alinsky in Chicago in the 1930s and 1940s. According to Gurney Breckenfeld, "Chicago: Back of the Yards" (1974): "In the Back Yards campaign, Alinsky mobilized local people through existing grass-roots organizations teaching them a variety of confrontational tactics when dealing with government organizations and commercial interests."[24] Another important source was the War on Poverty which perhaps facilitated the institutionalization of radicalism in community work practice.[25]

As Peter Morris, <u>Community Planning and Conceptions of Change</u> (1982), indicates, there were similar developments in Britain in the 1960s. As part of its urban programme, Wilson's labour government established community projects in particularly deprived inner city areas. "Although the projects were originally based on conventional community organization techniques, they were soon influenced by more radical community action approaches and also by Marxian ideas"[26].

The initial assumptions of the projects that poverty could be reduced by local improvements, the provision of better services and the stimulation of community interests, soon lost appeal and many community workers began to see their task as one of raising the political consciousness of the poor. As Loney, M. <u>Community Against Government</u> (1983), observed, this reflected the influence of an increasing popular structural approach in community work which: "focused on economics, social and political factors in seeking to account for deprivation rather than on individual, family or cultural factors.[27]

While American and British community action 'experiments' resulted in the creation of few "durable" projects, they infused community work with a new dynamism which institutionalized radicalism as an essential ingredient of the practice. This radicalism has seldom been expressed in 'revolutionary' acts and has changed the nature of community work in the industrial nations.

It has also had considerable appeal to developing nations. Midley, J., Professional Imperialism: Social Work in the Third World (1981), noted that:

> community action ideas have had some popularity in social work circles in developing countries---. Many non-governmental organizations had adopted radical community work methods. Some, as the Community Action Movement in Maharashtra, India, adopted an explicit Marxian ideology which rejected 'welfarism' and sought instead to promote a political struggle based on a class analysis of Indian society and the organization of the oppressed people.[28]

Although it cannot be claimed that the contemporary participation movement in developing nations is characterized by a similar ideology, it has been much influenced by community work radicalism in the west. It has also inspired the empowerment school of thought in developing countries.

One of the major proponents of the school of empowerment is Paulo Freire. The proponents of empowerment argue that, just as power lies in the hands of those who make decisions, it is equally true that power lies in the hands of those who identify problems and define alternatives upon which decisions are made and implemented. Therefore, community participation becomes a vehicle by which members of a community identify their problems and potentials and understand alternatives that exist in the planning process and ultimately implement decisions that result from their

participation.* For empowerment to take place, 'appropriate' mechanisms must be put in place to enable the underprivileged to utilize created opportunities. The learning process that takes place among those involved in participation has the potential of enhancing the capacity of the community and raising the consciousness of the participants about their situations. Empowerment as an on-going process will enable them to act and improve their situations. However, empowerment has a price tag attached to it. It is bound to lead to conflict and confrontation unless existing socio-economic and political structures change adequately to provide for a peaceful transition and sharing of power.

CITIZEN PARTICIPATION IN PLANNING

In the field of planning, there is no consensus as to what citizen participation is, its merits and demerits, how and when it should be put in place, and by whom. Perhaps this controversy emerges from lack of clarity regarding what planning is or is not. This controversy in planning has not made any direct visible impact on the evolution of the contemporary concept and practice of community participation in developing nations. Although the "field of community participation in planning" has not made a tangible contribution in this area (partly based on the fact that the field of planning borrows the concept of participation from other disciplines, such as political science and social work; these fields have made enormous contribution to the emergence of and the debate on community participation in developing nations)** , the idea of community meetings and the notions of accountability

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* For more on empowerment, see Ira Shor and Paulo Freire, A Pedagogy for Liberation. Massachusetts: Bergin & Garvey Publishers, Inc., 1987.

** For a view on collaborative planning and citizen participation, see Godschalk,D.R "Collaborative Planning: A Theoretical Framework". In Eleven Views: Collaborative Design in Community Development Raleigh:North Carolina State University, School of Design, 1971.

and collective actions in planning have perhaps influenced the evolution of contemporary concepts and practice of community participation in development.

COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION AND ITS PROMOTION

While the historical antecedents described provide a source of inspiration for contemporary community participation, its emergence as a coherent approach to development must be seen as a direct consequence of the United Nations popular participation programme. Surveying the activities of the United Nations in this field, Wolfe, M. "Participation in Economic Development: A Conceptual Framework" (1982), observed that, "the concept of popular participation not only required the creation of opportunities for political involvement, but the adoption of measures that would enable ordinary people to share fully in the development process."[29]

An important reinforcement of the idea of popular participation came from resolutions adopted by the World Conference on International Women's Year which was held in Mexico City in 1975. The conference pointed out that women had been excluded from participating both in political activities and in the development process in developing countries.[30] Significant contributions came from agencies such as UNICEF and the World Health Organization, especially in the adoption of the UNICEF/WHO Declaration on Primary Health Care at the Alma, Ata Conference in 1977. The concept of community participation in health featured prominently in this document and has become a major preoccupation in the health care field. This declaration, above all, called for the mobilization of local communities to take responsibility for their health.[31]

During the 1970s, the idea of popular participation also attracted attention from those engaged in housing and urban development research. Some actions were taken by the World Bank which modified its housing sector lending policies to promote self-help housing in developing countries. In 1975 the World Bank's Housing Sector Policy Paper, stated that squatter upgrading and sites and services schemes "are primary lending instruments for more equitable urban development"[32] (see Appendix 1, p.109) on self-help and directions for World Bank lending for Urban Housing).

Through the influence of the international agencies, some governments of developing countries have acknowledged the need for greater emphasis on community based development strategies and some have taken steps to strengthen participatory elements in both urban and rural development programmes.

Non-governmental organizations have also been major promoters of community ideals. International voluntary agencies ranging from OXFAM to the World Council of Churches have been particularly enthusiastic about community participation ideals .

Many academics, especially in the field of development studies, regard community participation as a 'new' and viable approach to community development. Although few studies exist on the activities of local and national organizations in most developing countries, many of them, including national charities, non-governmental organizations, and populist movements, have popularized the ideals of community participation (see Appendix II, p. 119 on the role of the South-NGOs in community participation). However, as will be shown, the belief in the undoubted virtue of involving people in development is not as straightforward or uncontroversial as it at first might appear.

A major element in most discussions on the promotion of community participation is the notion of institution building. This concept has been formulated by international agencies to denote the creation of procedures for democratic decision-making at the local level and the involvement of people in these procedures to the extent that they regard them as the normal way of conducting community affairs. Many authorities use the term to connote the establishment of decision-making bodies that are fully representative, democratically elected and accountable. However, some writers place greater emphasis on the formalization of these procedures than others. Majere, S Popular Participation in Planning and Decision Making for Basic Needs Fulfillment (1977) conceived of local institutions as properly constituted authorities linked to district, regional and national decision-making bodies by legal and administrative procedures.[33]   Omer,S. "Institution Building" (1981) took a similar view, citing the Chinese commune and the Israeli Kibbutz as examples of ideal local participatory institutions.[34]   Others (Hollnesteiner, M.R (1977), Hakim, P (1982)) have a preference for less structured grassroots associations that are sustained by popular involvement and support. But whether local institutions are formally organized, most writers point out that the major task for community workers is to foster their consolidation and effective functioning in the long term.

Community workers who are entrusted with the task of institution building are also referred to in the literature as change agents, extension workers, motivators, community organizers, and conscientizers. Some of these workers have been trained at different planning institutions, universities or colleges to promote community participation. They may be skilled in understanding interpersonal relationships, fostering group activities,promoting community solidarity, teaching local people to be

resourceful in their dealings with the outside world, setting objectives, exploring alternatives, and in implementing objectives.

Community workers are usually posted to local communities by a sponsoring agency which also funds them and provides other forms of support. Ideally, local communities should be encouraged to invite a community worker to live in their midst and to contribute to their maintenance. Hollnsteiner, M.R "Mobilizing the Rural Poor through Community Organization" (1979) hoped that communities will do so spontaneously if they are faced with problems and are aware of what community workers can do for them.35 But most community workers are today sponsored by formal organizations such as the churches, voluntary agencies, ideologically motivated groups, international agencies and, increasingly, the governments of developing countries. Often the activities of these workers are related to a project that the sponsoring organization has established in the community.

Some workers begin by taking up residence in the community and by seeking to establish informal contacts with local people. Although they will inevitably deal with formal and/or informal leaders and local elites, they should primarily be concerned with the poorest groups and attempt to organize them and secure their full involvement in the institution building process. They should attach particular importance in the mobilization of women and children. Although women and children constitute the bulk of the population, they are seldom consulted.

The main task is to raise the level of social and political consciousness of the local people. Hollnsteiner, M.R "Participatory Imperative in Primary Health Care" (1982) observed that by conscientizing the people, community workers make them consciously aware of their situation, why it is so and

what alternatives they have to create to redress its deficiencies.36 Part of this process entails the use of confrontational tactics that create an awareness of problems and possibilities. Hollnsteiner, M.R (1979) pointed out that community workers engage in " persuading, arguing, suggesting, challenging, analyzing and agitating in building people's organizations".37 This is a particularly important technique for integrating the poorest and the more privileged sections of the community and for fostering collective solidarity.

Mass meetings are an essential element in the promotion of community participation. These meetings permit discussion of local issues and help to foster group solidarity. Often role play methods are used to sensitize the people to both local and external problems. However, community workers should remember that their task is to foster grass-roots participation and to build institutions that can make decisions democratically and autonomously. Community workers must know where to draw the line between being a catalyst and a manipulator. Also, instead of seeking to impose their ideological preferences on the community, they should allow the local people to form their own views and make their own decisions on these wider issues.

Leadership poses a problem for community workers. They cannot themselves act as leaders and where community elites are reactionary and unresponsive, they should avoid developing participatory programmes around existing leadership roles. Nor can they appoint alternative leaders . They (community workers) should, however, be trained to deal with problems of leadership and have various strategies at their disposal. They may succeed in isolating reactionary elements or persuading them to abide by the wishes of the majority. They may also be able to integrate both "traditional" and emergent leaders in the new decision-making bodies and in

this way, build a coalition of interests which unites the different factions. Community workers should avoid placing too much responsibility on individual leaders and particularly should guard against allowing a charismatic individual to dominate participatory decision-making apparatus. Although inspirational leadership may mobilize people and resources effectively, the emergence of strong and enduring collective institutions may be retarded. Also, as Hakim (1982) noted, dependence on charismatic leaders is associated with a high rate of project failure. If these leaders lose interest or cease to function for other reasons, community participation programmes often collapse.38

Many authorities have pointed out that community participation can be effectively initiated through the creation of specific projects which command popular support..39 However, some writers have warned of an excessive reliance on projects as a basis for promoting participation. The United Nations (1975) pointed out that the project can easily become an end in itself and that participation will decline once it is completed. There is a danger also that in the rush to construct facilities, community involvement will be overlooked and that the people's role will be relegated to implementation.40

COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION: URBAN DEVELOPMENT AND HOUSING

Community participation in urban development can provide an effective platform for the poor to influence the decision-making process. In the United States the concept of 'maximum feasible participation' became fashionable in the early 1960s. The overall objective of this policy was to create avenues whereby the views of urban neighborhoods could be taken

into account in planning services for cities.41   In developing countries, community power as a dynamic approach to urban development brings into focus complex political systems and the manner in which they are interpreted to facilitate accommodation.

In developing countries, the urban landscape is esconsed between hope and despair. Rapid population increase, unemployment, the proliferation of slums and squatter settlements, poor health and sanitation have all contributed to a distorted image of urban areas. In an effort to explain poverty, connotations such as apathy, deviance and malaise have been attributed to the poor. Lewis, O. (1966) topology of the "culture of poverty" is significant in that the blame for poverty is firmly placed at the door of the less privileged.42   Potres,A. (1971) writing on the life of the Chilean slums attacks the poor for being 'vagabonds and delinquents' and sees life in the slums as being 'a refuge of ultimate destitution'.43 The tendency to type-cast urban poverty in negative labels ignores the spirit of activism which is prevalent among the poor and which is central to their achievement of social mobility.

URBAN DEVELOPMENT, HOUSING AND STATE POLICIES

In an effort to solve what the state in developing countries regards as the urban problem, various approaches have been adopted. The evolution and application of these approaches have been influenced by a great variety of factors, including the adoption of western models of urban planning and housing, the degree of professionalization in urban development, centralization, and the perceptions of political elites of the seriousness of urban problems and the threat of poverty.

Urban planning is one of the most popular policy measures adopted by governments in developing nations in their attempts to deal with urban problems. Introduced originally by European colonial rulers, urban planning procedures have been extended to cover many cities in developing countries. Vast sums of money have been spent on preparing master plans which would, it was hoped, produce a well structured pattern of urban growth. Foreign consultancy firms were widely used to prepare these plans and to assist in their implementation. But, in spite of the enormous effort that has been expended, urban planning has not lived up to the expectations of politicians, bureaucrats, the public, and professionals. Rapid urban growth has rendered plans obsolete even before they were completed, and confounded those who believed that urban planning would transform cities of developing countries into well designed and orderly places.

Urban planning has not only failed to take account of demographic realities but has been insensitive to social conditions in the urban areas. An architectural and engineering bias in the planning process has emphasized infrastructure at the expense of human needs and has been naively unaware of the nature and extent of urban poverty. Failure to take account of the poverty problem, which is so characteristically evident in cities in developing nations, has often reduced planning to a paper exercise. Insensitivity to human needs has extended also to the way governments have formulated housing policies. Indeed, there is a good deal of evidence to show that state urban housing policies have been brutal in their effects.

One example of the way the state brings its weight to bear on slum and squatter communities is to employ a policy of clearance and demolition. The use of the bulldozer is usually accompanied by the belief that the eradication of the 'urban eyesores' is a solution to housing problems. The use of force is

common in the demolition of slum and squatter settlements in developing nations. There are vivid examples in the housing literature of mass demolition of the so-called slums in Africa, Asia and Latin America. Not in the very distant past, the world's attention was focused on the efforts of the South African government to evict squatters from communities such as Crossroads near Cape Town.

When clearance is linked to urban renewal programmes, displaced populations are not always rehoused and when they are, they may not find the new housing "suitable". The point is that such schemes are seldom motivated out of concern for the poor; frequently, they are used for prestige projects with the aim that they would become national showpieces. It is generally agreed that slum clearance and demolition as an approach to dealing with housing for urban poor is not always likely to produce positive results. According to Turner, J.F.C. "Untouched Urban Settlements: Problems and Policies" (1969), "the basic problem of the slums is not how to eradicate them but how to make them liveable".44

The role of the state as a builder of housing for the poor has also been far from successful. In many developing countries, symbolic housing schemes tend to have little relevance to local needs.45 The use of western standards and designs and materials often result in housing for the poor being alien to the local environment. The failure of planners to appreciate fully how space is perceived and organized by and among the poor has resulted in mis-investment. In addition, high rise buildings often provide no more than uncomfortable boxes which trap the initiative of the poor. These elevated shacks are often abandoned, resulting in the return of the poor to the slums. Apart from the question of relevance, a key factor in the provision of public housing is that it is usually out of range of low income earners. Hence it is

quite common for middle and upper income groups to purchase rights of occupancy from the poor.

Brutality in state housing policies is found also in some of the other measures that have been adopted by governments of developing nations in their attempts to deal with urban problems. A good example is the use of urban control policy. The overall objective of such policy is to limit migration to urban areas which, it is claimed, is the cause of overcrowding, the growth of slums and pressures on existing urban facilities.

One country in which these control measures have been clear and specific is South Africa. Black people are not allowed to live in the urban areas unless they have permanent jobs. A period of fifteen years residence in urban areas is no guarantee that the authorities will allow the family of Black migrants to join them in the cities. While the policy of apartheid seeks to ensure that the cities remain free from Black settlement, Black families continue to go to the towns in search of employment even though they risk imprisonment and deportation to rural areas. The reaction of authorities in demolishing the migrants' squatter settlements has not deterred migration.

In Indonesia, a decree passed in 1970 sought to limit migration into Jakarta. But this experiment was not successful as regulations became difficult to enforce.46 The action by the Kampuchean government in 1975 of clearing out the cities appeared to have aimed at overt political control rather than rural development. A country in which rural development is linked to control measures is China. Migration control is enforced rigidly and special permits are required in order for villagers to travel to the cities. But China's urban control policies have been linked to substantial investment in rural areas and a concerted attempt to raise rural levels of living.47 Tanzania,

influenced by the Chinese example, attempted to introduce spatial policies aimed at population redistribution with little success.

Urban control policies have made little impact on restricting movement and promoting urban development. These measures are often implemented at great social costs, producing embittered relations between sections of the community. Conventional housing policies have often had the same effect. In addition, there is little evidence to show that these policies have resulted in an improvement in the quality of life for the poor. The problems of overcrowding , traffic congestion, poor sanitation and inadequate housing continue to be familiar sights in the 'urban sprawl' of developing countries.

Although it would be factually incorrect to depict all state urban development policy as insensitive and brutal, there is little ground for claiming that conventional policy measures have brought significant improvements in the social conditions of urban areas. Indeed, there is a good deal of pessimism in urban development circles about the prospects of the poor under conventional state policies. It is for this reason that far more emphasis is today being placed on a people-centered approach which stresses the need for community participation in urban development and urban housing.

URBAN POLICY AND COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

Although there are numerous variations on the "community participation in urban development" theme, most writers on the subject believe in the mutual co-operation of government and local community to improve urban conditions. This two-way process means that governments

should be able to recognize the potential of the urban poor as innovators. In other words, governments must capitalize on the activism of the poor if co-operation with popular action as a strategy is to be effective. Since governments are enablers and providers of resources, official support for urban projects involving community participation is likely to demonstrate their growing need for recognition.

These ideas have been advocated for many years but it is only in comparatively recent times that they have been widely applied, particularly in the field of urban housing. During the 1950s and 1960s, for example, United Nations advisors such as Abrams and Koenigsberger attached great importance to the active involvement of ordinary people in urban renewal projects. Drawing on his experience of the United States, Abrams, C. (1964) reported that self-help housing projects among the poor could bring about better housing conditions.48 But as he cautioned in a later publication (1966), self-help housing programmes must be properly planned and managed if they are to be successful.49 Koenigsberger,O. et al (1980) in their treatment of slums and squatter settlements, also attested to the virtues of community action. They recommended, for instance, that a series of action programmes be drawn up in dealing with urban development problems in Singapore.50 Urban renewal has to be linked to the community for it to be realistic. From his experience in India, Clinard, M.B.(1966) reached a similar conclusion arguing that the mobilization of local communities and their effective involvement through the use of community development methods could help to deal effectively with the problems of urban slums in cities in developing nations.51

However, these advocates of community involvement did not succeed in substantially modifying existing policy approaches which continued to

stress centralization, professionalism and bureaucracy in urban planning and housing. But, as it became more and more apparent that conventional measures were making little if any impact, it was recognized that new ideas were urgently needed.

Community participation has now become a central issue in urban development and particularly in the provision of urban housing in developing countries. Its elevation and acceptance owes much to the ideas of Turner, J.F.C.and Mangin, W. whose experience of slum communities in Latin America led them to formulate a coherent strategy for popular participation in slum improvement schemes. They concluded that the inhabitants of the slums were eager to escape abject poverty and improve their environment. Representations made to the authorities resulted in the provision of basic services and significant changes in local conditions. As Mangin, W. Peasants in Cities (1970) showed, concessions granted by the authorities were largely secured through effective community participation.[52]

The contribution of Mangin and Turner have paved the way for community participation in urban development and housing to be taken seriously by both the political and planning establishment in developing countries. Turner, in particular, has advocated the virtues of self-help housing. His writings have transcended the slums of Lima; the application of self-help principle has firmly embedded itself in housing theory. A recurrent theme in Turner's writings and indeed one which has formed the conerstone of his approach is the idea that housing should not be seen as a noun but as a verb. According to Turner,J.F.C. (1980), "What matters mostly about housing is what it does for people, not what it is materially"[53] But, as Turner maintained, self-help housing can only be effective if it involves security of

tenure and dweller control. People will only invest their time, effort and resources to improve their housing conditions if they are secure in the knowledge that they have permanent rights to residence. Dweller control, through which people can decide what type of house to build, should be vested in the individual. Such control automatically leads to dweller satisfaction. When the building of a house is the responsibility of individuals, they are more likely to put up with its imperfections. Housing "by the masses" in which there is participation, is much more viable than "mass housing" in which there is overt government control.54

Although popular, Turner's position has been subjected to criticism from various sources. Drakakis-Smith, D. (1981) took the view that the application of Turner's ideas may lead to a neglect of the private sector.55 Dwyer, D.J. (1975) posited that self-housing can legitimize slums and squatter settlements, thereby leading to inferior housing.56 Burgess, R. " Petty Commodity Housing or Dweller Control?" (1979), writing from a Marxist position, argued that Turner's proposals represent a capitalist con-trick designed to perpetuate the class system.57

The writings of Abrams, Koenigsber and Mangin and of Turner on the role of participation in urban housing infiltrated and influenced policy decisions both at the United Nations and the World Bank. In 1975 the United Nations Economic and Social Council proposed that popular participation should be adopted as a national development strategy.58 In the following year (1976) the United Nations Habitat Conference in Vancouver was more explicit about the role of public participation in relation to housing. The Conference recommended that:

Public participation should be an indispensable element

in human settlements, especially in planning strategies
and in their formulation, implementation and management;
it should influence all levels of government in the decision-
making process to further the political, social and
economic growth of human settlements.59

The World Bank, "impressed" by the participation of the poor in building their own housing, launched a "direct attack" on poverty through the use of the basic needs approach. The World Bank (1972, also see Appendix I, p.109) financed sites-and-services schemes with the emphasis being placed on owner-built construction. It is estimated that the Bank has assisted "community sponsored" projects to the tune of US$3500 million through 1982, with an average of 62,000 households benefiting from the project for the year 1981/82.60

Community participation in low income housing, having been adopted by international agencies, permeated and gained acceptance by national governments in developing countries. In India, at the state level, community participation enabled the construction of houses and, equally important, the building of communities. 61 In other parts of the developing world, projects promoting the ideals of participation are active in tapping the productive resources of the poor. The "freedom to build" project in the Philippines, and the Building Together Company in Thailand are indicative of this trend. FUNDASAL in El Salvador is one of the largest non-governmental housing agencies and is the only one of its kind to be aided by the World Bank. This agency promotes community organization and uses low income housing as its principal instrument.

Although the principle of community participation in urban development and urban housing is now much more widely accepted in

intellectual circles and among officials at the international agencies, it is not the case that the ideals of community participation have been universally applied throughout the developing world or that they have been properly and effectively implemented. Nor are they uncontroversial.

Resistance to the involvement of ordinary people in urban development remains strong among planners in developing nations who, as Hollnsteiner, M.R.(1977) pointed out, have difficulty in understanding the views of the masses.Planners are usually drawn from the middle class and after years of technical training have difficulty in empathizing with the poor. Civil servants are likely to regard the involvement of ordinary people in the planning process as a nuisance and may actively subvert the attempts of local communities to have a say in the planning process. Politicians often fear that participation will weaken their authority and in a number of countries, genuine participatory activities are perceived as being subversive.[62] This is particularly likely where participation involves activism. Indeed, government sponsored participatory activities may well rebound in that, once popular awareness is aroused, people may make "militant" demands and engage in actions that threaten the status quo. As Hollnsteiner, M.R (1977) observed, this may produce repressive responses from the state. In addition 'the designation of the legitimacy/non-legitimacy line remains an ambivalent product of differential outlooks where governments and militant peoples' groups are concerned'.[63]

It is for this reason that a number of observers have argued that community participation in urban development invariably results in a concerted effort by the state to subvert and manipulate local people. Gilbert, A. and Ward, P. " Community Action by Urban Poor: Democratic Involvement, Community Self-Help or a Means of Social Control?" (1984)

confirm this point of view arguing on the basis of studies of three Latin American cities, that the state effectively uses the mechanisms of community participation as a means of social control. They found that in each of the three cities, the state has been 'successful in deflecting opposition by making concessions, by providing services, by co-opting leaders or, in the last resort, through repression'.[64]

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CHAPTER TWO:
A REVIEW OF COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN FOUR HOUSING PROJECTS

This chapter provides a review of community participation in four recent urban housing projects in developing countries. It describes the experiences of a diversity of funding and implementing agencies in terms of their approach to community participation as a project component.The Lusaka Project in Lusaka, Zambia (1974-81) and FUNDASAL Housing Programme in San Salvador, El Salvador (1973-80) were funded by the World Bank; while the Villa El Salvador Resettlement Project in Lima, Peru (1971-76) and San Judas Barrio Project in Managua, Nicaragua (1980) were supported by national governments.

While the roles of nation States (in developing World) in development programmes/projects have continued to decline, the role of the World Bank continues to increase. In that respect, it is imperative to examine briefly how World Bank policies (as a funding institution) affect community participation in housing projects.

THE WORLD BANK

The World Bank is frequently involved in large scale development projects in the urban sector. In the 1960s lending had been primarily for projects of infrastructure and transport. However, as a consequence of the 1972 working paper on urbanization, its policy changed towards comprehensive urban projects dealing simultaneously with the problems of housing, transport and land use.[1] In turn, this was followed in 1975 by a housing sector paper. This paper advocated specific housing strategies to

bring down the supply cost of housing, such as sites and services and upgrading of unauthorized areas (that is, squatter settlements), in order to ensure rapid improvement in access to shelter, infrastructure and facilities for the poorest 40% of the population [2] (also see Appendix 1,p. [109]).

Generally, World Bank projects have access to considerable financial resources and employ highly trained specialists from a number of countries. Programmes are likely to be devised not only outside the communities but also outside the country concerned. Given the large and often inflexible nature of international development programmes, community participation is likely to be minimal at the project formulation stage, but higher during implementation when widespread self-help and mutual aid is encouraged to reduce costs. However, even project implementation is likely to be organized in a 'top-down' manner with large numbers of outside workers and advisors supervising community work.[3]

In World Bank financed projects, families usually obtain serviced lots and have a wide latitude of freedom to construct the type and size of dwellings they "wish." The Bank justifies owner-built house construction and involvement of community organization purely on the grounds of economic efficiency, that is lower cost and greater speed. Since the Bank is owned by governments, and makes its loans to governments, the degree of devolution of power and control which can be accomplished through any project, is heavily dependent on the attitude of the particular government to this issue. Nevertheless, individuals within the Bank do share some of the views of user-control philosophy and in "suitable circumstances" have been able to prepare projects which are more heavily user-controlled. Early projects in San Salvador are an example in which Bank funds were on-loan to a non-profit private foundation Fundacion Salvadorena de Desarrollo

(FUNDASAL) which developed substantial settlement programmes in conjunction with user groups.

THE LUSAKA PROJECT: LOCAL PARTICIPATION IN PLANNING AND DECISION-MAKING?

After Zambia's independence in 1964, rapid migration to Lusaka created a high demand for housing which public authorities and the private market could not provide. Large squatter communities emerged around Lusaka, most having between 20,000 and 50,000 inhabitants in each. Illegal developments sprang up both on illegal subdivision or through invasion and illegal occupation of unused land.[4] The rapid urban migration was partly the outcome of government removal of all legal barriers (legal barriers had been instituted by the colonial regime) on rural-urban migration.

By 1972 the Zambian government had gained much experience and better understanding of the country's housing problems. Rather than advocate a solution through conventional housing, the Second Development Plan (1972-76) took a step and recognized that although squatter areas were unplanned, they nevertheless represented assets both in social and financial terms. It argued that the planning and provision of services to such areas was better than their wholesale demolition. The plan went on to state that the first priority must be the acquisition of land when any unauthorized settlement was to be upgraded. Strict control of any further development had to be enforced both inside and outside designated areas. Piped water, sewers, roads and surface water drainage, street lighting, and other services were to be provided in any upgrading exercise.[5]

FUNDING THE PROJECT AND OBJECTIVES

While the Zambian government was keen to put this new policy of squatter upgrading into practice, the resources were lacking -- particularly at the time when the price of its major foreign exchange earner, copper, had dropped tremendously in the world market.[6] Apparently, the only option left for the government was to seek financial involvement from the World Bank.

In 1973, after lengthy negotiations, the World Bank and the Zambian government concluded an agreement for a loan whereby the bank would provide up to 47% of the project cost, at that time estimated at U.S. $41.2 million. The host government contributed 48.5%, while contributions also came from the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) and United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), totalling 4.5% of the project cost. The loan was to be repaid at 7-8% interest over 25 years, with "participants"paying 7.5% over 30 years.[7]

In October 1979, the appraisal report estimated that the cost would be as follows: sites and services preparation and servicing 13.2%, squatter upgrading 6.7%, building material loans 22%, the provision of primary infrastructure 11.5%, community facilities 9.7%, technical assistance 13.7%, land acquisition 0.5%, and various other contingencies estimated at 22.7%.[8]

The project was implemented by the World Bank, the Zambian government and the Lusaka city council between 1974 and 1981. The sheer scale was vast; the project comprised the provision of physical and social infrastructure to approximately 17,000 dwellings in four major squatter settlements of Lusaka; preparation and servicing of 7,600 plots in adjacent overspill areas to accommodate households whose houses were affected by

upgrading; the preparation and servicing of 3,200 fully serviced plots (individual sewer and water connections); and finally providing 1,200 plots with communal water supply.[9]

LOCATION OF SITES AND SERVICE
SQUATTER UPGRADING PROJECT IN ..

AFRICA

CHUNGA

OWASA
COMPLEX

GEORGE
COMPLEX

KAUNDA
SQUARE

INDUSTRIAL
AREA

MUTENC..

Zambia

Lusaka

CHAWAMA
COMPLEX

Squatter settle ~
upgrading by ..

Squatter settlen...

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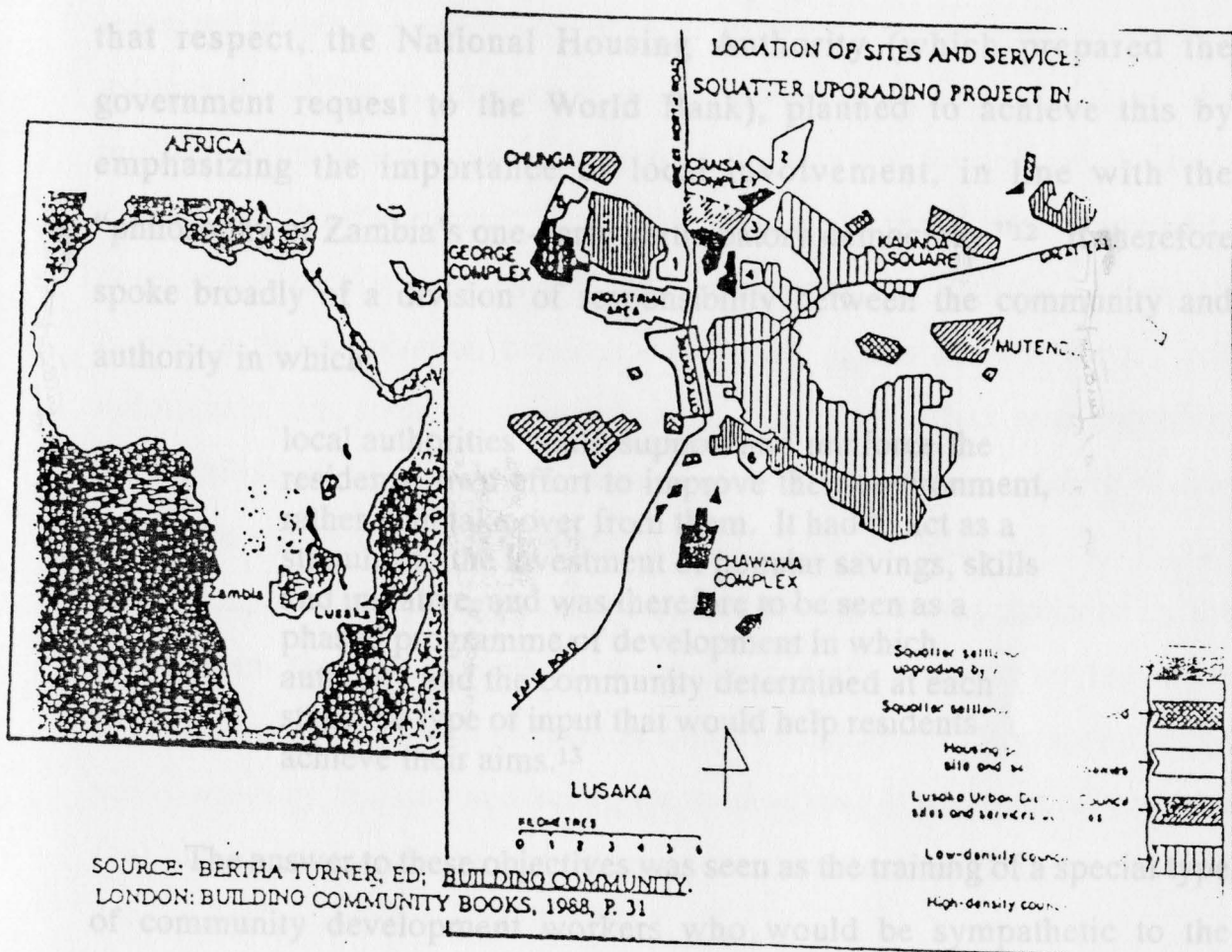
SOURCE: BERTHA TURNER, ED; BUILDING COMMUNITY.
LONDON: BUILDING COMMUNITY BOOKS, 1988, P. 31

PARTICIPATORY COMPONENT

During the negotiations between the Zambian government and the World Bank, both saw the question of citizen participation in planning and implementation of the project as extremely important since it was agreed that upgrading was a social as well as a physical exercise.[10] "Careful planning and much care, therefore, had to be exercised to secure the trust, approval and cooperation of the affected residents if the projects were to succeed."[11] In that respect, the National Housing Authority (which prepared the government request to the World Bank), planned to achieve this by emphasizing the importance of local involvement, in line with the "philosophy of Zambia's one-party participatory democracy."[12] It therefore spoke broadly of a division of responsibility between the community and authority in which:

> local authorities could support and reinforce the residents' own effort to improve their environment, rather than take over from them. It had to act as a stimulus to the investment of popular savings, skills and initiative, and was therefore to be seen as a phased programme of development in which authority and the community determined at each stage the type of input that would help residents achieve their aims.[13]

The answer to these objectives was seen as the training of a special type of community development workers who would be sympathetic to the participatory goal. AFSC and UNICEF were selected to help in training these workers. In order to carry out the task of training, books on Community Development Techniques by T.R. Batten were used. Batten's work continues to influence community training in developing countries. Batten's concern was with community development techniques which could

be used by external agents working in specific communities. His basic premise was that the colonized people had to identify and overcome obstacles which prevented the attainment of responsible government. The obstacles were to be found within the colonies themselves and among the dependent people. He identified three problems to be overcome by the colonial administrators and emergent ruling elite if development was to be achieved. These obstacles were: lack of statistical knowledge, unwillingness of colonized people to make drastic changes from existing customs, and lack of manpower willing to cooperate with colonial government. Here, the problem of underdevelopment is seen as the result of the anti-development custom of the "victims." The task for the planner and community development workers is to change the behaviour of the "victims." Emphasis is put on the cooperation between community agents and the state. It is unfortunate that such an approach which does not affect any prevailing maldistribution of productive resources and reinforces existing socio-economic and political stratification, is still being used today.[14]

In spite of the fallacy of using Batten's books, it was indicated by the AFSC team that the strength of the training method employed lay in its encouragement of trainees to develop their own capabilities to respond to the varied needs by thinking and acting for themselves. It was generally agreed that the graduates from the training programmes performed well in promoting "community participation."

The importance attached to training of community workers to motivate and mobilize the community to participate in the project was an appropriate way of enhancing community participation, except for Batten's colonial ideology which the training team transmitted. AFSC and UNICEF emphasized in their training techniques an approach that was somewhat

suitable for the new squatter upgrading project. However, it must be indicated that professionals involved in the project should have also been trained in order to understand how to incorporate community participation into the planning process. This shortcoming is not limited to the Lusaka project but it is common in most development projects.

COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

Zambia's United National Independence Party (the ruling party) refers to itself as a one-party participatory democracy (about the party and its role in development projects, see Appendix 3, p.137), so that community participation and grass-roots involvement in decision-making are presumed to be an integral part of the national policy.

The Lusaka project has therefore been executed in close conjunction with the ruling party.[15] This approach to community participation illustrated an important contradiction in the quest for popular community participation. On the one hand, this approach has had the benefit of providing project administrators with the co-operation of party leaders at all levels. On the other hand, given that the party lacks political legitimacy and the fact that "all those decisions which affected households, individual sections and branches, were made by the party elites,"[16] this approach contradicted not only the government statement that community participation in decision-making was an integral part of the project, but it also negated efforts that had been put in place to "promote popular community participation."

What is popular participation? Is it merely informing the residents about a planned project in their area? The Lusaka project did not escape this danger (merely informing residents). A typical example concerned the planning of road layouts. It was initially the project planners who drew up

routes for possible roads. These were taken to the residents saying that the sketches only represented rough ideas and must be considered as provisional. They were labelled 'Green' or 'Temporary pegging'. When provisional approval was given by the residents, they were painted red and considered permanent, and ready for grading. This was a manipulation on the side of the planners who presented the sketches to mean one thing and took the approval to mean something else. It was, therefore, not surprising when many people complained at public meetings that they were simply being asked to rubber stamp officially prepared plans.[17]

The exclusion of the community from direct participation in decision-making, especially concerning the planning of road layouts, was particularly problematic for women since the re-allocation of roads had a drastic effect on their domestic responsibilities. Roads and plots were laid out in a grid pattern with each house on a separate plot, resulting in a far greater privacy for the households. Previously, women had been able to carry out their housework in sight of each other. The new layout meant that they could no longer leave their houses unlocked or their children playing under the watchful eye of their neighbors.[18]

It is imperative to review briefly how the project fared in other spheres. At the start of the project, the level of house improvement was low. According to Rakodi, "The World Bank Experience: Mass Community Participation" (1983), the reasons for this were:

> a) high inflation on building materials; and

> b) not until the existing houses were given a number and assured of an occupancy licence, very few were willing to commit their scarce resources to improving a house which may later be chosen for re-allocation, particularly when the time came for reducing over-

crowding in the existing areas.[19]

However by 1978/79, once some of the above problems were resolved, improvements to existing houses took an upward trend. By December 1980, figures showing progress of house improvements were as follows: Chawama Complex with existing houses numbering 5,525, had 1,569 houses completed and 310 under construction; Chipata and Garden Complex, with 7,437 old houses, 6,721 houses were improved, 163 were receiving general extension and 345 houses were receiving improvements about foundation level. The progress made through self-help coordinated effort, was largely due to the project strategy that avoided the enforcement of unnecessarily high building standards.[20]

Despite the success realized, uncontrollable factors (external) weakened the economy. The collapse of copper prices in the world market and the decline of national and personal incomes accelerated the inevitable paralysis. Reduced employment and inflation had their effect on the project, causing it to slow down and be suspended indefinitely.[21] This indicates that the success of participatory projects, especially those that depend on loans and personal incomes, can be heavily influenced by national and international market forces.

Why was genuine community participation not brought into action at the planning stage? Three main reasons have been advanced by Rokidi, C., "The World Bank Experience: Mass Community Participation in the Lusaka Squatter Upgrading Project." (1983):

> i) It was feared that if loan funds did not become
> available after residents' expectations had been
> raised, social discontent might occur.

ii) A project designed by the World Bank funding has to be speedily prepared with substantial details of physical infrastructures, administrative arrangements and costs, making it difficult to accommodate - inevitably a somewhat time-consuming process designed to involve the public in consultation.

iii) A further difficulty concerns the appropriateness and feasibility of community involvement in decision-making which, while relevant to service provision in a particular area, have implications for planning infrastructure provision in the city as a whole. It is difficult for residents of a particular area to take city-wide needs and priorities into account and therefore, a representative system of local democracy was considered to be a more appropriate vehicle for decision-making on the allocation of resources on a city-wide basis.[21]

It is imperative to examine the reasons given above. The first reason attempts to link the lack of community participation in decision-making at the early stage with the fear of raising community expectation about the project; especially if the loan was not obtained. This is a fairly valid reason, especially since the negotiations for the loan took quite some time. However, how can one justify not involving the community in decision-making after the loan had been signed, and after community participation was included in the agreement as one of the major objectives. The real objective for incorporating community participation was for cost-sharing; that was why community participation was promoted at the implementation stage. Sanyal B. Valverde and Bamberger, M., in <u>Evaluation of the First Lusaka Upgrading and Sites and Services</u> (1981), supports this view: "In the implementation phase, however, community participation was envisaged". [22]

The second reason given is perhaps the most typical rationale advanced against community participation. Projects involving community participation are often regarded as costly because of the extra administrative procedures and possible delays. This argument holds water, especially where disbursement schedules and inflationary pressures are such that failure to spend quickly at the front end will result in rapid cost escalation. However, it is important to point out that while some savings may be realized in the short term by speeding up project implementation without community participation in decision-making, evidence from many development projects indicates that leaving out the community in decision-making often leads to underutilization and poor maintenance of such projects; that is, in the long term, such projects become a lot more expensive. Besides, genuine community participation has the potential of empowering both the community and the professionals; the learning process that results from sharing of knowledge and views can empower both parties to act and improve development projects.

The third reason attempts to justify why participation in decision-making was limited to party elites. Perhaps this reason is better reviewed by examining two points mentioned earlier in this section and another point. Firstly, given the power the ruling political party wields, and the role it has given itself in development projects, it is unlikely that an alternative institution could have been used in decision-making, especially if the idea was to genuinely involve representatives of the city as a whole. In that respect, the rationale for involving the party elites in decision-making can be understood (though not condoned). The biggest problem with involving only the party elites is that the Zambia's United National Independence party is not democratic at all; it has a major problem of legitimacy. In that respect, the

party elites cannot claim, with credibility, to articulate and represent the interests of the whole city. The failure to involve the community in decision-making was, therefore, a reflection of the nature of the political system in the country.

Secondly, the World Bank, as indicated before, views community participation in decision-making in particular, and in development projects in general, with reservation. The Bank is more concerned with the economic rationale of project undertakings. The Zambian government could not therefore, get any pressure for community participation from the Bank. As indicated before, genuine community participation clearly conflicts with the Bank's goal of rapid disbursement achieved through the implementation of tight schedules. It was, therefore, not surprising that the Bank reached an "important conclusion" which reflects the issue of political expediency, when it stated; "---wider social objectives must be defined internally within each country and they should not directly form part of the World Bank agreement."[23]

Thirdly, the issue respecting "city-wide" needs presupposes that participation in decision making by the community was caught between the "benefits" of the project to the city as a whole and the "harm" to the community. Here, it was a question of approach, not that of priority; because the "two interests" were not mutually exclusive. In my view, involving the entire city would have been more productive in the long run. In that respect, "locking out" the community and the rest of the city from decision making was a reflection of "anti-participatory" response of the state and the "real" objective of the project.

COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION: "COSTS" AND COST RECOVERY

As indicated before, projects involving community participation are often regarded as costly because of the extra administrative procedures and negotiations which may lead to possible delays. However, a former Field Director for AFSC has argued that:

> the fear of delays resulting from community involvement
> is often exaggerated, especially by contractors. Never-
> theless, community participation does introduce an
> additional element of uncertainty into project planning.
> Where disbursement schedules --- fear of inflation is
> high, community participation, both in decision-
> making and civil works is a real financial risk. It is
> a practical decision for those negotiating and planning
> a project to determine the extent to which they are
> willing to take such a risk.*[24]

However, as he indicated later, delays that occurred were due to other factors, not community participation.

This thesis is of the view that community participation should be considered as a long-term, rather than a short-term investment, especially since projects only give "sufficient assistance" to encourage the users to take responsibility for the "planning", provision, and management of their own shelter. This was the position in Lusaka when the government proposal to the World Bank stated that:

> In order to ensure that it is compatible with the
> life-style requirements of the population in each
> settlement, the process of up-grading must stimulate
> the investment of popular savings, skills and initiative,
> and enable authority and the community to determine
> at each stage the type of input that will help residents

---

*   Community participation should be seen as a necessity rather than a risk; otherwise
        community participation will either be denied or manipulated to avoid the"risk". Considering
        community participation as a risk by the director, is perhaps not surprising; given the use
        Batten's books.

achieve their aim.[25]

Cost recovery in low-cost housing remains a major concern throughout Zambia, and the Lusaka project is no exception. Although the plans were to keep the charges as small as possible, repayments were beyond the reach of many households. Officials involved in the early planning stage had assumed that residents would manage to pay 25% of their monthly income towards housing costs. Now it is clear that the question of affordability was not understood by the "experts."[26] A number of reasons are given for the poor level of cost recovery including: "inadequate debt collection machinery; the inability of most residents to pay; poor maintenance of the services by authorities; non-delivery of certain services which had been promised; lack of continued community education and ineffective sanctions against defaulters."[27] In terms of cost and cost-efficiency, an evaluation of the project carried out by the World Bank in 1983 showed that:

> ---components designed to mobilize individual resources for house construction and improvement reduced the cost of such improvement both to residents and government---but use of collective self-help in civic works did not reduce the cost to the implementing agency, and justification for the expenditure of resources on organizing collective self-help activity cannot be based on economic criteria.[28]

The above evaluation highlights the conflict between participation and cost-efficiency.

The Lusaka project illustrates a number of fundamental contradictions inherent in the incorporation of community participation in housing projects. First, paradoxically, it was the very nature of the political institution in Zambia that fundamentally curtailed the very community

participation it stated it wanted to promote. Second, in my view, the training technique was colonial and outdated; it could not enhance genuine community participation. Third, the real objective for community participation was cost-sharing; that was why the community was involved where their "cheap labour" made economic sense. Fourth, regulation of World Bank loans for such projects is too inflexible to accommodate genuine community participation in decision-making; because the World Bank is more concerned with the "economics" of projects. Fifth, the downturn in the Zambian economy had a devastating impact on the "participatory project," and finally, the failure to incorporate community participation in decision-making led to a false assumption that the community residents could pay 25% of their monthly income for housing.

The Tables below summarize some important points about the Lusaka Project:

TABLE 1 - Some critical factors which affected the project.

Project Funding	Implementing Organization	Weaknesses	Strengths
Loan	Highly technical	No real participation, outdated training, housing poorly maintained, monthly payment too high for proposed beneficiaries, national economy declined	Provision of housing

TABLE 2 - Objectives and actual participation in the project

Empowering	Capacity	Effectiveness	Efficiency	Cost-sharing
----	----	---	---	OA

O = objectives of community participation
A = actual community participation occurred.

THE FUNDASAL HOUSING PROJECT, SAN SALVADOR

The FUNDASAL Housing Programme (1973-80) was a highly successful self-built housing programme (the project had the support of both the government and the World Bank prior to the 1979 military-civilian coup). It "was   successful in reaching the low-income urban population while at the same time achieving one of the highest cost recovery rates of any World Bank - financed urban shelter programme."[29] The project differed from the Lusaka project and other projects funded by the World Bank in two fundamental aspects: first, "the shelter programme was seen as a part of a broader institutional commitment aimed at achieving community social awareness through community participation."[30] Second, FUNDASAL is a non-governmental, non-profit organization, committed to the concepts of community participation, progressive shelter construction and financial accessibility of projects to low-income population.[31]

PROGRAMME OBJECTIVES

The FUNDASAL shelter programme was one of the first sites and services approaches to be supported by the World Bank.[32] The objectives included:

a)   to actively involve the community in decision-making
and in building both the shelter units and in developing
community organizations;

b)   to encourage provision of adequate community
facilities as an integral part of low-cost shelter
development;

c)   to generate employment through labour-intensive
construction methods and the organization of
small commercial cooperative enterprises;

d) to ensure approaches are tailored to the needs of the community;

e) to create neighborhood groups capable of developing socially and economically viable communities; and

f) to construct 6,600 shelter-units.

LAYOUTS OF SITES AND SERVICES PROJECT

SOURCE: WORLD BANK URBAN AND REGIONAL REPORT.
WASHINGTON, D.C., 1981, INTRODUCTION
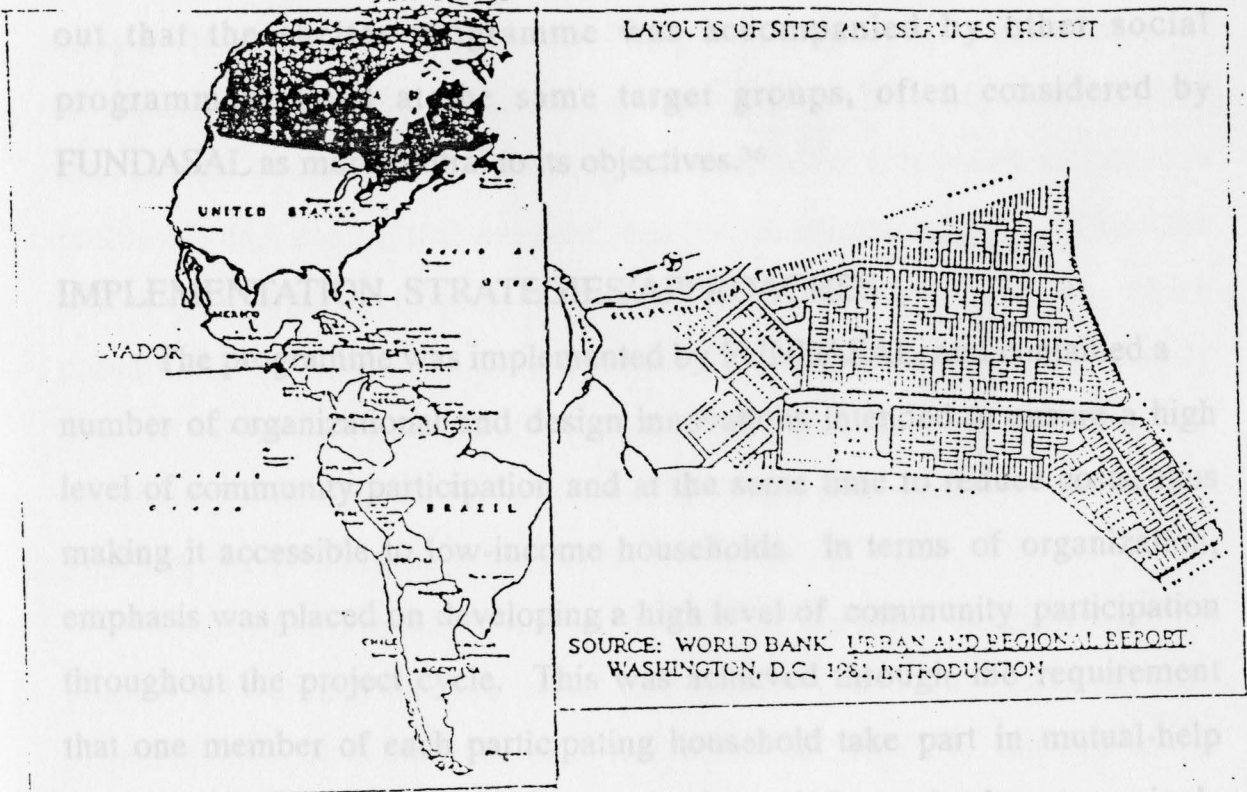
The project was designed to provide the minimum packages of services which would both permit the evolution of stable communities with standards acceptable to the target population, and satisfy the planning standards required by the government. The standards and design evolved over a number of years and involved continual discussion with government planners to permit "lower", and hence more affordable standards of water supply, plot size, and land use.[34]

It is imperative to indicate that the programme was intended to demonstrate that the serviced-site approach, combined with progressive shelter development through active family and community participation, was effective, viable, and replicable on a national scale. It should also be pointed out that the shelter programme was accompanied by other social programmes aimed at the same target groups, often considered by FUNDASAL as more central to its objectives.[36]

IMPLEMENTATION STRATEGIES/APPROACHES

The programme was implemented by FUNDASAL, and contained a number of organizational and design innovations intended to ensure a high level of community participation and at the same time to reduce costs, thus making it accessible to low-income households. In terms of organization, emphasis was placed on developing a high level of community participation throughout the project cycle. This was achieved through the requirement that one member of each participating household take part in mutual-help construction to complete the major part of the shelter unit; however, single parents were required to put in "less efforts", given their "special difficulties."[37]

It is important to indicate that from the initial process of selection of the recipients, it was emphasized that participation throughout the project cycle was a requirement for acceptance to the project. This requirement was strictly adhered to. "It was explained to the families that mutual help was both a way of eliminating the need for a 10% downpayment, and also a means of teaching construction and organizational skills which would prove useful in the completion of the houses and community facilities, and for preparing the households to assume later control of the management of the community."[38]

The participatory housing project was governed by two concepts; firstly, progressive development which meant the construction of housing units in stages; and secondly, mutual help which meant the collaboration of all participatory families working in groups of 20 to 25 families to build the initial units -- each group met during the week to plan the work and discuss problems, and during the weekend for the construction itself. This (the latter) was seen as forming the social organizational basis on which community development programmes would be built, opening family oriented vision to a community vision. Through active participation, the community was able to identify their priorities and establish community priorities before families moved in.[39]

Evaluations conducted during the mutual-help phase suggested that the process of working together effectively created a sense of solidarity and responsibility. It is believed that this sense of solidarity through active participation, was one of the main factors contributing to the programme's long-term success:[40] "first by creating responsibility for maintenance - almost all sites are well maintained by the communities themselves; second, by contributing to one of the best rates of cost recovery (under 2% default

rate) with the communities in some cases being directly responsible for collection of payments;"[41] and third, because in several cases the community was able to organize demonstrations and other forms of pressure to ensure the installation of water and other services which public authorities were responsible for installing but which were suffering long delays.[42]

The success of the mutual help component can perhaps be best understood by examining the way it was conceptualized. First and foremost, it was seen as a process, not simply a means to achieve project results. In the process, a number of stages could be distinguished. The most important were:

a)   The construction of houses; in this phase there were a number of goals which included the reasoning that the process of planning and construction would expose the groups to a wide range of social, economic, and political agencies involved in the project;

b)   the development of a viable organizational structure to assist the community and its leaders to respond to its needs. It was considered possible to achieve this objective with the assistance of a social worker (one to every 150 families), and the election of representatives from every 25 families to participate in a central community board; and

c)   the withdrawal of FUNDASAL personnel once the community group had taken responsibility and initiative to develop its own strategies and action programmes. It was envisaged that this three-stage process would take three years.[43]

A second critical factor in the success of the mutual help component appears to have been the "adequate" provision of social workers and other staff to assist the process rather than to supervise the building of housing.

Ironically, the importance of this factor was not widely recognized. As Deneke, A. and Silva, M., "Housing Built by Mutual Help and Progressive Development: To What End?" (1982), comment:

> It should be noted that FUNDASAL successfully revived the mutual help process, largely discarded in housing programmes, but only as part of a broader community organization process. Nevertheless, we found that international agencies interested in funding progressive development schemes, did not normally have funding available for the social component.[44]

EFFICIENCY OF DESIGN AND EXECUTION

A comprehensive analysis of the physical, economic and social design of the project has been presented in other FUNDASAL, (IDRC), and World Bank sponsored studies,[45] however, a number of indicators can be mentioned briefly. First, the units have proved to be affordable to the target population, despite the very high rates of unforeseen inflation; and second, participants have indicated a high level of satisfaction with most aspects of the project. The main area of dissatisfaction was related to provision of public services such as lighting and garbage collection which were not part of FUNDASAL'S responsibility.[46]

BRIEF EVALUATION OF THE PROJECT

All the 6,600 shelter units co-financed by the World Bank loan were produced in five years. This was achieved despite delays of more than two years in some cases, due to the problem of land acquisition.[47] In terms of loan repayment, in 1982 the project had one of the best loan repayment records of any shelter programme funded by the World Bank. As of July 1980, total repayments in arrears represented only 2.3 percent of the total

loan portfolio, and of these, only one-fifth were overdue by more than ninety days (three payments).[48] In the area of participation, although the objectives for community participation in the project were capacity building and efficiency; capacity building led to empowerment, project efficiency and cost-sharing. Active community participation occurred throughout the project cycle, and this ultimately achieved a high degree of interrelationship between project objectives.[49]

Like the Lusaka project, the FUNDASAL Housing Programme was not only funded by the World Bank but was also vast in size. However, the latter was quite successful for a number of reasons. First, community participation was seen as a vehicle for social change in a broader social context. It had the support of the state and the World Bank. Second, FUNDASAL, the implementing agency, was committed to genuine community participation. Consequently, it put in place viable mechanisms for the achievement of that goal. Third, through genuine community participation, the community not only achieved capacity building, but also became empowered to enhance project objectives and to maintain the community.

The fact that over time the extent of community participation in World Bank projects appears to have increased, suggests that the Bank can play an important advocacy role by withholding loans from projects lacking genuine community participation while supporting those which do. At the same time, however, the Bank's particular concern with project cycle cost recovery and greater speed in project, reduces the capacity to think innovatively about incorporating community participation, particularly in the decision-making and design stages of the projects.

Ironically, the FUNDASAL project illustrates that greater emphasis on genuine community participation for capacity building, empowerment and action as an integral part of the programme as well as having "adequate" trained staff to assist the process, can ultimately result in a higher level of cost recovery than the more traditional 'top-down' method such as that employed in the Lusaka project.

The tables below summarize some important points about the FUNDASAL Project.

TABLE 3 - Some critical factors which affected the project

Project Funding	Implementing Organization	Weaknesses	Strength
Loan	Committed to real community participation and very socially oriented	Limited government support	Capacity building, empowerment and housing

TABLE 4 - Objectives and actual participation

Empowering	Capacity Building	Effectiveness	Efficiency	Cost Sharing
A	OA	A	O	-------

O = Objectives of community participation
A = Actual community participation occurred

VILLA EL SALVADOR RESETTLEMENT PROJECT
LIMA, PERU

The Villa El Salvador project was undertaken between 1971 and 1976, involving some 130,000 people.[50] It is important to provide a brief background of events which finally led to the project; because the events provide a better understanding of why the state provided some assistance for the participatory project, and why to a large extent, it was a spontaneous participatory project.

EVENTS LEADING TO THE PROJECT

During preparations for an International Development Conference (April-May 1971), hosted by the military government in Lima, about 200 families invaded desert land on the city periphery. A flood of almost 9,000 additional families spilled onto adjacent, privately-owned land nearby. Unsuccessful attempts by the police to evict them resulted in the deaths of some squatters. This event embarrassed the military government which was professing a policy of local action and participation. In the end, the authorities negotiated alternative sites with the squatters and helped them to move.[51]

By July 1971, 20,000 households were living in cane-matting shacks on the desert sands. The Ministry of Housing moved quickly and planned a 3,140 hectare area, dividing it into several sectors, each providing 140 square metre plots for a total population of 30-40,000. The squatters formed their own organization to resolve the problems of education, transport, and water. SINAMOS (Sistema Nacional de Apoyo a la Mobilizacion Social; in English, National System to Support Social Mobilization) helped these organizations to join together, forming CUAVES (Communidad Urbana Autogestionaria; in English, the Self-Managed Urban Community of Villa El Salvador). With the support from SINAMOS and other agencies, CUAVES would guarantee the participation of local people in the planning and development of Villa El Salvador.[52]
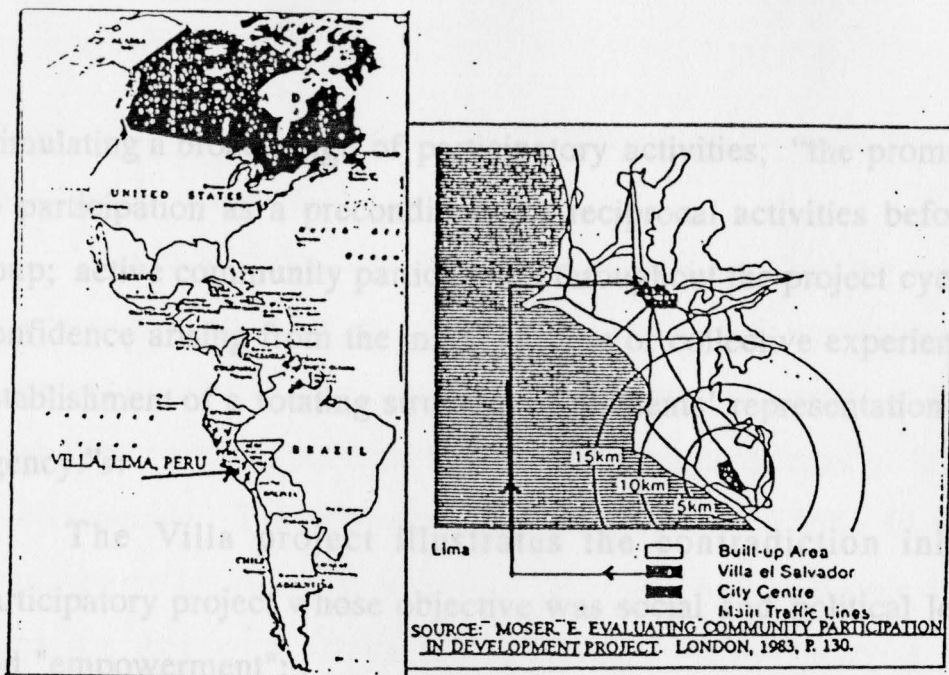
PROJECT OBJECTIVES

Throughout the project the crucial ingredient was national political support. The support was aimed at broadening the power base of the radical

military regime.[53] Thus, the participatory component of the project was first and foremost aimed at social and political legitimacy. However, the regime did not see any contradiction between its quest for social and political legitimacy and empowering the settlers through the participatory project.

The purpose of the project was to establish a 'self-managing' city as a joint venture between the government, which as a donor provided land and financing, organizational support and encouragement, and the settlers who supplied "unskilled labour" and undertook to repay the loans. The new city was seen as a way of proving the potential for poor people to empower themselves through their own coordinated efforts. To this end, with the help of SINAMOS, the settlement established a system of neighborhood organizations, at block, residential and settlement levels, through which people built up their capacity for co-operative problem solving.[54]

As far as cost-sharing was concerned, the only subsidy available to the community was the donation of land and the provision of support staff by the state. Beyond these initial inputs, the community had to raise all development capital, either from savings, bank loans or by the value of their labour. The pace and standards of the development were under local control, ensuring that the cumulative investment in infrastructure did not outstrip residents' capacity to pay charges.[55]

SOURCE: MOSER. E. EVALUATING COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN DEVELOPMENT PROJECT. LONDON, 1983, P. 130.

Following a right-wing coup in 1975, government support to the community dwindled. Although the electrification of Villa was initiated before the 1975 coup by government agencies, and among other things, 160 classrooms were built and several commercial enterprises were started, the new regime never authorized the banks to help or financially assist the community. Consequently, the project was heavily constrained. The limit of effectiveness in development of the Villa was the degree to which the new regime was willing to participate in the community project. The failure of the new regime to create local industrial employment and other vital financial assistance undermined the initial aim of breaking free from dependence on work in Lima, three hours travel time away.[56]

Contrary to the traditional assumption that lack of cohesiveness of urban communities inhibits community participation, the Villa project indicates that lack of cohesiveness can be overcome if there is commitment. According to Skinner, R. "A Peruvian Popular Participation Policy and Experience in Sites and Services" (1983), four main reasons were crucial for a community of relative strangers to produce an organization capable of

stimulating a broad range of participatory activities; "the prominence given to participation as a precondition for reciprocal activities before the 1975 coup; active community participation throughout the project cycle; the self-confidence arising from the initial success of collective experience; and the establishment of a rotating structure of residents' representation by the state agency."[57]

The Villa project illustrates the contradiction inherent in a participatory project whose objective was social and political legitimization and "empowerment";

> An increase in expectations and self-confidence
> can be either the basis for further cooperation
> with the community, or a signal that 'things have
> got out of hand,' as was taken to be the case in Villa
> El Salvador. The 'expansion' of participatory
> potential may not confine itself to the territory of
> settlement. If the participatory project is intended
> as an exercise in 'consciousness raising' it should
> come as no surprise if that raised consciousness
> expresses itself in demands to play a greater role
> in local, or national government decision-making.
> To many governments this would be a dilemma to
> be solved by crushing participation before it had
> reached this stage.[58]

In Villa El Salvador, the crushing of the community participation coincided with the change of government and policy, indicating the "challenge" that empowering the community for social and political motives, presented to the new right-wing military regime. The crushing of the participatory project demostrates the dilemma many such projects face, especially after a violent transition of power. It further reveals that unless

participation for empowerment is conceived in the broader context, it is bound to be crushed.

Villa El Salvador is not a model scheme meant for identical copying or replication. Instead, it offers a rich a source of inspiration for locally organized housing in other contexts, with important lessons to be learned on several key issues, at the same time as it expresses the creative imagination of its own people. The existence and development of Villa El Salvador can largely be explained by the enormous capacity which its people developed for managing their own affairs through their own autonomous organization based on CUAVES. The project demonstrates the difference between people participating in governments' actions, as occurs in many sites-and-services programmes, and government providing essential resources to support locally organized housing. It also shows the considerable range of difficulties communities face in organizing and in obtaining government support.

The project shows that the necessary counterpart to central planning is local control over development, which is essential for the maintenance of orderly growth, and emphasizes the need for complementary roles of government and community. Villa El Salvador also demonstrates just how much can be achieved with so little when very low income people manage their own housing programmes. However, it also demonstrates the unrealistic and impractical nature of expecting an adequate self-financed development to be achieved by low income people with very little or no margins for saving and with no access to external credit and/or assistance.

The Tables below summarize some important points about the Villa El Salvador Project.

TABLE 5 - Some critical factors which affected the project.

Project Funding	Implementing Organization	Weakness	Strength
Land, credit facilities, and self-finance	Government/SINAMOS highly sympathetic	Successful until government support withdrawn	Devolved power to local level, and integrated development approach

TABLE 6 - Objectives and actual participation.

Empowering	Capacity Building	Effectiveness	Efficiency	Cost Sharing
OA*	OA	—	O	OA

O = Objectives of community participation
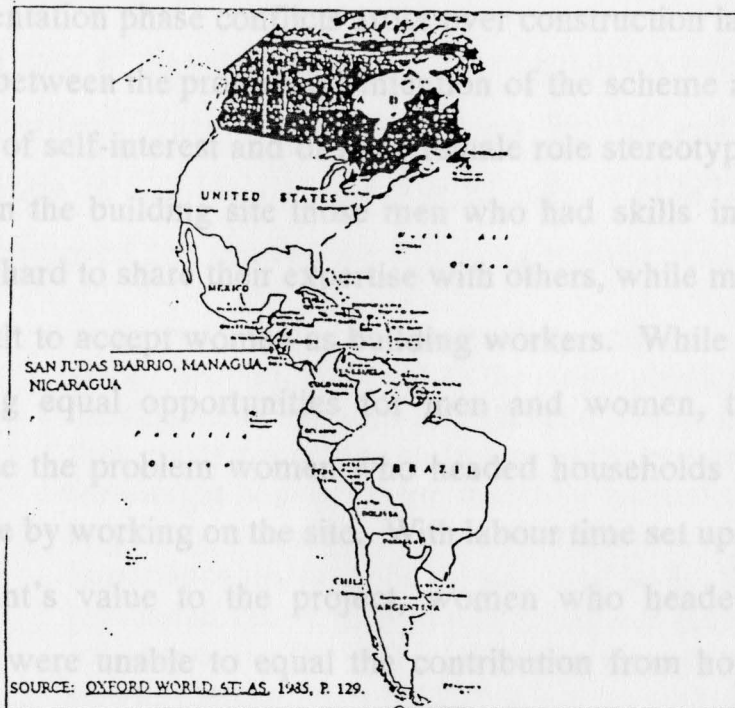A = Actual community participation occurred
A* = Actual community participation occurred but was later suppressed

SAN JUDAS BARRIO PROJECT, MANAGUA, NICARAGUA - 1980

The objective for the project was to empower the community and to self-build 60 houses in Managua, Nicaragua (February 1980 - July 1980). Although this started as a classic 'bottom-up' project in which a barrio committee (the basic unit of local democracy set up after the Sandinista triumph) persuaded a church NGO (CONFER) to fund a housing project, CONFER insisted that the grant be administered by the Department of Home Improvement in the Ministry of Housing; thus involving the national government.[59]

CONFER issued clear guidelines to the effect that the project should not only enable the community to build their homes, but it should also consolidate popular participation through community organization. Beneficiaries were to be encouraged to participate at all levels of planning and the execution of the housing scheme, with responsibilities for management and decision-making shared by the membership, and not reserved to the leadership. These guidelines were in keeping with the ideology of participation endorsed by the National Government (The

Sandinista National Liberation Front) at the time, and therefore were warmly received by the Ministry of Housing.[60]

UNITED STATES

MEXICO

SAN JUDAS BARRIO, MANAGUA, NICARAGUA

BRAZIL

CHILE
ARGENTINA

SOURCE: OXFORD WORLD ATLAS, 1985, P. 129.

CONFER played no part in the formulation or evaluation of the scheme; it was the community that carried out all those responsibilities. The neighborhood committee took the collective decision to reduce design specifications in order to increase the number of beneficiaries by twenty-five percent. Repayment was limited, amounting to ten percent of the costs, and varying depending on the capacity to pay and calculated in terms of total household income.[61]

The only contentious problem arose in respect to cost sharing, that is, the labour inputs required by participants. It revealed conflicts in interpersonal dynamics, especially between men and women. The limitations

of community participation for 'equal' empowerment were the result of internal contradictions within the community; particularly attitudes respecting the role of women. Although it was the women who initiated the project, indeed the neighborhood leader was a woman, nevertheless at the implementation phase conflicts arose over construction labour. This exposed the gap between the progressive intention of the scheme and some prevailing realities of self-interest and of male/female role stereotyping.[62]

On the building site those men who had skills in construction work found it hard to share their expertise with others, while men in general found it difficult to accept women as building workers. While it was conceived as providing equal opportunities for men and women, the project did not recognize the problem women who headed households had in contributing their time by working on the site. With labour time set up as the measure of a participant's value to the project, women who headed households with children were unable to equal the contribution from households with both parents. This indicates a number of fundamental issues which need to be addressed in participatory projects, especially those aimed at empowerment. First, it calls for different equity criteria. Second, the need for training that addresses the problems and the recognition of division of labour; and finally, the importance of child care facilities in mobilizing women's participation. The critical mechanism for threshing out some of these problems was the weekly meeting which was often 'heated', with attendance obligatory and the sanction of poor attendance meant loss of priority in the order of house allocations.[63]

The project included important training components undertaken separately for both project beneficiaries and project officials. The training was seen as interactive in the planning and implementation processes. The

parties involved in the project discovered that at the local level, participatory self-help takes time to develop. Therefore,flexibility and commitment on the part of the project staff is critical. Political will on the side of the state to transfer power and channel resources to community groups is important for the success of a participatory project. [64]

In spite of the problem of cost-sharing that occurred at the initial stage of the project, Vance, I., "More than Bricks and Mortar: Women's Participation in Self-Help Housing in Managua" (1987), concluded that the project improved and showed the following positive results:

> First, that the women successfully acquired construction skills. Second, that despite the major physical and ideological constraints experienced by low income women, they made a major contribution to the construction of forty-eight houses; third, that they gradually succeeded in gaining acceptance by men of their presence and importance on the building site; and lastly, that they persuaded the various ministry officials responsible for overseeing the project that they were capable of skilled manual labour.[65]

The San Judas Barrio project was small in size compared to the preceding three projects reviewed. However, given the commitment of the Sandinista government at the time to empowerment, the size of a project would have perhaps not affected the strategy for empowerment. The project illustrates a number of important points about participatory projects. First, that government's support for empowerment and equal participation by all members of the community at every level of the project is vital. It also illustrates that it is equally important to understand existing socio-economic structures of the community and to put in place mechanisms that can enhance equal opportunities for community participation. This issue (women-men stereotyping) may still be unspoken stumbling blocks in a large number of

projects. Second, it is the learning process in participatory projects that has the capability of leading to human development. Overcoming attitudes towards women as construction workers demonstrates this point. Third, there is need for flexibility in participatory projects; because for participation to lead to empowerment and action, 'enough time' is required. Finally, projects which do not "over-emphasize" loan payment perhaps have better potential for higher participation.

The Tables below summarize some important points about the San Judas Barrio Project.

TABLE 7 - Some critical factors which affected the project.

Project Funding	Implementing Organization	Weakness	Strength
Grant plus land	Government highly sympathetic	Unable to develop repayment system on housing	Empowerment, community organization included women and men

TABLE 8 - Objectives and actual participation

Empowering Sharing	Capacity Building	Effectiveness	Efficiency	Cost
OA	OA	O	—	—

O = Objectives of community participation
A = Actual community participation occurred

Chapter Two End Notes

1. World Bank, Urbanization Sector Working Paper. Washington, D.C.: World Bank, 1972, p. 133.

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3. Galjart, B., "Counter-development." In: Community Development Journal, 1981, 21, 143.

4. Patrick McAuslan, Urban Land and Shelter for the Poor. London: International Institute for Environment and Development, 1985, Appendix 2, p. 156.

5. Republic of Zambia - Second Development Plan, 1972 - December 1976. Lusaka: Government Printers, p. 147, items 21, 22 and 24 specifically dealing with the provision of 70,000 service plots, and on p. 148 items 24, 25, 26 dealing specifically with the recognition of squatter areas and the procedures to follow in upgrading.

6. Bertha Turner and Andrew Maskrey, "Human Settlement of Zambia." In Bertha Turner, ed; Building Community. London Building Community Books, 1988, pp. 19-31.

7. Ibid. p. 16.

8. Ibid.

9. Rakodi, C., "The World Bank Experience: Mass Community Participation in the Lusaka Squatter Upgrading Project." In Moser, C., Evaluating Community Participation in Urban Development Project. London: Development Unit Working Paper, No. 14, 1983, p. 41.

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25. Republic of Zambia, op. cit. Introduction.

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31. Ibid., p. 123.

32. Ibid., pp. 125-7.

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35. Ibid., p. 134.

36. Michael, Bamber, op. cit. p. 217.

37. Ibid.

38. Ibid., p. 19.

39. Deneke, A. and Silva, M., op. cit.,p. 134.

40. Michael Bamberger, op. cit., p. 20.

41. Obviously many other factors such as efficiency project design to reduce cost levels also contribute to good cost-recovery position.

42. Michael Bamberger, op. cit., p. 22.

43. Ibid.

44. Deneke, A. and Silva, M., op. cit., p. 51.

45. IDRC/World Bank op. cit., p. 147.

46. Ibid.

47. Ibid., p. 148

48. Ibid. The political instability during 1980-81 increased the arrears to about 5% of the loan portfolio.

49.   Deneke, A. and Silva, M. op. cit. p. 69.

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51.   Ibid.

52.   Ibid., p. 133.

53.   Ibid., p. 132

54.   Ibid.

55.   Demeke, A. Silva, M. op. cit., p. 153.

56.   Ibid.

57.   Skinner, R. op. cit. p. 135.

58.   Ibid.

59.   Vance, I., "More than Bricks and Mortar: Women's participation in self-help housing in Managua, Nicaragua." In: Moser, C. and Peake,L., eds; Women, Human Settlement and Housing. London: Tavistock,1987, p. 150.

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62.   Ibid., p. 165.

63.   Ibid.

64.   Ibid.

65.   Ibid., 167.

CHAPTER THREE: SOME LESSONS ABOUT COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

The purpose of this chapter is to highlight some lessons that can be learned from the review of the case studies in particular, and participatory housing development in general. It is hoped that some of the lessons learned from this study will help correct some of the past and contemporary mistakes in the field.

NATIONAL GOVERNMENTS:
PROJECT SCALE AND EMPOWERMENT

For national governments, there is often a fundamental contradiction between lip service to participation for reasons of political expediency, and a real fear that grass-roots organization will lead to empowerment of local communities. As Villa El Salvador and San Judas projects reveal, national government commitment is essential to the success of the projects, and when withdrawn, as in the case of Lima, it has a detrimental effect on the project success.

The FUNDASAL project, which was large in scale, suggests that scale itself may not determine the particular rationale for including and enhancing genuine participation in a project. This, however, does not imply that the scale of a project might not influence government attitudes towards community participation, especially if the state fears participation of a large number of community members.

COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION AND THE STATE

It is theoretically feasible to construct a typology of explanations of state responses to community participation. The state's responses may be classified in terms of various criteria including its definitions of what participation entails, its perception of the possibility of "instability" and the degree to which it is willing to devolve power to local institutions. Obviously there are many more. In the following examination of state's response to community participation, four ideal modes may be identified.

"ANTI-PARTICIPATORY MODE"

The first mode is congruent with the Marxian and elite theories which hold that the state is not interested in the poor and that it supports neither community participation nor social development. Instead, the state acts on behalf of the ruling class, furthering their interests, the accumulation of wealth and the concentration of power. Efforts to mobilize the masses for participation will be seen as a threat and suppressed. Some proponents of this explanation of the state's response to community participation, particularly Hollnsteiner, M.R. (1982), qualify their arguments to suggest that, "the primary impediment to participation is the capitalist system itself and that once a revolutionary transformation of the society has taken place, mechanisms for the full participation of the people and the realization of their aspirations will emerge."[1]

It is however, not easy to support the view that "genuine" participation can take place only in a non-capitalist system. Besides, historical evidence suggests that some of the "non-capitalist" states have done worse in allowing and/or promoting participation in community development. As Wolfe, M.,

"Participation in Economic Development: A Conceptual Framework" (1982), has observed ,

> post-revolutionary regimes often resort to the same
> anti-participatory tactics they previously opposed and
> that a new class of functionaries emerges to wield power
> and manipulate grass-roots movements.[2]

"MANIPULATIVE MODE"

Here, the state supports community participation but does so for ulterior motives. Among these are a desire to use community participation for the purposes of political and social control and a recognition that community participation can reduce the costs of social development programmes and facilitate implementation. This view of the state's responses to community participation is influenced by both the elitist and corporatist theories which emphasize the capacity of the state to subvert and co-opt autonomous movements and to preserve its own power. Although "genuine" social benefits may accrue to the poor, they nevertheless remain dependent on "top-down" transfer of resources and fail to realize their potential for autonomous co-operative action.[3]

According to Mould, P., "Rural Improvement Through Communal Labour" (1966), another form of manipulative participation occurs when:

> the state sponsors community participation for
> instrumental reasons. Many governments
> employ the rhetoric of participation to recruit
> labour for development projects without
> involving the people in decision-making.[4]

The proponents of community participation condemn this practice, not only because it is undemocratic and suppresses local initiative, but because it often leads to "abuse".

"INCREMENTAL MODE"

The incremental mode is characterized by official support for community participation ideas but also by a laissez-faire or ambivalent approach to implementation that fails to support local activities properly or to ensure that participatory institutions function effectively. In this mode, state politics are usually vaguely formulated, poorly implemented and lacking in determination. Here, governments do not formulate comprehensive development policies, "preferring" instead to 'muddle through on an ad hoc basis, towards the attainment of loosely formulated development goals. While governments may not oppose community participation, they fail to provide the necessary backing to ensure its realization.[5]

Perhaps a common cause of incremental community participation is policy and administrative ineffectiveness. Many government sponsored community participation programs fail because of the inertia of the centralized state apparatus with its bureaucratic procedures, inefficiency, inflexibility and remoteness. The United Nations, Popular Participation as a Strategy for Promoting Community Level Action (1981), observed that, "the tendency towards centralization in many developing countries has created a complex administrative system that is inimical to community participation."[6]

"PARTICIPATORY MODE"

In this mode, the state fully approves of community participation and responds by creating mechanisms for the effective involvement of local communities in all aspects of development. In addition to creating "genuine" community level political institutions, the state sponsors participatory activities through the training and deployment of community workers, the provision of materials and other forms of assistance and the co-ordination of central, regional, and local decisions through comprehensive national planning.[7]

For the proponents of community participation, it is hoped that their efforts will make the governments in developing countries adopt the participatory stance. How do these likely state responses apply to the review of the four participatory projects?

"STATE RESPONSES" AND THE REVIEW OF THE FOUR PARTICIPATORY HOUSING PROJECTS:

These are ideal typical responses which may not fit the situation in all countries or completely describe any situation, also, combinations or variations of these responses may occur. Nevertheless, the typology is of value in classifying and analyzing the ways governments react towards community participation activities in developing nations. These responses affect the roles of professional planners and those involved in participatory community planning. Professional planners and other facilitators of participatory planning require a clear understanding of the environment under which they operate, and should possess the necessary skills to promote participation under such conditions.

In the review of the four participatory urban housing projects, the Lusaka Project may be regarded as manipulative. In this project the objective of community participation was not to involve the community in decision-making (although it was expressed by the state that the community was to be involved in decision-making as well), but rather in project implementation; because of the objective of cost-sharing. It may be said that the people were involved where their labour could be best exploited; they were, therefore, suppliers of cheap labour, although they would also "benefit" from housing. However, "benefitting" from a project does not mean that ordinary people have control over their own affairs. It is the effective devolution of power to local communities to decide and act on matters that affect their welfare that should be at the centre of the philosophy of community participation. And it is this element that is conspicuously absent from many community participation programmes. The Lusaka Project also contained some elements of the anti-participatory mode; especially regarding the so-called one-party participatory democracy, which inhibits participatory process.

The FUNDASAL Project had some elements of the incremental mode; as far as government's direct assistance to the project was concerned. While the state did not oppose active community participation, it did not make substantial contributions to enhance the participatory process, except through its political support for the project. It was FUNDASAL that promoted community participation from capacity building to empowerment. However, following the 1979 coup, the response of the state to community participation radically changed and became anti-participatory. The suppression of the process of empowerment after the coup perhaps

contributed to the World Bank's justification for its 'anti-participatory' stance.

In the Villa El Salvador project, the initial response of the state to community participation was manipulative. The objective of community participation was for social and political legitimacy of the "radical left-wing" military regime. However, since the regime did not see any contradiction between its objective of community participation for legitimization and providing for empowerment, the response of the state combined both the manipulative and some elements of participatory mode. With the seizure of power by a right-wing group in 1975, the response of the state to community participation became anti-participatory. The process of empowerment and an integrated community approach were suppressed.

In the San Judas Barrio Project, the state response to community participation was participatory. This was in keeping with the political philosophy promoted by the Sandinista regime; especially following the overthrow of a totalitarian and autocratic regime. Throughout the project cycle, the government (through the initial support of CONFER a local NGO), provided and supported the objective of community participation for empowerment. It was through this support that the initial vertical relationship between men and women, and "skilled" and "unskilled" community members was significantly improved. However, since the government provided only land, expertise and political support, it may be argued that its response also had some elements of incremental mode.

REGIME MECHANISMS TO RESTRICT EMPOWERMENT

The most important constraint faced by implementing agencies is clearly political. Where community participation is decentralized and local

control is feared by some national governments, agencies are unable to adequately include participation components in projects. One widely known strategy has been to accept participation in setting project objectives but not to provide the political and financial support to ensure their success.[8] It is important to remember that commitment at the rhetorical level by governments does not in itself ensure successful participation. As Rakodi, C., "The World Bank Experience" (1983), has argued in the case of the Lusaka Project:

> In Zambia there is a potential for contradiction
> in the explicit commitment of public
> participation in decision-making in a political
> system in which the party decision-making
> powers are supreme and criticism is rarely
> interpreted as a constructive activity.[9]

It could be argued that donor agencies, such as the World Bank, try to avoid this problem through their agreements with the state; for instance, the World Bank stated that, "wider social objectives must be defined internally within the country." Other agencies, such as United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) have recognized more explicitly that governments are not in the business of devolving power:

> It should be emphasized that low income housing
> projects are not executed in a vacuum but are
> elements of national, social and economic
> development for which governments bear the
> main responsibility. Therefore, community
> participation implies that the community takes
> part in the execution of a project, together with
> project staff, it does not mean that the community
> should 'take over' the project.[10]

Although it has changed its policy from welfare oriented children's programmes to programmes involving mothers as well -- and finally to those

including the environment in which women and children live, UNICEF still often "avoids this problem" by concentrating on the "politically non-threatening" group of children and mothers, and identifying participation in welfare terms of bringing women into development as better mothers. UNICEF endorses a particular direction of policy in community participation without 'getting involved' in the internal politics of the host nation.[11]

THE LIMITS OF EMPOWERMENT WITHOUT GOVERNMENT SUPPORT

It is important to recognize that some projects have successfully included capacity building and empowerment as objectives of community participation without government commitment. It is perhaps no coincidence that such projects have most often been undertaken by NGOs.

It is important to indicate that the NGOs can often be a critical intermediary between government or multilateral agencies and communities. For a number of reasons relating to ideology, organization and scale (although scale did not hinder FUNDASAL's success), they can reach low income communities precisely because they are far more realistic about the potential and limitations of such work. In contrast to this, government implementing agencies often become disillusioned or frustrated once they experience what community participation is really about in terms of the time, effort and compromises it involves.

"TECHNICAL" AGAINST "SOCIAL" COMPONENTS OF THE PROJECTS

At the organizational level there is often a fundamental contradiction between technical and non-technical aspects of projects. 'Economic' rather than 'social' components of projects are seen as determining project viability or success. This is manifested both in the organizational structure of the implementing agency, and in the attitudes of staff at the different stages of the project cycle.

In the case of low income housing projects, as was illustrated by the Lusaka project, this contradiction arises from the widespread belief that the projects are essentially technical in nature, with the 'social' aspects, which include community participation, being considered of secondary importance to the project success. The consequence is that the 'technical' departments of implementing agencies have more power and status than those dealing with 'social aspects.' This is reflected not only in budget allocations, but also in the numbers of skills of staff employed, with engineers, architects, economists and planners greatly outnumbering sociologists, anthropologists or social workers.

THE STATUS AND TRAINING OF SOCIAL STAFF

The problem between the technical and non-technical aspects is frequently compounded by sexual inequality in the division of labour. In most countries the engineers who control the technical departments are mainly senior men, while community development and social workers in the social division tend more to be junior women. This only serves to reinforce the attitude among bureaucrats that the 'social' components of projects are of

lesser importance. This is generally more of a problem at the organizational level than in the community.[12]

Since the social aspects of urban housing are frequently considered of lesser importance than the technical aspects, there is a lack of recognition that community participation requires specialized training. As Skinner, R., "Community Participation: Its Scope and Organization" (1983), has commented; "---the working approaches of professional staff who have been trained in conventional housing techniques which involve little, if any, popular participation, have little idea how to incorporate it into planning."[13]

The same criticism can be applied to planners and social workers trained in traditional case work techniques, as well as to community development personnel schooled in top-down paternalistic approaches to community participation. A clear example of the irrelevance of the training of community workers is illustrated by the Lusaka Project in which AFSC and UNICEF used the outdated texts from books on Community Development Techniques by T.B. Batten.

While a diversity of training is required for each of the different actors involved in project planning and implementation, a useful distinction can be made between the following two. First, consultants and others involved in project design require sensitizing to the fact that social and economic aspects of the project are equally important, and that experts from both disciplines should be involved in project design, as well as in decision-making through community participation. Second, technical staff such as engineers, architects, economists and planners involved in project implementation require sensitizing to the fact that they must work as equal partners with the community and those involved in the 'social' aspects of the project. Recognition must be given to the skills of social workers,

community workers, anthropologists and sociologists who are frequently involved in social works with the community. While there are a large number of skills to be acquired, it should be achieved through a two-way relationship with technical, 'non-technical' people and the community learning from one another. It is the learning process that has the potential of empowering the parties, thus leading to meaningful community development.

HOMOGENEITY IN COMMUNITIES?

While technicians involved in participatory projects need to understand social aspects of projects, professionals working in communities need to recognize that there are a number of contradictions at the community level. Firstly, there is sometimes a degree of 'homogeneity' required to develop an effective local level of organization, and the socio-economic and political heterogeneity which actually exists in communities. The Villa el Salvador project shows that lack of cohesiveness can be overcome as long as there is commitment and appropriate mechanisms are put in place. Communities are comprised of individuals who may differ in their desires to become involved or who are constrained by various factors from actively participating and/or have different motivations. Also people become involved to a lesser or greater degree at different times and in response to different issues. Sociological factors are also relevant: obviously communities that are fragmented into different factions or divided by culture, ethnicity, religion or other allegiances may not cooperate as effectively as those that are cohesive and well integrated. Individualism generated by survival strategies of some low income populations may also

undermine collective solidarity necessary for the basis of community organization.

Secondly, there is a contradiction between the assumed homogeneity of family structure and stereotype sexual division of labour. The San Judas Barrio Project, Managua illustrates some of the contradictions inherent in some existing social structure. It also shows how some of the problems respecting male/female relationships and the division of labour can be minimized through dialogue and regular community meetings. It should, however, be remembered that the government was committed to the principle and practice of 'equal' opportunities for participation for empowerment.

COMMUNITY LEVEL TRAINING

The extent to which the community requires training is a much debated issue. The Villa el Salvador showed that a population with little formal education can establish and manage such complex institutions as a bank, a material store and a cultural centre using audio-visual equipment. Equally, the Lusaka project showed that residents can guide planners in such apparently 'technical' operations as road routing.[14] Nevertheless, there are specific skills relevant to project objectives which the community should be trained in. These may include such basic skills as running meetings, keeping minutes, filing, issues relating to the project proposal and loan conditions, and understanding of the planning process.

IMPORTANCE OF WOMEN IN COMMUNITY PARTICIPATORY PROJECTS

The importance of including women in community participation in development projects has varied, and has reflected general changes in policy approaches towards low income women. The San Judas project explicitly attempted to empower women as equal members of the society. It recognized their subordinate role in society, and as such tried to reduce the nature of inequality between men and women through joint building groups. As the review of the project indicated, this met with initial resistance in the community, but changed as the project progressed and new equity criteria were put in place.

Changing attitudes about the relationship between men and women is obviously a highly sensitive issue, with wide cultural variations, even when "incorporated into national strategy." Nevertheless, it is a critical issue to address at all levels of training, if projects are not simply to continue to reinforce the "traditional vertical" relations between men and women.

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS

At the local level several types of organizations exist with differing implications for community participatory projects. In some communities, no organizations exist at all; in such a situation an organization may be created. How an organization is created will ultimately influence project outcome. In other cases one organization may cover the entire area while the most common form is that a number of often overlapping organizations exist. "Funding" bodies involved in urban housing projects make different choices when selecting the local organization with which to work; more often than not,the choice of which organization to work with depends on the objective

for participation. In communities where organizations already exist, they may "choose" to work with them even when they actually do not represent the interests of the community. Thus, in the Lusaka Project, the authorities worked with the political party even though it lacked representativeness.

COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP*

A clear understanding of the issue of local leadership in mobilizing the community, articulating their needs, resolving conflicts and getting things done in a collective and democratic manner is paramount. "The influence that individual leaders may have in encouraging participation, and in successfully channelling it to the benefit of all members is an important variable in its own right."[15] As Cornelius, W. (1987) "Contemporary Mexico: A Structural Analysis of Urban Casismo" remarked:

---anyone who does extended field work in squatter settlements or related to low income zones in Latin American cities cannot fail to be impressed by the importance of leadership differences in accounting for the developmental trajectories of each settlement. There appears to be strong relationships between leadership performance and differences in the outcomes of decision-making experiences, the length of time needed to accomplish certain developmental objectives, the quality of relationships maintained between a settlement and political and governmental agencies, and the level of internal organization within a settlement overtime---[16]

In a situation where new leadership has to emerge as was the case in the Villa el Salvador project, there is a need to avoid concentration of power

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* Although the question of community leadership has not been directly addressed in the review, its significance warrants a comment. For an analysis of the different types of leadership in self-help housing see, Peter Ward and Sylvia Chant, "Community Leadership and Self-Help Housing." In Diamond, D. and McLoughlin, B. eds.; Progress in Planning, vol. 27, part 2, 1987.

in the hands of a few individuals because it has the potential of blocking community input in decision-making. The way the Villa el Salvador project allowed the community to elect their representatives and to remove them whenever the community lost confidence in them is perhaps an appropriate way of promoting accountability of the leaders to the community.

GRANTS OR LOANS

There are fundamental differences between projects which are financed through repayable loans and those which are based on grants, with important implications for community participatory component sin the project. In any review of community participation, this is probably one of the most critical issues, yet it is most often obscured by lack of sufficiently detailed information, especially since projects increasingly rely on both loans and grants.

Although terms of maturity (repayment) on loans may differ, the economic marginalization of developing nations in particular makes accessibility to and affordability of projects funded on loans extremely difficult. Since qualification for participation in such projects is dependent on one's financial position, loans by their very nature inhibit community participation. Grants on the other hand, whether general (available for any type of expenditure) or selective (tied to specific uses), can provide an opportunity for community participation -- as repayment is not a crucial factor. However, matching grants may create problems for participatory projects, especially if the recipient government or community is unable to match such grants.

One of the biggest problems in World Bank funded projects is its requirement for predetermined total spending commitments and

implementation time which are obviously heavy impositions for communities with low and uncertain incomes. The necessity for more flexible repayment systems will not only promote participation, but it will also make housing projects more accessible to those in need.

THE QUESTION OF LAND

In many low income urban communities, the provision of "free land" has been the basis for the development of entirely self-supporting projects. As it was in the case of the Villa el Salvador project and the San Judas project, land was provided and its tenure was legalized. The history of both "bottom-up" community mobilization and spontaneous squatter settlement formation indicates* that, for many communities, land ownership is an important condition for genuine community participation. This suggests the necessity for governments to review legislation on the management and use of government owned land, which in many cases is increasingly used by governments themselves to make speculative gains similar to those of private land holders.

THE FUNDING OF EXPERTS AND
COMMUNITY SUPPORT STAFF

Many projects, especially those initiated or supported by NGOs, recognize the need for the injection of the minimum amount of resources to encourage self-reliant development . This should be clearly defined as a project objective so that some funds can be spent on the adequate payment of

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*   For this and more information see John Turner, "Barriers and Channels for Housing Development in Modernizing Countries." In <u>Journal of the American Institute of Planners.</u> 1967, 33, p. 168.

professionally trained staff and/or local personnel to assist the community in developing their project.

Although professionals play a vital role in participatory projects and require "adequate pay", every effort should be made to encourage self-reliance and eliminate the state of cyclical dependency on "outsiders". Identifying existing skills in a community and training the community to acquire relevant and new skills must therefore form an important part of the project objective. This is the only way to avoid the contradiction between using outside experts and the need for community self-reliance.

The funding of both professional and local staff recognizes that the long-term development of the community through community participation, neither necessarily starts spontaneously nor continues in a self-sustained manner without enormous work and patience, which must be financially rewarded if those commited to its success are able to devote the necessary time. For, in the longer term, those professionals who have the necessary skills required by the project should be paid for their work. At the same time, local participants from the community equally cannot survive by working full-time in a voluntary capacity. This is an issue that those involved in participatory community projects should address.

A COMMUNITY-BASED INTEGRATED APPROACH?

Although genuine community participation in housing projects has the potential of empowering the community thus leading to actions that will ultimately enhance human development, there is need for an integrated community development that puts in place income generating activities as a means of improving the social and economic standards of the community. This will ensure the socio-economic viability of the community. The Villa El

Salvador project came close to realizing an integrated development approach; but with the change of government in 1975, the community bank and local enterprises that had been put in place declined.

DEFINING THE TARGET GROUP/S IN HOUSING PROJECTS

An important issue in the discussion of housing is the question of who are to be the beneficiaries- the 'target group'. Generalized definitions are always prone to difficulties, but in my view, the 'target group in development housing' is that element of society which finds itself incapable of entering the formal housing market because of the basic lack of economic resources. The formal housing market, for rent or for sale, is that market in which housing is available at acceptable space, environmental and health standards, which has full title, and which has an adequate provision of infrastructure. The target group for urban development is often delineated as the lower 50% of income-distribution profile, but this definition is an arbitrary rule-of-thumb and should be varied according to local circumstances. A typical household income profile in the poorer nations of the developing world will show a high concentration of income/wealth amongst the wealthiest 5-15%, with a broad decline between the 15th and 85th percentiles.

It is, of course, one matter to define them, but entirely another to make sure that they are the ones whom the benefits of the development project actually reach. There are a number of characteristics of a target group that are important. Some are concerned with lifestyle and with preferences for the physical conditions of their surroundings. Others, of concern here, relate to their economic circumstances. Firstly, it is important to establish what the basic social unit is which occupies the housing unit- is it a nuclear family, or wider extended family, in which the unit streches over a number of

generations- children, parents, and grandparents. Whatever the particular form the 'household' takes, it needs to be seen as an indivisible unit requiring economic sustenance, and able to provide from its collective financial resources for shelter, food, education, travel, clothing, and other necessities of life.

ASSESSING AFFORDABILITY IN HOUSING PROJECTS.

To establish what level of cost for new or improved shelter could be supported by households requires a considerable understanding and insight into the lifestyle of the target group: their total earnings, security of the principal and secondary sources of income; their savings, and their capacity to save at all; the spending patterns of the group, and the importance, expressed as a proportion of total income, they attach to new or improved shelter provision. The actual amounts affordable are a function firstly of the amount of household or family income. Considerable care has to be taken not only to try to achieve a realistic assessment of incomes, but to make adequate allowance for the fact that, within broad socially defined categories of the 'poor', there are wide differences in actual incomes, resulting in equally wide variations in ability to afford absolute amounts. As a general rule, within the lower income groups the lower the income of the household, the smaller the proportion of income that can conceivably be set aside for housing. A greater proportion has to be allowed for food and other essentials.

Savings cannot be presumed to be available for investment in shelter; they may have been made for entirely different purposes. Savings will normally be the substitute for insurance against sickness and incapacity through old age.

Nevertheless in some countries where climatic conditions require a high level of investment in thermal protection, such as Iran or Turkey, security of adequate housing induces some households to devote more than 50% of total income to rent. Climate is only one, arguably small, element in the formulation of household budgets. Cost of food as a proportion of income, and the dependability and continuity of income, are by far the principal determinants of resources available for shelter. The point is, the proportion of income that can be assumed to be available should be derived from the local conditions- economic primarily, but also climatic and cultural. It is, therefore, imperative to indicate that the assumption that 20% or 25% of income (as was the case in the Lusaka Project and is also a common assumption the World Bank makes when funding housing projects in developing nations) can be assumed to be available for housing from the poor, needs very careful evaluation in the light of prevailing social, cultural, and economic circumstances.

Household incomes are always difficult to measure, and usually impossible to record accurately. This is not of course to say that the world is a universally dishonest place. However, whilst records may be available of the earnings of the principal income-earners in regular employment, they normally will not be available with any degree of accuracy or reliability for the supplementary incomes earned by spouses, children, grandparents, or if the principal earner is self-employed. Often these supplementary incomes are 'dismissed as being insignificant'; however, it is usually a vital supplement to an inadequate or insecure principal income.

Finally, the effect of inflation has to be introduced. If, for inflationary reasons, the earnings of a household may be expected to rise from one year to the next, the actual year-by-year proportions of income represented by fixed

amounts of the loan repayment will decrease. This is an important factor which requires serious attention, especially since most developing nations are faced with this predicament. Perhaps, if this issue had been given considerable attention in the Lusaka Project, the question of affordability and loan recovery would have been different.

WHAT HAPPENED IN THE PROJECTS

The table below summarizes the objectives and actual participation in the projects reviewed:

TABLE 9 - Critical factors which affected projects reviewed

Project	Project funding	Implementing	Weaknesses	Strength
Lusaka,Zambia	Loan	Highly technical	No real participation, outdated training technique, poorly maintained housing, monthly payment too high	Provision of housing
FUNDASAL	Loan	Committed to real community participation and very socially oriented	Limited government support	Capacity building, empowerment, and housing
Villa El Salvador	Loan plus self-finance Highly sympathetic	Government/ SINAMOS	Successful until government support withdrawn	Devolved power to local level, and integrated development approach
San Judas Barrio	Grant plus land	Government highly sympethetic	Unable to develop repayment system on housing	Empowerment and community organization included women and men

TABLE 10   **Objectives and actual community participation in projects reviewed**

	Empowering	Capacity Building	Effectiveness	Efficiency	Cost Sharing
<u>World Bank</u>					
1. Lusaka					OA
2. FUNDASAL	A	O A	A	O	—
<u>Government</u>					
Villa el Salvador	O A*	O A	—	O	OA
San Judas	O A	O A	O	—	—

O = Objectives of community participation

A = The Actual community participation occurred

A* = Actual community participation occurred but was later suppressed

Chapter Three End Notes

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12. UNCHS, op. cit., p. 15.

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14. Rakodi, C., p. 31.

15. Peter Ward and Sylvia Chant, "Community Leadership and Self-Help Housing." In Diamond, D. and McLoughlin, B., Progress in Planning. Vol. 27, part 2, 1987, p. 173.

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CONCLUSION: THE WAY AHEAD

In the forgoing analysis, attempts have been made to show that community participation is a popular concept, yet complex and controversial. Drawing inspiration from a variety of philosophical, and ideological antecedents, contemporary community participation concepts attempt to combine elements of Western community work, community development movements of the 1950s and 1960s, and practical experience from developing countries to articulate a set of propositions for the active involvement of ordinary people in the development process. Contemporary community participation ideals are being extensively promoted in various fields of development.

Unlike the community development approach, the new concept of community participation involves an aggressive critique of existing power structures and the conditions of the underprivileged; and requires a far more direct role for ordinary people in deciding and collectively acting on matters that affect their welfare.

COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION FOR EMPOWERMENT

As I demostrated in this study, community participation for empowernment is the way to go because it puts human development at the centre of development strategies. Its implementation requires a radically new approach to development; it requires the mobilization of the community, institution building, capacity building, consciousness raising, and collective actions to attack the root causes of contemporary underdevelopment. Community participation for empowerment is an on-

going process. It takes time and requires flexibility and patience. For community participation for empowernment to germinate and blossom, socio-economic and political power must be devolved to local communities. "Technical" and "non-technical" expertise and funding must also be made available to communities.

As I indicated in the study, community participation for empowernment requires the commitment of the state to a "people's centered development", otherwise, it will either be denied or suppressed. The Villa El Salvador Project illustrates a fundamental aspect of community participation for empowernment; that is, once put in place, it cannot be limited to the sphere of a project or a "local community". It is, therefore, imperative that those interested in pursuing the approach know how to put the process in place and understand its broader implications.

NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS AND COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

In the Second Chapter, I mentioned that voluntary organizations can be more effective in promoting genuine community participation because they can be innovative and adaptable. The case of FUNDASAL (non-profit organization), CUAVES (in the Villa El Salvadore project), and CONFER (local NGO - San Judas Project) illustrate this point. Voluntary organizations have often pioneered new approaches to community development and community participation and they can more readily test new ideas and reformulate existing approaches. Innovation and "experimentation" are unlikely in government organizations which are bureaucratic and resistant to change. In other words, vested state interest in maintaining the status quo may conflict with radical community change

through empowerment. Likewise, the World Bank with its inflexible "economic" objective of community participation in projects (except to some extent, in the case of the FUNDASAL) in projects, cannot promote community participation for empowerment. That is not to suggest that, governments, government organizations, and the World Bank should not acquire a new and fundamentally different approach to community participation. If they are interested in human development, then there is no escape from adapting a new and "progressive" position.

While it is undoubtedly true that non-governmental organizations have played a major role in the promotion of community participation (as discussed briefly in chapters one, two and three), it cannot be claimed that their involvement has been faultless. Indeed, the use of some of these organizations in promoting community participation has a number of drawbacks which have not always been recognized and which may, in fact, mitigate against the emergence of community participation for empowerment/authentic forms of community participation.

Much has often been said of the non-bureaucratic character of voluntary agencies and their flexibility and adaptability. While there is truth in this assertion, it is fallacious to conclude that bureaucratically organized management structures and the use of rules and regulations is a distinctive feature of governmental bodies. Many voluntary organizations, especially the larger ones, function bureaucratically and use formal procedural rules to carry out their tasks. These elements characterize organizations of all kinds and are not confined to public bodies only. Similarly, while flexibility and innovation have typified a good deal of voluntary enterprise, it cannot be argued that all non-governmental bodies are of this type. Indeed there are some voluntary organizations that are prone to ossification, particularly if

they are headed by leaders who are unresponsive to new ideas and view innovation as a threat to their authority. There is, therefore, need for non-governmental organizations to re-examine their own structures and operations and rid themselves of the criticisms labelled against bureaucratic procedures, rigidity and lack of innovation.

It can also be argued that an excessive reliance on these organizations actually impedes the realization of community participatory development; it may lead to a state of entrenched dependency and wastage. For example, some voluntary sectors may suffer from a perennial problem of malcoordination and duplication of services. Some leaders of these organizations may be blissfully unaware that this is happening and sometimes appear to be unconcerned that this form of wastage is causing problems and retarding community participatory development.

A related problem is that many voluntary organizations suffer from lack of continuity. Often new programmes are launched with enormous enthusiasm but after a time, this dissipates and local communities are left with unfinished projects and unfulfilled promises. These factors cause disillusionment and resentment and hinder the promotion of real participatory activities.

Perhaps, a major drawback in advocating the use of non-governmental rather than governmental organizations in community participatory projects is the inability of the voluntary sector to redistribute resources. Voluntary organizations may be able to allocate considerable resources to a deprived community, but they are seldom able to shift resources between groups on a sizeable scale. This is not only because of the territorial localization of much voluntary effort, but more importantly, because these organizations have no

mandatory mechanisms for transferring resources from the wealthier sections of society to fund programmes for the poorest groups.

It is, therefore, imperative that non-governmental organizations should review their roles respecting community participatory development (also see Appendix IV, P139) It is coordination of efforts rather than wasteful competition for prominency that should guide the activities of these organizations in participatory development. The role of the state to mobilize and redistribute resources is vital for the enhancement of community participation for empowerment; thus, the need for working together rather than advocating the exclusion of the state and its agencies from participatory projects. However, the inclusion must be based on real commitment to community participation for empowerment.

PROFESSIONAL PLANNERS AND PARTICIPATION

On the role of professional planners in community participation for empowerment, I will mention a few areas of concern that require consideration. Those who know how planning takes place in developing nations are aware of existing communication gaps between planners and the public/community. This is not just a difficulty relating to language and nomenculture, but more importantly, it points to the attitudes and training of planners. In my view, this problem partly reflects the fact that many professional planners in developing nations have been trained abroad, often in major planning schools of western Europe and North America, which are located in major metropolitan areas. This gives rise to the likelihood of what may be referred to as "cultural collisions" between the planning needs in developing nations on the one hand and the "conventional wisdoms" and

accepted solutions of industrialized nations on the other hand. These may occur principally via the importation of inappropriate and frequently "over-sophisticated" planning models. This is likely to be reflected in two fashions. First, planners may come to regard western-style solutions and standards as the norm and apply them in extremely divergent cultural, social and environmental circumstances with insufficient critical appraisal of their true worth. Second, a predisposition to adopt complex techniques for the apparent sophistication and "scientific objectivity" that they bestow upon the user, often results in planning techniques that are out of touch with the reality. This illustrates the need to overcome the "cult of the experts" in planning; the cult that is alien, inappropriate and inhibits participatory planning in particular and development planning in general. In other words, it is not professional and technical expertise per se that are required, but rather, appropriate application of relevant techniques.

Having been trained abroad,* planners become more of an elite, and may unwittingly take an increasingly perjorative view of those they are employed to serve, or at the very least, become increasingly distanced from them. This problem is linked to an area of concern frequently expressed. That is, whether the ordinary people know what they want and what good/proper planning is. More often than not, it is assumed that the public does not know what decisions lead to "good" planning. Consequently, the planners' role is to make informed decisions on behalf of the public. It is perhaps little wonder that inappropriate and/or unfortunate planning decisions are often reached which seem poorly suited to the needs of the people. The Lusaka project illustrates the attitudes which planners and other

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* Training in planning in developing nations should also be structured to reflect the need for direct and active participation of the public/community in planning. Dependency in developing countries is taken to the extreme; depending on alien techniques which do not suit local conditions.

"experts" involved in participatory development projects have towards the ordinary people; "a project designed by the World Bank requires substantial details of physical infrastructure, administrative arrangements and costs." These are the types of knowledge that the ordinary people are presumed to be lacking; hence they should be excluded from the decision-making process.

Another obstacle to genuine community participation is the argument that meaningful public/community participation results in slower and less efficient planning (see the Lusaka project). It is true that in most circumstances, participatory planning is likely to involve more paper work, more soul searching, and will probably be more costly and time consuming as a consequence. However, it does not mean that planning will thereby be rendered less efficient. If a somewhat more ponderous and more costly decision results in a more workable long-term plan, then this is obviously more efficient than a quickly delivered, cheap solution that is in the end found to be wanting. It is, therefore, imperative to indicate that successful achievement of participatory development planning may well depend on commitment and the careful selection of approaches that are relevant to local conditions prevailing in developing countries.

What should be done to improve the role of professional planners in participatory planning in developing countries? During their professional training, planners should be adequately exposed to the dynamics of development and participatory planning in developing countries. This calls for a more progressive approach to planning education, one not well satisfied by the present tradition of two years of graduate study (that is, at the masters level in North American Universities) with very limited practical field work in community development. Training of planners with skills relevant to the planning task in developing nations will require longer graduate study with a

firm background in development studies and/or social work. This will provide for holistic understanding of development issues, and techniques for analyzing and handling participatory community planning. There is, therefore, need for planning students to gain enough practical exposure to the practice of participatory planning in a wide rage of planning environments.

The planning practice of community participation for empowerment, requires planners to engage as professional advocates in the contentious work of promoting participation and influencing appropriate policies. However, positions of "advocate planners" who are employed by a government or project implementing agency can be complicated. That is, for whom are they advocates, for those who are left out of the planning process or for the interests of their employers? These questions reflect some timeless debates in the field of planning. However, in the quest for participation for empowerment, planners should act as advocates for the "powerless" and the "voiceless". This will require commitment to the process of participation for empowerment; it will also require skills in negotiation and conflict resolution.

Professional planners, because of their role in planning process, their facilitator and expert positions vis-a-vis community participation, and their expertise vis-a-vis the government or project implementing agency, are in a somewhat advantageous position to encourage community participation and help make participation for empowerment a successful contributor to human development and change process. To do so successfully, planners should discard elitist notions regarding their role in the planning process, and, above all, should acquire a new set of communication, human relations, and problem-solving skills. Only then will they be able to identify and successfully implement community participation for empowerment.

Perhaps a major problem professional planners encounter in involving a community in the planning process is that of defining the respective roles of the community, the planner, and the public official. Lack of clear definition of proper roles often causes unnecessary conflicts in situations that are already "adversary-oriented". In that respect, Table 11 will be of some help.

Planning process	Community	Planners	public official
Mobilization of community	M	M	M
Assessing community values	M	F	F
Determining goals and objectives	M	F	F
*Data collection and analysis	M	M	M
Informing/clarifying planning issues	F	M	F
Design criteria and standards	M	M	M
Developing alternative plan/strategy	M	M	F
Choosing an alternative	M	F	F
Detailed design of operational plan	M	M	M
Modification and approval of operational plan	M	M	F
Implementation	M	M	M
*Evaluation	M	F	F
Feedback	M	F	F

M= Major Role
F= Facilitating or Supporting Role
*= Participatory approach, that is, handling the responsibility with the community (see Appendix IV, p.139 on participatory research).

Within the above framework, the planner is an important player throughout the participatory process, especially in the steps of gathering data relevant to the goals and objectives, designing alternatives, developing criteria for choice of alternatives, developing and implementing the operational plan, and contributing to the feedback and modification process of the plan.

Table 11: Roles of community, planners and public official

Participation in the planning process

Planning process	Participants		
	Community	Planners	public official
Mobilization of community	M	M	M
Assessing community values	M	F	F
Determining goals and objectives	M	F	F
*Data collection and analysis	M	M	M
Informing/clarifying planning issues	F	M	F
Design criteria and standards	M	M	M
Developing alternative plan/strategy	M	M	F
Choosing an alternative	M	F	F
Detailed design of operational plan	M	M	M
Modification and approval of operational plan	M	M	F
Implementation	M	M	M
* Evaluation	M	F	F
Feedback	M	F	F

M= Major Role

F= Facilitating or Supporting Role

*= Participatory approach, that is, handling the responsibility with the community
(see Appendix IV, p.139 on participatory research).

Within the above framework, the planner is an important player throughout the participatory process, especially in the steps of gathering data relevant to the goals and objectives, designing alternatives, developing criteria for choice of alternatives, developing and implementing the operational plan, and contributing to the feedback and modification process of the plan.

In following this approach to community participatory planning, the planner and the community work very closely throughout the designing, planning, implementation and evaluation stages. Thus, while the community is the most important player and the main contributor in the delineation of values and goals, planners have an ancillary role in helping the community state its values. For example, the content of the values surveys sent out to the community by planners affect the values that will be chosen.

Planners should also help to organize and mobilize the community (institution building) while the values, goals, and objectives are being developed. In addition, planners should work with the community at the stage of approval and modification by providing technical assistance and advice. Finally, the planners and the community should work together on the final stage of implementation and feedback, with planners providing professional expertise and the community aiding them in this by ensuring that any changes are in accord with the goals of the community. In this approach, co-operation is significant, and the parties involved in the process will learn and be empowered to enhance community development and broaden the horizon of planning.

FUNDING AGENCIES AND PARTICIPATION

Any discussion of community participation in sites and settlement upgrading would be incomplete without a mention of funding agencies which, though not directly involved in grassroots work, have significantly influenced the practice of community participation. The World Bank, perhaps the most unlikely institution to adopt such a concept given its essentially "conservative" banking role, should top the list of funding

agencies on account of its heavy financial commitment. However, if housing and genuine community participation are considered fundamental aspects of human rights, then there is an urgent need to create a new lending institution; one that puts human needs before "economic rationale." Perhaps, governments should engage in bilateral and multi-lateral arrangements that promote housing and community participation as basic human rights.

APPENDIX I
WORLD BANK

Source: World Bank, **Housing Sector Policy Paper.** May, 1975, pp. 44-50

DIRECTIONS FOR WORLD BANK LENDING FOR URBAN HOUSING

The task of improving housing for large numbers of low-income dwellers in developing countries, and integrating their growing numbers in productive towns and cities at rising standards of living over the next 25 years, is clearly immense. In resource terms, the Bank Group's contribution to the improvement of housing conditions can only be limited. However, the Bank Group is facing growing demands for assistance for housing as urban development is becoming recognized as an urgent task, and such demands are likely to increase further as city growth continues. Experience in lending for shelter projects is short, but it already indicates that even limited involvement can have a significant impact in helping member countries find approaches to housing for the poor which are consonant with efficient urban growth. A continuing review of the Bank Group's assistance for housing, with particular attention to future needs, is therefore essential.

The Lending Framework

Bank Group assistance for urban housing is only meaningful in the context of an urban development program. Government policies and investment priorities have to support efforts to improve the employment prospects and living conditions of the poor. A single set of requirements for Bank Group involvement cannot be adopted because the circumstances of urban development and a government's freedom to act vary widely. Some

broad indications of government priorities may, however, be considered as indicative of a commitment to improve housing for the poor:

1.   The Bank Group should intervene only if the government has a commitment to help the urban poor. This should be reflected in a willingness to retain and upgrade existing low-income housing stock in slums and squatter areas, and to adopt realistic standards to bring new housing within the financial reach of the low-income groups.

2.   The government should be aware of the need for improved land management policies. To this end, it should be committed to clarifying land tenure and the means of obtaining security of tenure, particularly for the poor; improving the means of obtaining land for public sector use and mechanisms for resolving disputes in such instances; and reducing the betterment values vesting in private landholdings by full-cost pricing of services, land taxation and direct public sector involvement in the land market. Planning for future urban growth in relation to national development is an important aspect of land management.

3.   There should be an understanding of market imperfections, particularly those caused by government policies, and an indication of willingness to reduce them over time.

Squatter Upgrading and Sites and Services Projects

The analysis of the housing situation, and of the Bank Group's experience, both suggest that the upgrading of squatter housing to ensure the retention and improvement of existing housing stock, and the provision of serviced sites on which lower-income families may construct new housing for themselves by self-help methods, are prime lending instruments for more equitable urban development. Typically, this type of housing project

involves an examination of housing problems, land use and urban development for a city as a whole and in the context of a country's urban system to ensure efficient and equitable development. Technical assistance for urban policy formulation and execution, and to the entity executing the project, is also a very important part of this approach. As indicated in the previous chapter, the approach includes a broad range of activities: land development, land servicing, the provision of communal physical and social facilities, lending to project beneficiaries, and core housing construction.

The accumulation of experience in shelter projects has pointed up the complementarity of formal and self-help construction methods in providing housing for the poor. Thus, although the emphasis in squatter upgrading and sites and services projects is on self-help construction methods to take advantage of the availability of otherwise unutilized labor, all such projects also include some measure of formal construction. In squatter housing upgrading projects, some relatively high-density construction may be necessary to replace the minimum amount of housing removed during the physical upgrading process. In sites and services projects, the appropriate amount of formal construction varies with the project. Core housing construction may be necessary to provide for such technically difficult components as plumbing or heating ducts, and shock-resistant buildings in earthquake-prone areas. Demonstration construction is sometimes required to provide training for the self-help process, or indeed to persuade potential occupants that a project will get off the ground. In some countries, climate may necessitate core construction to give occupants adequate shelter while they complete their dwelling.

The continuing attempts to reduce costs to meet the capacity of the poor to pay highlight the importance of standards. For example, costs can

usually be lowered substantially by reducing living space within a dwelling unit and the land utilized by each unit. Single-storey detached, and even semidetached dwellings, may imply a higher level of land utilization than either poor families or rapidly growing, low-income cities can afford, even at the present city periphery. Row houses, and in some circumstances two-storey row houses, may provide a cheaper form of housing in areas where the private market operates well enough to reach down to low-income groups. Such housing would generally require some formal construction, though finishing could be left to self-help.

Selective Housing Construction

Past views of housing as an "unproductive" sector have tended to prejudice efforts to evaluate the merits of formal housing construction. Squatter housing upgrading and sites and services projects cannot always deal with the full range of housing problems confronted in the cities of developing countries. Low-income housing must be so located as to provide access to employment, including part-time or secondary jobs, for several family members if it is not to consign the low-income groups to perpetual poverty. Squatter area upgrading is limited to improving existing housing. Sites and services projects are more oriented toward handling the expansion of population, but they could in some circumstances involve such high land or transport costs that denser housing would be less costly in private and social terms.

To find the most appropriate housing solutions for low-income families, and for efficient urban development, it is necessary to consider the trade-offs between the costs of transport and housing (including land and utilities). Low-income families' ability to pay for housing and transport is

severely limited. In relatively small cities or where transport is, or can be made, efficient and cheap, it is frequently appropriate to develop low-cost land on or near the periphery, using the sites and services approach. In larger cities, more central, or intermediate, locations may be needed to provide access to earning opportunities for several family members. To bring the costs of such housing within reach of low-income groups would require higher-density housing. Where land values at intermediate locations are relatively low and underemployed labor can be mobilized at low opportunity costs, the construction of two-storey row houses with the maximum of self-help may be the preferred solution. In other large city situations, a conjunction of land, construction and transport costs, together with limitations on moving employment opportunities to the periphery, may require the construction of multi-storied buildings of various heights to economize on the use of high-priced land. These could be four to six storey walk-ups or, if costs and social attitudes permit, high-rise buildings.

The Hong Kong experience suggests that such buildings can initially have very low space standards with communal plumbing facilities, but with provision for conversion to higher standards as the occupants' incomes rise. Access to employment for several family members sometimes makes rental or mortgage payments possible for relatively high-standard housing, whereas a family living on the periphery and dependent on fewer, or even a single income earner, would be more likely to have to rely on self-help, usually for a lower standard dwelling. In these circumstances, high-density dwellings may be a preferred and socially efficient housing solution for poor families. The Bank Group should have the flexibility to respond to such situations in the context of an overall approach to a city's housing and urban development problems.

It is envisaged that medium and high-rise housing would be undertaken only on a very selective and experimental basis and only where the target group consists of low-income earners. The emphasis on squatter upgrading and sites and services would be retained so that lending for "conventional" housing would only account for a small part of shelter-related lending. It is not envisaged that the Bank Group will become involved in financing mass housing construction; should greater participation be contemplated, the issue would be reconsidered as a matter of policy.

Precise characteristics of lending by types of cities cannot be determined a *priori*. However, the type of Bank Group assistance that is appropriate will be influenced by the income level of a country, and by particular characteristics of the city, especially its size. In the poorest countries, there may be a gap between the cost of even a very low standard conventional housing unit and the amount of money a low-income urban family is able to spend on housing. In most of these countries, Bank Group involvement should concentrate on squatter area upgrading, very low-standard serviced sites, and possibly on high-density, low-standard dwelling units -- that is, on those housing solutions that are within, or nearly within, the means of poor households. In higher-income countries, where government and private resources for housing are greater, direct financial and technical assistance for conventional housing to support good government policies will not be ruled out. A key consideration will be that the solutions being applied to the housing problem are within the resource constraints of the government. For example, there should be no objection, in principle, to subsidies for low-income housing if it can be shown that other equally urgent needs are being met, and that the financial resources for these subsidies will be available for the bulk of the poor.

Housing Finance

Mobilizing financial resources for housing forms part of the overall endeavor of increasing savings and improving their allocation through financial intermediation. The Bank Group has a particular role to play in responding to member countries' requests for assistance in building financial institutions. However, the Bank Group's experience with institutions providing housing mortgages is very limited, and it is clear from the record of other international assistance agencies that such assistance is fraught with many dangers. In the past, the failure to evaluate housing finance institutions in the context of housing markets and the financial environment has led to heavy public and sometimes foreign subsidies for housing for middle and upper-income groups. Such subsidies are certainly not unique. Outdated financial policies frequently result in implicit or explicit subsidies to middle and upper-income groups through assistance to the formal financial sector, but they are particularly unfortunate in housing. The external benefits in the form of employment during construction are secured for only a relatively short period, while the long-term housing bias in favor of the relatively rich is exacerbated. The Bank Group's contribution to housing finance, therefore, has to be carefully formulated and executed if it is to avoid such pitfalls.

Finance for middle-income groups: The improved functioning of capital markets is an important condition for overall development. The lack of appropriate long-term financial institutions tends to inhibit savings and distorts the allocation of such investment funds as are available in many developing countries. The lack of mortgage institutions which could provide funds for middle-income housing is often a serious market imperfection, which unnecessarily limits housing construction with its employment and

multiplier effects and causes middle-income groups to "raid" lower-income housing when it is provided. The provision of "seed capital" for housing and mortgage institutions can thus play an important developmental role. Moreover, as such lending institutions mature, they will be able to develop lending instruments and practices to meet the needs of the poor. In providing such "seed capital," the strong pressures for implicit or explicit subsidies in housing loans cannot be ignored. Housing institutions which do not lend at subsidized rates will be given preference in the Bank Group's operations; in other cases, the provision of "seed capital" should lead to the elimination of interest subsidy over time.

Mortgage insurance: Mortgage insurance is an additional instrument for stimulating housing finance. Such schemes decrease the downpayment required for individual home purchases by ensuring mortgage lenders for a certain percentage of the loan and enabling them to extend loans covering a higher proportion of the cost of the dwelling, and thus to reach lower-income groups. The Bank Group should, therefore, provide "seed capital" for mortgage insurance institutions, where appropriate.

Finance for low-income groups: Given the experience of earlier attempts to provide housing finance for low-income groups, the Bank Group proposes that its endeavors to provide loans to the poor will be limited to cases in which a supply of suitable low-cost housing is being expanded. The continuation and extension of housing finance for project beneficiaries directly through a housing project organization is an efficient way of financing housing for the poor. Where appropriate housing finance institutions already exist in countries in which the Bank Group is supporting projects for the poor, loans to such institutions could assist them to lend the very small amounts needed for plot mortgages and for purchases of building

materials by the project beneficiaries. It is recognized that this is a difficult area and a substantial volume of lending cannot be expected until the supply of housing the poor can afford has been increased.

Coordination of Bank Group Lending for Housing and Urban Development

The Bank Group's concern with preserving and improving the present stock of housing cannot be confined to projects specifically concerned with housing. Though the Bank Group has seldom encountered the problem itself so far, experience indicates that port, industrial and other projects sometimes create a land use conflict with existing housing. In the past, existing housing has sometimes received little consideration, particularly if it was "illegal" or "unofficial." The high costs associated with destroying such housing stock, as well as the additional housing demand created by the project, need to be taken into account in a full cost evaluation of all Bank Group projects in urban areas. High-density development may sometimes be the best solution, accommodating both former occupants and new workers. At other times, an alternative site for the project, or alternative housing for the area's residents, may be the better solution.

The Bank Group is beginning to coordinate its lending activities in public utilities, transport and shelter--as well as with other sectors such as industry and tourism--as a means of assisting countries with integrated urban planning. Further improvements require the encouragement in all lending operations of the systematic collection of information and data needed for the planning process, the coordination of urban development policies at the local level, and improved pricing and financial management rules for city governments and major public utilities. The prospects for lending for the

coordinated development of newly urbanizing areas on a large scale are a promising future avenue of development. However, it takes some time for most city and country governments to establish the planning and policy base for such development, and the Bank Group itself must also take time to develop further its capacity to generate a coordinated response.

APPENDIX II
NGOs

Source: United Nations, **Community Building,** 1988, pp. 187-90.

The Limuru Declaration, April 1987, NGOS

We, the participants from 45 Third World based NGOs and 12 international NGOs, have convened in Limuru, Kenya, committed to reversing current trends toward ever increasing homelessness, over-crowding, lack of basic services and other forms of social and economic deprivation. More than a third of the world's population is seriously affected. Poverty is our constant emergency. Adequate, affordable shelter with basic services is a fundamental right of all people. Governments should respect the right of all people to shelter, free from the fear of forced eviction or removal, or the threat of their home being demolished.

Governments should also respect urban citizens' right to a land site on which a house can be built, to credit, infrastructure, services and cheap building materials. Their right to choose their own forms of social and community organizations in building, planning and use of materials should also be respected.

Adequate shelter includes not only protection from the elements, but also sources of potable water in or close to the house, provision for the removal of household and human liquid and solid wastes, site drainage, emergency lifesaving services, and easy access to health care. In urban centres, a house site within easy reach of social and economic opportunities is also an integral part of an adequate shelter.

As a group, we declare our opposition to people's forced eviction from their homes, neighbourhoods and communities. Such forced evictions are taking place on an ever-increasing scale. Forced eviction is an intolerable breach of human rights, most especially when those subject to such evictions are already suffering from inadequate income, inadequate access to social services and other manifestations of poverty.

The scale of evictions worldwide is but one reflection of the inequality in resource distribution and of the powerful forces and vested interests whose policies and actions infringe on each person's right to adequate shelter. It also reflects urban housing and land markets, and the norms and codes of building and planning standards, which exclude the poor majority from the possibility of buying or renting an adequate shelter. Governments should support institutions and initiatives to defend people's right to an adequate shelter against land speculation and developers--and NGOs have an important role in providing legal advice to those facing eviction.

Low Income People As City Builders

Worldwide, it is low-income people who are responsible for the planning and construction of most new houses. In cities, most additions to the housing stock are undertaken by low-income groups and the community or neighbourhood organizations that they form. In many nations, Third World based NGOs play significant supporting roles in working with the community-based organizations and in helping such organizations' development efforts. Such NGOs also play important roles as originators, enablers and implementors of new ideas and models. Their research has contributed much to our understanding of the scale and nature of shelter problems. And their collaborative efforts as coalition builders is now

evident in many nations, as such coalitions seek to influence government policies and priorities.

Governments should recognize the intrinsic right of people everywhere to form community-based organizations and NGOs to address their own needs and to demand secure tenure for housing and basic services.

Governments as Enablers

Governments should recognize that appropriate support for individual households and the community-based organizations that they form, and the NGOs with whom they choose to work in their efforts to improve shelter and environmental conditions, represents the most innovative and effective strategy to reverse existing trends. Government programmes to build houses 'for the poor' misunderstand their needs. Such programmes waste scarce resources to little effect. Governments' roles to ensure that land sites are affordable and freely available in appropriate locations, and that low-income households have access to credit and cheap materials. Their role is to ensure that all houses and residential areas have the services and facilities noted earlier as being integral parts of adequate shelter. And their role is to ensure that such enabling policies are backed with appropriate legislation, norms and codes.

Community-based organizations and NGOs cannot solve all the problems of homelessness and inadequate shelter. But supported by the enabling approach outlined above, much can be achieved. It is heartening to note that certain governments have changed their policies toward such enabling approaches.

The unmet needs of women and children

The housing needs of women and children have been ignored or given too little consideration. Yet women, children and youth usually account for around three-quarters of the total population. Women and children are the most intensive users of housing and the people who suffer most from deficiencies in structure, services and facilities. Special note should be made of the shelter needs of de facto women-headed households. These often represent a high proportion of all households, especially among the poorer households. Often they are denied secure tenure of land sites, access to low-cost housing schemes, access to construction skills, employment and credit.

The multisectoral approach

One of the strengths of NGOs working to improve housing conditions is that their approach is usually multisectoral. The causes of poverty and ill health and of environmental degradation fall into many sectors; so too do successful actions to reduce them.

Relations Between NGOs, CBOs and Governments
Some basic principles

The group notes that there is often a gap between governments' positions and the aspirations of low-income groups and the community-based organizations they form; it is within this gap that NGOs work and have a role.

NGOs define their lines of action based on an understanding of one essential principle; that all people have the right to control their own destiny, with a preference for shelter solutions based in their own community.

After 20 years' experience from all over the world, NGOs have arrived at a point from where they can reflect upon past work and achievements. New guidelines are now being drawn up, based on systematic evaluations of past experiences. This collective reflection has been much helped by exchanges of experience at local, regional and international levels.

Definitions of NGOs and CBOs

An NGO can be distinguished from a community-based organization by the fact that its sphere of action goes beyond the local level. Many NGOs work as technical advisors, linked closely to community-based organizations. NGOs' actions are usually small-scale, based on a 'step by step' approach, so as to respect and follow the slow consolidation process of community-based organizations.

In some instances, community-based organizations which have gone further in their process of autonomous consolidation, have an evolution similar to that of NGOs. But they need support from specialized NGOs.

NGOs' action must aim to promote the rights of community-based organizations to obtain access to practical decision-making and planning processes, with the aim of finding solutions to their collective problems. NGOs have a duty to pass on to community-based organizations their knowledge and resources.

Practical problems between NGOs and CBOs

NGOs, moving from a position of interventionist management to a position of support for community development, must work out a positive way of relating to CBOs to avoid paternalism and its resulting dependency.

NGOs that accept what government policies are doing risk adopting a top-down approach.

In NGOs area of activity and considering their level of resources, there are various possible dangers:

- the manipulation of CBO initiatives--having their actions shaped to serve the interests and influences of political and economic power; and

- breaking or at least weakening the strength of CBOs.

Conditions for the implementation of human settlement projects rarely give enough attention to the identification of wider issues and to the specific needs of CBOs. This can lead to confusion between NGOs' socially-oriented objectives and the everyday survival needs of the CBOs.

CBOs can be supported in solving their own specific problems with concrete solutions. NGOs' precise actions do not in themselves help the slow process of a CBO becoming autonomous. To achieve this progressive consolidation, integrated methodologies on how NGOs' knowledge, resources, contacts, training and planning skills can be passed on have to be devised. The process of passing on such knowledge and techniques requires work plans for which the results may not become immediately obvious. The relationship between NGOs and the funding agencies does not always help this process of CBOs becoming autonomous.

Relations Between NGOs and Government

Government is one of the key social actors with whom NGOs interact, but the way in which NGOs relate to the state at national or local level is quite different from nation to nation. Such relations are influenced by widely differing historical, cultural and economic contexts, and the organizational experiences of NGOs in their relations with government take many forms.

But they can be divided broadly into four categories: cooperation; complementarity; critical appraisal; and open confrontation or conflict.

NGOs and (where they exist) their federations, have widely varying levels of influence in different nations. And the nature of the relationship between government and NGOs working in human settlements is also dependent on the characteristics of NGOs and their networks or federations. When discussing relations between governments and NGOs, perhaps the key question is: who is responsible for meeting social collective demands which include all the elements of an adequate shelter, like secure tenure for housing and basic services and facilities? The answer is clear. These are the responsibility of governments--as are the definition and implementation of the legislative and institutional framework to enable collective social needs to be met. NGOs can demonstrate alternative solutions to meeting such needs through specific projects or programmes. In turn, these can point to approaches which have a wider application. Of course, for the right kind of development, NGOs are guided by the low-income groups with whom they work and the community-based organizations that they form. This incorporates a political democratic process that goes beyond any particular context. For this purpose, it is also important that NGOs work with those municipal governments which are representative of the citizens within their jurisdiction. NGOs can help strengthen such local levels of government through working with community-based organizations to define needs and priorities and through helping to train community-level workers.

The relationship between the state and community-based organizations that tend towards organized movements is characterized by points of tension and potential conflict. In such instances, NGOs have a key role to play. They

have to help translate social movements into political presence, but not on a part basis.

NGOs and community-based organizations should act and influence government policies in the short, medium and long term. They must be autonomous vis-a-vis the state and they should be wary of their possible co-option by the state. Such co-option can mean repression of community-based organizations and NGOs, but the former are likely to suffer most. Strong relationships between community-based organizations and NGOs should be developed as a protection against such co-option.

This is a special moment in terms of trying to take full advantage of the International Year (of Shelter for the Homeless, 1987) to seek international support for Third World based NGOs working to increase the proportion of people with adequate shelter. Such international support can help neutralize national factors which prevent or inhibit NGO action at a local level. For this purpose, NGOs must build coalitions with other pressure groups such as trade unions, neighbourhood movements, professional association, women's movements and human rights movements, in pressing the government to meet their social responsibilities in regard to shelter.

NGOs who work with low-income communities must go beyond the community level. This implies a relationship with local and central government, and with other actors in society. NGOs should become more vocal publicly, but always as catalysts for lower-income groups and their community-based organizations. NGOs should not seek to replace the voice of the homeless or those with inadequate shelter or indeed of any underprivileged group in society.

International donor NGO strategy for the future

1.	In relation to total aid flow from the North to the South, the amount devoted to improving shelter conditions and tackling homelessness is insignificant. According to the United Nations, for the period 1980-84, just 5 percent of concessional aid (grants and soft loans) and 6.5 percent of official non-concessional loans went to projects which sought to improve shelter. Thus, the sum of all projects for housing, urban and community development (including upgrading existing houses), water supply, sanitation and garbage disposal, and building materials represented around one-twentieth of total flows.

2.	This percentage represented around US $3 billion a year. But only a very small percentage of this went to NGOs.

3.	Given the scale of homelessness and the number of people with inadequate shelter, and the positive role that thousands of Third World NGOs play in human settlements, NGOs have a responsibility to raise the awareness of the international donor community on how to establish far more effective and efficient shelter programmes for the poor.

4.	First and Third World NGOs need to develop a dialogue and seek a more effective partnership in this area with the donor community and with local governments.

5.	NGOs should try continuously to mobilize international technical and financial support from a variety of sources. This can allow them to go beyond relatively small-scale and experimental scales of action in

working with community-based organizations to improve housing and living conditions. Nonetheless, there is a real danger that NGOs might be pressurized by international agencies to move beyond their capacities, limits and nature. This danger grows when governments or state agencies refuse or are unable to assume their responsibilities in shelter and basic services.

6.   Donors and NGOs should be clear that the ultimate aim of their cooperation is to contribute to integrated development and to the promotion of social and structural changes needed to achieve this. Much can be achieved through support for new models of community development that can work with the poor and homeless in the achievement of adequate shelter and the replication of such approaches by those institutions responsible for ensuring that solutions to inadequate shelter and homelessness are found.

7.   This requires technical and professional excellence combined with the social commitment of the NGOs. This is a necessary but not a sufficient condition. Technical aid and learning must go both ways between NGOs and donor agencies. There is also the need to strengthen NGOs' institutional capacity and their ability to have long-term perspectives and programmes and not have their work load continually fluctuating as they rely on project-by-project funding.

8.   A trend towards donor support for NGOs moving away from grants or soft loans to loans at higher rates of interest is one we view with disquiet. Social goals must not be threatened by the interest rate demanded by the international donor or by the conditions the donor places on the NGO for on-lending to project beneficiaries. A real home is a social good to which

all people have a right. It should not be commodity to which access is determined by market forces.

9.   A World Fund for NGOs is needed to provide funds direct to Third World based NGOs working on human settlements projects and programmes.

10.   Increased training is much needed at the following level:

-Grassroot and craftsperson or artisan training, to allow the development process to continue after NGOs end their work with low-income communities.

-Technical and social 'cadres' from NGOs to allow a more effective financial and administrative management of projects.

The ultimate aim is for training institutions to be set up at regional and continental levels, through the Third World.

Research and Action

The following are the primary problems related to the development of appropriate research potential among NGOs and the action steps that the working group recommends:

Credibility of NGO Research

1.   We urge donor agencies to examine the non-traditional, action research approaches that are appropriate to NGOs and to make funds available for this research and the dissemination of its findings.

2.   There is a need for funds to document non-traditional research methodologies and their role in NGO activity in human settlements.

NGO and donor relations

3.   We urge donor agencies to assist NGOs working in human settlements to strengthen their organizational structure and institutional capability through the support of research.

4.   We particularly urge donor agencies to support integrated, non-sectoral research approaches to human settlements issues.

Local Resources (Research and Training)

5.   There is a need for the development and sustaining of research-action capacities through training at community, NGO, governmental and donor levels. Training should be viewed as a standard element of the research process.

Dissemination

7.   We urge donor agencies to incorporate funds for the publication and dissemination of NGO research findings--especially in South-South networks.

8.   We urge UNCHS (Habitat) to provide NGOs with a research clearing-house facility that includes NGO research, appropriate technical assistance, and information for research development.

NGOs and Communities

9.   NGOs must define their research in terms relevant to the communities they work with and in direct reference to programmes for action.

10.   NGO research findings must be presented in languages and in ways that are accessible to community participants in research, as well as to academic, governmental, and donor constituencies.

NGOs and Governments

11.   We urge NGOs to make serious efforts to involve governments in their research activity--including funding, training, and the dissemination of results.

Plan of Action

1.   **For those evicted or threatened with eviction, the right of appeal at international level.**

The aim is to investigate the possibility of support from international law and from the UN Charter for those being evicted or threatened with eviction. The NGOs and national committees for the International Year of Shelter for the Homeless will:

-    monitor and publicize widely the cases of current or threatened evictions, forced relocations and demolitions in both the North and the South.

-    keep a record of the legal battles that took place over evictions and the final results, to proved precedents on how to fight evictions.

2. Media Campaign

To draw the attention of the world's peoples and to raise awareness among donor agencies of current trends towards ever increasing homelessness, overcrowding, lack of basic services and other forms of social and economic deprivation, and to highlight the present and the potential role of NGOs in addressing such problems, especially in the context of appropriate government policies.

A strategy to interest the media in such subjects will be launched. Such a strategy will be carried out by each national co-ordinating committee for the International Year, by the Habitat International Coalition (formerly Habitat International Council) and by each NGO.

3. Strengthening the partnership with international agencies

The aims are:

- to demonstrate the credibility of NGOs and the advantages to donor agencies of partnership with NGOs

- to discuss in detail at policy level how such a partnership can be developed and to define together a framework for this

- to increase the flow of funds channelled to Third World based NGOs working in shelter, services and community development.

Steps to be taken include:

- The preparation of a widely-based information package, to show the potentials, roles and requirements of NGOs. This information package will be widely circulated through the donor community.

- Letters sent to donor agencies, especially those ready to open a dialogue with NGOs. Such letters will request donor agencies to invite NGO representatives to attend a meeting to define together NGOs' policies and roles in the field of human settlements. The identification of on-going projects and programmes which need funding and support for joint presentation to funding agencies. Invitations by Third World based NGOs to senior officials from donor agencies to visit them, to allow a better understanding of their achievements and their aims and potentials in the future.

4. The creation of 'project pools' at regional level

The offices of most donors are too distant and remote from the context within which Third World based NGOs operate. Intermediate institutions at regional level should have the task of identifying NGO programmes that require funding, and providing NGOs with technical backup and help in formulating requests. These institutions would build a 'catalogue' of projects in need of funding. This would help donor agencies to identify and fund good projects and programmes without spending too long on project identification. Such institutions would facilitate links between locally-based NGOs and donor agencies and could provide the mechanism through which funding flows could be increased.

Networks and Coalitions

The Working Groups on Networks and Coalitions discussed the objectives of national., regional and international NGO networks and issues relating to their establishment and strengthening. It proposes the adoption of the following resolutions:

Considering that NGO networks at the national level are important because they are or could fulfil the following functions:

-       to bring together people and NGOs with similar objectives;

-       to act as a clearing-house for the exchange of information;

-       to reinforce weaker groups;

-       to stimulate the creation of more networks;

-       to fulfil an advocacy role in contacts with government agencies at all levels;

-       to act as pressure groups, sometimes in coalitions with other groups and popular organizations;

-       to co-ordinate production and marketing of building materials for the use of households and base groups;

-       to promote participative action research;

-       to disseminate information;

-       to carry out training programmes for groups at different levels, including that of community-based organizations;

-       to strengthen the links with community-based organizations;

-       to fight for the introduction and application of just land rights;

That in their establishment the following factors are taken into account:

-       that they are based on common issues;

-       that they work through existing frameworks;

-       that responsibilities and tasks be decentralized among members of the network;

-       that sub-committees be created on a sub-national or thematic basis;

-       that the network responds to priorities which are established together with community-based organizations.

Further considering that regional networks are important for the following reasons:

-       they are the support services and facilitators for activities at the national and international level and the basis for a definitive consolidation of networks at all levels;

-       they can define priorities and programmes on specific schemes and allocate tasks among their members;

-       they can establish data banks, undertake training, exchange information between different actors, undertake joint publishing services, carry out services to national networks and promote the exchange of technical staff and know-how with other regions.

Recommends

1.   That for the above mentioned reasons,national and regional networks should be created and strengthened where possible.

2.   That in doing so, the specific situation of each country and region should be taken into account.

3.   That in some countries and regions, the formulation of coalitions with other established groups, can be a useful method of promoting networks.

4.   That international NGOs should promote the formation of local groups, especially in continents such as Africa where they are still few in number.

5.   That networks be promoted in Norther countries because, among other things, this would facilitate the transfer of experience from other parts of the world confronted with problems of homelessness.

6.   That regional networks can be promoted (among other ways) in the following manner:

-    the publication of periodical bulletin on specific themes

-    the creation of regional publications and translation funds

-    the establishment of technical assistance and of an operational fund for disaster and crisis interventions.

Considering

-    that there is a need for a mechanism for South-South and North-South relations;

-    that there is a need for an international pressure group to deal with human settlements issues; for instance, a world-wide coalition against the existing problems of eviction and demolition;

-    that there is a need for a global coalition built up on the basis and collective aims of national and regional networks.

Recommends that the Habitat International Council be transformed into that global coalition and for this purpose:

-    the composition of the Board should reflect the incorporation of national and regional networks into its membership;

-    under these conditions, HIC acts as spokesperson in contacts with international organizations such as UNCHS (Habitat) and provides information and other services to its members with the purpose of reinforcing national and regional networks;

-    the name of HIC be changed into the Habitat International Coalition--NGO Alliance on Human Settlements.

APPENDIX III
ZAMBIAN POLITICAL SYSTEM

Source: Bertha Turner, (ed.); **Building Community**. London: Building
Community Books, 1988, p.21

A One-Party, Participatory Democracy*

Zambia's United National Independence Party operates under a "well-
defined" set of guidelines and the republic constitution.   The party
framework is designed to "maximize bottom-up" participation:

1.   Everyone belong to a Section of 25 households, represented by
      4 men, 4 youths and 4 women.

2.   10 Sections form a Branch represented by 4 youths, 4 women
      and 4 men.

3.   Branches are grouped in Wards whose Chairmen are elected by
      all registered voters. Ward Chairmen, who also serve as local
      District Councillors, preside over the Ward committee of 8
      men, 8 women and 8 youths.

4.   District Councillors send delegates to Provincial Councils.

5.   The Provincial and District Councillors, along with Members of
      Parliament, form delegations to the Central Committee.

6.   The Central Committee is elected every 5 years by the National
      Council and headed by the President of Zambia.

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*   Although the Zambian political system claims to be a participatory democratic system, there
        is a big problem of legitimacy.

The Institutional Framework

Projects undertaken in a particular Section must be supported by that Section's Chairman and his committee. Projects involving 10 sections or more are appraised by the Branch Chairman and committee. Projects requiring legislative approval are channelled through the Ward Committee whose Chairman, as a member of the District Council, can present this to the District and Provincial Committees for legal backing.

APPENDIX IV
PARTICIPATORY RESEARCH

ACTION RESEARCH AS A SOCIAL PRACTICE.

Source: Pinto,Bosco Joao, **Action Research as Social Practice** Translated from Portugese by Nora Cebotarev and Sharon Spewak (unpublished), 1989, pp. 1-9.

Introduction:

It is not my intention to do an exhaustive review of Participatory Research ((PR), in this paper; many such articles and books already exist (see for example De Schutter, 1981 or the works published by Participatory Research Groups of the International Council for Adult Education). Instead, I would like to outline one modality of PR- action research (AR)- which we have practiced since 1969 in several Latin American countries.

It is necessary, for the sake of accuracy, to present some general reflections on the subject, before situating it historically. This will permit us to state some AR requirements and assumptions more precisely.

SOCIAL RESEARCH AND PARTICIPATION.

To speak of PR in general and of AR in as one particular modalities, forces us to discuss 'participation' and 'research' albeit very briefly.

PR is part of the broader Latin American social movement of reaction to and rejection of the predominant sterilizing practice of positive empiricism in the Social Sciences.

The epistemological perspective of PR does not conceive of 'truth' as pre-existent in social 'facts' (data). 'Truth' is seen as constructed in successive

approaches to the investigated reality (or objects). This perspective seeks a qualitative understanding of social life and does not consider quantification as essential for the comprehension of 'social facts'.

A deeper discussion of this question would enable us to answer some of the criticisms leveled against PR such as the fact that PR does not formulate conceptual and operational hypotheses to be submitted later to empirical test or confirmation. It would be inappropriate, thus to ask what theories or empirical generalizations have been produced by this approach. However, to point out this PR epistemological perspective- albeit , only superficially developed in this paper- does not mean renouncing the exigencies of logical rigor, appropriate theoretical formulation or the epistemological vigilance over the knowledge production process.

This perspective recognizes that the objects of social research are different from research objects in the natural world because they are constituted by conscious subjects which cannot be transformed into mere objects of research. This does not lead us to assume, however, that 'social facts' are transparent or necessarily conscious. These peculiarities bring social research to a necessary repture with the pre-conceptions of immediate common sense, precisely because common sense perceptions conceal and obfuscate a great deal of social reality. It is precisely because of PR's commitment to the interests of the dominated classes that it must do a critique of pre-conceptions and ideological concepts, and practice greater vigilance over the obstacles that interfere with the production of scientific knowledge.

Recognizing the relative superficiality of the above discussion, we wish to refer to the concept of participation. Participation can be treated as an 'objective process'. This concept would, in the first instance, refer to the different forms of struggle by means of which dominated classes seek to

establish their presence in the configurations of interests which constitute the state. This is why there is a need for organization and pressure in a way that would not turn the dominated classes simply into passive receptors of state action.

Participation can also be understood as a <u>desired situation</u>, and so as an <u>ideal</u> concept. Here participation takes an undeniably political dimension: it has to do with the question of how power is divided in society, its bases, and how it can be conquered.

Furthermore, participation can also be thought of as a <u>method</u>, as a practice. In a class society where the state is seen as a configuration of different competing interests who struggle for the hegemonic control of one class or of a faction of a class, participation can be viewed as the means necessary for breaking this control and for obtaining hegemony for the dominated classes. In this sense, participation is seen as a learning process and as a practice of participation: in the struggle for what is lawfully theirs, members of the dominated class make their fight more efficient by participating in each of its moments and instances.

Summarizing this and relating what has been said about research and participation, we propose the following considerations:

PR has as its purpose not only to describe and analyze the situation/condition of the oppressed classes; study the relations of domination in themselves; or to describe the objective and subjective characteristics of the dominated groups; no matter how important all this is in terms of scientific knowledge. PR seeks undoubtedly to understand the concrete and objective conditions of class dominance, along with the perceptions held by the dominated classes of these phenomena, in order to simultaneously:

"... produce the knowledge necessary for defining action...

that it be in the line of transformation to obtain an integrated development". (De Schutter, 1981: 172)

This purpose gives PR a character which is both applied and educational. It does not seek merely to understand existing social relations but it seeks to transform them on the basis of knowledge that will be relevant for defining actions.

In synthesis, we understand PR not as a single or even unified method, formally constituted, logically structured, systematically oriented set of activities or procedures, but, rather as a social practice of knowledge production which seeks to transform social reality, seen from a holistic perspective, (or as a totality). We like also to point out the new and innovative character of this practice. As scientific knowledge is produced in the practice of action, it contributes to making the action more effective. Consequently, PR does embrace, historically, a relatively large number of strategies, by means of which people (population segments, fractions of classes, local communities, and others) participate actively in the decision-making process and in the implementation of one or more stages of the research process. In other words, there is not only one PR procedure but several modalities of participatory research. I will list the main modalities of PA, as they were experienced in different historical settings, and I will comment on them briefly:

1. Action Research
2. Militant Research
3. Self-research or auto-investigation
4. Participatory survey
5. Self-diagnosis
6. Consciousness raising survey

1. Action Research

There are two modalities of this research strategy, both sharing the Action-Research name. One corresponds to the practice of a Colombian research group, Fundarco (Fundacion Rosca de Investigacion accion), lead by Orlando Fals-Borda.

This orientation traces its roots to the works of Kurt Lewin, although the practice of the Colombian group has far suppressed the accomplishments (achievements) of the original researcher.

Gajardo says in this regard:

> For Fals-Borda, science and scientific work have definite class connotations, and as one attempts description (adjectification) of such activity it has to be pointed out that science is a totalizing and continuous process, expressed by groups and social classes in a certain society. In specific historic conjunctures, the knowledge, data, facts, will be articulated in terms of class interests of those who struggle for social, economic and political control and power. So, in facing the existence of scientific paradigms which serve the interests of dominant alternative paradigms, constructed from a new approximation to reality of the popular sectors and their grass-roots 'experience'.... For False-Borda, there are six methodological principles which have to be respected when we try to promote research practice, related to interests of popular movements, they are: authenticity, anti-dogmatism, systematic return (of created knowledge to its source/origin), feedback by organizing intellectuals, development of a modest science based on dialogical techniques. (1983:9-10)

The second modality in this approach, our own practice, will be discussed in more detail in the last part of this paper.

2. Militant Research

Differing from the above described action research modalities, militant research is initiated by militant people who participate in the political arena and do scientific research to correctly develop their own political practice and action. This research has an explicit politio-ideological-pre-established objective, often related to a political party, which is considered of benefit for the population. Militant research also aims to infrom cadres who are able not only to apply or implement policies, but above all, are capable of contributing to policy formation and elaboration. It differs from action research in that although directed toward oppressed or exploited groups, it explicitly seeks to incorporate them into political activities (party). Since this approach has a predetermined political character, the researcher assumes a dominant role in the data and information collection process. Finally, by initiating his work with a message that is rooted in a political or party practice, the militant researcher does not seek, in the first instance, the existing grassroot organizations, nor does he start with an holistic analysis of concrete reality.

It seems reasonable to state that these differences are more of emphasis than of substance, and depend greatly on the methodological procedures that the concrete research takes.

3-6. Self-research or Auto-investigation, Participatory Survey, Self-diagnosis, and Consciousness Raising Survey

All these modalities constitute a family or subgroup of participatory research procedures. Their main characteristic is that the community is

organized to take part in some or all phases of the research process from the selection of the problem to the formulation of the educational strategy to help solve that problem. Again, the differences among these approaches are not so much in their major shared objectives as in the emphasis given either to certain techniques or to the departure point and overall orientation of the research process. For example, almost all of these surveys employ questionnaires as their major data collection instrument. The research topics however, are determined by the 'community' (although this term never is clearly defined and it is probably synonymous with that of a 'population' living in a given geographic area). This questionnaire is also constructed by the community, as is the data collection. External agents help shape, systematize and organize the information. Once tabulated, the data are discussed and analyzed jointly, conclusions and decisions with respect to future actions are also formulated jointly.

Differences between these approaches can also show up differently depending on the phases of a given project in which the research is carried out. For example, self-diagnostic surveys are conducted at the initiation of programmes, whereas, participatory surveys which comes at the end of a project tend to be of a 'self-evalution' type. All of them seem to have the purpose of contributing to peoples' awareness and consciousness, through collective reflection, directed towards the findings of the study made by the community.

Action Research: History and Practice

In this section of the paper we will refer to 'Action Research" as it has developed from 1969 to the present. We refer here specifically to the modality of AR as practiced by the author. The other modality, developed by

Fundarco, has a different origin and methodological structure, although both modalities share epistemological and theoretical concerns and have similar practical objectives. The fact that we treat our own modality more extensively does not mean that we are underestimating the other. Simply, it is easier to describe the one which we know better having practiced it for the last fifteen years.

Action Research Experiences: 1969-1983

1. The so-called Freirean method (also called Psycho-social Method), initiated in the early 1960s in Brazil and concerned initially with adult literacy training, has been reconstructed with broader aims, on similar conceptual bases, and systematized with the help of social scientists from ICIRA (Instituto De Capacitalione Investigacion Para La Reforma Agrata) Satiogo Chile, in 1966-68, under the name of Thematic Research. It was applied in the context of the Agrarian Reform, promoted by the Christian Democratic Government among peasants who received the benefits (Fiori, 1968).

2. It was adopted and further developed by a group of sociologists and educators in Colombia which the author was part of, who also applied it in Agrarian Reform projects in 1969-71. On the basis of these experiences, Thematic research underwent a theoretical and methodological reconstruction (Pinto et al, 1970: 80-95).

3. From 1972 to 1975 the Thematic Research approach continued to be applied in various Latin American countries in the Andean Region (Bolivia, Equador, Peru, Venezuela). In each of these countries it was implemented by interdisciplinary teams in which the author took part.

In 1974, after serving as the methodological structure for the "National Workshop in Adult Education in Rural Areas (Peru)" which lasted for two years, and which was implemented in six stages, the methodology was recodified and re-named Action Research. With the exception of some details, the methodological format resulting from the workshop experience is still being used today.

4. In 1976 to 1978, following this author's trial, the methodology was utilized in Haiti and in the Dominican Republic: the former took place in a government sponsored project, the latter was implemented by an independent group (CEDE/INTEC/IICA:1978).

5. In 1979, upon the author's return to Brazil, AR methodology served as a paradigm for several experiences, all in some ways related to rural development agencies concerned with community action and development: such as the Sobradinho Project (Gahia, 1979-80); the Laboratory for Communial Action (Pernambuco...:1982); Project for Integrated Rural Development, Tubuleirs Sul (Sergipe, 1983).

The last two projects are still on-going. All the Brazilian experiences had the additional purpose of training technical, interinstitutional teams for working with the population of rural small holders (official Brazilian terms for peasants). In 1984 we began to work with MOBRAL (the Brazilian National Literacy Movement) in four Northeastern Brazilian states: Piaui, Ceara, Pernambuco, and Sergipe.

All these work experiences have contributed in a direct way to the enrichment and modification of the AR methodology which is now understood not as a rigid structure, or as an invariable sequence of stages, phases and steps; but as a social practice guided by interrelated objectives, which have to be recreated whenever it faces a new reality, by means of the

same dialectical process in which the concrete readily challenges theory and method and produces their transformation.

On the other hand, since these experiences took place in a variety of socio-political and economic conditions, among different groups of farmers and peasants, it was possible for us to get a certain kind of verification of the applicability of the methodology, of its flexibility and adjustability to various historical exigencies and conditions in which the practice was realized.

Some AR Assumptions and Requirements:

Before describing the methological structure of AR, we shall point out some of the premises on which its methology is based and some of the requirements which give it its proper meaning and without which the methodological sequence could turn into an empty scheme.

A). AR is not neutral nor can it be such. It requires of those who practice it a clear commitment to the dominated and oppressed classes in the society in which they live. It does have a political content and purpose.

B). As far as it refers to social research, it is above all, an epistemological and methodological options: it mainly opposes positivism and empiricism, without however, taking on naive "populist" research positions.

C). It should not be seen as finalized/completed logic or method and even less as a prescription: it is a social practice, constituted by two other practices (scientific/research practice and pedagogical practice) and political purpose (that of social transformation).

D). As a scientific practice, AR seeks the collective production of knowledge for collective use.

E). As a pedagogical practice it promotes learning among adults, seeks to integrate the potential knowledge and creativity contained in popular culture with scientific knowledge (theories, concepts, technologies). More than an exchange between these types of knowledge, it presupposes their confrontation and transcendence to a new kind of knowledge, dynamic and transformational in nature.

F). As a political practice, its central strategy is empowerment through participation in the production of knowledge, in the organization and linking of groups, and conscious and concerted group action.

G). Although AR's point of departure is the specific reality of the groups with whom one works, their knowledge needs to be enlarged and improved by unravelling their relations with the socio-economic and political context of the larger society, and with their history. Therefore, theory is essential for this self-consciousness practice.

H). As a scientific practice, AR can also contribute to the critique and reformation of theories, to the construction of new research instruments and techniques, and above all to the understanding of social transformation processes.

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