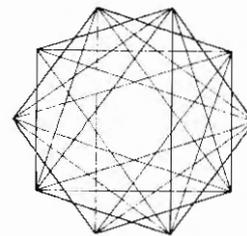


PLANNING AND  
DEVELOPMENT  
COLLABORATIVE  
INTERNATIONAL

**EVALUATION REPORT**

**Land-Use Programming and Control for  
Intermediate-Sized Cities in the Developing Areas:  
An Experimental Project in Leon, Nicaragua**



**PADCO**

AN INTERNATIONAL COLLABORATIVE FORMED TO  
PROVIDE GOVERNMENTS AND PRIVATE CLIENTS IN  
AFRICA, ASIA, LATIN AMERICA AND THE NEAR EAST  
WITH INTEGRATED RESEARCH, PLANNING AND MANAGEMENT  
SERVICES FOR URBAN AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT



# **EVALUATION REPORT**

**Land-Use Programming and Control for  
Intermediate-Sized Cities in the Developing Areas:  
An Experimental Project in Leon, Nicaragua**

**Prepared for:**

**Office of Urban Development  
Bureau for Technical Assistance  
Agency for International Development  
Washington, D.C.**

**Prepared by:**

**PADCO, Inc.  
1834 Jefferson Place, N.W.  
Washington, D.C.**

**OCTOBER 1977**



PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT COLLABORATIVE INTERNATIONAL

1834 JEFFERSON PLACE, N. W. • WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036 • (202) 296-0004

October 1977

Messrs. William Miner  
and Eric Chetwynd  
Office of Urban Development  
Bureau for Technical Assistance  
Department of State  
Washington, D.C. 20523

Dear Messrs. Miner and Chetwynd:

PADCO is pleased to submit its report on the results of PADCO's evaluation of Land-Use Programming and Control for Intermediate Sized Cities in the Developing Areas: An Experimental Project in Leon, Nicaragua in compliance with AID Project No. 931-4-899-058-73. The project in Leon represented the first of three project sites throughout the developing world, the others being in Africa (Tamale, Ghana) and Asia (Chonburi, Thailand).

As you are aware, while actual field activities in Nicaragua took place during the period between January 5, 1976 and September 24, 1977 and included a preliminary reconnaissance visit to Nicaragua by the PADCO team (January 5 to 17, 1976) and 19 months of actual field work in Leon, Nicaragua between February 22, 1976 and September 24, 1977, the USAID Mission to Nicaragua, with offices in Managua, served as a liaison between TA/UD and the GON implementing entities and PADCO's field staff.

Milestone reports prepared by PADCO, which form the basis for this final evaluation report, include the field reconnaissance report, quarterly progress reports submitted throughout the project period, and a preliminary project review memorandum submitted to USAID on March 11, 1977.

Apart from the continuous review-evaluation carried out by PADCO, the Alcaldia de Leon, and the Vice Ministry of Urban Planning in Managua (VIMPU), two formal project reviews were carried out in conjunction with the completion of major

**P A D C O**

AN INTERNATIONAL COLLABORATIVE FORMED TO PROVIDE GOVERNMENTS AND PRIVATE CLIENTS IN AFRICA, ASIA, LATIN AMERICA AND THE NEAR EAST WITH INTEGRATED RESEARCH, PLANNING AND MANAGEMENT SERVICES FOR URBAN AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT.

October 1977

stages in the development programming process. The first, an internal PADCO review, took place between November 19, 1976 and February 1, 1977. The second, a field evaluation by the USAID TA/UD team undertaken during the period March 13 to 17, 1977, was planned to correspond roughly with the conclusion of the first year of project activity in Leon.

Additional project documents which provide substantial insight into the methodology, approaches, and results of the Leon experiment include the three volumes of the Urban Development Framework for Leon, 1977-1984. This was developed by the PADCO team as a guide to urban actions and decision making over the next seven years. (One copy of this document in Spanish is submitted as Appendix A.)

We in PADCO very much appreciate the opportunity to have collaborated with USAID on this challenging and exciting demonstration. We believe that a significant amount of knowledge and insight have been gained about both the techniques and processes of urban development programming which are relevant to intermediate-sized cities in the developing countries. We hope that we may continue to apply this experience in future assignments with AID and continue our interest and concern about the development process in such cities.

Best regards,



Joseph F. Arington  
Senior Architect Planner

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
<u>INTRODUCTION</u>	
General Background and Purposes . . . . .	1
Land-Use Programming in Leon, Nicaragua . . . . .	5
Purpose and Organization of Evaluation Report. . . . .	5
 PART ONE: THE CONTEXT FOR ACTION	
 <u>Chapter I:</u>	
<u>THE PROJECT DETERMINANTS.</u> . . . . .	7
The Terms of Reference. . . . .	7
National Urban Development Policy Setting . . . . .	7
The Organizational Setting: Project Personnel and Logistics . . . . .	8
Project Objectives and Implementing Tasks . . . . .	9
The Project Setting . . . . .	10
Demographic Growth. . . . .	11
Infrastructure and Public Services. . . . .	14
Local Government and Finance. . . . .	14
Specific Urban Characteristics. . . . .	14
 <u>Chapter II:</u>	
<u>BASIC APPROACH: THE PADCO WORK PROGRAM</u> . . . . .	17
Integrated Development Programming. . . . .	17
Project Preparation and Support for the Implementation of Projects. . . . .	19
Institutional Development and Staff Training. . . . .	19
Staffing Requirements . . . . .	21

PART TWO:  
THE FIELD WORK

<u>Chapter III:</u>	
<u>INTEGRATED DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMING. . . . .</u>	25
Summary of Field Activities . . . . .	25
Spring 1976. . . . .	25
Summer 1976. . . . .	25
Fall 1976. . . . .	26
Winter 1976. . . . .	26
Spring-Summer 1977 . . . . .	26
The Constraints. . . . .	27
Consensus, Understanding and Experience with the Land-Use Programming Concept. . . . .	28
Effective Participation of the Alcaldia and the Local Community in the Overall Programming Process. . . . .	30
Recommendations for Similar Types of Activities in Other Intermediate-Sized Cities . . . . .	30
<u>Chapter IV:</u>	
<u>PROJECT PREPARATION AND SUPPORT IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF PROJECTS . . . . .</u>	33
Summary of Field Activities. . . . .	33
The Constraints. . . . .	34
Recommendations for Similar Types of Activities in Other Intermediate-Sized Cities . . . . .	35
<u>Chapter V:</u>	
<u>INSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND STAFF TRAINING . . . . .</u>	37
Institutional Development Activities and Constraints. . . . .	37
Staff Training, Activities and Constraints . . . . .	40
In-Country Training. . . . .	40
Out-of-Country Training. . . . .	40
Recommendations for Similar Types of Activities in Other Intermediate-Sized Cities . . . . .	42

<u>Chapter VI:</u>	
<u>STAFF REQUIREMENTS</u> . . . . .	45
Summary of Actual Activities . . . . .	45
The Constraints. . . . .	46
Recommendations for Similar Types of Activities in Other Intermediate-Sized Cities . . . . .	47

PART THREE  
LESSONS FOR THE FUTURE

<u>Chapter VII:</u>	
<u>AN OVERVIEW OF THE MAJOR ISSUES.</u> . . . . .	49
General Problem Areas to be Addressed. . . . .	49
Land-Use Programming What is it? For Whom is it? . . . . .	49
Criteria for Selecting Projects Sites in Developing Countries . . . . .	53
Recommendations for Future Programs. . . . .	57
Specific Program Objectives. . . . .	58
Considerations for Sepcific Elements of the Basic Approach. . . . .	58
Conclusion . . . . .	61

APPENDICES

Appendix A . . . . .	63
Appendix B . . . . .	65



## INTRODUCTION

### GENERAL BACKGROUND AND PURPOSES

Over recent years, international assistance agencies and national governments as well as scholars and practitioners in the development professions have become increasingly aware of the extensive and significant relationships between urbanization and the development process. Massive worldwide rural/urban migration as well as rapid physical growth and change in cities have demanded a significant refocusing of attention and capacities. In response to these ever increasing urban needs, almost all international assistance agencies have conducted specific global reviews of urban development, not only from the context of world population growth but also with respect to the problems of growing unemployment and underemployment, traffic and transportation problems, the deterioration of existing urban infrastructure and services, and the steadily increasing gap between the need for housing and the effective demand of the urban poor.

Between 1970 and 1972, AID's Office of Urban Development (TA/UD) conducted an international survey of urban development in all of its complexities, in order to help define an appropriate role for AID in the urban development field. One of the major conclusions of that study was that there is great need for creative approaches that do not require highly sophisticated techniques, data, and skills to carry out urban development plans and programs. It was concluded that the need for such approaches was greatest in rapidly developing intermediate-sized cities, because most of the skills and institutions for dealing with the problems of rapid urban growth and development are concentrated in the largest cities.

In the context of the intermediate-sized city as the focus of attention with its broad range of resource allocation, social, economic, and administrative issues, land-use programming was seen as one of the most fundamental of approaches in urban growth and development which might be appropriate for AID intervention.

In 1973 the firm Rivkin/Carson Inc. was contracted by TA/UD to study practical approaches for land-use programming and control adaptable for the intermediate-sized city in developing countries. The study represented a first attempt at examining the issues involved and the potential role for AID and other international assistance agencies in improving LDC capacity to manage land-use problems in intermediate-sized cities. With respect to the cities studied 1/ it was suggested that:

*Each represents a phenomenon which is a "two-edged sword" for the nation involved. On the one hand a tangible means for fostering economic integration of hinterland regions and for deflecting rural/urban migration away from the main primate centers; on the other hand, a serious challenge to the nation's capacity for allocating resources and for effective public administration. This phenomenon can be termed "emergence of the contemporary intermediate-sized city."*

*The intermediate cities may range in population 2/ from 100,000 to 500,000; although, depending on the particular country, some may be found below and above these levels. The complexity of their economic and social relationships is more significant than the number of people. While they may function as regional markets or as provincial capitals, they have passed beyond these relatively simplistic functions to become producers of goods and services for their regions and for export to other regions and abroad. Some of the intermediate cities are the "growth poles" or prospective "growth centers" whose encouragement was fostered in the national development plans and the planning literature of the 1960s -- those promising locations away from the metropolitan regions where productive investment could aid in diversifying a national economy. No longer are many of these places "prospective" growth center, however. The ones cited, and dozens of others throughout the developing world, are today generators of population growth and economic development. These communities are proof that contemporary economic diversification, improved income distribution, and*

---

1/ Antalya, Turkey; Gorona, Brasil; Penang, Malaysia; and Merida, Venezuela.

2/ Rivkin/Carson, Inc. Practical Approaches for Land-Use Programming and Control Adaptable for the Intermediate-Sized City in Developing Countries. Washington, D.C., October 1974.

urban attractions for rural emigrants can exist outside the traditional main metropolitan centers. From an administrative and land-use control standpoint, they are still small and self-contained enough to be a good deal more manageable than the major metropolises whose expansion has been the principal focus of attention for both LDCs and international agencies alike. At the same time their rapid growth lays claims for support with infrastructure, housing, and services; claims which put the intermediate cities in direct competition with the major metropolises for limited public funds and skilled administrative manpower. It is this situation that strains the capacity of national resource management and requires adaptation among politicians, planners, and governmental agencies at the national, regional, and local levels. Land-use control has emerged as a necessity within many intermediate cities and appears to be one of the problems for which solutions are dangerously slow in coming. 3/

Significantly, the Rivkin/Carson study recognized techniques as "but the tip of an iceberg," suggesting that the usefulness of any "technique" depends on its identification and application within the context and understanding of a much broader institutional framework.

It emphasized that -- while techniques exist for information gathering, approaches for establishing a planning framework and specific control measures to implement planning and control objectives -- they do not represent a single, sequential system, or even a set of measures which might work in representative circumstances:

Rather, there is an array of possibilities from which picking and choosing becomes essential within each specific country circumstance ... practicality and adaptability -- whether in information gathering, planning, or control -- are perforce derivative from conditions within each given country context. It is unlikely that any scholar or international assistance agency could arrive at a universalistic formulation. 4/

---

3/ Ibid.

4/ Ibid.

Based on an investigation of the internal development context of the three countries, the Rivkin/Carson report concluded that the techniques of land-use programming and control per se do not represent an appropriate focus for international assistance. Rather, to be productive all such techniques must be integrated with attention to more fundamental issues dealing with the land control process. In indicating that land-use planning and control issues in intermediate-sized cities are, or will become, matters of serious concern in developing countries, the report suggested that the principal criteria for identifying such cities was increasing development complexity, rapidity of growth, and non-primate character.

Four prerequisites were identified as evidence that a nation's institutional structure was at least prepared to deal with the problems of intermediate-sized cities. These were:

1. *Institutional mechanisms expressly geared to dealing with the land-use and infrastructure problems of cities outside the main metropolitan regions.*
2. *Some measures of national government priority to provide a flow of planning and infrastructure funds to rapidly expanding communities outside the main metropolitan regions.*
3. *Technical capacity (e.g. manpower) to plan and administer for these communities, located physically in the communities themselves.*
4. *Local political receptivity to growth management and control.*

The presence of such preconditions within a specific country was considered sufficient evidence that international assistance could be productively applied to: 1) assist in establishing planning and control projects for specific intermediate-sized cities utilizing innovative approaches; 2) finance research to establish empirical measures of effectiveness for land-use planning and control techniques; 3) train professionals and administrators who will themselves be in positions to evolve and apply techniques; and 4) disseminate research, information, and data to local agencies and to institutions of higher learning.

On the basis of this research, TA/UD decided to establish a demonstration application of land-use programming in selected intermediate-sized cities in Asia, Africa, and Central and South America.

## LAND-USE PROGRAMMING IN LEON, NICARAGUA

In February and March of 1975, a field survey was conducted in Central and South America to select a demonstration site and to develop the terms of reference for the field activities to be involved in establishing at the local level a framework and process for land-use programming. The term "land-use programming" was defined as incorporating the several functions of urban development necessary to guide and stimulate the growth process -- namely, goal setting, analysis, planning, project packaging, program coordination, and evaluation. An important objective identified for land-use programming was the strengthening of links to public sector implementing agencies and the identification of mechanisms to further mobilize private resources for implementing urban development projects. A strong orientation to project and program implementation was also emphasized as essential to the process of land-use programming.

The Municipality of Leon, Nicaragua, was selected as the project site. Leon, with an urban population of 75,000, is the second largest city in Nicaragua and an important center in the country's richest and potentially most active agricultural region. The purpose of this project was, in cooperation with the central government in Managua, to assist the Leon municipality in establishing a land-use programming and development process and operation capable of carrying out locally the land-use and development programming needs of the city in a manner which takes account of and deals equitably with the needs of the urban poor. (See Chapter I for further background on Leon, Nicaragua.)

PADCO was contracted by TA/UD to implement the project. The terms of reference which formed the basis for PADCO's technical proposal and subsequent field activities articulated the policy, programmatic, organizational, and logistical setting for the project. These are briefly outlined in Chapter I.

### PURPOSE AND ORGANIZATION OF EVALUATION REPORT

The purpose of this evaluation report is to provide information and insight into the methodologies and techniques as well as the general processes and realities involved in the Leon project in such a way as to identify the feasibility of its replication elsewhere, contributing at the same

time to the improvement of planning and development activities in other intermediate-sized cities in developing countries.

Given this purpose and the inherent difficulty of evaluating both "process" and "product" simultaneously, this report has been organized into an introduction, three parts and appendices. First, the international framework for land-use programming in intermediate-sized cities is broadly set out in the Introduction. Part One traces the actual context of the project through a brief review of the characteristics of the City of Leon, the terms of reference prepared by AID (TA/UD), and the PADCO work program. Part Two describes the actual field work carried out in each major programming area, its specific objectives, and related issues. Part Three presents some considerations of possible lessons for future land-use programming activities in other intermediate-sized cities in the developing countries.

PART ONE  
THE CONTEXT FOR ACTION



## Chapter I

### THE PROJECT DETERMINANTS

#### THE TERMS OF REFERENCE

The terms of reference, which formed the basis for PADCO's technical proposal and subsequent field activities, clearly reflected many of the recommendations which grew out of the research efforts of Rivkin/Carson.

Major emphasis was placed on the development and application of land-use programming techniques within a strong institutional context. This was identified within the RFP not only with respect to the overall national and local urban development policy setting but also with respect to organization and staffing and the basic objectives for the Leon project.

In summary, the terms of reference provided the following guidelines:

#### National Urban Development Policy Setting

*Establishment of this project requires a willingness on the part of national government to decentralize some of its urban development activities. Such a predisposition is now apparent in Nicaragua, reflecting a fundamental change in outlook that stems from the 1972 earthquake disaster which destroyed Managua's entire urban core and forced serious consideration of urban decentralization.*

The national development plan for the period 1974 to 1979 clearly articulated the concept of deconcentration of Managua and decentralization of urban and regional development. Furthermore, specific urban policy directions concerning decentralization were already incorporated in the working

mandates of the relevant operating governmental entities, such as the Vice Ministry of Urban Planning (VIMPU) and the cadastral unit of the Ministry of Economy, Industry and Commerce.

This was the national policy framework in which the Leon project was implemented. The project was one of the first steps in the direction of urban development decentralization beyond the national district.

The Organizational Setting:  
Project Personnel and Logistics

The terms of reference specified that: *The project will be located in Leon as an adjunct to the Mayor's staff with the purpose of creating in Leon an institutional capacity and a viable process for carrying out the land-use programming needs of the city. It will be technically a field unit of VIMPU, backstopped in Managua by their resources. It could become a prototype for further decentralization.*

VIMPU has proposed field advisory groups consisting of three professionals plus technical and secretarial support to service the four satellite cities of Managua. This model would appear to be sufficient for Leon also. Of this core group, the U.S. contractor will be able to recruit locally economists and architects as well as secretarial and technical assistance as needed. The key expatriate professional will be a broad-gauged urban and regional planner capable of orchestrating and training a team of local professionals and working "shoulder to shoulder" with them. Moreover, this individual should be experienced in developing countries, preferably in Latin America, and have a good working knowledge of Spanish. At the completion of the project at least one of the local professionals should have been trained sufficiently, either on the job or through professional courses, to take over the expatriate planner's role on the team. The estimated term of contract will be for an 18-month period.

VIMPU will provide approximately five (5) man-months of professional staff time to assist contractor personnel and to coordinate project activities with those of other government agencies, as necessary and appropriate.

The Municipality of Leon will make available approximately thirty-eight (38) man-months of professional personnel to work with contract advisors and will provide necessary secretarial and other clerical services (approximately twenty-four (24) man-months). In addition, the Municipality will provide

*necessary office space, equipment and supplies, local transportation, telephone and communications, and drafting supplies.*

The PADCO field team in Leon consisted of three professionals plus technical and secretarial support supplied by the Municipality of Leon. Of this core group, PADCO provided Joseph E. Arington, the key expatriate professional, and recruited locally a social worker and an architect as well as the secretarial and technical personnel necessary. The project was located in Leon as an adjunct to the Mayor's staff and the newly created Office of Urbanismo and was technically a field unit of VIMPU.

### Project Objectives and Implementing Tasks

The three major objectives to be addressed by the contractor in carrying out the project as specified in the terms of reference are as follows:

1. Assist the City of Leon in dealing with day-to-day development issues which will affect the long-term character of urban growth and change. This objective will be met through the demonstration and application of urban development and land-use techniques and approaches directed to the process of:

- a. Goal setting
- b. Data assembly and analysis
- c. Guide planning
- d. Land-use control
- e. Project packaging
- f. Continuous planning

2. Establish a system of urban development institutions within Leon that are tied in function and operation to existing institutions at the regional and national levels. This objective will be met through training and research and through the strengthening of institutional linkages created during the course of the work outlined in objective number one above. Specific activities are:

- a. Developing professional skills
- b. Creating an urban development organization

- c. *Creating a working relationship with the Vice Ministry of Urban Planning and with all implementing agencies of government at the regional and national levels.*

3. Establish a mechanism for building in continuous evaluation of the land-use programming approaches and methods developed and/or adopted by this project. In order to carry out the purpose and objectives of the project in a collaborative style, PADCO made a reconnaissance visit to Nicaragua before starting actual field activities. This visit was the basis for firming up with the Nicaraguan government the proposed scope of work, organizational setting, staffing, and logistics. It covered two weeks in Nicaragua for general orientation and a review of the project in detail with the Mayor and his staff in Leon, VIMPU, and other relevant Nicaraguan institutions.

Based on the field reconnaissance visit, a detailed work plan and project schedule to be used to guide execution of the TA/UD land-use programming project was prepared. It included a description of the basic approach to be employed by PADCO in carrying out the objectives of the project. An outline was made of logistical arrangements, staff requirements, and a proposal for staff training.

#### THE PROJECT SETTING

Leon, the second largest city in Nicaragua, has a population of approximately 75,000, while the total urban and rural population of the municipality is about 100,000. The city is situated in the Department of Leon which is located on the Pacific Coast of Nicaragua between the Department of Managua (to the east) and the Department of Chinandega (to the west). Both of these departments have an extremely active economic and social growth which has tended to have a negative effect on the Department of Leon's growth.

The City of Leon itself serves as a commercial and services center for an important agricultural region where cotton is the principal crop. It is the site of the seat of the National Autonomous University of Nicaragua, the capital of its department, and is a city of considerable historic importance which was moved to its present site in 1610. The original city, Leon Viejo, was founded by the Spaniards in 1524 on the shores of what is now Lake Managua.

## Demographic Growth

It is significant that despite these factors both the City and Department of Leon over the last 24 years (1950-1974) have been losing relative importance to the Department and City of Chinandega. (The two departments comprise the North Pacific Region of Nicaragua. This is the richest agricultural region of the country and contains the Port of Corinto, a major deep water port of international significance.) Within the North Pacific Region, the population has experienced the changes indicated in Table 1. The projections of population for 1985 and 2000 are based on past tendencies.

The table shows both the existing population and projected variations. It clearly reflects that employment opportunities are being developed more rapidly in Chinandega and Managua than in Leon. Significantly, between 1963 and 1971 the contribution of the North Pacific Region (largely toward Managua) was of the order of 38 percent.

With respect to a breakdown of the population of the City of Leon, approximately 40 percent of the population has incomes less than C\$ 600 per month (US\$ 65) while another 37 percent have incomes between C\$ 600 and 1,200 per month (US\$ 35 to 170). Significantly, in Leon the relative percentage of the population at the upper-income levels is much greater than for Managua, while the middle-income population is significantly lower. Leon does not have a significant middle-class population. Much of this separation of rich and poor is said to have occurred during the 1950s with the advent of cotton as economic "king" in the region. The changes in population within the North Pacific Region and their relation to employment opportunities are clearly indicated within the changing economic structure of the Department of Leon and Chinandega. Table 2 indicates the competition between the two departments.

A detailed analysis of Leon's employment characteristics clearly indicates its primary role as principal service center of the region, as a result of the greater diversity of its human resources working in the tertiary sector (particularly with respect to community and social services) while the City of Chinandega shows a distinct growth in industry.

Based on these characteristics and with respect to development of the North Pacific Region, the National Plan for Reconstruction and Development, 1975 to 1979 contemplates creation of a regional growth pole defined by the cities of Corinto, Chinandega, and Leon with Leon as the principal

Table 1

Population Growth and Projections for the  
North Pacific Region of Nicaragua, 1950 to 2000

(in thousands of persons)

	1950		1974		1985		2000	
	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
North Pacific Region	205.4	100	376.2	100	515.2	100	793.1	100
Department of Chinandega	81.8	40	180.1	48	262.9	51	440.5	56
Municipality of Chinandega	21.7	11	55.6	15	86.5	17	157.8	20
Department of Leon	123.6	60	196.1	52	252.3	50	352.6	44
Municipality of Leon	49.2	24	94.1	25	124.7	24	181.9	23

SOURCE: Economic Feasibility Study: Expansion of the Port of Corinto.  
J.R. Leonard Associates, 1976, Tables 6 and 8.

Table 2

Changes in Economically Active Population  
for the North Pacific Region of Nicaragua, 1965 to 1985

(in thousands of people)

	<u>Primary Sector</u>		<u>Secondary Sector</u>		<u>Tertiary Sector</u>	
	<u>1965</u>	<u>1985</u>	<u>1965</u>	<u>1985</u>	<u>1965</u>	<u>1985</u>
North Pacific Region	54.6	56.7	14.3	25.8	19.9	48.4
Department of Leon	28.4	27.8	7.6	12.6	10.2	23.7
Department of Chinandega	26.2	28.9	6.7	13.2	9.7	24.7

SOURCE: Economic Feasibility Study: Expansion of the Port of Corinto. J.R. Leonard Associates, 1976.

center for reasons of its infrastructure and services. Chinandega will develop as a support center for agriculture and cattle raising.

### Infrastructure and Public Services

As of 1975, the coverage of some of the principal public services in Leon estimated by the Ministry of Economy and Industry was as follows:

Population served by water lines	49 percent
Population served by sewerage lines	23 percent
Population served by electric power	93 percent
Paved streets	40 percent

As might be expected, these global service figures vary considerably with respect to income groups served within the population. (See Annex A, Marco Para el Desarrollo de Leon 1977-1984.)

### Local Government and Finance

The city government of Leon during the project period consisted of a strong Mayor closely related to national leadership. In 1976 the city's annual budget was of the order of C\$ 7 million (US\$ 1 million) based on an increase of municipal revenues of approximately 140 percent during the period 1972 to 1975 with the levying of a special tax on new construction in the city and more effective collection of a one percent sales tax. Other sources of income for the city include charges on cotton processed in the municipality, vehicle registration, a business tax, and other miscellaneous income from permits and fines.

### Specific Urban Characteristics

As a site for the land-use programming pilot project, Leon reflected some unique characteristics, including:

1. Leon is a colonial city of national importance. The preservation of its historical plant is of considerable importance to the community. Historic preservation and future urban development were not necessarily seen as compatible activities by a majority of Leon's citizens. Roots and traditions were a key element in all developed activities and decisions.

2. The city was not growing as rapidly as other urbanized areas in Nicaragua, despite a temporary rapid increase in population and importance after the Managua earthquake in 1972. A high-pressure "uncontrolled growth" situation simply did not exist in Leon.

3. There are virtually no "squatter" settlements (without legitimate land tenure) in Leon. Rather, a key residential land-use problem as it relates to the land-use programming process was the existence of substantial illegal land subdivisions, where land tenure of residents is legitimate but where appropriate services (water, sewerage, paved streets, etc.) were not provided by the subdivider. Approximately 7,000 persons live in these illegal subdivisions. While they range from low-income areas to neighborhoods of relatively affluent people, the vast majority of such illegal land subdivisions are inhabited by poor people (approximately 6,300 persons).

4. The Alcaldia of Leon clearly provided an institutional setting which was probably more capable than most city governments of its size in Central and Latin America of utilizing and maintaining professional services. This was a result of the administrative, financial, and public service improvements made in recent years by its strong Mayor (who has an effective and comfortable personal relationship with national leadership).



## Chapter II

### BASIC APPROACH: THE PADCO WORK PROGRAM

Within the context of the project's objectives, the Leon work was directed toward a collaborative effort on the part of local, regional, and national organizations. Specific aspects of planning and implementation that are of special importance included the development of procedures to increase timely program and project execution in response to urgent needs. Special care was taken to ensure that the procedures and methodologies developed were susceptible to maintenance by local personnel with minimal outside technical assistance. Furthermore, particular attention was given to the need to identify mechanisms for linking both private and public sector investment and action with the urban development planning and programming process.

In order to accomplish this, the PADCO team focused its activities on the following processes: 1) integrated development programming; 2) project preparation and support for project implementation; 3) institutional development and staff training; and 4) evaluation.

#### INTEGRATED DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMING

The integrated development programming activities proposed as part of the work program were intended to provide a continually evolving framework for guiding the growth of the municipality. The proposed activities included:

Formulation of a programming model to establish a conceptual framework for identifying issues, development objectives, determining resources, and comparing alternative courses of action.

An identification of development issues in Leon within the regional and national context.

An identification of local development objectives -- linked with regional and national objectives -- and criteria for evaluating alternative courses of public action.

An evaluation of resource allocations for Leon in recent years and an approximate identification of the levels of resources that could be expected to be available in the near future.

An identification of the dimensions and composition of economic and demographic growth likely to occur in the next five to 10 years under explicit policy assumptions, together with an identification of a broader range of possibilities for longer-term development.

An identification of the main areas in which governmental action is likely to be necessary to guide the growth of the municipality in the next 10 years.

A description of alternative possible courses of action in each of these areas and an identification of the course of action preferred by government for the next 10 years.

An identification of the specific programs and projects that should be undertaken to implement the preferred course of action, together with the budgeting, organizational, and legal instruments necessary for undertaking those programs and projects in the near future (focusing on the next five years).

A process for the collection, analysis, maintenance, and dissemination of statistical and other information for the management of municipal development.

An identification and application of procedures for evaluation of the preferred development program and individual projects during and after their implementation.

PROJECT PREPARATION AND SUPPORT  
FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF PROJECTS

The work program contemplated the identification and preparation of projects appropriate to the achievement of the municipality's development objectives to include the design of projects, the specification of financing, organizational arrangements, and, where appropriate, legislation for their implementation, in order to permit final decisions with respect to further development and implementation. The contemplated project preparation activities included development of alternatives in conformance with local, national, and international criteria and procedures for project appraisal to expedite action and support.

Furthermore, it was anticipated that technical support would be given to specific projects to facilitate implementation. This was to include assistance in negotiation with funding sources, construction supervision, and the evaluation of projects during and after their execution.

As part of overall "development programming" it was proposed that specific project oriented activities be particularly concerned with:

The potential contribution of the project to the urgent problems.

The potential contribution of the project to the institution-building objectives of the Leon work, development of local skills, permanent linkages with relevant organizations, and effective mobilization of the private sector.

INSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT  
AND STAFF TRAINING

Creating an Urban Development Organization. A specific objective of the Leon project was to institutionalize a permanent technical staff in the Oficina de Urbanismo or other appropriate local agency or department.

To achieve this the project team was to work closely with the Mayor of Leon, the Director of the Oficina de Urbanismo, and with other appropriate representatives from the public and private sectors.

Creating a Working Relationship with VIMPU and with all Implementing Agencies of Government at the Regional and National Levels. As indicated in the terms of reference, the project team was to be located in Leon as an adjunct to the Mayor's staff while also operating technically as a field unit of VIMPU. As such, the project team proposed to work continuously to assure that the development programming process in Leon was:

Oriented to the needs of the implementing agencies.

Flexible enough to respond to changes in needs, policies, and programs.

Designed to facilitate rapid decision making and action.

Training. The training of Nicaraguan staff members employed by the Alcaldia and PADCO's Nicaraguan staff in the Oficina de Urbanismo was considered a fundamental part of institutional development. The work program indicated that training was to be "process oriented" and linked directly with the ongoing work in Leon.

The development of professional skills was treated as part of the concern with the establishment of a system of development institutions within Leon, linked effectively to existing institutions at the regional and national levels.

In support of institutional development objectives the "process-oriented" training was to:

Make maximum use of planning and administrative skills within Nicaragua.

Be conducted within Nicaragua and ideally within Leon itself.

Make only selective use of non-Nicaraguans.

Include formal training for at least one team member outside Nicaragua (ideally within the Latin American community and the physical context of a relevant "intermediate city").

The subjects of focus were to include at least the following:

Identification of local development objectives, linked with regional and national objectives.

Work programming and project management.

Field surveys, data analysis, data management and the dissemination of planning and development information.

Integrated development programming -- linking economic, social, and physical development with fiscal and institutional development recommendations.

Project identification based on overall development programming.

Project preparation, including training in the preparation of projects in forms suitable for national and international appraisal.

Public communication of planning and development ideas and the mobilization of public participation in the local development process.

Support for project implementation.

Development monitoring and evaluation.

Other subject areas for training were to be identified in the course of the work.

#### STAFFING REQUIREMENTS

PADCO Staffing. In accordance with the approved work program, PADCO was responsible for providing an executive manager, a deputy manager, and a field coordinator/project director.

PADCO's Executive Manager and Deputy Manager were Dr. John D. Herbert and Ing. Marco Antonio Cuevas. Both of these professionals have a broad range of experience in urban and regional development in Latin America. They were to backstop the field coordinator technically. Their projected time involvements over the project period were two and three-fourths man-months.

The Field Coordinator was Joseph E. Arington, an urban and regional planner with extensive experience in Latin America. He was to be involved in Leon for 18 man-months. His responsibilities included overall direction of both the administrative and technical work of the project. He was proposed as the primary "catalyst" in the establishment,

implementation, and evaluation of a unique collaborative effort on the part of local, regional, and national organizations and the project team.

It was anticipated that, in the process of carrying out his work in Leon, Mr. Arington might be absent from the project from time to time for periods of up to one month while fulfilling other short-term assignments for PADCO, when consistent with the progress of work in the Leon project. It was felt that such intermittent absences, particularly toward the later stages of the project period, would be advantageous in that they would enable the Field Coordinator to be available in Leon over a calendar period greater than the 18 months anticipated originally. They would also provide a series of test periods to assist the capacity of the local project team in assuming responsibility for the work in the absence of the coordinator. 5/

PADCO was also responsible for employing two young Nicaraguan professionals as members of the project team. While VIMPU suggested that consideration be given to employing an architect, an economist, and a sociologist, the budget limitations did not permit this. An architect and a sociologist with experience in the economic aspects of project preparation were employed. It was believed that the level of work which might be required in the area of economic analysis could be handled by the Field Coordinator, the Executive Manager, or his Deputy.

Staff Contribution of the City of Leon. As proposed, the project team was to be integrated with the Mayor's newly established Oficina de Urbanismo, staffed by a part-time senior engineer, two building inspectors, and a secretary.

It was agreed that the Municipality of Leon should make available approximately 38 man-months of professional personnel to work with the contractor and provide necessary secretarial and other clerical services to total approximately 24 man-months.

---

5/ It is worth noting here that the Field Coordinator was never actually absent during the 18 month period except for brief vacations. This was largely because of the workload that was carried by the Field Coordinator over the full project period. (See Chapter VI.)

Specifically, it was anticipated that the city's contribution to the project team would include:

Coordination by Ing. Orlando Teran	2 man months
Technical Assistant with an engineering background	18 man months
Experienced Draftsman who was also to become responsible for data management	18 man months
Secretary	18 man months
Messenger	6 man months

Staff Contribution of VIMPU. Inasmuch as the project team was to be a field arm of the Vice Ministry of Urban Planning (VIMPU) in Managua, VIMPU was to backstop the project with approximately five man-months of professional staff time to assist the project team and to coordinate project activities with those of other government agencies when necessary.



PART TWO  
THE FIELD WORK



## Chapter III

### INTEGRATED DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMING

#### SUMMARY OF FIELD ACTIVITIES

In actual performance, the work scheduled for integrated development programming lagged behind other aspects of the work program because of the heavy emphasis given over the first year to the Mayor's priorities for immediate action and technical assistance to resolve daily small- and large-scale problems. Despite the delays, however, a broader context for immediate actions slowly emerged. The first year's integrated development programming activities are summarized below:

#### Spring 1976

- Organization
- Organization of project team
- Analytical model
- Collection of base data from secondary sources
- Design and preparation of land-use study
- Preliminary analysis of target groups
- Design of socioeconomic survey for repartos
- Preliminary traffic circulation study
- Interviews with community groups, press, etc.
- Development of base map for Leon

#### Summer 1976

- Collection and analysis of base data (urban sectors)
- Land-use study field work
- Socioeconomic survey field work
- Design of traffic circulation study field work
- Interviews with community groups
- Economic and demographic projection analysis
- Development of base map for Leon
- Historic conservation program development

### Fall 1976

Graphic portrayal of land-use data  
Processing and tabulation of traffic count data  
Evaluation of base data  
Preparation of preliminary diagnostic  
Historic conservation program development  
Tabulation of socioeconomic field work data

### Winter 1976

Development of general development framework  
Continued work on urban development diagnostic  
Alternatives for traffic circulation  
Field work on historic preservation study

### Spring-Summer 1977

Revision of urban diagnostic  
Development of an urban development framework plan  
(See Annex A) consisting of three volumes:  
Volume I Urban Development Framework for Leon,  
1977-1984  
Volume II Immediate Action Projects  
Volume III Annexes

With respect to the general planning effort, apart from collection and analysis of secondary source material the project team carried out a variety of original survey work and data collection. During the first six months, a land-use and housing condition survey was carried out in conjunction with VIMPU and Catastro y Recursos Nacionales. Based on VIMPU's interests, data were collected in a form suitable for computer processing. However, the project team was forced to utilize crude but satisfactory graphic portrayal material for its subsequent analyses inasmuch as the final machine tabulations were not available until the final two months of the project. The second survey 6/ carried out

---

6/ Based on VIMPU's interests, a rather sophisticated code was developed which required the use of computerized keypunch tabulations. This caused a variety of delays because of mistakes by technicians in codifying data as well as a significant waiting period to utilize the only available computer.

by the project team was a traffic survey done in conjunction with the Transit Police and VIMPU in an effort to respond to the Mayor's concern about traffic flow in the downtown area. A third survey dealt with specific aspects of historic preservation and was carried out with the extensive participation of over 30 Leon groups and organizations.

The final and perhaps most important survey focused on the identification of target groups by their social and economic characteristics. It was carried out in two stages: the first focused on the population of Leon's illegal land subdivisions, while the second focused on the population residents in the city's barrios. Both sample surveys were carried out based on the identification of specific housing typologies in Leon and were tabulated by hand. <sup>7/</sup> The general identification and classification of target groups was based on: 1) current consumption levels, and 2) development potential factors (income, land tenure, and stability). <sup>8/</sup> It was the basic element in the development of an urban framework plan to guide Leon's future development.

#### THE CONSTRAINTS

Work in the area of integrated development programming began immediately at project start-up. Apart from the delays in data gathering which resulted from the extensive time given to short-term immediate action to respond to the Mayor's needs, additional time was required because of a general lack of: 1) consensus and understanding of the land-use programming concept and experience in its implementation; and 2) effective participation of the Alcaldia and the local government in the overall programming process.

---

<sup>7/</sup> Photo interpretation was not possible due to the lack of recent photos. Housing data gathered and mapped during the land-use survey was used and supplemented by field visits and interviews with residents.

<sup>8/</sup> See Guidelines for Formulating Projects to Benefit the Urban Poor in the Developing Countries. Office of Urban Development (TA/UD) USAID, April 1976.

Consensus, Understanding and Experience  
With the Land-Use Programming Concept

Despite the attempt of project documents to describe the process and action orientation of the land-use programming concept and continuous discussions with VIMPU throughout the project period concerning differences with other concepts, there was an overwhelming sense that at least some of the participants at the national level were expecting a final "comprehensive plan" of the normative variety (numbers of hospital beds, areas of open space required, number of classrooms, extensive zoning regulations and controls of land-use, etc.). <sup>9/</sup> This lack of consensus was reflected at every phase of development programming activity. The identification of the amount of data required to develop a framework plan for the development of Leon, the time periods to be covered by such a "plan," the levels of development of individual urban sector data and strategies, etc. -- all represented implicit subtle conflicts throughout the initial work period in scheduling and evaluation. These were only resolved during the last four months of the project. <sup>10/</sup>

This problem was complicated further by the local staff's limited experience with both traditional and action planning approaches as well as a lack of clear agreement between VIMPU, the Alcaldia, and the project team concerning the potential role and contribution of "immediate action" and ongoing technical assistance efforts to the identification of an urban framework plan. Despite the effort in project activities and documents to describe the approach in terms of its social, economic, and physical focuses and its process orientation, after one year of Leon project activity some of the participants were still anticipating the submission of a final "comprehensive plan." Their confusion was perhaps natural. If not a land-use plan, what would be presented?

---

<sup>9/</sup> In part this misunderstanding seemed to result from the very name -- land-use programming control -- which is a strongly "normative" and physical idea in the minds of many key people both in Leon and Managua. (See Chapter VII.)

<sup>10/</sup> Based on the recommendations of the AID interim evaluation report, the Mayor of Leon and VIMPU agreed that the urban development framework proposed by PADCO as a final product would be both relevant and useful to continued planning activities.

What framework or format could be provided to rationalize the planning and implementation of immediate action programs in a coherent and coordinated way? No conventional alternative exists.

During the first year of activity the project team, in providing assistance based on the Mayor's primary concerns and involving itself in many types of project-level services, identified three basic and essential elements which seemed necessary and appropriate to the planning and programming of urban development actions. These elements are: 1) action instruments; 2) guidelines for decision making; and 3) planning activities.

The most important of the three is the action instrument. The purpose of planning activities and guidelines for decision making is to better the quality of urban action instruments. If effective action does not result from the former two, they have no validity.

The Urban Development Framework for Leon, 1977-1984 developed by the PADCO team in Leon (See Appendix A) represents an initial attempt to provide a coherent format for orienting urban action and development activities in Leon to reflect the three basic elements and the extensive experience gained with the short-range project-oriented style which proved particularly appropriate to Leon as a secondary-level city. The framework attempts to institutionalize an ongoing rational planning process where a problem is identified and goals, objectives, and criteria are specified for evaluation, alternative solutions are defined, and one is selected for implementation and evaluation over a given time period.

In Leon the strategies and policies based on the identification of objectives were developed to help the Alcaldia fulfill its responsibilities for defining local development strategies as a context for urban actions. They represent an attempt to explicitly reflect development goals and objectives in daily decisions and actions, thereby reducing arbitrariness.

The purposes of the Urban Development Framework were to:

Provide the basis for continual review, analysis, debate, and public decisions concerned with urban development.

Provide inputs to national planning.

Interpret the national plan at the local level.

Provide the basis for the identification of projects and the preparation of annual investment plans.

Provide the basis required for the analysis and evaluation of proposals for specific projects, national as well as local.

Provide an adequate format for the collection and maintenance of data on Leon and its region.

Effective Participation of the Alcaldia and the Local Community in the Overall Programming Process

Most of the local interest and support which the project team was able to generate revolved about immediate action efforts. Significantly, limited amounts of the Mayor's time were available for extended discussions of development objectives, alternative development strategies, etc. This reality created a variety of delays during review of various phases of integrated development programming processes.

During the initial phases of diagnostic activity, extensive contacts were made with community groups and organizations. However, while many of these organizations participated actively in specific project development activities, their active formal participation in the integrated development programming process was limited because of the lack of consistent and basic policy decisions by the Alcaldia as a basis for significant community involvement.

The particular limitations on continuous active community participation were given special attention in the Urban Development Framework Plan which was finally developed for Leon. That document contains a specific analysis of the existing situation and the principal problems with respect to community participation in Leon and specific recommendations for short- and medium-range actions to more effectively mobilize: 1) the private sector; 2) community and basic organizations; 3) local professionals and technicians; and 4) the financial community.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR SIMILAR TYPES OF  
ACTIVITIES IN OTHER INTERMEDIATE-SIZED CITIES

Based on the Leon experience with integrated development, it is recommended that special consideration be given to the following types of activities:

Joint Work Program Development. The provision of additional time at the start of the project or before is necessary to clarify and emphasize project goals and objectives as well as to identify specific tasks and job-related roles for participating agencies. If a reconnaissance visit is called for, it should be of sufficient duration to permit the joint development of an effective work program, based on real policy and objectives.

Identification of Target Groups. A major consideration of land-use programming activities in Leon was the needs of the urban poor. The project team's experience with limited development resources suggests the critical importance of identifying "target groups" as the primary basis for developing urban policies, programs, and projects likely to have the most beneficial impact on individual groups and to help anticipate the important types of benefits and disbenefits likely to result from particular types of action. 11/

Specialized Senior Short-Term Consultants should be provided to assist the project staff in the early stages of problem analysis and during formulation of development and alternative strategies.

---

11/ Extensive use was made of AID's Guidelines for Formulating Projects to Benefit the Urban Poor in the Developing Countries. These guidelines should be considered particularly relevant if not essential to future urban development programming efforts in other intermediate-sized cities.



## Chapter IV

### PROJECT PREPARATION AND SUPPORT FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF PROJECTS

#### SUMMARY OF FIELD ACTIVITIES

During most of the first year, the project team devoted a maximum amount of time responding to the immediate needs of the Mayor of Leon and the city government with respect to specific ongoing or anticipated projects at the local level. An extensive amount of time was also given to supporting the continuing activities and functions of the Oficina de Urbanismo which, with an extremely limited staff capability, was charged with administering the existing building code and urban development regulations. At the Mayor's request, approximately two to three man-days per week were given to support the Oficina de Urbanismo over the initial 12 to 14 months of the project. Concurrently, specific projects were identified for technical assistance and support activities.

Initially, the identification of these projects flowed primarily from the Mayor's needs. No particular urban sector was emphasized. Rather, each project or technical assistance activity was visualized as a vehicle for: 1) building linkages with the Mayor by giving him immediately usable advice and assistance; and 2) becoming knowledgeable about the community, its people, institutions, and problems. In short, initial project preparation and the support for ongoing projects was used primarily to give the team credibility, visibility and to begin the long-term process of local institutional development.

During the last half of the project, this credibility and the institutional linkages developed were focused on specific high priority projects identified by the PADCO team. These included the low-income settlement upgrading program, the CEPAD low-income housing project and the historic preservation program. (See complete list of projects in Appendix B.)

## THE CONSTRAINTS

As indicated previously, the project team spent an extensive amount of time over the initial project period responding to immediate action needs defined by the Mayor of Leon. The local government was that of a very strong Mayor with extensive close links to national leadership. The project was superimposed upon an increasingly active local government which was already considered very successful by the vast majority of its local citizens.

An action planning approach -- a problem solving orientation including project development and support -- to integrated development programming was considered by the project team to be both appropriate and necessary in Leon. Establishing credibility with the Mayor by providing "usable" products immediately and on a continuing basis was given top priority in order to build the basis for institutionalization of planning activities. This project focus implicitly provided the project team with a "working" context to begin to understand Leon and the groups and organizations relevant to its development. However, it should be noted that, whereas the Mayor of Leon was especially action oriented, the Vice-Ministry of Urban Planning tended to favor the prior development of a comprehensive plan as the basis for action and project preparation. This conflict between local and national interests exerted a continuous pressure (push and pull effect) on project activities.

Some of the other factors which affected the level and intensity of project development and support activities were:

Development objectives were largely implicit and not explicit in Leon. Furthermore, throughout the project period there seemed to be minimal effective interest on the part of the Alcaldia in identifying such objectives in any reasonably specific manner.

Development activities were generally seen as being completely constrained by national programs and budgets. Project "brokering" was generally perceived as getting some of the national "product" and not necessarily as the mobilization of local and national resources based on locally developed projects.

Development finance was heavily based on "personalismo" and hidden and sometimes extremely "informal" <sup>12/</sup> mechanisms to develop necessary financial resources. The inability of outside "technical assistance" to penetrate the "informal" systems was a limiting factor with respect to program and project development.

Priority projects developed by the Alcaldia in the absence of overall strategies and objectives, while contributing to Leon's development, were sometimes in conflict, frequently not oriented toward the most critical problems, and often made for valid political reasons.

The level of staff experience in the area of project preparation and support, as well as in the politics of project development and resource mobilization, was initially quite limited. Training in this area was undertaken; however, the short time frame of 18 months did not permit full integration and "testing" of many newly acquired skills.

The above considerations in combination with the exceedingly slow process of integrating technical knowledge and inputs with local political realities resulted in: 1) an expansion of the time required for each project related activity; and 2) a level of technical sophistication for project development which was generally lower than prevalent international and even national standards for project appraisal and financing.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS FOR SIMILAR TYPES OF ACTIVITIES IN OTHER INTERMEDIATE-SIZED CITIES

The specific immediate action projects carried out in Leon by the city or national government represent tangible proof to the community that "things are happening," that progress is being made. As such, in secondary cities they

---

<sup>12/</sup> The basing of actions and decision making on the personalities involved and not the merits of the specific project or program.

can and should be used as a primary resource and focus for gaining credibility, generating interest, mobilizing resources, developing meaningful institutional linkages, and perhaps ultimately generating broader interest in the development programming process. In that context, many valuable local projects can be developed by the skill levels present in a project team, such as the one in Leon.

Be that as it may, it is extremely important to recognize that the level of project support and development activity which is required to prepare specific projects for international financing generally will require the use of at least short-term inputs from senior specialists in areas of priority interest. If actual interest in the preparation of such projects exists at the international level, it should be reflected in staffing patterns as well as in the overall program's time framework or schedule.

## Chapter V

### INSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND STAFF TRAINING

#### INSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT ACTIVITIES AND CONSTRAINTS

Of the three overall project objectives, the development of an institutional base to permit continuance of the land-use programming process in Leon after termination of AID support was clearly considered the most important to the long-term continued orderly growth of Leon. However, of all of the products which realistically could be anticipated and worked toward during the project period, this one is perhaps the most difficult to describe, identify, or "pin down."

The achievement of the institutional development objective required that primary emphasis be placed on "process" throughout the project period. Each "product" decision required both implicit and explicit decisions with respect to its potential for: 1) contributing to the development of local development institutions; 2) linking local activities and programs with national organizations and institutions; and 3) training local staff.

The issue is not only one of the trade-offs between "product" and "process" but also between program and politics. There are clearly no rules other than the one which recognizes that the only "right" way is the one which works. As was suggested early in this report, the use of techniques for land-use programming depends on the context. With respect to "techniques" and the "institutional context," it is worth using and commenting on several observations made about the Leon "reality" in the Fourth Quarterly Report prepared by PADCO as a basis for subsequent recommendations concerning the institutionalization of the project in Leon.

*In accordance with the work program, the project in all of its phases has been carried out in such a way as to maximize the involvement of individuals and institutions critical to the continuing development process in Leon and in Nicaragua.*

It should be noted, however, that priority was given to assuring that the project respond to the expressed needs of the Mayor of Leon in order to assure that the project team had continued easy access to the Mayor as well as the visibility necessary to function effectively in the Leon context. It was felt that a resolution of the Mayor's immediate needs was the basis for a subsequently broader dialogue and institutional development and change.

While the project team worked with many community groups over the first year, its close association with the Mayor's office also made it more difficult to interact fully and to encourage participation by other segments of the community.

However, the alternatives were extremely limited given the strong mayoral form of government. During the second year the successful attempts to broaden community involvement frequently required trade-offs which clearly weakened the project's primary relationship with the Mayor. These trade-offs were made in order to achieve specific and necessary project objectives such as moving the municipal government toward a more positive posture with respect to the positive and aggressive private sector participation in local government planning and programming. This, of course, was to increase the resource mobilization potential of the government which is appropriate and necessary for guiding future development.

The ability of the project staff to operate well within this political framework is clearly a prerequisite to the institutionalization of planning activities in Leon. Continued on-the-job training of local staff in the politics of planning and development is a prerequisite for the effectiveness of the institutionalization of the programming process.

The Fourth Quarterly Report also noted: *As was to be expected, immediate action needs often conflict with the methodical labor of the planning and programming process. In many cases, when the project team has had to decide between today and tomorrow, it has opted for today, even in cases when the benefits of the specific project or immediate action activity might have been questionable. The rationale for such decisions is twofold: technicians working in local governments should be responsive to the political process, immediate needs, whenever possible; and in the process of responding to such needs technicians can better integrate themselves and their project into the ongoing local political process working over time to influence political decision makers with respect to the validity and institutionalization of such things as development objectives and criteria, alternative development schemes, etc.*

This strategy requires much more time than the 18 months given. Despite this fact, it was pursued unflinchingly in order to understand and experience the real requirements of the institutional development objective. Significantly, the strong relationship with the Mayor tended to provide the project team with easy access and relationships with a wide variety of national government agencies in Leon and Managua. However, the simultaneous need to accommodate both national and local perspectives and interests represented a continuous underlying dilemma with respect to the interpretations and expectations of final products, especially with respect to VIMPU's interest in a "comprehensive" plan. As indicated in Chapter III, this dilemma was finally resolved in the last quarter, with the first agreement by VIMPU and the Alcaldia concerning preparation of an Urban Development Framework for Leon, 1977-1984 as a satisfactory final product to serve as the basis for subsequent urban development programming and a greater involvement of Leon's citizens in that process over the next seven years. As suggested in the Fourth Quarterly Report, institutional development and linkage requires significant amounts of time and patience:

*While the project team has and will continue to make maximum efforts to involve greater segments of the Leon community in the programming process, time, political considerations, and personal styles of individuals and institutions often make such involvement extremely difficult, especially in the problem identification and alternative program development stages. Without specific answers to development problems, political leadership is often reluctant to publicly identify the real problems. In Leon, this perspective is frequently a valid political reality. Be that as it may, increased participation at all public and private levels must be considered basic to the institutionalization of the Leon project. Eighteen months is insufficient time to set even the minimal basis for changes in this area.*

At the termination of the international support for the Leon experiment, a permanent municipal planning function had been established, and the three young professionals who had worked as members of the project team were being continued by the Alcaldia of Leon. The professionals have continued working in a coordinated manner with the Oficina de Urbanismo, although no formal decision had been taken on the PADCO team's recommendations for a progressive reorganization of that Oficina in order to more fully integrate the planning, administration, and implementation of urban development activities within the Leon city government. (See Appendix A, Marco Para el Desarrollo de Leon, Chapter VII, 13.1.) However, the Leon project experience with the institutional development clearly suggests the need for greater periods of time to establish a firm and broad institutional base for continuing efforts.

## STAFF TRAINING ACTIVITIES AND CONSTRAINTS

Training activities were carried out continuously throughout the project period, in accordance with the proposed work program. They were based on three types of training activities: 1) in-service training; 2) seminars and workshops; and 3) participation in projects/courses outside Nicaragua, each incorporating the principal components of the project -- namely, technical assistance to the Alcaldia and integrated development programming.

### In-Country Training

The specific activities carried out within Leon are outlined on the attached chart. PADCO's field coordinator was primarily responsible for informal and formal on-the-job training carried out during the 18-month period and related to the specific work program. A series of seminars and workshops also was organized.

Among the participants in individual formal training activities were VIMPU, local and national government officials, AID personnel, community leadership, and the PADCO executive manager and deputy manager for the Leon project. (See Quarterly Reports, Training.)

### Out-of-Country Training

COPVIDU Housing Conference. Arq. Efrem Chevez and Lic. Luis Zuniga represented the project team at the annual COPVIDU Low-Income Housing Conference which took place in Tegucigalpa, Honduras, in September 1976. Their attendance was predicated on the need to provide them with a broad view of low-income housing problems and projects in Central America as a basis for related project activity in Leon's barrios and illegal land subdivisions.

El Salvador Training Program. Between August 15, 1977 and September 11, 1977 Lic. Luis Zuniga participated in a work-experience training program carried out under the auspices of PADCO, DUA (Department of Urbanism and Architecture of the Public Works Ministry of El Salvador) and EDURES (Urban and Regional Development Study of El Salvador, Ministry of Planning).

Leon, Nicaragua Land-Use Programming Project  
Program for Development of Professional Skills

Requirements	First Quarter	Second Quarter	Third Quarter	Fourth Quarter	Fifth Quarter	Sixth Quarter
Identification of local development objectives	F/I	F		F/I		
Work programming and project management	F/I		F	I	F	
Field Surveys, Data Analysis, and Management	F/I	F			I	
Integrated Development Programming: Collection, analysis, maintenance of data	F/I					
Identification of target groups Economic and demographic projections	F/I	F/I	F/I	I	F/I	I
Identification of development objectives		F		I		
Identification of criteria		I	I		I	
Estimation of resource availability		I				F/I
Identification of alternative actions						
Identification of preferred programs		I	I	F		F/I
Project identification			F/I	F/I		
Monitoring procedures						
Project Identification	F	I	F	I	F	F/I
Project Preparation		I			I	F/I
Public Communication of ideas	I	F/I	I	I	F	
Support for Project Implementation	F	I	I			
Development monitoring						I

NOTE: F = Formal seminar or presentation  
I = Informal on-the-job training

The DUA training was designed to provide an overall view of that agency's plans, programs and activities in the area of urban development. (The responsibilities of DUA in El Salvador are roughly comparable to those of VIMPU in Managua.)

The EDURES training was oriented to the various aspects of the EDURES-PADCO-World Bank project implementation, including: 1) an extensive phase dedicated to identification of methodologies and techniques necessary for carrying out programs and projects to upgrade low-income settlements in urban areas; and 2) identification of the critical elements necessary for urban development programming in secondary cities.

Dr. John Herbert and Ing. Marco Antonio Cuevas of PADCO, who were working in San Salvador with EDURES, were directly responsible for the organization and implementation of the out-of-country training experience.

The Leon project team was extremely fortunate to have employed a bright and enthusiastic group of local professionals. However, their youth and limited experience with the types of work which they were expected to carry out required extensive on-the-job training throughout the project period. Significantly, it was this type of "informal" training which proved most effective. Such training was low-keyed and dealt not only with the "hard" technical areas of urban development programming but also sought concurrently to identify the "soft" areas such as the "politics of such programming."

The formal seminars and workshops carried out with national agency participation were also utilized throughout the project period. Although also effective, they were often difficult to relate to the Leon context and sometimes required subsequent "debriefing" sessions for local staff in order to interpret effectively the materials and ideas presented.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS FOR SIMILAR TYPES OF ACTIVITIES IN OTHER INTERMEDIATE-SIZED CITIES

In future projects, special consideration should be given to the following issues.

1. Sustained project support should extend over longer periods of time through the combination of initial periods of residency by expatriate staff with short-term, follow-up

working visit after initial organization and implementation activities which could spread over longer periods of time.

2. In developing the Leon project, extensive efforts were made by USAID's Office of Urban Development to clarify and reach agreement on the purposes and methodologies as well as on the general contributions of all participating parties (local, national and international). Undoubtedly, such extensive work is and should be considered necessary and appropriate to the development of the terms of reference for all such projects. It is important to note, however, that despite these efforts in Nicaragua, there was a wide divergence of opinion and expectations about project purposes among each of the institutions which were signatories of the project agreement. In projects of this sort, this may be a result, in part, of "posturing" or "hidden agendas," or perhaps to a basic misunderstanding by one or more of the participating parties.

Phrased another way with respect to the Leon project, there was much more agreement on paper than on the ground. This, of course, occurs in many internationally assisted projects. The Leon case is not unique. However, when basic program objectives include institutional development, the joint establishment of mechanisms for the continuous evaluation of approaches and methodologies developed by the project, the lack of "real" shared understanding and expectations among the participants will continually hinder if not preclude the realization of such objectives.

It is therefore critical that much more time and effort be given to joint program development by the participating agencies, not only at the initial project design stages but also during field reconnaissance and thereafter in continuing implementation, review, and evaluation.

3. Staff training obviously should be a key element in any future programs of this type. In order for such training to be most effective, it is extremely important for it to be planned and carried out in a consistent and orderly manner. The extensive use of outside agency personnel as trainers should be encouraged in order to permit cross-fertilization of ideas and methods. This would also relieve the field coordinator of some of the direct formal training burden during implementation. Despite efforts in the Leon project to do this, not enough time was available prior to project start-up to fully identify and integrate local and national training resources. Nor was there sufficient money budgeted and available to facilitate such participation.

In future projects, consideration should be given to providing more time during the reconnaissance stage to identify and program local and national training resources as well as to develop a training budget which reflects the level of effort necessary.

## Chapter VI.

### STAFF REQUIREMENTS

#### SUMMARY OF ACTUAL ACTIVITIES

The staffing pattern was generally implemented as proposed with some changes in projected man-month assignments in order to adjust to project demands.

The executive manager and deputy manager provided substantive inputs in the areas of training and project evaluation activities as well as contributing to the final economic analysis required for the urban development framework document.

The project field coordinator was in Leon for a continuous 19-month period (February 22, 1976 to September 15, 1977) with no absences even for short-term assignments. This continuous residence was largely a result of the continuously increasing demands placed on his time by the project.

Lic. Luis Zuniga served a full 18 months as team sociologist (March 15, 1976 to September 15, 1977). Arq. Efrem Chevez had served as an architect/planner for approximately 16 man-months when he was killed in an auto accident in early July 1977. He was replaced by Ing. Orlando Barrios for the last two months of the project.

The staff mentioned above were complemented by a young civil engineer, Orlando Jose Teran 13/ and supportive personnel employed by the Alcaldia to work under the project coordinator's direction.

---

13/ Eng. Teran resigned his post after one year and was replaced by Eng. Jorge Ivan Lopex Orozco.

The Vice-Ministry of Urban Planning (VIMPU) provided approximately five months of professional staff time to the project over the 18-month period, as anticipated. VIMPU's primary contributions were in overall coordination and administration, land-use surveys, circulation studies, and training.

Apart from the above staff, during almost the entire 18-month period the project team was assisted on a full-time basis by architectural students assigned to the Leon project by the University of Tennessee's work experience program which has operated in Managua since the earthquake of 1972. A total of 10 students contributed to the work, each living in Leon for periods of three to six months. Their participation allowed the team to undertake more short-term physical development studies and projects than would otherwise have been possible.

It should be noted that similar work experience programs were tentatively developed by the project team to effectively utilize the skills of local architectural and law students of UNAN. In most cases, long-range programming of Nicaraguan students was not possible as a result of specific political problems with government and university roles and relationships.

#### THE CONSTRAINTS

The concept of an outside executive manager functioned quite well in Leon in providing objective outside review and evaluation of ongoing project activities as well as inputs into the areas of training and economic development. In a very limited way it filled the vacuum caused by the lack of a budget to cover specialized senior professionals to assist in the formulation of program and project recommendations.

The field coordinator/project director clearly had the key role in making or breaking the Leon project. It should be noted, however, that the "process and product" mix -- the individual and institutional development objectives of land-use programming -- clearly placed an overwhelming time and energy drain on the "key expatriate" who was directly responsible for the technical, administrative, and political aspects of the project. In spite of their high level of interest and enthusiasm, the limited experience of local professional staff with the technical approaches required, as well as in handling the nuances involved in generating interest, "wheeling and dealing" the political implications of specific projects and marshalling limited resources -- all contribute to the possibility that this role, if exactly

replicated in other projects, will not prove to be feasible politically or technically.

The concept of hiring and training local professionals over the course of the work proved to be a sound one. However, it should be noted that it, in effect, requires trade-offs in terms of the technical level of production that might be expected out of the project over the initial one- to two-year period as well as the time required to produce such products. The easy ability to respond to "process" and "product" with respect to staff training requires significant experience and patience on the part of the project coordinator.

Apart from the civil engineer (technical assistant), the level of experience and competence of the municipal supportive staff was lower than originally projected by PADCO. As much as anything, this was the result of a conscious decision by the field coordinator to fill such posts at salary levels which reflected those of ongoing municipal personnel policies, avoiding staffing levels and patterns which might preclude their maintenance by the Alcaldia after the initial 18-month period. The project production level continually reflected this fact.

With respect to VIMPU's staff support, its form and content tended to reflect the push-pull effect of the differing orientations and interests of the national and local governments. For that reason there were some cases when their help might have been solicited but was not.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS FOR SIMILAR TYPES OF ACTIVITIES IN OTHER INTERMEDIATE-SIZED CITIES

1. The field coordinator's primary responsibility for the technical, administrative, political, and training aspects of the project places too great a burden on one single individual. Consideration should be given to a more equitable distribution of the work load through all or some of the following changes: 1) the assignment of a permanent full-time local counterpart as project director; 2) the provision of short-term technical specialists to assist as necessary in specific program and project development and training; 3) the more extensive use of the outside executive manager for complementary program and training activities. Furthermore, consideration should be given to extending his involvement with the project for longer periods of time, perhaps an initial period of residence (12 to 19 months) to develop basic program and priority projects with local staff. This would allow for a trial and error process of institutionalization.

2. A local project director and counterpart, if assigned full-time to the project from the outset, could significantly reduce the expatriate's administrative and political responsibilities while concurrently developing his technical skills in the area of urban planning and programming. This would also tend to assure project continuance after any demonstration period.

3. Specialized short-term senior professionals should be budgeted to assist in the formulation of program and project recommendations as necessary. This is particularly important if there are expectations that the project will produce projects suitable for financing by international organizations.

4. The executive manager function could legitimately be expanded to provide additional outside technical input into program and project development as well as evaluation and training activities.

5. Local university personnel and students when available should be integrated into the program. A specific plan for their effective utilization in program implementation should form a part of the work to be accomplished during the reconnaissance visit or initial periods of project field activity. As indicated earlier in this chapter, the contribution of the architecture students from the University of Tennessee to the Leon project was very important in that it extended the project team's response capacity.

PART THREE  
LESSONS FOR THE FUTURE



## Chapter VII

### AN OVERVIEW OF THE MAJOR ISSUES

What is the potential role of land-use programming in intermediate-sized cities in this process? As stated in the Introduction, the purpose of this evaluation report is to provide information and insight into the methodology and techniques as well as the general processes and realities involved in the Leon project, to identify the feasibility of its replication elsewhere, and to contribute to the improvement of planning and development activities in other intermediate-sized cities in the developing countries.

In the first two parts of this evaluation report the Leon experience was reviewed in terms of its national and local context, basic and policy program elements were reviewed, and recommendations were made to improve similar activities elsewhere in the future. An attempt will be made in this section to coalesce these specific recommendations and constraints into an overview of the major issues.

#### GENERAL PROBLEM AREAS TO BE ADDRESSED

##### Land-Use Programming What is it? For Whom is it?

The processes of land-use programming and control have been variously defined. The Rivkin/Carson study preferred the formulation that relates the use and availability of urban land in space and over time. As a publicly administered process it is:

- a. *Based on an array of goals and standards -- either explicit or implicit -- as to the locations, linkages, densities and character of uses that may occupy land in a given city or society.*

- b. *Able to assure the availability of sufficient land for necessary uses and the utilities to service these uses at the time and in the sequence required and at reasonable costs.*
- c. *Able to resolve equitable conflicts among uses.*

Most important, perhaps, the study noted that there are a great many strategies of intervention -- both flexible and highly complex and detailed. Also, the land-use control process is an imperfect exercise and highly responsive to economic, social, and political forces within a given city and country. The techniques which exist -- information gathering, establishment of a planning framework, and specific control measures to implement objectives -- do not represent a single "best" system or even a set of measures to apply to given circumstances. Rather, "picking and choosing" becomes essential within each specific country circumstance." To be productive, methodologies and techniques should be integrated with attention to more fundamental issues dealing with the land control processes.

In that sense, while the Leon experience clearly suggests the potential viability and appropriateness of many of the basic land-use programming concepts, it also indicates the need to put its physical aspects more clearly into focus with respect to social and economic objectives and the critical need to deal with short-term immediate realities as a basis for longer-range planning activities.

The importance of the social and economic factors was implicitly recognized by the Office of Urban Development (TA/UD) of USAID in the terms of reference which say in part:

*The term, land-use programming, incorporates the several functions of urban development necessary to guide and stimulate the growth process -- namely, goal setting, analysis, planning, project packaging, program coordination, and evaluation. An important objective of land-use programming is the strengthening of links to public sector implementing agencies and the identification of mechanisms to further mobilize private resources for implementing urban development projects. The strong orientation to project and program implementation must characterize the process of land-use programming.*

Despite this fact however, in Nicaragua, as elsewhere, urban planning is generally thought of in terms of a general development or land-use plan which defines the characteristics of urban areas with respect to the location, intensity, and quantity of land available for various uses. As such, it

is frequently considered as a synthesis of information for optimum land development. Inasmuch as such plans tend to reflect general long-range objectives, they have frequently been somewhat less than adequate in coping with the process of urbanization. In urban areas in developing countries such as Nicaragua, the characteristics of urban development -- limited resources, rapid growth, and relatively continuous change in existing urban land uses -- mitigate against the effectiveness of the traditional land-use plan in its most normative context.

Unfortunately, the "land-use programming" concept which was the basis for the Leon demonstration project seemed to lend itself to interpretation as a primarily "normative" physical approach to control of urban land development. Whether this is, perhaps, the result of the term "land-use programming" itself or the lingering effects of much of the previous "planning literature of the sixties" and the largely "normative" planning approaches of foreign experts of that period is difficult to say. But one thing is certain with respect to a strongly "normative" traditional urban planning approach: nothing could be less appropriate to the intermediate-sized city where the scale of the problem, if considered a good deal more manageable than for the primate cities, is still extremely complex both economically and socially.

Their growth rates and their competition for national support with the traditional centers of power suggest that much more emphasis should be given to the social and economic basis for physical land-use decisions. In Leon as well as in Nicaragua there is a strong tendency of the planning function to express itself only in terms of norms and standards for controlling physical development. These frequently have little resemblance to the real social and economic context on which they are supposedly based.

The array of goals and standards with respect to uses, densities, locations, linkages, and land supply required for public and social purposes, as well as the resolution of conflicts among uses, frequently seems askew with respect to the real immediate needs of the majority of the population to be served. It does little good to specify that the land-use programming process "takes account of and deals equitably with the needs of the poor," if the term land-use programming is interpreted as the need for a series of norms and standards which look toward the future at the expense of the present, leaving unresolved the problems of the steadily mounting percentage of poor immigrants to the intermediate-sized cities and the strangulation caused by a lack of development resources.

From the Leon experience it is clear that, if the land-use programming concept is to be an effective tool for assisting intermediate-sized cities in developing areas, increased attention and emphasis must be given to: 1) the clear identification and classification of the target group population within such cities; 2) the identification of immediate actions -- policies, programs, and projects to meet today's needs as a basis for longer-range planning; and 3) more effective mobilization and use of existing resources.

In this context it is important to note that the USAID Guidelines for Formulating Projects to Benefit the Urban Poor in Developing Countries represents a potentially effective tool for achieving all of the above. The intention in recommending extensive use of the Guidelines is not to "sell" a particular solution which will be appropriate in all cases, but rather to insist that land-use programming and control in intermediate-sized cities will be of little value if it falls into what seems to be a contemporary institutional trap of applying global solutions or recommending physical norms and standards which bear little resemblance to the socioeconomic needs and capacities of the vast majority of the urban population -- solutions, norms, and standards which are based on dreamlike conceptions of what development really is.

The Nicaraguan experience suggests that the land-use programming concept, if not more effectively defined and more clearly understood, could become the basis for a thoroughly simplistic and naive "normative" approach to the problems of intermediate-sized cities in developing countries. The techniques, methodologies, and analyses outlined in the Guidelines provide an initial framework for a meaningful understanding of the differing levels of both infrastructure and service consumption and the development potential of specific target groups within the total urban population. In the context of Leon, such an analysis provided an effective base for both evaluating real needs and the effectiveness of existing government programs, policies, and procedures as well as a base for identifying the development resources of the specific target groups themselves which might be applied to the problem solving process. This last point, of course, is of vital importance if the land-use programming process is to have any hope of mobilizing additional resources at the local level and making more effective use of existing national resources.

In summary, the land-use programming process needs further and more explicit definition if it is to represent a positive potential for the development and economic

integration of intermediate-sized cities within developing countries. This should be based on a rapid, clear though simple, and systematic identification and understanding of the special social, economic, and physical characteristics of individual "target groups" within the population to be served -- their specific problems and potentials and the ways public and private resources can be oriented to have a much greater impact on such groups. Work carried out by the PADCO team in Leon was along these lines. However, it was not always clear that all of the participating individuals and institutions participating in the land-use programming process were focused in the same way.

### Criteria for Selecting Project Sites in Developing Countries

The following were suggested as prerequisites to establishing project activities in the intermediate-sized cities of developing countries: institutional mechanisms to deal with urban problems outside major metropolitan areas, a measure of national government priority for such centers, technical capacity to plan and administer located in such communities, and local political receptivity to growth management and control. The Leon demonstration project was based on those criteria and placed extensive importance on the institutional development context of programming at both the national and local levels.

The Leon experience clearly ratifies the use of the "institutional" prerequisites suggested above as a basis for establishing a programming process in a given country. The institutional base or potential base is vital to a successful effort. However, in utilizing the above-mentioned prerequisites the Leon experience also indicates the importance of doing a much better job of identifying and differentiating between "stated" and "real" national and local policies.

One of the major obstacles to be overcome in assessing potential project sites in developing areas is "posturing" on the part of governments. This all too often forms a part of grant or loan negotiations between international assistance agencies and national governments. This "posturing" is usually intended to create the illusion of complete compatibility of national policies, goals, and objectives with the international project criteria. It poses perhaps the greatest challenge to the effectiveness of land-use programming in intermediate-sized cities. If the potential institutional base is illusory, there can be little hope that such projects will have the necessary impact.

Obviously, there is no sure way for separating out national and local "illusion" from national or local "reality." Furthermore, it should not be expected that all potentially appropriate sites will meet all of the international prerequisites or criteria. If this were the case, more national interest in intermediate-sized cities would already be resulting in these types of actions and activities without outside assistance. Be that as it may, it is still extremely important to understand and anticipate the potential areas of institutional "slippage," so that field activities may be carried out from the outset in such a way as to compensate for "institutional deficiencies."

There are potentially many ways of reducing the effectiveness of "posturing" by national governments. With respect to USAID, the extensive use of the intermediate-sized city project as an integral part of the country AID plan -- its development by Mission personnel -- should be helpful in making realistic assessments of national compatibility with international prerequisites. The project itself might be "piggy backed" when appropriate to complement existing national efforts in municipal development or in rural and regional development programs. The provision of extended initial periods of time for joint work program development with relevant national and local governments would, of course, help identify gaps between real and expressed policy. The identification of a larger time frame for program development, execution, and supportive follow-up -- perhaps carried out in stages -- would also be a potential means of reviewing mutual interests and goals and of fixing project continuance to subsequent stages of development on the results of such analysis.

#### Institutional Development and Linkages

Institutional development was a primary objective of the Leon project. As suggested by the Rivkin/Carson study, the institutional aspects of land-use programming are clearly of the highest priority and should continue to be specified in terms of administrative and programmatic relationships. Two major areas of concern to land-use programming are briefly outlined here, so that future program planners can become more conscious of the problems which can arise from seeking to achieve multi-level institutional development and linkage through the process of land-use programming, especially when carried out over short segments of time. These relate to national and local institutional development and linkage and the creation of local development institutions.

## National and Local Institutional Development and Linkage

It is obviously quite reasonable and appropriate to expect land-use programming activities to be carried out in ways that will generate increased institutional capacities at national and local levels with the strengthening of functional linkages between such levels. However, in carrying out joint programming efforts by local and national agencies, major differences with respect to program and policy orientation and perceptions should be anticipated. For example, is the primary function of land-use programming activities to serve as the last link in the implementation chain of national "macro" planning, or is its purpose to provide greater capacity and autonomy to local governments and local institutions so that they might be able to more effectively harness national resources to local policy and program determinations?

Obviously, it is neither one nor the other. Hopefully, it should encompass both purposes simultaneously. National policy and planning in the ultimate analysis should serve intermediate city populations in the most effective manner based on their real needs. And one goal of local governments should be to serve as an effective link between local populations and their national governments, interpreting their needs to relevant national institutions and agencies so that their planning and programming might be more effective -- in short, to provide inputs to national programming and planning while concretely reflecting national development goals and objectives in local policies and programs. But how does it really work?

For the person placed in the role of the "technical arm" of a national urban planning agency located as an adjunct to a local city government (the Leon model), the reality is frequently quite different. While much "posturing" goes on with respect to national and local relationships, there is clearly enough mutual distrust and suspicion to make the intermediary role somewhat uncomfortable at times.

While the wearing of "two hats," (i.e., national and local) provides unique opportunities for "wheeling and dealing" within the land-use programming process, it should probably be considered an almost untenable role for anyone but a foreign "expert." When outside financial assistance is financing the key field position (as was the case in Leon), it might be anticipated that the "double binds" created during the implementation of theoretical organizational linkage schemes between the national and local levels will

ultimately be resolved by the "expert" on the scene. This, hopefully, will be based on an accurate analysis of what is appropriate and necessary at a given point in time within the national and local institutional context. This flexibility, however, is probably limited to outside technical assistance personnel.

Local hires will ultimately have to provide primary allegiance to the level of government which finances their jobs. Their flexibility will be much more limited to a personal political horizon and, as such, could measurably affect the development of real and effective linkages between national and local levels of government.

The key element in beginning to resolve this implicit problem is perhaps the element of time and staff permanency. In this context the consultant's hiring of local staff outside of the local institutional budget, with permanency predicted on the project's success, is not a very satisfactory solution. The inclusion of a local staff, a professional director/coordinator, etc., complemented by the international "expert" at the outset of international assistance activities would probably exert a more positive influence here.

#### The Creation of Local Development Institutions

At the local level, the creation and linkage of development institutions includes not only the public sector but the private sector as well. As such, there are many potential political problems. Its essential base is a shared set of "ground rules," a reasonably consistent set of development objectives which are the basis for public activity and its coordination with private sector interests and activities. These, of course, do not normally exist. Nor is it a simple task to identify them. Furthermore, in the normal local institutional context, information is power. No one wants to share it. Public officials are usually "gun shy" with respect to any community participation. Local private development institutions (chambers of commerce and industry, clubs, etc.) are usually fighting their own internal battles to survive.

In short, local institutional development and linkage is a long-, long-, long-range objective. The victories here obviously go to the "tortoise," (local leadership and technicians) and not to the "hare" (international institutions and their assistance experts).

It is, of course, a critical element. However, the only way to start is small. With incremental inclusion and development of linkages based on common interests. With specific immediate action projects and programs. This is usually the type of activity that is of little interest to the "hare" because the short-term payoff does not exist or is too small. How do you justify the time and expense involved in finally getting the Mayor together with the Chamber of Commerce after 18 months? How long does it really take? What happens to the original work schedule?

There obviously is no one answer except, perhaps, a process orientation to urban development. Long-term, low-level, sustained support is, of course, somewhat "sloppy" to administer and to evaluate. But it is also an area where intermediate-sized cities frequently need the most effective assistance. A response to its requirements would clearly require the "hare" to slow down somewhat and attempt to adjust his pace to that of the "tortoise." One wonders if international institutions are really ready to spend the time which seems required to win this race. Perhaps the biggest problem to be overcome here is the international assistance agencies' self-images.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE PROGRAMS

The evaluation report has attempted to provide some relevant insights into the land-use programming and control process based on the Leon, Nicaragua experience. Another pilot project is now underway in Thailand and one will soon be starting in Ghana. Ultimately, the three projects will provide a strong basis for the type of comparative evaluation necessary to identify possible intervention strategies for USAID in the area of urban development and planning in the intermediate-sized cities of developing areas. However, even at this early point in time, we believe it is feasible to provide some realistic preliminary guidelines for possible replication of the land-use programming concept.

A wide variety of general problem areas and constraints has been identified in this report. Significantly, very few of them require wholesale changes in basic strategies. Rather, we believe that with some basic adjustments, many elements of the Leon project should continue to be reflected in future strategies and perspectives of USAID and other international assistance agencies involved in the urban planning and development activities in the intermediate-sized city.

### Specific Program Objectives

Four fundamental objectives for future projects can be stated based on the Leon experience. They are:

1. Assist the local government, in conjunction with relevant national agencies, in planning and guiding urban growth, utilizing a range of urban development and land-use techniques and approaches, and emphasizing immediate-action programming.
2. Establish and implement an organizational structure and a system for coordination and promotion of local level urban planning and development activities within a regional and national context.
3. Identify and establish mechanisms for training and planning professionals and other techniques for continuing responsibilities in carrying out the approaches and methodologies adopted by the local government.
4. Identify and establish mechanisms for evaluating the land-use programming and control process in all of its aspects.

### Considerations for Specific Elements of the Basic Approach

In Part Two, chapters III through VI of this report, specific recommendations were made for carrying out similar types of activities in other intermediate-sized cities. In summary, the following elements should be considered in future efforts:

#### The Time Framework

A period of 18 months or two years is really insufficient time to establish the institutional base required to guide the implementation of action programs and projects, particularly in that project formulation dominates the first year or so of the work. A concept of extended sustained support with return visits extended over a long period of time would allow the international team to continue to guide

and assist implementation of the action programs recommended. We believe that future projects should provide a total project time of at least 24 to 36 months to permit this type of continued low-intensity support. Such periods could quite legitimately be extended in specific cases.

This extended period of time should be broken down into three phases: the reconnaissance visit or work program preparation stage; the long-term residence stage; and 3) the extended sustained support stage.

1. The reconnaissance visit or work program preparation stage should allow sufficient time for joint preparation of the work program with national and local governments. We believe the reconnaissance visit should allow a full review of the situation with the many national ministries and agencies to be involved directly or indirectly. It should also allow development of the work program in the country involved and permit local staff in the city and others to have a direct input. Needless to say, the AID missions would be an integral part of such "work programming" activities and would identify strategies for utilizing the specific urban activities and identify regional and national linkages to facilitate the overall country assistance plan.

2. The long-term residence stage would involve the initial overall urban analysis work and the outlining of an urban structure plan to guide immediate actions and the preparation of priority projects as well as their initial stages of implementation.

3. The extended sustained support stage is recommended based on the experience gained in Nicaragua. The Leon experience suggests that, as long as the international expert is in place, the focus of the project naturally will revolve around his efforts. This will naturally result in a failure to fulfill a basic project objective, to create a full sense of self-reliance by the local staff. This in turn runs the risk that, upon completion of concentrated field work, the abilities of the local staff to continue successfully will be untested. To overcome this problem, an initial concentrated period of full-time field work of the international expert should be reduced and complemented with a series of follow-up visits of between one and three months with appropriate gaps between, during which time the local staff can gain the experience of independent work.

## The Work Program

1. Work should continue to be focused on developing programs and projects which will improve living conditions as quickly as possible for the urban poor in intermediate-sized cities for low-income groups (including migrants) through supportive public actions which encourage low-income households to take the initiative to help themselves.

2. The land-use programming procedures and techniques to be developed should be designed to facilitate prompt responses to urgent issues within a sound long-range perspective. That perspective will require that particular emphasis be given to the identification of "target groups" within the urban population as the basis for both short- and long-term urban programming activities.

3. The preparation of supporting documentation on land-use programming in the intermediate-sized city should be recognized as necessary and undertaken early in the work. This documentation, or urban programming framework, should be action-oriented and should definitely not in any way attempt to be a comprehensive plan. It should include a systematic codification of the basic data collected, the land-use planning guidelines elaborated, and proposed priority immediate action projects.

## Institutional Development and Training

Special importance should continue to be attached to local institution building.

1. The establishment of truly collaborative efforts by the national and local governments and international technical assistance personnel is essential. Before project start-up, every effort should be made to facilitate the creation of the position of permanent local project director or coordinator. This person should be responsible for the overall planning and development effort while receiving the technical and administrative support necessary from international assistance personnel. The inclusion of this position from the outset should provide for a more effective utilization of local and national agencies, a more realistic local perspective for project activities, and also greater continuity after termination of international assistance.

2. Explicit provision should be included for the training of local professionals, through systematic on-the-job training and through effective utilization of local, regional, and national institutional training capacities, including training available to technicians beyond the immediate project. Support should be provided to national government institutions, so they might undertake "refresher" training courses for planning personnel at the local and national levels as well as orientation programs for political leadership.

### Staffing

The joint local, national, and international support for required staffing should be continued in future projects. It establishes a potentially strong basis for the development of permanent institutional linkages between local and national governments. The following should be considered:

1. The Leon experience suggests that it is most unwise to place the international "expert" in the lead role of such projects, both from an institutional development standpoint as well as from the administrative, policy, technical, and cultural requirements of that position. A permanent local professional should be assigned the leadership role from the beginning. He in turn should be backstopped by the international "expert" as necessary.

2. A specific problem encountered in the Leon project which very likely will occur in similar projects is the lack of specialized short-term expertise. In many cases where national technical backstopping is provided, it frequently lacks the types of broad experience required. It is therefore recommended that short-term specialized technical consultants be specified as an integral part of project staffing.

### CONCLUSION

At the time the Rivkin/Carson study of land-use programming in intermediate-sized cities was made in 1974, no international assistance agency whose activities were reviewed had program efforts especially directed toward such cities. For those activities that existed in such centers (such as training centers or universities), any involvement was strictly secondary.

Significantly, of the 70 countries where AID had some form of program activity in fiscal 1973/74, only 13 countries had no city with a population over 100,000 in 1970. Thirty countries had one or more centers over 500,000 in population and at the same time three or more smaller centers of over 100,000 population. Six of these countries were in Latin America, five were in Africa, and seven were in Asia.

Despite the policy orientation toward rural development which has existed in AID over recent years, it has become increasingly obvious that urban issues cannot be ignored.

More importantly, even as international and national urban strategies have emerged with respect to technical and financial assistance, until the present time they have tended to reinforce the concentration of urban land development activities and policies in the major metropolitan regions. While the importance of these areas warrants the priority setting by national and international agencies, the continued population migration to the primate centers and the abject conditions of survival there suggest the need to identify additional relevant urban strategies. In that sense perhaps, the intermediate-level cities represent a hope for the continued flow of rural/urban migrants which seems inevitable -- despite the most intensive rural improvement efforts and the current level of concentrated urban effort in major metropolitan regions. In essence, a concerted effort to contribute to the ability of these cities (many of them service centers to rural hinterlands) to manage growth can make a significant contribution to the prospects for both urban and rural development within a framework of national economic integration.

The Leon, Nicaragua experience clearly suggests the potential viability and appropriateness of many of the basic concepts of the land-use programming process in the context of the problems faced by intermediate-sized cities in developing areas. The establishment of a local level framework and process for urban development programming, the strengthening of links to public sector institutions, the identification and the effective mobilization of private and public resources for urban development projects within a strong action orientation seems ideally suited to the intermediate-sized city context. As such, it represents an area of significant potential for both national and international technical and financial assistance.

APPENDICES



## APPENDIX A

Bound separately, Appendix A consists of the three-volume Spanish text series titled Urban Development Framework Work for Leon 1977-1984. The main volume is supplemented by an immediate-action framework and an annex. The full titles are:

MARCO PARA EL DESARROLLO DE LEON, NICARAGUA 1977-1984  
Preparado para la Alcaldia de Leon y el Vice-  
Ministerio de Planificación Urbana, Managua  
bajo contrato con la Oficina de Desarrollo  
Urbano (TA/UD), agosto 1977. (texto principal).

PROYECTOS DE ACCION INMEDIATA, agosto 1977

ANEXOS, agosto 1977



Appendix B

PROJECT PREPARATION AND SUPPORT:  
SPECIFIC FIELD ACTIVITIES OF THE PADCO TEAM IN LEON

Spring 1976

Project Preparation  
Traffic Circulation -- conceptual development  
Central Plaza Renovation  
Hotel Metrotur parking and Plaza Concept I  
UNAN University pedestrian walkway and plaza  
Alternative locations for police stations, Leon  
Historic preservation project

Support for Implementation of Projects  
Evaluation of Tourist Hotel-Metrotur  
Leon Regional Transport Terminal  
Site Analysis:  
    Technical assistance to sponsor in  
    hiring architects and engineers;  
    Contract review  
University Medical campus -- evaluation of  
    access requirements  
Low-Income Housing -- preliminary project  
    review  
Industrial Park Project -- preliminary project  
    review

Project Evaluation  
Technical assistance to Oficina de Urbanismo  
Red Cross clinic -- construction, supervision  
    and evaluation

Summer 1976

Project Preparation  
CEPAD Low-Income Housing Project -- site  
    analysis  
Parque Central -- Alternatives 1 and 2  
Historic preservation (Conjuntos Monumentales)  
Prototype street vendors stand  
Hotel Metrotur Concept II  
Puente Vigil -- alternative solutions to access  
    bridge for barrio community

Support for Implementation of Projects  
Negotiations with funding sources  
CEPAD Low-Income Housing -- negotiations  
regarding housing sponsor and land donation  
Historic preservation program -- joint work  
with government of Spain experts

Construction Supervision  
Land access bridge to low-income barrio  
(El Vigil)

Project Evaluation  
Technical assistance to Oficina de Urbanismo  
Evaluation of street paving program  
Poneloya (Corinto -- evaluation of access  
canal project)

#### Fall 1976

Project Preparation  
Parque Ruben Dario  
Preliminary park design;  
Design alternatives for access road  
CEPAD Housing site analysis  
Historic preservation technical assistance  
to Spanish technicians

Project Evaluation  
Technical assistance to Oficina de Urbanismo  
Cine Roman -- evaluation and setback designs  
Downtown Shopping Plaza -- evaluation and  
alternative parking and site use studies

Negotiation --  
with private consultant firm --  
development of tourism and drainage  
system designs

#### Winter 1976

Project Preparation  
Escuela de Sutiava -- design of two classroom  
units for an urban barrio  
CEPAD Housing

Negotiations  
Historic preservation -- negotiations to secure  
the financial and technical participation of  
the Organization of American States

Construction Supervision  
Municipal Theater -- second stage  
Parque Fatima

Project Evaluation  
Technical assistance to Oficina de Urbanismo  
Terminal de Transporte

Spring-Summer 1977

Project Preparation  
Development of low-income settlement upgrading  
program and project for illegal land subdivisions  
CEPAD Low-Income Project -- development of  
alternative site plans, superstructure alternatives,  
cost estimation and financing alternatives  
Calle Real -- urban restoration and street  
closing project  
Historic Preservation Program

Project Evaluation  
Technical assistance to the Oficina de Urbanismo





