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INTEGRATED IMPROVEMENT PROGRAM FOR THE URBAN POOR

**An Orientation for Project Design
and Implementation**

Volume I

September 1981

**Office of Urban Development and the Office of Housing
Bureau for Science and Technology, and the Bureau for Private Enterprise
Agency for International Development**

Washington, D.C. 20523

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PREFACE

This two-volume document is one element of a project which is sponsored jointly by the Office of Housing and the Office of Urban Development. The major concern of the Integrated Improvement Program for the Urban Poor (IIPUP) project is to discover more effective means of reaching segments of the population, which have not been regular participants in service delivery systems, with better human services.

A fundamental assumption of this project is that more attention needs to be given to the underlying causes of poverty. Wherever it occurs poverty is a complex problem which requires multifaceted, integrated interventions to address it effectively. Past efforts to assist in overcoming poverty have tended to be uncoordinated functional initiatives in housing, health, nutrition, and other sectors. Considering the magnitude of the problem and the limited resources available to address it in developing countries, it is imperative that more comprehensive and integrated approaches be utilized which also are administratively effective, economically efficient, and socially equitable.

This document brings together the collective experience to date in what is bound to be a very transitory assessment of the state-of-the-art in a rapidly evolving field. Indeed, as a result of the monitoring and evaluation element of this project, which seeks systematically to learn from the experience of applying the concepts and methodologies espoused in these volumes, it is anticipated that the state-of-the-art will have been improved substantially within a few years.

The Office of Urban Development and the Office of Housing are grateful to Planning and Development Collaborative International (PADCO) for providing this orientation for the design and implementation of IIPUP projects.

Washington, D.C.
May 1980

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

THE CONTEXT OF IIPUP

The problems associated with rapid urban population growth in the developing areas have been well documented. It is expected that the urban population of the developing world will have grown by about 800 percent between 1950 and the year 2000. In about 20 years, the developing countries may have a total urban population of about 1.4 billion, equivalent to the combined 1970 populations of the People's Republic of China, India and Brazil.

Many developing countries already have cities which are larger than the urban areas of the developed countries. Such cities as Cairo, Calcutta, Jakarta, Karachi and Manila (all with populations near or in excess of 5 million) illustrate this point graphically. The annual growth of major cities of the developing world is often 5 or 6 percent, sometimes higher. In most countries, a number of secondary cities are also growing and adding to the national demand for urban services. For example, in 1972, Indonesia had five cities in addition to Jakarta with populations of more than 500,000 and 24 cities with populations between 100,000 and 500,000.

The vast majority of the inhabitants of these cities are poor. They have low and unstable incomes and low productivity employment. They suffer from serious deficits in the types of goods and services which are essential for their well-being. Their communities are overcrowded and housing is often inadequate. Settlement areas are frequently subject to flooding and other hazards. The urban poor generally have very limited opportunities to participate in the important decisions that affect their lives. They have very limited access to opportunities to improve their employment and very limited access to credit of any kind (for housing, for commercial activity or for current consumption).

The problems confronting the urban poor are on both the "demand" side and the "supply" side. The capacities of the poor to pay for improved services and physical environments are very limited. At the same time, the financial and administrative resources of the entities responsible for basic urban services are far below the levels needed. In addition to deficits in total supply, the authority for delivering relevant services usually is dispersed among a number of agencies -- including national-level ministries, provincial entities, municipal governments, quasi-autonomous entities, private commercial groups, voluntary organizations and others. Coordination at all levels and all stages of service delivery is typically weak. Collaboration in planning,

budgeting and implementation is practically non-existent in many countries.

In response to these problems, governments in the developing areas, international agencies (and, before them, governments facing similar problems with minority groups in the more developed countries) have attempted a number of solutions. Early efforts often focused on housing and related infrastructure. Gradually, it became evident that housing projects (which often were, in any case, too high in standard for the target groups to which they were supposedly addressed) were dealing with symptoms of more basic problems, rather than their causes. Recently, attempts have been made to deal with more fundamental issues such as unemployment, illiteracy, chronic malnutrition and disease and the unpreparedness of rural migrants for urban life.

It is because of this more recent concern with the underlying causes of poverty and the continued limited resources to deal with the problem that the AID IIPUP program has come into being. Low income groups have a multiplicity of needs. Therefore, programs and projects to improve their welfare must deliver services in a number of sectors. This requires a new, more comprehensive effort.

THE AID IIPUP PROGRAM

A grant program has been approved by AID to help provide improved services in conjunction with Housing Guaranty and other AID programs such as health, population and education activities. The program is designed to help reach segments of the population which have not been regular participants in credit markets or urban services delivery systems. Its purposes are:

1. To demonstrate that the urban poor will receive more and better human services if public policies are changed to provide for integrated service delivery programs which are responsive to the needs and interests of the affected population.
2. To assist in determining and demonstrating ways in which human services for the urban poor can be made more adequate, equitable and efficient and have more desirable socio-economic impacts.
3. To demonstrate that the costs for IIPUP type projects can be recovered through tax programs.
4. To destablish that IIPUP type projects will not induce additional, exorbitant investment requirements.

The grant resources can be used to help provide:

- 1. Improved social services, including health and educational facilities and activities, child and family welfare programs and transportation.**
- 2. Increased employment and productivity, including managerial assistance for promotion and organization of private and cooperative enterprises, training programs, and credit for small scale enterprises or community based credit and savings vehicles.**
- 3. Project planning, administration and technical assistance, including strengthening the implementing agencies by financing appropriate studies and surveys and strengthening the executing agencies by funding certain specified training programs so that they are able to monitor, evaluate, refine and replicate the project. These projects would be used most often in conjunction with HG or DG resources which would finance urban shelter programs with physical and environmental improvements, including regularization of land tenure, credits for neighborhood and home improvement loans, core shelter units, sites and services development, squatter upgrading and basic infrastructure services such as water and waste disposal and improvements to roads and footpaths.**

The purpose of this paper is not to prescribe the design of AID IIPUP funding but to present concepts and methodologies that may help program planners generally, including those in the institutions of developing countries who are actually responsible for the delivery of urban services.

DESIGNING AN IIPUP PROGRAM

Under IIPUP, a wide range of services can be considered simultaneously. In many cases, shelter (usually sites and services and community improvement projects) will continue to be the "centerpiece" of efforts to improve the welfare of the urban poor. This is because of the relative importance of shelter to the urban poor and the relatively developed delivery capacity of shelter institutions in the developing countries vis-a-vis other service delivery institutions. Nevertheless, under IIPUP, additional sectors are receiving increased emphasis so that the battle against urban poverty can reach more deeply towards the root causes. Some additional types of assistance which might be provided under an IIPUP program include:

- Assistance to small scale enterprises.
- Other employment assistance (e.g. vocational training or employment referrals).
- Informal adult education.
- Environmental sanitation.
- Health services.
- Public transportation services.
- Participant mobilization.
- Welfare assistance for the neediest groups.

Some IIPUP programs may include no shelter component at all in cases where shelter is not a priority and where the focus must be on the more fundamental causes of urban poverty. Such programs may include one or more of the project components listed above, but this list is not necessarily exhaustive. Other more important program needs may arise in specific situations.

Comprehensiveness is an important characteristic of IIPUP. The poor have multiple and interdependent needs that must all be considered to design appropriate programs. These needs can best be met with the provision of a wide range of facilities and services. Integration is also an important characteristic of IIPUP. The required facilities and services must be planned and provided as part of a coordinated and combined effort. Integration, in principle, should reduce the duplication of services and improve efficiency.

Comprehensiveness and integration are not synonymous. In fact, they are often conflicting goals. Increased comprehensiveness (the addition of more project components to the IIPUP program) will make integration more difficult. Experience in the United States and the more limited experience to date in the developing countries has shown the difficulties of services integration. It is difficult to get agencies to coordinate their programs. Given the nature of institutions and of individuals, it is especially difficult to achieve the integration of existing services. It is less difficult to build integrated programs where new service delivery systems are being created.

The difficulties of services integration suggest the need for careful and deliberate planning of IIPUP programs. The organizational arrangements for integrating urban services should be carefully selected. There may be a temptation to

form new centralized IIPUP agencies at the national, regional or metropolitan level to coordinate services delivery to the urban poor and cut bureaucratic red tape. Although this may be preferable in some circumstances, it may be more advisable to use existing agencies but to strengthen their capacity for joint planning and implementation. Services integration at the user level (e.g. service co-location or vouchered assistance) tends to be more successful where services delivery systems already exist. This is not generally the case in developing countries.

The financial and legal arrangements to support IIPUP programs also need to be carefully planned. Ideally the services provided under an IIPUP program should be self-financing. Initial outlays should be recuperated where possible for investment in subsequent stages of the program. In practice, this is not always possible, given that IIPUP programs are directed towards the neediest groups. However, in cases where IIPUP programs are largely financed by government appropriations and foreign assistance grants, care should be taken to assure some continuity of financing beyond the program inception period.

In order for IIPUP programs to be successful, existing legislation and regulations (including the standards established in the past for physical development) may have to be modified to reflect the realities of today.

Effective participation is required by government agencies at both the policy and the technical levels. However, although government agencies have a major role in IIPUP, their capacity is limited. Private sector groups must also be actively involved, including contractors, utility companies, private groups responsible for social services and private entrepreneurs providing low skilled employment. The households who are direct beneficiaries of projects also have an important involvement. The effective participation of these groups is critical to the achievement of adequate policy support, sound project design and adequate coordination among all executing agencies during implementation.

PROGRAM PLANNING AND SEQUENCING

Much of the ultimate success of IIPUP programs and projects will depend on the way in which they are programmed and sequenced. Programming must allow for predictable obstacles including probable delays in acceptance by service agencies as well as by user groups. The process of designing and implementing programs and projects for the urban poor should ideally comprise the following steps:

- An analysis of the existing situation and the identification of issues associated with the urban poor.
- The establishment of basic policies for dealing with those issues.
- The formulation and adoption of an IIPUP program.
- The identification and design of individual projects.
- Project implementation and the monitoring of the progress of implementation.
- The evaluation of the impact of individual projects and the program as a whole.

It is useful to keep in mind the difference between activities at the program level and activities at the project level. An IIPUP program should ideally be defined in the context of an overall country program, reflecting basic policies for assistance to poverty groups. It should identify the goals and purposes of all IIPUP projects in the country concerned, together with the target groups on which such projects are to be focused. It should make a general definition of program content and the basic institutional arrangements for implementation. The time horizon for the program is likely to be from three to five years, possibly longer. The description of the program should provide a framework for the identification and preparation of specific projects, and it is likely to contain guidelines and criteria for project selection.

Individual IIPUP projects should be designed for specific population groups in specific locations. They should include detailed specifications of the physical development and service systems they contain and a budget, together with arrangements for financing, institutional responsibility and scheduling.

Project identification typically should include an indication of project goals and purposes; a specification of the target groups expected to be impacted by the project and the types of impact anticipated; a general definition of project content; preliminary thinking on institutional arrangements; order of magnitude estimates of costs; a preliminary implementation schedule; and an identification of the assumptions on which the preliminary proposals are based -- in other words, the kinds of information contained in an AID Project Identification Document (PID). Project design should entail more precise definitions of all of these project features, including operational measures for project

evaluation and specific proposals for participation in project implementation.

The distinction between program and project formulation is important. In principle, project identification and design should take place in the context of clear and strongly-supported policies and a systematic program which is consistent with other components of the host country's development plan. In practice, however, the experimental nature of IIPUP activity and the uncertainties associated with its outcome may mean that the degree of policy support it receives will fluctuate. Programs may be far from completely defined -- particularly in the early years of program development. Experimental projects, policies and programs are likely to have to evolve together. The severity and urgency of the problems of the urban poor are too great to allow for the luxury of waiting for the ideal context or sequence to be created before any action is taken.

Because strong policy support will often be lacking, it is important for IIPUP programs to be carefully introduced and staged. The experimental nature of IIPUP activities, the need for pragmatism and the importance of proceeding with only partial programs, especially in early projects, should be stressed. Programs should be introduced gradually and expanded cautiously only after initial acceptance by governments, implementing agencies and target households. After initial success, expansion can occur geographically (to other neighborhoods and cities), substantively (to include additional project components) and in terms of beneficiaries (to include additional types of target groups). This need for cautious sequencing implies that IIPUP is a long-term effort requiring patience and foresight.

The potential role of AID and other international agencies should be mentioned. The need for that participation is urgent. The scale of the effort required is immense already and is increasing. The total resource commitments required, both administrative and financial, are correspondingly large. The major international agencies can provide only a small fraction of the inputs required. Programs must, therefore, be largely sustainable with local resources. The most appropriate roles for international agencies supporting the IIPUP effort, therefore, will be the provision of technical assistance for project identification and design and the sharing of initial investment risks while programs are being introduced and tested. They can also perform a catalytic function in support of interagency coordination, including sustained training and technical support. They can also support the continuing international dissemination of information on IIPUP-like programs in the developing world and in relevant programs in the developed countries.

MANAGEMENT AND TRAINING

A number of challenges must be faced in managing IIPUP programs and projects, including organization, operational and personnel problems. Unforeseen problems can be expected even with careful preparation. Agencies have difficulties working together; service agencies and beneficiaries often have conflicting goals.

There is a wide range of management tools available for the identification, framing, designing and implementation of IIPUP projects. Used with judgment concerning time, place and relevance, they enable useful actions to be devised. The appointment of the right type of person as chairperson of a project executive committee and as project manager for an IIPUP is a key element in successful implementation. Because adequate personnel are often lacking for these and other tasks related to IIPUP, it will often be necessary to include training components as part of IIPUP programs.

DATA COLLECTION, SURVEYS AND EVALUATION

A large amount of information will be required to plan IIPUP programs and to conduct subsequent evaluations. Much of this information, particularly information relating to existing programs and service agencies, may be available from secondary sources and interviews with key officials. It is important to limit data collection to those items actually needed for project design decisions. Additional data may be required, particularly concerning the needs, priorities and attitudes of the target group. This may require field surveys. One especially useful shortcut technique for conducting surveys is the interpretation of aerial photography. Target populations can be identified based on the physical characteristics of the housing they occupy. Selected field surveys can then be conducted of the population in each housing type to complement data on physical living conditions with data on social and economic conditions.

Effective evaluation is important in order to improve the design of later projects. The least complex evaluations are simple before and after comparisons of key indicators of the target group's welfare. More sophisticated evaluations compare improvements in the welfare of the target group with the welfare of groups or individuals not affected by the IIPUP project.

INTRODUCTION

IIPUP programs and projects are likely to evolve together with the capacity to implement at national, provincial, city and local levels. While some countries will have a management structure in place that permits local projects to be formulated and implemented, many will not. Further, a local capability in one particular city does not necessarily imply a national level capability to program. In preparing to undertake a national IIPUP program, a wide range of officials needs to contribute to policy formulation. The readership of this manual is thus a wide ranging one.

Part I, "Project Identification and Design," will be of particular interest to AID mission directors and program officers and developing country policy makers and administrators who must understand the complexity of IIPUP programs and who have the responsibility for advising on the necessity, the size and the objectives of an IIPUP program in a specific country.

Part II, "Management and Organization for IIPUP," will be of concern to AID officials and local policy makers also. The understanding of these issues will help shape the preliminary design of particular projects. The largest readership for this section, however, will probably be found among the members of AID and local sector specialists working with project executive committees, project leaders and their teams.

Part III, "Training," is intended largely for AID program officers and host country IIPUP administrators who must decide whether to include training components in IIPUP programs. It should also be useful for sector specialists who must design training programs for IIPUP personnel.

Part IV, "Data Collection, Surveys and Evaluation for IIPUP Projects," will have some relevance for senior administrators and national policy makers. Survey work may need to be commissioned and appraised prior to the identification and design of projects. Monitoring will be a part of project management, but evaluation of the project and monitoring process will be of national concern and will form part of the learning process through which the further IIPUP projects in a program are designed to be more effective. The wider readership for this part will include survey designers and their staffs, monitoring staff and those responsible for designing and carrying through evaluation studies.

Part I is divided into six sections. The goals and purposes of IIPUP programs are discussed in Section A. Here, the need to deal with the underlying causes of urban poverty,

as well as their consequences, is stressed. IIPUP projects should be designed not just to help low income households improve their conditions. An underlying aim of such projects is to initiate a sustained trajectory of improvement and assist the poor to integrate themselves fully into normal urban life.

In Section B of Part I, the importance of differentiating individual types, as well as levels, of poverty is discussed and some of the more typical types of target groups for IIPUP projects are identified. Section C identifies the types of project components which are most likely to be effective in meeting these individualized needs. These types of project components are further detailed in Annex I.

The importance of choosing appropriate means of integrating services is emphasized in Section D. Arrangements to achieve integration can range from direct intervention in the services delivery system (supply side intervention) to less direct user referral and assistance programs (demand side assistance). Examples of U.S. domestic and international experience are cited in this section. Many of these examples are described in greater detail in Annex II.

Section E suggests ways in which IIPUP programs might be financed to reflect the real economic constraints in the developing areas. Existing legislation and regulations (including the standards established in the past for physical development) are likely to have to be modified to reflect the realities of today. This is discussed in Section F.

Suggestions are made in Section G for achieving incremental changes which will not make excessive demands on existing institutions and practices. The experimental nature of IIPUP activities, the need for pragmatism and the importance of proceeding with fragments of programs -- particularly in early projects -- are stressed.

Part II is divided into three sections. Section A sets out the management tasks that confront the project manager of an IIPUP and the steering committee in charge of implementation. Difficulties in its organizational, managerial, operational and personnel side are delineated and an example given of IIPUP management in practice.

Section B describes the context in which project management takes place, stressing that a project in its implementation has to find its place in administrations running other projects and programs. Phasing, timing of the use of resources and personnel may lead to conflicts with other agencies. Pre-planning can remove many of the situations that lead to such conflicts.

Section C focuses upon the management of a specific IIPUP project. The key concepts of project management are set out and a description given of the four major aspects of management: (1) the role of the project manager; (2) project control; (3) management of the work program; and (4) implementation management.

Part III reviews the necessity for a training program and sets out in outline form the content of training for a number of identified posts. Some guidance is given on the setting of priorities for training given the likely constraints of the project budget. The establishment of training programs which employ financial resources from a number of projects is advocated. Not every such project needs to be an IIPUP.

Part IV is divided into four sections. Section A covers the policy approach to the collection of data stressing that not all data is useful information. Section B stresses that only necessary information is required and this should modify the approach to data collection. A checklist for data collection is provided in Annex III. Various sequences are explored and compared. A method based on the interpretation of aerial photographs is recommended for its simplicity, but other survey methods are also reviewed. The material presented in Part IV draws heavily on material originally prepared by Mathematica Policy Research, Inc.

Section C deals with the delicate but important matter of ensuring the cooperation of the people to be surveyed with the survey process. This requires tact and respect and some knowledge of cultural behavior toward guests, foreigners and questioners in general.

Section D reviews the need for monitoring as a necessary part of the IIPUP project management process. Evaluation is seen as an analysis of the effects of a project on a population once the implementation work is over. A number of approaches to evaluation are reviewed and their limitations and biases exposed.

PART I

PROJECT IDENTIFICATION AND DESIGN

A. THE GOALS AND PURPOSES OF IIPUP PROGRAMS

1. GOALS

The fundamental goal* of IIPUP activity is to improve the quality of life for the low income and disadvantaged households which constitute a majority of the population in most of the urban areas of the less developed countries. The intent is to enable the individuals in those households to have significantly greater opportunities to enjoy fuller and more satisfying lives -- healthy, with access to the knowledge they need to realize their potential more fully, with enriched opportunities for social interaction, with satisfying and stimulating physical environments, with reasonable economic security and with the confidence and hope necessary to enable them to improve their condition.

As noted in the introduction, IIPUP programs are intended to initiate continued improvement in the condition of the target groups to which they are addressed, not just a series of one-shot projects which help to shift such households from extreme squalor to a better but static condition in which they permanently require special support. On the contrary, the aim is to help targeted households continue to improve their own condition and integrate themselves fully in normal urban life.

In pursuit of this goal, IIPUP programs must be concerned with improvements in the immediate condition of the poor and with the creation of a foundation for future improvement. They should result in early increases in incomes, improvements in health, nutrition, shelter and the physical and social environment and in immediate opportunities for the members of low income households to participate in decisions which are likely to affect their own well-being. At the same time, these programs should help to build up the human, physical and monetary capital needed for continued improvement. This latter concern implies a need for sustained improvements in the health and education of targeted household members, improvements in and additions to the stock of private and public physical capital and a more equitable distribution

* "Goals" and "purposes" are used here in accordance with the terminology of the AID Logical Framework Matrix, whereby "goals" are the ultimate objectives of projects and "purposes" are more intermediate means of achieving them.

of this capital, including land and infrastructure, the achievement of income levels and consumption costs which permit targeted households to begin to save, and improved access to credit, coupled with increased creditworthiness.

2. PURPOSES

The achievement of IIPUP goals necessitates attention to both the "demand" side and the "supply" side of the problem.

Programs must help to increase the capacities of the urban poor to pay, in money or in kind, for the goods and services they need. Subsidies applied very selectively may be necessary at some stages of a program for some target groups, but most governments in the Third World simply cannot afford to maintain heavily-subsidized programs for the poor at the scales that are necessary to impact their condition significantly. IIPUP programs should therefore be largely self-sustaining, supported with the resources of the poor themselves. In addition to helping the poor to pay for what they need, these programs should also equip them to bargain more effectively for their rights and help them to use the limited assistance which is available resourcefully and responsibly.

In most countries the "supply" side is at least as much a part of the problem as the "demand" side. In some cases the agencies and programs necessary to deliver the goods and services required do not exist at all. In virtually all cases where potentially relevant agencies do exist, their administrative capacities are far below the levels needed and their activities are uncoordinated.

The purposes of IIPUP on the demand side include the following:

- The achievement of higher incomes for target households -- through increased opportunities for productive employment within IIPUP programs (for example, through participation in the construction and maintenance of physical improvements and through small scale enterprises incorporated in projects). (It should be recognized, however, that only a small part of the employment needed by the urban poor can be generated on site through IIPUP activities -- by far the largest part of the necessary employment must be provided through more general economic development and employment programs.)

- Increases in the capacities of the urban poor to use their existing skills and resources more effectively in the improvement of their own conditions -- through technical assistance, through the provision of information on opportunities for improvement and through support for the formation of cooperatives or other collaborative groups.
- Increases in the capacities of the poor to enjoy the social and cultural opportunities of urban life -- through increases in their incomes, through education and through the provision of information on the opportunities available.
- Increases in the capacities of the poor to negotiate effectively for the goods and services they need (including an increased capacity to negotiate for public services to which they are entitled and an increased ability to participate effectively in the urban land market) -- through increases in incomes, assistance in community organization and legal assistance.
- Increases in the capacities of the poor to participate in decisions affecting their own welfare -- through programs in basic literacy, informal education, support for community organization and legal advice.
- Increased creditworthiness for target households -- through increased incomes and abilities to save, programs in basic literacy and informal education, improvements in health and the potential for stable employment, through programs designed to support family and community stability, through incentives for saving and investment and through education in the rights and responsibilities of users of credit.

The purposes of IIPUP on the supply side include:

- Increases in the availability of land for IIPUP projects (land which is sufficient in quantity, suitable in location and supplied at prices achievable for targeted households) -- through fiscal and other measures designed to reduce the excessive withholding of land from the market for speculation and through direct purchases of land for IIPUP projects.
- Increases and improvements in the availability of essential goods and services -- through the strengthening (or, if necessary, creation) of entities for supplying them in programs which are financially viable and sufficient in scale to meet the needs of IIPUP target groups.

- Improved accessibility to essential goods and services -- through more efficient delivery, through distribution facilities which are geographically convenient for target groups and through improved information on the availability of relevant goods and services.
- Greater responsiveness of the delivery system to the needs and capacities of target groups. IIPUP projects exist for their users and should accommodate the needs of those users at all stages of project development; this implies, among other things, working closely with community leaders and organizations, as well as individual program participants, in the design and delivery of services.
- Cost effectiveness in the provision of goods and services. This implies efficiency in the operation of the individual entities participating in IIPUP programs and coordination among the entities whose activities are presently, or potentially, inter-related. The costs of many delivery systems can be reduced, and their effectiveness increased, by coordinating or consolidating functions. (However, integration is not costless and its advantages and disadvantages must be evaluated carefully in each situation. Forced integration may lead to a weakening of political support and/or interagency conflicts which reduce, rather than enhance, the effectiveness of the several services involved.)

3. THE LIMITATIONS OF IIPUP PROGRAMS

Although there is a need for a wide range of services in IIPUP programs and the potential advantages of services integration may seem obvious, the difficulties of integration should not be underestimated.

It is important to plan IIPUP programs carefully. The substantive project components chosen should be limited, especially at the outset, and additional components should be carefully staged so that programs are manageable. Geographical expansion of an IIPUP program to new neighborhoods and cities should also be carefully planned and staged.

It is especially important to select IIPUP project components with regard not only to need but also to existing institutional capacity. There must be a thorough understanding of existing delivery systems for IIPUP-related services. This should include an evaluation of existing

programs and how they presently affect the urban poor, a review of the effectiveness of existing institutions, their personnel, their sources of financing, the principal constraints they face and their readiness for cooperative endeavors. In addition to the strength of institutions in each sector, the institutional structure chosen to achieve integration among sectors will be critical to achieving success.

Guidelines for resolving these and other issues related to project identification and design are presented in the sections which follow. Careful project design can help to minimize problems during the implementation stage. However, because many problems cannot be foreseen, flexible management systems and an ongoing training program will be important in coping with problems as they arise during implementation.

B. TARGET GROUPS

The potential urban poor beneficiaries of IIPUP programs do not consist of one large homogenous group. In most cities in the developing countries, the "urban poor" population contains diverse groups with a variety of different needs and capacities. In identifying specific IIPUP projects, it is important to differentiate among the potential subgroups of beneficiaries in a way which will suggest the specific types of program support they require.

1. CRITERIA FOR CLASSIFYING TARGET GROUPS

One useful method of classification is to analyze households' current consumption needs, the capital assets (or lack of capital) they have accumulated as a foundation for improving their future condition and their territorial orientation.

a. Current Consumption

Deficits of essential goods and services vary widely from one urban poor group to another. Households with extremely unstable and/or low-wage employment -- for example, newly arrived migrants or chronically marginal households -- may have to give first priority to the upgrading of their literacy and skills. Because of their low and irregular incomes, they are also likely to be suffering from malnutrition and debilitating illnesses and disease. Many of them will not have relatives or a communal group on which they can depend for intermittent support. They are likely to be located in some of the most squalid and unsanitary areas of the city. Programs designed for them may have to focus on literacy, job skills, nutrition, preventive health services and basic environmental sanitation. They may not be good candidates for credit or technical assistance for shelter until they have begun to overcome their more fundamental deficits. Low income households who have chosen to occupy rental space rather than invest in permanent shelter in their present locations may require yet other types of assistance to improve their current consumption standards.

b. Capital Assets

Capital assets, defined broadly, include human capital (represented by the health, education and physical and

intellectual capacities of household members to work productively and to enjoy the opportunities offered by urban life), property rights, cash savings and access to formal or informal credit. The worst-off households are likely to need program support to bring them to the threshold of being able to begin to save. Better-off households who have already invested in the shelter they occupy may be interested primarily in credit, technical assistance and legal assistance to help them to protect and enhance their holdings. Other relatively well-off households who have no commitment to their present locations may be more interested in improving their personal skills and capacities in order to increase their mobility.

c. Territorial Orientation

Territorial orientation also is a useful indicator of households' potential and priorities. At least three types of territorial orientation can be identified:

- Some households and individuals are "externally" oriented. They are largely interested in earning money to send back to families elsewhere, usually in rural villages. They are not interested in permanent settlement and investment in the urban areas.
- Other households are in transition, trying to gain a foothold in the urban areas. They may live in "staging areas" (usually squatter shacks or rental tenements), but ultimately they hope to move to more permanent areas as they become more secure.
- A large number of households are consolidating their position in the cities. They are interested in permanent investment and improvement in their present locations.

The level of community organization is usually related to territorial orientation and is higher in the more permanent communities of consolidating households.

2. ILLUSTRATIVE TARGET GROUP TYPES

Table I-1 shows how the above characteristics can be used to define target groups. Five illustrative target groups are distinguished according to differences in consumption needs, assets and territorial orientation. The actual target group types will vary from country to country. Target group definitions are necessarily broad and have a large degree of overlap in specific situations.

TABLE I-1

Illustrative Target Group Classification

	PRIORITY CONSUMPTION NEEDS	ASSETS/SKILLS/TENURE	TERRITORIAL ORIENTATION
I. Chronically Marginal Households	Food, fuel, clothing; health care; water; sanitation.	Low levels of health; low skills; poor housing infrastructure; high vulnerability to flood, epidemics, etc.; no savings.	Trapped; no community organizations; capable of improving community welfare.
II. Single Migrants	Information on employment; opportunities for social interaction.	Low level of education; low skills.	Externally oriented; sending savings back to village; priority on improving employment situation; no community organizations.
III. Beachheading Households - 21 -	Public services (water, sanitation, solid waste, etc.); sanitary facilities; legal assistance; employment; basic information; prenatal, mother/child care, family planning; opportunities for social interaction.	Poor skills; no legal tenure/squatting; high vulnerability to flood, epidemics, etc.; limited savings; limited access to credit (usually informal).	In transition; would like more secure tenure or to move to a more permanent neighborhood, but lacks stable employment, savings, and access to credit; limited community organizations.
IV. Households Renting by Choice	Improved sanitation, solid waste; legal assistance; basic information.	No savings; low skills levels; limited access to credit (usually informal); renting but lack full legal lease.	In transition; would like to settle permanently in city, but lack permanent employment, access to credit, savings; no community organizations.
V. Consolidating Households	Improved water and sanitation; improved housing; primary and secondary schools; public transportation.	Partial tenure, but not fully legalized; access to informal credit; limited access to formal credit.	Consolidating; would like to achieve full secure tenure; has some security of employment; some community organizations.

a. Chronically Marginal Households

Chronically marginal households are households which, for one reason or another, are desperately poor and stand apart from the rest of the urban population. They have little chance of upward mobility or integration with the rest of society unless dramatic changes are initiated by outside agents. Even then changes are difficult to achieve. In the more extreme cases, their unusual status may be the result of religious, ethnic or regional differences from the urban majority. Tribal and scheduled caste households in India are examples of this group.

The *akhdams* (streetsweepers) in the highland cities of North Yemen are another example of chronic marginality. They are ethnically distinct and come from the lowland Tihama region. They are desperately poor and willing to do a type of work which highland Yemeni consider degrading. They have somewhat lower incomes than the highland Yemeni urban poor, but it is largely because of their cultural differences that they are segregated from other groups. They have lower-standard sanitation habits, different traditional settlement types and different architectural styles. They have high rates of disease and mortality. Other types of employment are not available to them, and they are not allowed to settle freely throughout the cities. The largest streetsweeper squatter settlement in Sana'a is built of tin and cardboard on a sewerage disposal field.

Residents of the Brooklyn squatter settlement in Port-au-Prince, Haiti, are another example of chronic marginality. Although they are not set apart for ethnic or cultural reasons, they are desperately poor with little chance for upward mobility. They have very low incomes and high levels of unemployment and underemployment. The settlement is built on a salt flat with poor drainage and is subject to periodic flooding. It has virtually no infrastructure and lacks basic social services.

In some cases, the chronically marginal may be renting or sub-renting their quarters as in the case of many *bustee* tenants in Calcutta. In other cases, they are squatters. However, the common denominator of these groups is their desperate poverty, limited mobility and low self-esteem. Their most pressing need is for improved nutrition, clothing and fuel. They generally lack access to potable water, sanitation and health care. They are subject to high physical and social risks such as floods, landslides, epidemics, unemployment and serious malnutrition. In relation to these needs, improved housing is a relatively low priority.

b. Single Migrants

Many developing countries have large numbers of single migrants living in urban areas. Some have come to establish themselves permanently in the cities, but many more intend to stay only temporarily in order to support their families in the rural areas. Those intending to remain have needs similar to the "beachheading" households described below because they are preparing for the eventual relocation of those who have been left behind temporarily. However, those who remain externally oriented have a distinct set of needs and IIPUP project requirements.

The permanence of migration has been noted to vary among regions of the developing world.* The least developed regions of South Asia and sub-Saharan Africa have the highest levels of temporary migration. The 132 males per 100 females in Karachi and 187 males per 100 females in the African population of Nairobi are indicative of high levels of temporary migration. Many migrants come each year during seasons of low rural employment. Others stay for longer periods, but their families remain behind and they intend to return. The more developed cities of Latin America appear to have less temporary migration which indicates that rural-urban migration tends to be more permanent in countries with higher levels of development. Caracas, Venezuela, for example, has only 96 males per 100 females.

The distinct problems of single migrants are epitomized by many migrants in North Yemen. The three largest cities, Sana'a, Hodeidah and Taiz, have male/female ratios of 1.32, 1.50 and 1.32 respectively. In 1975, there were an estimated 70,000 to 80,000 temporary migrants in these cities (about 25 percent of a combined urban population of 300,000). Groups of ten to twenty migrants crowd together in small rooms in the cities. They spend little of their earnings and send large amounts of money to the rural areas to maintain their families. They frequently finance the construction of elaborate houses in rural areas to which they plan to return.

Because of their external orientation, many single migrants are not interested in investing in the urban areas. Their highest priority is securing employment; the quality

* Joan M. Nelson, "Sojourners vs. New Urbanites: Causes and Consequences of Temporary vs. Permanent Cityward Migration in Developing Countries," Economic Development and Cultural Change, Vol. 24, University of Chicago Press, 1976.

of their immediate environment is secondary. However, many want to improve their skills and levels of education during residence in urban areas.

c. Beachheading Households

Beachheading households are households that are just beginning to get a permanent foothold in the urban area. Household heads may have come as single migrants but are now bringing their families with them as well. They are still very poor, but they differ from the chronically marginal in that they are more mobile and able to build a better life in the city. Beachheading families have begun to solve some of their employment problems and meet their most basic needs, although they still need help in these areas.

Some of the *tugurios* of San Salvador are examples of beachheading areas. They are dense, low-standard settlements located along ravines, stream beds and on some public rights-of-way. *Tugurio* families need to be close to job opportunities and the markets they serve through the informal sector. Some rent plots from private owners; others are squatting on public land. Most houses are of wood and cardboard. None have water, sanitary facilities or other basic infrastructure. Some *tugurio* families are subject to flooding, erosion and other serious risks. Many, however, want to improve their status by gaining secure tenure, improved shelter, education for their children and access to a range of urban amenities. Most plan to remain in the city indefinitely.

d. Households Renting by Choice

Many households prefer living in existing rental quarters instead of settling in the more newly developing fringe areas. Many cities in the developing countries have central areas with old housing that has been sub-divided for rental to the poor. These groups may need to be close to job opportunities, schools, hospitals and other amenities of the center city. They may also prefer the relatively high level of services of rental quarters (typically water and shared sanitary facilities) compared to newer areas which may be developing beyond the reach of existing urban services. Many lack the savings necessary to build housing in fringe areas.

Households in the *cuarterias* of Santo Domingo and the *mesones* of San Salvador are examples of this group. Housing units usually consist of one room with common services. Families in these areas tolerate crowded conditions in order

to be close to their places of work. Landlords frequently do not maintain rental units properly, especially in countries which have rent control laws which limit profitability to the landlord. In the *mesones* of San Salvador, leases are often verbal and seldom comply with the law which limits tenants' rights in rent disputes. The *mesones* are seldom maintained in accordance with sanitary standards set by law.

Households in rental quarters have a distinct set of needs. They frequently need legal assistance to help them deal with landlords. This effort may also require the development of tenants' organizations to protect their rights. Many rental units require improved sanitary facilities most urgently, but because of complex tenure patterns it is often difficult to carry out these or other physical improvements and recuperate investment costs.

e. Consolidating Households

Consolidating households are those which have already gained a foothold in the urban areas and are trying to improve their position. They already have some marketable skills and relatively stable employment. To consolidate their position further they may require more secure land tenure, improved public services and shelter, schools and access to credit.

The *colonias ilegales* (illegal sub-divisions) of San Salvador are a good example of consolidating households. These are the rapidly expanding and primarily peripheral areas of the city which have been sub-divided illegally with practically no public investment in infrastructure, open space or community facilities. Households in these areas are not squatters. They have usually purchased their land and have begun to build permanent structures. However, their land title is usually not registered and their sub-divisions and houses do not meet minimum legal standards. They are relatively well-to-do and have less crowded neighborhoods compared to other poverty groups, but they lack most urban infrastructure and public services.

Households in these areas need legal assistance to secure full legal tenure to their land. Because they are willing and able to invest in physical improvements, they can benefit from infrastructure improvements and credit for home improvements more than other groups. Improved public transportation may be important to these groups. There are often some existing community organizations which can facilitate improvement programs.

f. Women-Headed Households

Another group which merits special attention in IIPUP project planning and may cut across several of the poverty groups mentioned above is women-headed households.* Data from 74 developing countries indicate that an average of 18 percent of households are headed by women. This average is 22 percent for sub-Saharan Africa, 20 percent for Central America and the Caribbean, 16 percent for North Africa and the Middle East and 15 percent for South America. The heads of these households generally have lower levels of education than male-headed households or women in general. There are large income differentials between male and female heads of households. Surveys in urban areas of Latin America have shown that disproportionate percentages of women-headed households are concentrated in the lower income neighborhoods.

There are many factors that contribute to the rise of such large numbers of relatively poor women-headed households including internal migration and urbanization. It is clear that in many countries they constitute a marginal group of increasingly serious proportions. They are a potential target group for many types of IIPUP activities.

3. THE USE OF TARGET GROUP CLASSIFICATION IN PROJECT IDENTIFICATION AND DESIGN

The specific target groups on which IIPUP programs and projects should be focused in a particular situation can be identified using the techniques presented in Part III. This includes the analysis of census data and other published materials, the interpretation of aerial photographs and well chosen field inspection, interviews and surveys.

Decisions as to which potential target groups should be included in projects will depend partly on needs and capacities identified, partly on political priorities and partly on the probability of successful project implementation. In the early stages of a program, for example, projects for the worst-off groups may be very difficult to launch. Somewhat better-off groups with greater capacities for self-improvement and project participation may be focused on first, to enable the overall program to gain momentum and political support before it is addressed to the most difficult problem areas. In other cases, political

* For more information, see Women-Headed Households: The Ignored Factor in Development Planning, Mayra Buvinic et al., International Center for Research on Women, Washington, D.C., 1978.

pressures may dictate that the neediest groups be attended to first. Some of the issues associated with the establishment of priorities among target groups are discussed in Section G below, which deals with the evolutionary and experimental nature of IIPUP programs.

Table I-2 indicates how target group classifications can be used to aid in identifying program and project requirements. The table is illustrative and generalized; the actual needs and priorities of individual groups in particular situations will, of course, be specific to those situations.

TABLE I-2

Priority Needs of Target Groups

		I. Chronically Marginal Households	II. Single Migrants	III. Beachheading Households	IV. Households Renting by Choice	V. Consolidating Households
PRIORITY NEEDS OF THE URBAN POOR WHICH MIGHT BE ADDRESSED THROUGH IIPUP						
PHYSICAL IMPROVEMENT NEEDS:	Improved shelter		X	X	X	X
	Secure land tenure or rental status			X	X	X
	Water	X	X	X	X	X
	Sanitation	X	X	X	X	X
	Drainage/soil stabilization	X		X		X
	Open/recreation space				X	X
	Electricity				X	X
COMMUNITY SERVICES AND FACILITIES NEEDS:	Public transportation			X		X
	Solid waste removal	X		X	X	X
	Day care facilities			X	X	X
	Legal assistance			X	X	X
	Opportunities to participate in decisionmaking and support for community organization			X	X	X
	Emergency services (fire and security)			X	X	X
	Communication (public telephones)			X	X	X
BASIC CONSUMPTION NEEDS:	Adequate nutrition	X		X		
	Fuel	X		X		
	Clothing	X		X		

TABLE I-2 (continued)

PRIORITY NEEDS OF THE URBAN POOR WHICH MIGHT BE ADDRESSED THROUGH IIPUP		I. Chronically Marginal Households	II. Single Migrants	III. Beachhead Households	IV. Households Renting by Choice	V. Consolidating Households
<i>HEALTH NEEDS:</i>	Community health facilities	X	X	X	X	X
	Preventive health services	X	X	X	X	
	Curative health services	X		X	X	
	Prenatal care	X		X	X	
	Infant/child care	X		X	X	
	Instruction on family planning	X		X	X	
	Instruction on basic hygiene	X		X	X	
	Instruction on basic health practices (care of illness, first aid, etc.)	X	X	X	X	
<i>EDUCATION NEEDS:</i>	Primary and secondary schools			X	X	X
	Vocational training	X	X	X	X	X
	Basic literacy	X	X	X	X	X
<i>EMPLOYMENT RELATED NEEDS:</i>	Space and facilities for small scale enterprise					X
	Technical assistance for small scale enterprise					X
	Information on available employment	X	X	X	X	
	Employment through direct government hiring	X	X	X		
<i>FINANCING NEEDS:</i>	Credit			X		X
	Advice on family budgeting, sources of credit, negotiating for credit and credit responsibilities			X	X	X

C. COMPONENTS OF IIPUP PROJECTS

IIPUP involves the integration of a range of facilities and services for the urban poor. It is useful to consider each of the most common groups of facilities and services individually prior to discussing organizational arrangements for achieving integration. Table I-3 provides a list of the most common project components which might be considered for an IIPUP program.* Many of these are themselves integrated on a limited basis, comprising small packages of functionally related projects. Organizational means of integrating project components are presented in the next chapter.

In many situations in which all or a large number of the components listed in Table I-3 are desirable, it will not be possible to introduce them all at once. This is typically the case where the capacities of the entities responsible for the service delivery are limited and where the incomes of target groups are too limited to enable them to pay for more than one. Where this occurs, it is likely to be necessary to introduce at first only the highest priority improvements which are both administratively and financially feasible. Other components which are more demanding financially and/or more complex administratively can be added later. This is discussed more fully in Section G, which emphasizes the evolutionary nature of IIPUP programs and projects.

Table I-3 indicates which needs each one of the project components tends to meet and the target groups (from Section B) for which each is likely to be important. This list is intended to be illustrative. Additional components may be needed in specific situations.

The project components listed in Table I-3 are reviewed briefly in the remainder of this chapter. They are described in somewhat greater detail in Annex I.

The most common IIPUP components are listed first in Table I-3. These are physical improvements in existing settlements. Shelter is a basic human need and a fundamental concern of most governments. In many cases, this concern for shelter has furnished the initial *raison d'être* and the foundation for more integrated programs.

In many cases (for the reasons noted earlier), physical improvements such as water supply, basic sanitation, drainage and soil stabilization have been judged to be

* Each of the project components is discussed in detail in Annex I.

the most immediately manageable high-priority components of projects. They provide a dramatic change which can be an inducement to follow-on social and economic programs. Shelter and other physical improvement is, therefore, the most common focal point for integrated urban poverty programs. In some cases, however, it may not be provided at all.

The components to be introduced first in each situation will depend largely upon the types of target groups involved and the capacities of the entities potentially responsible for the facilities and services which are needed.

The most appropriate types of shelter projects for the urban poor are generally the upgrading of existing settlements and the development of new low income settlements. There have been many examples of both types of project in recent years. A range of components, standards and financial and legal mechanisms should be considered in designing appropriate shelter projects. Standards have to be affordable on a wide scale. It is also important to recover the costs of shelter projects for reinvestment in subsequent ones.

The need to improve employment opportunities for the urban poor has become a key area of concern. Large numbers of the urban poor are typically unemployed or marginally employed in low productivity service sector occupations. It is realized that their productivity, employment and incomes must be improved as a prerequisite for many other types of improvements. Frequently individual on-site measures of the type which can easily be undertaken as part of IIPUP to improve employment may not attack the roots or the scale of the problem. More fundamental changes may be required at the national level in industrialization policies, tariffs, industrial credit, minimum wages and other measures which could provide an incentive for increased low skilled employment.

In other cases, assistance to small scale enterprises can be an appropriate means of generating some employment for the poor. Such assistance can include improving access to credit, increasing market size, providing land and facilities for business and providing technical assistance.

Additional types of employment assistance might include direct governmental hiring of individuals, vocational training and employment referral and information services.

Adult informal education projects can be important complements to other IIPUP components. They can also help the poor to overcome some of the deficiencies of formal education systems. Non-formal education in health, sanitation

and family planning can complement programs in environmental sanitation and health services delivery. Literacy can provide basic skills to the urban poor through a variety of media. Non-formal education can provide some of the basic information which is necessary for survival in cities such as legal information and information on available community services.

Environmental sanitation projects, although closely related to some aspects of settlement upgrading, can be considered separately. They focus heavily on the minimal investments necessary for a more healthy environment. Improved water supply, sanitation, drainage and solid waste disposal are so important they they can have a more cost effective impact on the health conditions of the urban poor than projects to improve health delivery services. In many cases, however, some minimal improvements to health services can be considered as part of IIPUP programs. These should focus on preventive services and community outreach. Mother/child, family planning and nutrition services can also be important to the poor.

Public transportation services are most important to the relatively prosperous "consolidating" groups who generally live farther from their places of employment. However, even the poorest groups can benefit from improved facilities and support for pedestrians, bicycles and traditional transportation modes such as bicycle rickshaws. Bus and mini-bus services can frequently be improved to benefit the poor.

Effective community participation is important for the achievement of most IIPUP project components. It is also an important end in itself to achieve greater self reliance and more sustained development in poor communities. Community groups can and should be involved in all stages of IIPUP project development.

In some cases, specific welfare components can be included in IIPUP programs for the neediest groups such as the disabled, the elderly and households headed by women. The shortage of resources will generally require that public assistance be focused on the most extreme cases. Appropriate private organizations may exist which can be encouraged to participate in IIPUP programs to achieve this end.

TABLE I-3

IIPUP PROJECT COMPONENTS	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
BASIC NEEDS OF THE URBAN POOR WHICH MIGHT BE ADDRESSED THROUGH IIPUP	Upgrading of existing settlements	Development of new low income settlements	Assistance to small scale enterprise	Other employment assistance	Informal adult education	Basic sanitation	Health services	Public transportation services	Participant mobilization	Welfare for neediest groups
Target group most appropriately benefited	III, V	V	III, IV, V	I-V	II-V	I, III, IV	I, III, IV, V	V	IV, V	I, III
<p><i>PHYSICAL IMPROVEMENT NEEDS:</i></p> <p>Improved shelter</p> <p>Secure land tenure or rental status</p> <p>Water</p> <p>Sanitation</p> <p>Drainage/soil stabilization</p> <p>Open/recreation space</p> <p>Electricity</p>	<p>X</p> <p>X</p> <p>X</p> <p>X</p> <p>X</p> <p>X</p> <p>X</p>	<p>X</p> <p>X</p> <p>X</p> <p>X</p> <p>X</p> <p>X</p> <p>X</p>				<p>X</p> <p>X</p> <p>X</p>				
<p><i>COMMUNITY SERVICES AND FACILITIES NEEDS:</i></p> <p>Public transportation</p> <p>Solid waste removal</p> <p>Community centers</p> <p>Daycare facilities</p> <p>Legal assistance</p> <p>Opportunities to participate in decision making and support for community organization</p> <p>Emergency services (fire and security)</p> <p>Communication (public telephones)</p>	<p>X</p> <p>X</p>	<p>X</p>		<p>X</p>		<p>X</p>	<p>X</p>		<p>X</p> <p>X</p> <p>X</p> <p>X</p> <p>X</p>	
<p><i>BASIC CONSUMPTION NEEDS:</i></p> <p>Adequate nutrition</p> <p>Fuel</p> <p>Clothing</p>										<p>X</p> <p>X</p> <p>X</p>

TABLE I-3 (continued)

BASIC NEEDS OF THE URBAN POOR WHICH MIGHT BE ADDRESSED THROUGH IIPUP	Upgrading of existing settlements	Development of new low income settlements	Assistance to small scale enterprise	Other employment assistance	Informal adult education	Basic sanitation	Health services	Public transportation services	Participant mobilization:	Welfare for neediest groups
Target group most appropriately benefited	III, V	V	III, IV, V	I-V	II-V	I, III, IV	I, III, IV, V	V	IV, V	I, III
HEALTH NEEDS: Community health facilities Preventive health services Curative health services Prenatal care Infant/child care Instruction on family planning Instruction on basic hygiene Instruction on basic health practices (care of illness, first aid, etc.)	X	X			X X X	X	X X X X			
EDUCATION NEEDS: Primary and secondary schools Vocational training Basic literacy	X	X		X	X X					
EMPLOYMENT RELATED NEEDS: Space and facilities for small scale enterprise Technical assistance for small scale enterprise Information on available employment Employment through direct government hiring			X X	X X						
FINANCING NEEDS: Credit Advice on family budgeting, sources of credit, negotiating for credit and credit responsibilities	X X	X X	X X						X	X

D. ORGANIZATIONAL ARRANGEMENTS FOR INTEGRATING URBAN SERVICES

1. BACKGROUND

In the discussion which follows, various arrangements for integrating social services will be proposed. Of necessity, many of the examples of integrating services are drawn from the American experience since experimental efforts to improve service delivery have been numerous in this country during the past decade. These experiences are worth examining, not only for their possible applicability to IIPUP projects but also because they suggest the difficulties and potential advantages associated with alternative integrated delivery systems.* Experience suggests that services integration can be achieved through various means but that the state of the art is still in a very fluid and experimental stage. Domestic experience certainly does not indicate that there are specific approaches to service integration which will work in all situations. Services integration has not been an overwhelming success in all cases. This uneven history of integrating delivery systems in the United States points to many potential problems as integration is attempted in developing countries.

The rationale behind the development of integrated delivery systems is basically sound. The poor have multiple and interdependent needs and these are more likely to be met through arrangements which recognize the holistic nature of the problem. It can be argued further that duplication of services and the lack of coordination among agencies which administer service do not work to the advantage of the urban poor. However, the simple principles which have motivated public authorities to attempt integration are difficult to operationalize. Bureaucratic constraints at times are formidable and tend to frustrate the operation of integrated systems. In some cases, additional costs have been incurred and greater delays have been experienced in projects designed to produce totally opposite effects. Even with careful planning, services integration cannot be assumed to succeed in all cases.

Although integrated service systems confront many problems, evidence of some achievement in servicing the poor more effectively can also be demonstrated. It would be too simplistic to decide either in favor of or against integrated service systems. It would be more correct to recognize the experimental nature of the discipline and to proceed carefully to devise means of integrating services.

* Annex II presents a number of relevant case histories of project integration from domestic and international experience.

Experience suggests that a range of factors must be analyzed before deciding on the organizational arrangements most likely to work in any given situation. The methods and structures adopted to integrate services for the urban poor should depend on such factors as client readiness to use an integrated services system, the willingness of partners in the system to look beyond adherence to organizational territoriality and the feasibility of combining administrative and fiscal authority.

The following discussion presents alternative organizational arrangements which should be considered in designing new IIPUP programs. The arrangements presented here range from direct intervention in the services delivery system (supply side intervention) to less direct user referral and assistance programs (user side intervention). There is actually considerable scope for overlap in these arrangements; IIPUP programs may involve a mix of integrating mechanisms.

All of the alternative organizational arrangements are not equally relevant for developing countries. The principal advantages and disadvantages of each for developing country situations are discussed in the conclusion of this section.

2. POSSIBLE APPROACHES TO INTEGRATION

a. Direct Services Integration at the National and Regional Levels

In direct integration, the service providers are legally subordinate to the integrator. The powers of the integrator include authority to compel participation by service providers in a single system of planning, programming, budgeting, evaluation and implementation of social service delivery.

The extent of the target group being served will affect the level at which integration is appropriate. This will obviously differ from country to country and project to project. It is important for the administrative level of integration to correspond to the defined target group. The extent to which national, regional or municipal governments can adequately coordinate the various service inputs required for the urban poor is largely a function of project scope.

A common means of attempting services integration is to establish a national or regional level coordinating entity. This approach is illustrated by the Department of Health and Rehabilitative Services in Florida. This department was created as part of a major government reorganization in 1968. Twenty-two agencies, boards, commissions and program offices were combined to form a single department. It includes health,

welfare, youth services, mental health, vocational rehabilitation, aging services, drugs, alcoholism services and correctional institutions. There are seven line and two staff divisions. The staff divisions are administrative services and planning and evaluation. Comprehensive health, planning, community medical facilities comprehensive rehabilitation, planning and research and evaluation are done by the division of planning and evaluation. Each line division has sub-state and district operations. However, services are coordinated through departmental level planning, programming and budgeting.

In some countries, central government ministries may be given the responsibility for sponsoring individual IIPUP programs.* The following types of organizations are potential participants in this type of central coordinating mechanism.

(i) Planning bodies. Because congruence between the more specific goals of an IIPUP project and national goals is important, liaison with national planning boards and their state counterparts at the project planning stage is critical. This is also important because the project may have to be accepted as an experimental or prototype to be replicated elsewhere in the country.

(ii) Budget agencies. Liaison with appropriate budget agencies should occur essentially for the same reason as it does for planning bodies. An additional responsibility of the budget agencies is to approve funds for certain components of IIPUP projects and to assure some continuity of funding for those projects requiring a longer period of implementation.

(iii) Substantive ministries. The responsibilities of substantive ministries and departments vary depending upon whether the ministry has a primary coordinating responsibility in the project or is one of several sectoral contributors to the project. A related question concerns whether central ministries provide states and municipalities with grants leaving considerable spending discretion to state and local authorities or whether ministries earmark funds for specific uses. In the latter case, coordination with central ministries is critically important. If major spending authority is with the state agency, then these bodies should be a focal point of coordination -- especially in regionally focused projects.

Ministries or departments are also potential participants in IIPUP projects if they impose standards which effect the delivery of services or would be required to release personnel to assume staff responsibilities in projects.

(iv) Non-substantive or regulatory agencies. These agencies include treasury or finance departments who must

* See the Honduras example in Annex II.

release funds and who often establish the terms and conditions (scheduling) of the release of funds.

Personnel or civil service bodies who determine conditions of recruitment, placement, salaries and sometimes training should be involved in the project's organizational structure. If projects elect to make heavy use of public employees, existing personnel policies will have to be reviewed to assure that qualified staff will be available.

Most governments now have environmental control bodies whose relationship to sewerage or sanitation projects could be important. Zoning authorities, public safety agencies and certain accrediting bodies could also play a regulating role in service provision.

(v) Training bodies. Considering the importance of training in most IIPUP projects, training organizations could be prospective participants in IIPUP design and coordination. A variety of training programs will have to be developed to service IIPUP.

(vi) Public or private sector industries. Projects which include capital improvements such as housing, roads or water and sewerage systems may have public or private implementing agencies. In many countries, funds are publicly administered, but the execution of development projects is handled through private businesses or autonomous entities.

(vii) Financial institutions. Public or private financial institutions may be important to IIPUP projects. Credit terms and interest rates are important to many types of IIPUP projects. In some cases, financial institutions also provide technical assistance such as management advice to small scale business.

The direct access to and control of financing by central coordinating entities will, to a large extent, determine their success.

b. Direct Services Integration at the Municipal Level

Where the target group is a substantial percentage of the population of a city, it is appropriate that the municipality assume coordinating responsibility for the services required for the project.

An urban improvement project in Lusaka which covered 40 percent of the housing in the city clearly required a

key role by municipal authorities.* The Lusaka project was an outgrowth of an earlier more modest project. The Lusaka Municipal Government coordinates inputs of the National Housing Authority which makes funds and technical assistance available for squatters to upgrade their homes through a cooperative, self-help program. The World Bank is providing financial assistance to the project. UNICEF and the American Friends Service Committee are also involved in the various social service components of the project.

c. Autonomous Coordinating/Facilitating Organizations

In some instances, coordination can be achieved through an *ad hoc* organization which is organized to stimulate service for the urban poor. The organization need not and, in most instances, should not be governmental but should be the linking agency between government agencies, private agencies and the target group. The organization could, by virtue of its experience with social services, be a catalyst for stimulating the involvement of other public and private bodies in assisting the urban poor. Its role would be particularly appropriate where the circumstances of the target groups to be served are very desperate and the prospect of an indigenous group taking initiative seems unlikely. With an autonomous broker, target groups have an independent advocate and management resource.

This type of integration is illustrated in the Ahmedabad Urban Improvement project where the ASAG, a voluntary independent body, served a key coordinating function in providing infrastructure from the Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation for a sites and services project as well as technical assistance from the American Friends Service Committee.**

d. Coordination/Integration Through Community-Based Organizations

In certain target group areas, local organizations may exist which, with some restructuring, could form the nucleus for channeling various services. A proposed IIPUP project for Panama recommends this kind of institutional arrangement. While the Ministry of Planning and Economic Policy would be the chief coordinating agency for the project, funds for the project would flow directly from the central level to the community-based organizations which would administer the project. The services provided to the target groups and the personnel associated with dispensing these services would be the responsibility of the community-based organizations.

* See Annex II.

** See Annex II.

e. Coordination/Integration Through
the Planning Process

Some attempts at integrating services, particularly in the United States, have limited themselves to the planning function without disturbing the structures of participating agencies. The participation of service agencies can be voluntary, which, of course, means that there is less assurance of compliance with the program. However, the results of the coordinated planning exercise, usually carried out by representatives of the participating agencies, can influence the allocation of resources by the various functional agencies. Agencies which participate in the planning process are also expected to contribute to a common data gathering or monitoring program.

Three domestic examples illustrate this approach. Under funding made available through Title XX of the Social Security Act of 1975 (the objective of which was to improve local planning and delivery of social services), Monroe County, New York attempted a comprehensive needs assessment and resource analysis. The project did not involve a forcible reorientation of existing agencies' programs. Rather, it provided information to agencies of where needs existed and how their resources might be better focused. The strategy assumed that a fairly broad range of services were already in place and that most needs could be met by redirecting existing programs.*

A somewhat related program is carried out by San Mateo County's Human Services Coordinating Council which does not allocate funds or modify existing planning systems, but rather through coordinated needs analysis and planning activities attempts to make service delivery among several related agencies more purposeful for specific target groups. In both of the above examples, the agencies may be constrained by jurisdictional requirements which limit their ability to relate programs to clients. However, integration is achieved by securing interagency acceptance of the identified needs and by getting agencies to apply their specialties so that a complementary set of services can be provided.

Another example of integration through the planning process is found in some of the more sophisticated United Way programs. If an agency wishes to gain financial assistance, it must comply with the requirements for planning and coordination established by the United Way. A common data base is used by all participating agencies in this effort. Agencies participate in all stages of the planning cycle.

Indirect integration through improved central planning is less effective where gaps in service are numerous or where

* For more information on these examples, see Sharing, Vol. 3, No. 2, Spring 1979 and Vol. 2, No. 3, Fall 1978, Project Share, Rockville, Md. See also case study in Annex II.

the agency priorities and structures are inappropriate for the target group. Such a strategy may be effective to improve service delivery over a long period. It may not be as relevant in developing countries where needs are more urgent. However, this approach does have merit as a relatively non-threatening strategy which can lead to limited services integration and improved planning.

f. Integration Through Packages of Functionally-Related Programs/Block Assistance to Target Groups

Attempts have been made to redirect categorical funding programs which often are constrained in servicing target groups appropriately by introducing block grants focusing on particular target groups. This approach is illustrated by the Flexible Intergovernmental Grant program now being undertaken in three states with evaluation funds from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.* The program supposes that bringing categorical funds into block grants oriented toward particular functional areas will contribute to more effective human service delivery systems. The program aims to "take previously separate categorical formula grants and/or project grants and arrange them to form a package of functionally-related programs representing a continuum of services to a defined target population." The three states in which the program is now being tested have opted for programs for the elderly, maternal and child health care and employment services. The arrangement provides for a flexible funding mechanism which will improve the quality of service to designated clients.**

The integrating principle in this instance is program packaging around a specific functional theme. Not only are administrative constraints likely to be eliminated, but clients are more likely to be served as their needs dictate rather than as program guidelines prescribe. As presently being tested, this approach does not go beyond clearly recognizable functional areas (such as child care, employment generation or service to the elderly). It is assumed that broader coordinating efforts through block grants would be unwarranted until more limited integration is tested. This initial limitation might be appropriate for IIPUP planners and administrators to consider.

g. Integration Through Packages of Functionally-Related Programs/Structural Reorganization of Services

If administrative, financial and legal constraints were not a problem, integrated services would ideally reflect

* See Case Study of Community Development Block Grant Program in Annex II.

** "Integration of Funds: The FIG Project," Robert Newhart in Sharing, Vol. 1, No. 4, Fall/Winter 1977, Project Share, Rockville, Md.

functional needs. For example, "services to children" would be a functional area with all problems (including mental and physical health and education) being grouped within a single administrative unit. Such integration, however, is difficult to achieve because of jurisdictional constraints on the allocation of funds and personnel. Only in instances where funds and personnel are pooled is it possible to achieve complete flexibility in program orientation. There are few examples where this has been accomplished.

One attempt in this direction was made by a major metropolitan county. Integration was achieved incrementally. The program has advanced to the point that some functional specialization in programs is possible. It grew out of a concern about the vast array of social service programs which were too haphazard to be successfully managed. A Department of Human Resources was created with three main units -- health, mental health and social services. Even this limited amalgamation of functions aroused feelings of territoriality among staff. However, by reorganizing middle management and by informing personnel continuously of the advantages of the new structure, the program began to yield results. The director of the experiment notes that "the benefits of the program were immediately apparent" in the form of better client/patient/family care, improved communication among staff from various functional areas and better service to multi-problem families. The director concludes that "all this did not happen overnight. Barriers that had become traditional were not removed until middle management had become reorganized."*

It should be pointed out that this process of integrating services evolved over a span of ten years and endured a series of structural reorganizations before proceeding to more complete integration. This example indicates the time needed to achieve integration as well as the kind of organizational and personnel adjustments required to win acceptance for systems which challenge traditional organizational boundaries.

h. Services Integration by Expansion from Categorical Bases

Several attempts at services integration have begun by expanding categorical programs to include both a wider range of services as well as a larger target group. Such programs commence with a categorical funding base and are eventually expanded to combine complementary services and resources into an integrated set of services. The expansion usually entails the integration of services relating to a common area. This method of program integration generally characterizes many IIPUP projects where housing assistance is the program base and is the point of departure for additional service.

* "Arlington County Department of Human Resources: A Decade of Development, 1968-1977," Helen Hackman in Sharing, Vol. 1, No. 2, Spring 1977, Project Share, Rockville, Md.

Two domestic examples illustrate this principle of integration. The first concerns a community mental health center formed in Lyon County, Kansas, through residents' initiative. Because of funding constraints, the project began with only the placement of juvenile offenders. A limited counselling service was soon added. With an improved funding base drawn from local assessments, the center's work was eventually expanded to include a wider geographic area and additional clientele. The emergence of a genuinely comprehensive community mental health program occurred a few years later when federal funds were sought to augment the program. With a more secure funding base, the center's work was expanded to include hospitalization services, in-patient counselling and 24-hour emergency treatment. The program included a broad spectrum of complementary mental health services such as community education, evaluation and specialized counselling. Over a span of 15 years, the center had moved from an emergency service for juveniles to a comprehensive mental health facility serving virtually all facets of community mental health. The expansion of the program was incremental, moving from a modest program using only local resources to a comprehensive one involving both local and federal funds.

The Atlanta Rehabilitation Center provides a somewhat different example of expansion from a program which was initially more restricted and categorical in focus. Begun in 1965 under an Office of Economic Opportunity grant, the Atlanta Center provided comprehensive employment evaluation services by accepting referrals and coordinating the work of several smaller public and private agencies in the area. The Center eventually became a state facility under the operation of the State Division of Vocational Rehabilitation. This change of status occurred with the infusion of several categorical grants and a state appropriation. The services of the Center were then expanded to include job counselling, referral and workshop training. The combination of several smaller categorical grants was required in order to keep the Center going after OEO demonstration funds were terminated and the State Department of Vocational Rehabilitation declined to accept full financial responsibility for the program.*

The Atlanta experience is distinct from the East Kansas project because of its financial origin. The Atlanta project began with federal funds and experienced quicker growth than did the East Kansas project. However, the Atlanta project is still highly dependent on external funding, whereas the East Kansas project grew from a secure local funding base to a more ambitious program with federal funding being a supplemental rather than a primary source of assistance.

* "Illustrating Services Integration from Categorical Bases," Human Services Monograph Series, No. 3, November 1976, Project Share, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Rockville, Md.

Both projects indicate that there is a relationship between the extent of comprehensiveness and integration and the security of the funding base. More ambitious integration occurs when the funding base is larger and more secure.

i. Service Co-Location as a Means of Service Integration

Access to a range of services can be improved by instituting centers to house them. It is assumed that convenience and access to service will improve client utilization. Multiple service centers are an alternative to more traditional single service delivery systems where services are made available but are not focused on particular localities. Clients are able to avail themselves more easily of services which are in physical proximity to one another. They can select for themselves the services necessary to satisfy their needs.

Co-location centers sometimes relate to a specific problem area such as a multi-service center for disabled persons in a major American city. The center was organized by the municipal government's Department of Rehabilitation to offer all services to disabled clients such as medical treatment, psychiatric counselling, training, education and job referral. Referral to the kinds of assistance needed can be easily accomplished where all services are physically convenient. Handicapped persons can be easily reached by a series of services which they may need over time in order to achieve greater personal independence. The result is not just convenience but the possibility of an integrated, phased program of rehabilitation where both clients and staff can conveniently interact and monitor client progress.

Other multi-service centers combine services which are aggregated more broadly, having no functional relation. They are merely deemed appropriate to the client community being served. In such cases, convenience and access are the rationales behind the co-location of services.

j. Coordination Through Information and Referral

Many poor urban residents lack knowledge about available services and how these services might be utilized. Many proponents of integrated service systems contend that the uncoordinated nature of services confuses citizens and impairs their ability to fully utilize the services which are available. The problem is compounded by the lack of knowledge among delivery agents about services that might be provided to complement their own programs. This has led to the formation of

information referral systems which strengthen knowledge among prospective clients and service delivery agents about available services.

There are many examples of information referral systems as coordinating devices. One good example is the Human Resources Coordinating Alliance serving Jefferson County (Louisville), Kentucky. This program is cited because of its status as a prototype project which has, since its inception, been adopted by several other cities.

The Louisville project was established to determine service deficits in the community and to reduce unnecessary duplication in the planning, programming and delivery of services. A fundamental lack of cooperation and communication among service agencies was also a principal motivation. The founders of the Louisville program define their system as a "mediated model"; that is, "an association or consortium of autonomous agencies or organizations which directs the coordinative activities of the various providers."*

The Louisville project aims at coordinating the activities of autonomous agencies through a mutual sharing of information and decision making. This model is distinct from one where a super authority is constituted to provide linkages among subordinate agencies.

The Louisville model provides for voluntary participation in a system which includes an Intake-Screening-Referral System and a Human Service Information System. A common intake and referral form is administered to all clients regardless of the agency servicing the client and then fed into a data bank. Data retrieved from the bank suggests additional service needs which clients might have. It also points out service gaps within the community which are identified by the frequency of specific service deficiencies. The system provides for referrals and follow-up from other service providers. The agency which initially makes contact accepts responsibility for indicating additional services which might be provided to both the client and the relevant cooperating agency. The Human Services Information System also yields data for annual and long range planning by and among the concerned agencies.

While the system may be somewhat more advanced than many developing countries are prepared to institute, it has merit because it redirects service agencies toward missing links or service gaps among critical user groups. It also assists

* "Service Coordination: An Introduction to the Louisville System," Louisville/Jefferson County, Kentucky, 1977, p. 3.

clients in becoming aware of the range of services available. The system is, of course, not adequate in cases where agency orientations are totally inappropriate to the needs of the poor or where a well-established set of services is not already in place.

Although sophisticated referral systems may not be appropriate in many developing countries, the dissemination of basic information about available public services can be important. New migrants need information about available employment, housing and other opportunities. A program for the dissemination of information relevant for households in newly forming low income settlements was proposed in Pakistan in 1973 by the national television system in conjunction with a basic urban settlement project. Information was to be made available on such subjects as employment opportunities and available public health services.

k. User Side Assistance as a Means of Integration

Partially in reaction to the bureaucratic constraints which impede service coordination, attempts have been made to place the responsibility for integrating services at the user level. It is assumed that user needs are too varied to be met adequately by agency initiatives. Usually user side assistance programs involve the client in determining what combination of services is required. Proponents of user side assistance generally feel that the client as consumer can induce agencies to be more responsive in giving service in the form needed. Often broker agencies or case workers function as intermediaries between the client and service providers, assisting with the identification of appropriate services and delivery agencies. The funding of such programs involves either a voucher system where clients redeem credits for essential services or community agencies which contract services from other agencies on behalf of the client.*

Projects in Brockton, Massachusetts, and Hartford, Connecticut, are good examples of user side assistance. Hartford opted for an arrangement whereby public and private resources were pooled and managed by a single agency -- the Hartford Community Life Association. Special funds provided by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare supported this administrative arrangement. Clients approached the organization for services. When agencies were available to cater to client needs, the system worked. When service gaps existed, the Association could intervene to promote new service activities. The project has been terminated with the withdrawal of HEW funds.

* "Managing the Human Service System: What Have We Learned from Services Integration?" Human Services Monograph Series, No. 4, August 1977, Project Share, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Rockville, Md.

The Brockton experiment with user side assistance was implemented through the Brockton Area Human Resources Group, a multi-service center.* The project involves case workers who diagnose client needs and negotiate through the center for appropriate services. Client needs are exhaustively inventoried and conveyed to appropriate service agencies. The Area Human Resources Group can contract with participating agencies for services when sufficient demand exists. The focus is on categories of clients. As with other systems concerned with information and referral, the Brockton project identifies service gaps through its diagnostic and referral activities. It also attempts to influence the planning process of contributing agencies.

While giving clients a greater stake in directing the service sector toward their needs, the results of the project have been less than exemplary since monitoring clients is a demanding and expensive professional activity. Moreover, the servicing agencies are not all within the coordinated system and the ability of the managing agency to negotiate for necessary services is sometimes limited. The provision of service is contingent on the range of services available and the ability to negotiate for the provision of these services. The system appears to work best where a tradition of integrating services exists and where clients have experience in negotiating with the system to meet their needs. These conditions would not be commonly found in many developing countries.

User side assistance assumes that service delivery systems already exist and need only be reoriented. This is not the case in most developing countries. Where viable service systems are not functioning, scarce resources are probably more effectively focused on developing an adequate institutional base. Service supply rather than user demand is the most critical constraint. Vouchered user assistance may also be prohibitively expensive in developing countries where the poor constitute the vast majority.

3. CONCLUSIONS

It is difficult to prescribe precise strategies for integrating the various project components. Domestic experience with service integration should be interpreted cautiously, recognizing that cultural, economic and political differences are likely to be encountered in most developing countries. However, certain principles derived from American and international experience can help to determine the organizational arrangements most likely to succeed in IIPUP projects. While these conclusions are generally useful, any organizational

* See case study in Annex II.

structure will involve substantial risk. Organizational arrangements will, therefore, have to be applied flexibly and monitored closely.

a. Coordinating Arrangements Achieve Different Purposes

Some of the above arrangements focus on reorienting and reorganizing the service delivery system. Others concentrate on improving the access of user groups to existing services. Some involve elements of both.

Similarly, some types of arrangements involve a "package" structure of services which are brought to the target area by having service representatives physically present in the area working closely with counterparts from other agencies. Other examples involve a "network" structure where emphasis is on access, making it possible for people to obtain the services they need, only some of which may be physically located in the area.

Not all of these arrangements are equally relevant for developing countries. Arrangements which emphasize information and referral assume that users are positioned to take advantage of existing services and that most significant services are available. Such arrangements merely establish appropriate linkages between users and services. This approach has limitations in developing countries. Viable service systems may not already exist. Where they do exist, service agencies may not regard the urban poor as a primary constituency. Many chronically poor or new migrants may be unfamiliar with the range of services available. Their ability to negotiate with the existing system is limited, and the time and manpower required to develop these linkages may be prohibitively expensive. In these cases, it may be more efficient to concentrate on improving service systems rather than on improving access to systems which do not exist or are inappropriate.

b. Bureaucratic Rigidities Tend to Impair Attempts at Coordination

The readiness of service providers to involve themselves in cooperative arrangements is a principle determinant of how effectively integration can work. Individual agencies have their own attitudes, budgets and priorities which they may not be willing or able to amend to accommodate IIPUP. Inter-agency planning may help to rationalize service arrangements, but it does not generally achieve a direct and immediate impact. More direct coordination is more difficult to achieve.

c. Integration Can Increase Rather Than Reduce Program Costs

Integration is often justified by its alleged cost effectiveness since it avoids duplication of service and reduces administrative overhead. However, integrated projects in the United States have not always accomplished this purpose. The coordinating agency often represents another administrative layer or at least an additional staffing requirement. In most cases, for integration to actually reduce administrative costs, participating agencies would have to give up personnel and resources to support a new agency. Most agencies are naturally reluctant to do this. This may be a particular problem in developing countries where government employment is sought and given as a political reward. Existing agencies will resist attempts to streamline their operations by reducing jobs. In many countries, an implied responsibility of the public sector is to provide employment. Organizational efficiency may be a secondary concern.

d. The Inclusion of a Wide Range of Services Has Both Advantages and Disadvantages in Assisting Target Groups

Maximum inclusion seems feasible when projects focus on giving information and linking clients to services. Possibilities for conflicts and confusion are less likely to occur when the priorities and structures of existing provider agencies are not disturbed. However, when more profound changes are required which involve a co-mingling of services and new lines of authority, the inclusion of a number of project components compounds administrative difficulties. It can heighten jurisdictional wrangling to the point that more energy is absorbed in protecting agency "turf" than in responding to client needs.

e. Actions Taken to Improve Coordination Among Services May Achieve Better Cooperation at the Administrative Level Without Necessarily Having an Immediate Impact on Client Groups

This is especially true where the urban poor have not traditionally been an important target of an agency. Administrative arrangements aimed at coordination may only be an initial step in a long range process of increasing service effectiveness. Project planners and administrators should not expect to see immediate benefits to clients as a result of integration. There is a clear trade-off between the amount

of energy that should be invested in improving administrative arrangements and the need to meet compelling needs with urgent solutions. In most situations, the effort to improve service delivery should occur on both fronts. Efforts to improve long term planning and administration should be combined with more direct client oriented activities that yield quick returns.

f. Considerable Organizational Leadership is Required for Making Integrated Projects Work

Experience suggests that considerable leadership and diplomacy is needed to erode bureaucratic constraints. The success or failure of a program often depends on the strength of its leader. Much of the task of strengthening integration among agencies working with the poor must focus on training and organizational development. This is examined in greater detail in Parts II and III.

g. New Organizational Arrangements Require High Level Political Support

The instances of agencies voluntarily divesting themselves of authority to serve the larger goal of program integration have been rare. IIPUP efforts will frequently require new organizational arrangements. This implies that they must have high level political support, especially where new arrangements are required. Because new organizational arrangements are frequently required, the prospects of experimental coordinating arrangements continuing after IIPUP's seed money is withdrawn must be considered. Continuation may be unlikely without meaningful local support. There are numerous examples of project coordination terminating with the withdrawal of special funds. AID's specific role in fostering integration may be especially difficult because it will be somewhat external to the system and may lack the leverage needed to translate experiments into ongoing systems.

h. Administrative and Funding Arrangements Should Complement Each Other

Integrating units which rely only on their good offices to achieve results have been generally less impressive, especially in developing new or better service for client groups. Units which depend on voluntary contributors have also generally been less successful. Units with their own funds have had greater impact. This is considered in greater detail in the following section.

i. Readiness to Participate in IIPUP
May Be a Crucial Factor in Determining
Success

Organizations which are not prepared to surrender some autonomy to a coordinating authority or to cooperate with other agencies will be poor partners in an IIPUP project regardless of how important their input may be. Likewise, the readiness of user groups to participate in integrated projects is important. User side assistance, for example, would be of limited use for groups which are too depressed socially to take initiative in seeking social services. Information and referral systems may also be inappropriate for groups who lack familiarity with public assistance agencies or who are cynical about their responsiveness. The kind of integration adopted to achieve IIPUP's goals, therefore, must be especially sensitive to the culture of the organizations which it proposes to bring together as well as that of the client groups it proposes to serve.

j. Maximum Advantage Should be Gained
from Existing Programs

IIPUP programs do not necessarily require creating new institutions. Many of the facilities and services needed may best be provided through existing programs. Indeed, one of the underlying principles of IIPUP programming should be to help target groups integrate themselves into normal (improved) systems of public and private facilities and services, rather than to encourage them to retain their identities as "IIPUP" clients. IIPUP should be building bridges between marginal populations and the rest of society, not creating islands of improvement. It should be designed to make itself unnecessary in the long run.

Coordinating entities may serve an important catalytic role at the national, regional or municipal levels, but they generally lack the expertise to undertake direct implementation. In a recent planning exercise in Medan, Indonesia, the municipality accepted the need to coordinate social services with housing programs, but it recognized that it was unable to provide most services directly. This had to be arranged with national service agencies.

k. Ensuring that the Priorities and Capacities
of Target Groups are Taken into Account
Should be a Major Concern

User oriented integration has this as its primary objective. Community priorities are also important for programs which involve more direct intervention in the services delivery system.

Adequate involvement of the target community in the planning of the project, as well as its implementation, is likely to be essential, not only to the initial success of the project but also to its sustained impact. Households should have an opportunity to be informed of the alternative "packages" of facilities and services available, the costs of each package and the kinds of benefits which can realistically be expected in each case. In a recent project, the target community was consulted in the early stages of planning and the proposed project components and their potential benefits were described by representatives of the two principal agencies concerned. The response of the community was, basically "it sounds fine. We are willing, in principle, to participate, possibly even to donate labor. But tell us two things now -- what will the costs be (what will be our monthly payments), and when will we get title to the land?"

E. POSSIBLE FINANCING ARRANGEMENTS

1. THE IMPORTANCE OF FINANCIAL VIABILITY

Financial viability is important because of the concern with longevity of delivery systems and the replicability of IIPUP programs. In general, projects should be designed so that the costs of programs can be recovered. This means that the standards of both physical improvements and services must be designed to be affordable. As noted below, it may be easier to recover the costs of physical investments such as housing and infrastructure than social services. However, services which may lead to the production of income such as vocational education or public transportation should also be considered for cost recovery.

In all cases, it is especially important to assure that secure funding sources exist for all of the services and support activities proposed for an IIPUP program. While absolute guaranties of funding sources over time cannot be secured in most instances, the vagaries surrounding the project's long term financial prospects should be minimized. This will depend in part on the compatibility of the project with national and/or state program priorities and the allocation of sufficient public funds to certain sectors or programs.

The need for financial viability could conflict with the degree of required coverage to meet the needs of a particular target group. For example, a comprehensive health program which includes preventive health care services might initially add substantial costs to health care. The cost of health services might ultimately be reduced, but time would be required before impact would be noticed and the economic benefits of the project realized.

The integration process may improve the financial viability of services compared to what the services would cost if provided independently. A water supply and drainage project can be integrated with a project in urban agriculture so that waste water is recycled for irrigation, thus reducing costs for the agriculture project without any significant increase in the cost of the water scheme. In other instances, integrated delivery systems (e.g. combined personnel, office space) can reduce duplication and waste. This is, however, not always true and should be considered for each IIPUP program independently.

2. COST RECOVERY AND PROJECT TYPES

Many components of IIPUP projects can be financed through credit to beneficiaries and recuperated. This is especially true of physical projects such as shelter improvement and infrastructure installation. Although not without difficulties, a number of mechanisms exist for extending credit for these improvements and recovering costs. Although it is most common to recover costs for on-site improvements (land, shelter, utilities connections, etc.), means also exist to recover the costs of improvements in off-site infrastructure and facilities.

Costs can be recovered from many other IIPUP project types. Small businesses can be charged for the costs of space and facilities, technical assistance and credit. Where technical assistance is provided in connection with credit programs, its cost can be added to interest or other credit charges. The costs of other types of employment assistance can also be recovered. In some cases, vocational training can be financed by loans which are paid by subsequent earnings. Daycare facilities for working parents can be supported from the parents' increased earnings.

Direct employment by government could involve a considerable public financial burden. However, in many cases, unemployed people from the target groups can be employed on projects which would have otherwise been undertaken with less labor intensive means. Much of the cost of infrastructure and other works undertaken to employ the urban poor can itself be recuperated from the ultimate beneficiaries.

The cost of some informal adult education can be recuperated, particularly some types of vocational education, but this may be difficult. Public education is generally provided free of charge in most countries, including much adult education. Cost recuperation for basic education services focused on lower income groups may not be socially feasible or desirable.

The physical improvements in basic sanitation projects (water supplies and sanitation) may lend themselves to cost recuperation. However, to the extent that these projects are focused on the poorest groups, cost recuperation may be difficult. It is more difficult, for example, to recover costs for community water and sanitation facilities than for systems involving individual connections and facilities. The provision of basic sanitation to the lowest income groups free of charge may be justified by benefits to the rest of society (e.g. reduced social unrest and epidemics) as well as by the improved distribution of services to lower income groups.

It is neither feasible nor appropriate to charge the urban poor for most health services, especially preventive outreach services in poor communities and informal health instruction. This is also true for more specific programs involving pre- and post-natal care and family planning. To discourage the use of in-patient, curative health care, it may be advisable to charge for these services. However, this is probably not relevant for IIPUP which will generally concentrate on those health services which can be provided at the community level. Cost recovery may be more feasible and appropriate for financing some health facilities such as community health centers. However, in many cases, these too are normally funded from general revenues.

Public transportation services are likely to be important for relatively prosperous urban poor groups (generally Group V). For this reason, it is appropriate that most transportation services be paid for by the user groups. Private sector bus and light rail operations have shown throughout the developing world that these services can be provided on a financially viable basis. Governments should avoid the trap of subsidizing low income development at uneconomical distances from places of work. In many cases, however, credit and technical assistance can be provided to private operators or state corporations to enable them to improve and extend services to benefit low income groups.

Cost recuperation may be possible for many elements of participant mobilization projects. Some project related services such as legal assistance to help the beneficiaries of community upgrading projects secure tenure can be costed into the projects and recuperated as part of the capital cost of the project. In other cases, this may not be feasible. In a major community upgrading project proposed for San Salvador, the community organization services (social promoters) were to be paid from general funding. The cost of community centers, however, was to be paid by the community organizations which were supported by individual contributions.

Cost recovery is neither feasible nor appropriate in special welfare projects for the neediest groups. These services are generally financed from general funding or charitable organizations in order to relieve immediate needs and improve the distribution of services.

Community self-help through the contribution of labor and materials is an important means of reducing cost and avoiding the need for subsidy or cost recovery. Community contributions can be especially important in the construction of physical facilities such as schools, health centers and community centers. It can also contribute towards the cost of roads, drainage and other infrastructure.

IIPUP project planners should be sensitive to the fact that cost recovery is frequently a difficult political issue for governments. Whatever the economic arguments, it may be difficult to charge low income user groups for many types of public services. This is especially true if services and facilities are already being provided free of charge to upper and middle income groups. An example of this was found in the Kampung Improvement Program in Jakarta.* Project designers and international lenders initially urged that the cost of community infrastructure be recovered. However, even if a means had existed to recover costs, it would not have been politically feasible to do so because similar infrastructure was being provided without charge in middle and upper income neighborhoods. It may be important to review the financing of infrastructure and services for all social groups to achieve a balance and economic system which does not discriminate against the poor.

3. COST RECOVERY MECHANISMS

a. Loan Repayments from Individuals

Cost recovery can be achieved through loan repayments from individuals, especially in the case of investments in individual houses such as building materials loans. The costs of additional IIPUP components can be aggregated to the indebtedness of individual homeowners. This can include a pro rata share of investments in community infrastructure and facilities. As mentioned above, in some cases services related to IIPUP such as legal assistance can be capitalized on to project costs and recuperated as loans from individual beneficiaries. This implies a careful prior analysis of the affordability of services and facilities by the target group.

There are a number of difficulties in these types of loans which must be overcome. First, low income groups generally lack secure mortgagable tenure as a guaranty for loans. Many IIPUP projects require normalization of tenure prior to the initiation of credit programs. Even when tenure is normalized, it may be politically difficult for governments to foreclose on unpaid loans.

Low income groups generally lack experience with formal sector credit. Although they may be borrowing in the informal sector at high rates of interest, they lack familiarity with established credit institutions which consider them an unreasonable risk. User education is important to reduce the risk of default. In many cases, only direct government lending

* See case study in Annex II.

or government guaranties can make credit available to these groups.

Even in cases where government is the direct lender for IIPUP improvements, it may be useful for private credit institutions to service the loans. This removes the government from a direct relationship with beneficiaries and may reduce the risk of default. It also provides experience to the poor in dealing with formal sector credit institutions. It may introduce these institutions to potentially profitable operations with a client group that was previously considered too risky.

b. Loan Repayments from Enterprises

Costs can also be recovered through loan repayments, especially in the case of loans for the purpose of investment items such as workshops, equipment, tools, etc. This principle is illustrated by the Upper Volta Development Project of the World Bank which will make loans to 1,000 artisans for the purpose of obtaining materials to make farm implements to be sold in rural areas. Interest rates to artisans will be 8.5 percent per year.

c. Utility User Charges

In some cases, the costs of infrastructure improvement, installation and connection can be recovered through utility user charges. In a recent IIPUP proposal for Honduras, for example, individual connections to the water system would be financed from a loan fund. The loans would be recuperated from monthly water charges.

In some instances it may be possible to recuperate the costs of additional community investments through water charges. This could be an especially useful mechanism in situations where loan foreclosure is not feasible and the threat of utilities interruption is the most effective incentive to pay.

d. Recuperation through Community Organizations

In some cases community organizations can work to recover the costs of IIPUP project components. Community organizations can collect a *pro rata* share of improvements from each household. This type of cost recovery may be effective where community organizations are representative, and where they have been intimately involved in the planning process. In these cases, the costs and benefits of the project are explained to the beneficiaries at community

meetings during the planning stage. The communities themselves select the types of projects they desire and accept the corresponding repayment obligation. It was found in the case of Zambia, however, that community organizations did not want to be associated with collections which were considered a political liability.

e. Cost Recuperation from Landlords

Cost recuperation in projects involving rental housing can pose special problems. Landlords should be expected to pay for improvements to rental housing and infrastructure. However, they may lack the means to do so (or the incentive to undertake improvements in the first place) if they cannot collect additional rents from tenants. In situations where rent controls are in effect, landlords can be allowed to raise rents if they undertake improvements. In other cases, landlords may be allowed to densify rental buildings to increase their return if they undertake specified improvements. Such incentives to landlords can be combined with more intense enforcement of health and building codes, although existing codes may have to be revised to be more realistic.

4. INDIRECT COST RECOVERY

The improvement of local revenue collection and municipal finance systems can be important for generating the means to support IIPUP project components which do not lend themselves to direct cost recovery. While a thorough discussion of municipal finance is beyond the scope of this paper, some specific financial policies and mechanisms should be mentioned which are of potential importance for the financing of IIPUP programs.

a. Valorization or Betterment Taxes

The recuperation through betterment or *valorizacion* taxes on property that is benefited by public investment will permit a more orderly development. It is equitable to recover the capital costs of a project through a special payment assessed on those properties whose value has risen. Once understood, this usually is acceptable to property owners since their benefits will greatly exceed their costs. The benefits to the urban poor are direct and indirect. Directly, it permits the implementation of more programs in low income areas with the monies recovered from previous investments. At the same time, a program of *valorizacion* can permit the

expansion of public activities and can provide a possible mechanism for subsidizing some of the investments required in low income areas. The types of public works that could be considered for *valorizacion* include street paving, sidewalks, public lighting, drainage, bridges, parks, etc.

b. Urban Property Taxation

Urban property tax systems in developing countries are sadly deficient. Their potential to mobilize resources, some of which could be used to subsidize IIPUP programs, is generally underutilized. The potential of land taxation to increase the efficiency of land use and to reduce land price speculation is also seldom realized.

Land taxation is often difficult because of the lack of an adequate cadaster to base the tax. This is especially true of low income areas which inhibits the use of land taxation to finance IIPUP projects directly. Where property taxes are used, they may discourage new construction or maintenance if they are levied against improvements or rental values. Site value taxation is preferable in many cases. It discourages withholding idle land from development, and it affords an opportunity to recapture, for public use, increases in land values. It is used in many developing countries, including Jamaica and Mexico. The capacity of local governments to finance IIPUP projects could be considerably enhanced by improved land taxation systems.

5. FUNDING MECHANISMS TO SUPPORT SERVICES INTEGRATION

The success of services integration will depend, to a large extent, on the degree to which funds can be used to support that goal. The types of funding mechanisms used are, therefore, of critical importance.

a. Coordination of Categorical Program Funding

This is the weakest type of funding support for IIPUP, but it can be effective where service programs are complementary and agencies are willing to plan and work together. If programs are complementary, voluntary budget coordination is in the best interest of all the agencies concerned. In these cases, none of the agencies involved loses control of its budget.

An example of this is the Community Development Block Grant (CDBG) program of the Department of Housing and Urban Development.* The program is primarily concerned with financing physical infrastructure, but it also provides administrative funding for coordination with complementary programs of other departments. Local small enterprises are encouraged to coordinate with assistance programs of the Small Business Administration. CDBG funds can also be used together with Labor Department funds to promote employment in urban renewal areas. This type of funding coordination is being contemplated for IIPUP programs in several countries.

b. Fund Pooling

Various fund pooling arrangements have been attempted in the United States to achieve integration, usually for co-located services. Funds from various government departments have been pooled to finance related services in multi-service centers under the HEW SITO program.* However, many problems have developed. Agencies are reluctant to relinquish control over their funds. Frequently they cannot do so by law. Pooled funds usually have to be accounted for in detail to assure that they are spent for the categorical purpose of their original authorization. This detracts from any advantage gained from integration. It is also administratively difficult to accomplish.

In most cases, existing regulations prohibit the use of pooled funds for administration; they can only be used to finance program services. In many cases, the SITO program provided funding to administer services integration on an experimental basis, but when the program expired there was no way to pay administration costs.

c. Central Funding

The establishment of a central fund to support IIPUP activities is the strongest type of fiscal support for IIPUP programs, but it may be the most difficult to achieve. Participating agencies have no direct control over funding, but are reimbursed from the central fund as they perform services for IIPUP. Central IIPUP funds can be initiated with government grants and loans, loans from private institutions and foreign assistance grants and loans. They can be held at the municipal or national level as appropriate to the scope of the project.

A central fund has been recommended to finance community improvement and related services in El Salvador. The fund was to finance high priority urban improvements where public

* See Annex II.
P A D C O

agencies could not do so quickly enough within their basic budgets. Discretion in the use of the fund was to be vested in a central community upgrading entity. The purposes of establishing a separate fund were several:

- It would provide evidence of strong political support for urban poor projects.
- It would provide a device for focusing resources promptly and efficiently on high priority projects in several sectors.
- It would keep the accounting for low income projects distinct from other accounts.
- The availability of a special fund for low income projects would encourage executing agencies to participate in projects for the poor which they might otherwise have avoided due to lack of funds.

The central fund was to be capitalized in part by the government, in part by international donors and in part by deposits from autonomous public institutions holding excess liquidity.

F. LEGAL FRAMEWORK

At least three components of the legal framework should be utilized together to support IIPUP programs:

- The institutional laws and regulations which are needed to establish the governmental machinery for IIPUP and define the responsibilities of entities in the public sector.
- The laws and regulations defining private rights or regulating private activities associated with or relevant for the program.
- Related legislation -- which is linked only indirectly with the program but which has a potentially great impact on the well-being of low income groups.

1. PRINCIPLES FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN APPROPRIATE LEGAL FRAMEWORK

a. Feasibility

The regulations and procedures utilized must be feasible economically and socially for IIPUP target groups. The standards established for legal development must be within their economic means. Both standards and enforcement procedures must be consistent with their lifestyles and social practices. Judicial and quasi-judicial processes must be accessible and comprehensible.

b. Equity

Laws and regulations established to support IIPUP programs should not be discriminatory among low income groups; nor should they discriminate unfairly against other groups (for example, by establishing simplified procedures for land acquisition in order to expedite the implementation of IIPUP projects but in so doing undermine the property rights of other groups not eligible for IIPUP support).

c. Efficiency

The laws and regulations used should be efficient in the sense that they are inexpensive to administer, relative to

their effectiveness and in the sense that their application does not induce unnecessary costs for the individuals and groups affected by them. The economic costs of unnecessarily complex procedures can be very high because of the high opportunity costs of underutilized capital. Lengthy and/or complex procedures can also encourage economic distortions as well as inequities because they facilitate corruption and evasion.

d. Minimal Change

The changes introduced into the existing legal framework for the purposes of IIPUP should be as limited as possible. They must be politically acceptable. They must be administratively digestible. Moreover, it often is possible to achieve substantial changes in the position of the poor through an integrated series of relatively minor changes in individual laws and regulations reinforced by other measures. This was the approach adopted recently in recommendations for a program for the upgrading of existing low income settlements in San Salvador, El Salvador: it has been proposed to strengthen the bargaining position of low income households in their attempts to obtain legal title to land by simplifying the requirements for legal sub-division and providing greater access to credit for the purchase of land -- instead of attempting large scale public land acquisition which would have constituted a drastic break with tradition.

e. Flexibility and Openness

Because of the many uncertainties as to what will work and what will not work in low income development, laws and regulations should be flexible to provide opportunities for socially constructive initiative and innovation in their application. They should provide room for administrative discretion in order to facilitate intelligent administrative responses to unforeseen conditions. There is frequently a tendency to assure accountability of funds through rigid regulations. The result can be a more cumbersome system of which the poor are invariably the victims. To the extent possible, regulations should be formulated as performance standards, indicating the social objectives to be fulfilled and leaving open the question of precisely how they are to be fulfilled, rather than as rigid prescriptions which impose the same solutions on all whom they affect. Legislation and regulations should also be open in the sense that they can be modified relatively easily through due process as conditions change. Change will be the rule, rather than the exception, in the evolution of IIPUP programs.

2. THE TYPES OF LAWS AND REGULATIONS
LIKELY TO BE RELEVANT FOR IIPUP

The following comments do not attempt to be exhaustive, but they will serve to indicate the principal types of instruments which should be considered in creating the legal framework for an IIPUP program.

a. Laws and Regulations Needed to Establish
the Governmental Machinery for IIPUP

(i) The laws or administrative decrees establishing IIPUP and any special fund(s) associated with the program. The law or administrative decree establishing the program should include:

- A definition of the program's goals and purposes.
- A general definition of the subject matter to be dealt with in the program.
- A designation of responsibilities for policy making, planning, implementation, evaluation and supervision -- with a clear definition of the powers and responsibilities of the entities involved, including the powers of the principal planning and executing entities which will enable them (at least in principle) to achieve the coordination necessary in the program.
- An identification of the other principal laws and regulations relevant for IIPUP.

The law or administrative decree establishing special funding for IIPUP, if there is to be special funding, is likely to have to include:

- A definition of the general purposes of the fund(s).
- An identification of the sources which can be drawn upon to provide capital.
- A definition of the specific purposes for which the fund(s) can be used.
- Guidelines for or specific restrictions on the use of the fund(s) for each eligible purpose

(for example, requirements for cost recovery, terms for loans and grants from the fund, etc.).

- An identification of the entity responsible for the administering of the fund(s) and its specific powers and responsibilities.
- An identification of other laws and regulations relevant for the administration and use of the fund(s).

(ii) Modifications in the laws and administrative decrees which define the powers and responsibilities of entities expected to participate in IIPUP. The laws and regulations affected will, of course, vary from country to country. A fairly typical set might include:

- Modifications in the laws governing the acquisition and disposition of land for public use or public purposes. (These modifications might, among other things, add IIPUP projects to the list of specified public purposes for which land can be expropriated.)
- Modification of statutes governing the administration of existing social service programs to determine whether they are unnecessarily restrictive regarding groups to be served, kinds of services to be provided and eligibility requirements for participation. Often categorical aid programs are unwittingly narrowly focused and thus are not amenable to being integrated into programs which have more open-ended objectives such as serving the urban poor.
- Modifications in the regulations governing the annual budgeting of participating entities, requiring them to allocate a part of their budgets to IIPUP, with the amount to be determined each year by the IIPUP program adopted for that year. Even where some joint funding is achieved, regulations may have to be changed so that categorical funds can actually be pooled and that the requirements for accountability from participating entities are not overwhelming.
- Modifications in the law(s) governing the powers and responsibilities of state and/or local governments to enable (or require) them

to assume responsibility for IIPUP or specific aspects of IIPUP. This may include, for example, their taxation and other revenue-raising powers.

- Modifications in the regulations governing the formal credit system to ensure or facilitate flows of funds into IIPUP on terms which will make it possible for the program to be financially viable and at the same time economically feasible for its target groups.
- Modifications in the laws or regulations governing participating entities to enable them to use the special fund(s) available for IIPUP.
- The introduction of legislation to permit relevant public entities to use betterment charges (called *valorización* in Latin America) for the financing of the capital costs of infrastructure and other public improvements appropriate for this type of funding.
- Modifications in the regulations governing the provision and pricing of public transportation to ensure adequate levels of service to low income areas, achieve efficiency in scheduling and help to ensure the financial viability of services.
- The introduction of a law or administrative decree or the modification of an existing one to provide for free or low cost legal services to be made available to IIPUP target groups and their members to assist them in acquiring titles to land, to help them acquire secure rights as tenants, to help them to negotiate more effectively for services to which they are entitled and to assist them in litigation.
- Develop regulations with respect to the allocation of personnel to enhance the possibility that programs oriented toward the poor will be served by personnel who are as well-qualified or better qualified than those serving more affluent groups. Often persons in cadres which provide the staffing for public assistance programs avoid assignments in areas where problems

are more complex and working conditions more onerous. Possibly, incentives can be given to personnel willing to work with the urban poor. Such arrangements would involve affirmative regulatory measures affecting the assignment of personnel to agencies serving the urban poor.

b. Laws and Regulations Defining Private Rights or Regulating Private Activities

The types of laws and regulations likely to be relevant in this category include:

- Laws, regulations and procedures pertaining to the transfer of property rights and the registration of rights in real property. For example, it may be necessary to modernize, simplify and accelerate procedures for title registration in order to enable low income groups to acquire secure titles and to discourage multiple mortgaging and other illegal practices which result in clouded titles or otherwise inhibit the participation of the poor in the formal real estate market.
- Regulations governing land use and construction. In many cases, it is likely to be necessary to introduce lower standards for the sub-division of land, the installation of infrastructure and residential (and possibly other) construction to reflect the real economic capacities of low income groups and enable them to participate in legal land use, thus entitling them to receive public urban services which they are presently denied on the grounds that their settlements are illegal. Often it will be desirable to provide the progressive upgrading of settlements in stages consistent with the economic capacities and social practices of IIPUP target groups. This has been done already in Bogota, Colombia, and has been recommended recently for the modification of land use regulations in San Salvador, El Salvador.*

* EDURES, (Estudio de Desarrollo Urbano y Regional de El Salvador), Ministerio de Planificacion y Coordinacion del Desarrollo Economico y Social, Gobierno de la Republica de El Salvador. A Program for the Integrated Improvement of Critical Metropolitan Areas in El Salvador, Document No. 25, Final Report, Vol. 1, San Salvador, El Salvador: EDURES, May 1978, Chapter IX.

- Regulations governing basic sanitation in residential space. It may be necessary to modify these regulations to achieve standards which are economically realistic for landlords providing rental space to low income groups at rents they can afford to pay, at the same time achieving sanitary conditions which are acceptable from the point of view of tenants and the community at large. More modest standards may also be easier to enforce than existing standards which, though relevant for middle and upper income residential areas, are simply unenforceable in low income areas.
- Regulations governing the rights of tenants in residential rental space.
- Regulations governing the standards to be achieved in the public and private provision of primary and secondary education and vocational training.
- Regulations governing the standards of service and hygiene to be achieved in the public and private provision of health services.
- Regulations controlling the prices of commodities important for low income groups (including, for example, the regulation of residential rents. Frequently, rent controls have been introduced with the intention of ensuring an adequate supply of decent rental space for low and middle income groups, but the rent levels established have been economically unrealistic and the net effect has been very negative, resulting in the deterioration of existing rental space and the discouragement of the construction of new space. It may be advisable to remove such controls immediately, or in stages coordinated with other measures designed to encourage the improvement of new rental space. This has been recommended in El Salvador, for example.*)
- Laws and regulations which provide incentives for increasing the supply of commodities important for IIPUP target groups. (For example, the introduction of incentives for increasing the

* EDURES, op.cit., Chapter V.

supply of land and shelter -- through the legalization of higher residential densities than those presently considered acceptable and improvements in the urban property tax to encourage a more efficient use of land and discourage the withholding of land for speculative purposes, coupled with other measures suggested earlier -- the introduction of economically feasible development standards, the elimination of rent controls and the introduction of betterment charges for the financing of infrastructure.) This also has been proposed for San Salvador.*

- Laws and regulations governing the creation and operation of cooperatives and other forms of communal organization.

c. Related Laws and Regulations

Some of the laws and regulations which need to be modified may be concerned with aspects of public or private powers, rights and activities which are related only indirectly to the improvement of conditions in low income settlements but which nevertheless can have a substantial impact on the well-being of IIPUP target groups. Changes in some of the laws and regulations in this category may have a significant impact on other groups and on national or local macro-economic conditions. These other potential impacts should be evaluated, together with the expected impacts on IIPUP target groups, in deciding whether or not to introduce such changes. The following are examples of laws and regulations of this type:

- Laws providing for the introduction or improvement of urban cadastral surveys. From the point of view of an IIPUP program, this may be desirable as a basis for modernizing property records, facilitating the introduction of betterment charges for the financing of infrastructure and the upgrading of the property tax to improve the functioning of the urban real estate market. Although it often will be difficult to get political support for such a change for obvious reasons, the results have been dramatic where sound cadasters have been introduced -- in Medellin, Colombia, for instance, and more recently in Tegucigalpa, Honduras.

* EDURES, op.cit., Chapters II, V, VI and IX.

- The legislation governing the urban property tax. It may be desirable to increase urban property tax rates to generate more funds for IIPUP. Increases in private property values in urban areas are partly the result of public investment; recouping part of the capital gains generated by such investment is a very reasonable way to finance IIPUP and other socially beneficial programs. In addition to being an elastic form of tax and a means of recouping for the public sector increases in value attributable to public action, the urban property tax, if properly designed and administered, can also encourage the efficient use of urban land, as noted earlier.
- Legislation and regulations concerned with working conditions and minimum wages. Modifications in these may be a potentially useful way to improve working conditions and increase incomes for IIPUP target groups, but the likely impacts of changes of this type need to be analyzed especially carefully because they may increase production costs without inducing increased revenues or otherwise burden employers and thus discourage the creation of new job opportunities. In many cases, employers have tended to work existing employees for longer hours, or even reduce their labor force, when "improvements" in labor legislation have been introduced.
- Industrial licensing laws and regulations. In some countries, import licensing, for example, is tied to capacity rather than production. This may encourage the development of a secondary market for imported materials and further concentrate wealth but does very little to increase employment opportunities so that its overall impact on the urban poor is negative.
- Laws and regulations designed to encourage the establishment of small scale enterprises under highly competitive conditions. Legal measures of this type may help to keep the prices of essential consumption items low at the same time as they encourage the generation of additional job opportunities for members of low income households.

- Restrictive laws and regulations which have a generally negative impact on IIPUP target groups. It may be desirable, for example, to repeal regulations which attempt to restrict or prohibit street vending -- measures often introduced simply to "improve" the appearance of central city areas for tourists and the elite or on the grounds that the removal of vendors will facilitate pedestrian traffic movement. Such regulations are fairly common; they have been applied with varying degrees of success in Karachi, San Salvador and Port-au-Prince, for example -- in each case with a negative impact on low income groups, at least to the extent that they have been enforced.
- Import and export regulations and tariffs which affect choices of technology and, in particular, decisions on degrees of capital intensiveness. Often these are structured to protect and encourage domestic (and inefficient) enterprises using capital intensive technologies.
- Laws and regulations designed to protect or improve environmental quality. Legal measures of this type, designed to control the discharge of wastes into rivers and stream beds, the dumping of solid wastes and the pollution of groundwater often are relevant for types of areas where low income groups settle by default (near river beds, on or near garbage dumps, in areas where shallow wells can be dug easily, etc.). Protective legislation, if economically realistic and well-administered, can help to improve the immediate environmental conditions of the poor at the same time as it improves conditions indirectly for the community at large.

3. STRATEGIES FOR INITIATING CHANGES IN THE LEGAL FRAMEWORK

The large amount of potentially relevant legislation and regulations serves as a reminder of the complexity of IIPUP programs. It serves also as a reminder that in the early stages of a program it is likely to be possible to modify only a small set of the relevant laws and regulations. The strategic selection of the instruments to be changed will be important to the full effectiveness of IIPUP activities; moreover, attempts to change intractable legislation or regulations may threaten the entire IIPUP effort.

In most situations, it will not be possible to introduce major new blocks of legislation and regulations which are designed explicitly and exclusively to benefit IIPUP target groups. A useful general strategy may be to seek out the administrative regulations which can be modified in relatively inconspicuous ways to change the "rules of the game" in the various marketplaces in which low income households negotiate to obtain the services they need. In some cases, it will be necessary to seek modifications in legislation also, but administrative rather than legislative instruments are usually more susceptible to change. As a part of this strategy, it will be useful to look for changes which will benefit other groups as well as the poor.

The specific instruments which will be most amenable to change and most effective from the point of view of IIPUP program needs will depend upon the particular institutional system involved and current political priorities. However, it is possible to identify, among the many potentially important instruments listed in the previous section, several which are likely to be useful in a number of countries to spearhead improvements in the legal framework.

A key area of concern will be the administrative provisions made for the IIPUP program itself -- which may require the creation of a new special-purpose entity and the legislative decrees associated with this. As a general rule, the creation of a new entity should be used as a last resort and only where all existing entities are functionally inappropriate or too weak to assume responsibility for the program. The creation of a new entity is likely to require the passage of special legislation. It is likely to drain skilled administrative manpower from other entities. And it may hinder, rather than facilitate, coordination and efficiency in government. As an alternative, it may be possible to strengthen a weak existing agency -- for example, a public housing agency which has considerable technical capacity but which has been focusing on conventional middle and lower-middle income housing and can be redirected towards the improvement and development of low income settlements.*

A second potential area for the selective modification of legislation and/or regulations which often can be subject to early action is in the redefinition of the responsibilities of entities potentially relevant for IIPUP. The existing administrative decrees establishing their responsibilities may be defined too narrowly to permit (or require) them to

* This strategy has been proposed and tentatively adopted in El Salvador for the improvement of critical low income areas in San Salvador.

provide services for low income communities. A further useful device may be to enable the agency with principal responsibility for IIPUP to enter into contractual agreements with public, as well as private, entities for the provision of specific facilities and services in IIPUP projects -- with the IIPUP agency, in effect, providing a part of the budgets of the other agencies in the years in which they participate in this way.

It may be desirable also to modify banking and credit regulations to permit (and encourage) formal credit to be extended to low income groups. Analyses in several countries suggest that it is possible to extend formal credit to low income groups at market rates, including a special provision for risk, and still have them pay much lower rates of interest than they pay presently in informal credit markets.

An instrument which may take longer to introduce, although it already is being used very effectively in a number of LDCs, is a system of betterment charges (called *valorizacion* in Latin America) for financing the capital costs of basic infrastructure in IIPUP schemes.

The laws and regulations defining private rights and/or providing incentives for private action constitute another area in which selective early action is likely to be very effective. One of the most common problems in existing land use regulations is that even the lowest standards permitted for urban development are too high to be affordable by IIPUP target households. Work in a number of countries -- notably Colombia and El Salvador -- suggests that a lowering of standards, without sacrificing health or other social concerns, can bring low income settlements into the domain of legal, rather than illegal, development and thereby remove low income households from the threat of prosecution, facilitate their obtaining registered titles to land and facilitate their bargaining with public agencies to obtain the services to which they are entitled.

A related area of concern in many countries is the property title registration system. Often these systems are archaic, slow in operation and far from complete in coverage. This is one of the factors which makes it difficult for low income households to obtain formally registered titles. Slow procedures also facilitate multiple mortgaging and other practices which result in clouded titles.

An opportunity for action which may benefit other groups as well as the poor is in the provision of incentives for increasing the supply of low cost rental shelter. This may be supported through the provision of credit for improvements

in, and additions to, existing rental units through the simplification of building regulations and land use controls to reflect the realities confronting low income households and their landlords and through incentives for the construction of new low income rental space (possibly accompanied by the public construction of prototypes to demonstrate what is feasible).

Finally, there may be an opportunity for early action to modify laws or regulations which affect the welfare of low income households generally, although they were not enacted directly in connection with the provision or regulation of low income settlements. As suggested earlier, it may be possible, for example, to revoke regulations which restrict unnecessarily the activities of low income groups (e.g. street vending). It may be feasible also to introduce or improve legislation necessary to permit the cadastral surveys needed for modern property registration and taxation -- both of which are important to the proper functioning of the urban land market and to the raising of public revenues for the improvement of low income settlements as well as other purposes. Regulations which presently discourage the generation of additional employment for low income household members (for example, those which subsidize, directly or indirectly, the importing and use of capital equipment and thereby discourage the use of more labor intensive production technologies) may take longer to modify than the other instruments suggested here, but improvements in them may be important to a better utilization of resources from a national economic point of view, at the same time as they benefit the urban poor through the generation of additional employment.

The introduction of an IIPUP program at the national level may provide an opportunity and act as an incentive for the rectification of longstanding deficiencies in a variety of laws and regulations which will benefit the community as a whole, not only IIPUP target groups.

6. IIPUP EVOLUTION AND THE NEED FOR FLEXIBILITY

The concept of IIPUP stresses comprehensiveness and integration. This concern is largely an outgrowth of failures and frustrations with programs which have focused on only a few types of action (for example, water supply, sanitation and shelter or water supply and sanitation alone) in response to what have appeared to be the most urgent needs in particular situations. In some cases, especially where the arguments for comprehensiveness and integration are used also as arguments for the creation of a new special purpose entity, this may reflect a desire to bypass existing bureaucracies which are cumbersome, inefficient or corrupt. It may also reflect a desire for new empire building.

The plea that facilities and services should be more comprehensive and better integrated is appealing. However, the apparent appeal of comprehensiveness and integration should be scrutinized carefully and critically in each new situation. There are several reasons why it is likely to be difficult or impossible to achieve either quickly.

First, the priorities of the target groups who are supposed to be the beneficiaries of a program may be focused on just a few of the issues addressed by a comprehensive agenda -- perhaps employment, the securing of titles to land, improved water and sanitation and the maintenance of a tight limit on fixed monthly expenditures. They may be simply uninterested in and/or not sufficiently mobilized and organized to absorb a more ambitious program. They may also distrust ambitious projects which not only promise great achievements but also would place upon them a considerable burden.

Second, some of the features of IIPUP programs are innovative from the point of view of both the target groups and the governments involved (for example, where they involve the introduction of new types of physical layouts for settlements, the use of new forms of domestic fuel, new forms of household credit or new forms of community organization). Considerable experimentation is required to determine what is socially and administratively, as well as economically, feasible.

Third, the individual public entities which would have to deliver many of the services in a comprehensive program may need to be considerably strengthened before they can be ready to participate.

Fourth, the task of coordinating the variety of entities required for comprehensive coverage and for the integration of their individual contributions in policy making, planning, implementation and evaluation is formidable. It is rarely achieved in the so-called developed countries with well established administrative systems, let alone in the developing countries in which many of the potentially relevant entities are in the early stages of their own evolution.

Fifth, many governments, even those which are facing up to the growing problems of rapid urbanization and urban poverty realistically, still have a majority of their population living in even more desperate conditions in rural areas and cannot instruct their executing agencies, already overloaded, to give urban projects the additional priority implied by IIPUP.

Sixth, some governments are unwilling to encourage the kind of community mobilization and participation that the successful planning, execution and maintenance of an IIPUP program requires.

Faced with these realities, it is necessary to think carefully in each situation about the sequence in which program components might be introduced. In some cases, it is necessary simply to be satisfied with much less than full comprehensiveness or integration, more or less permanently. That may be all that is sensible in relation to the real priorities of target groups and the economic and administrative context of a particular country.

Because of the above constraints, there are several aspects of program development in which gradualism and flexibility may deserve attention:

- In selecting the target groups on which the program is to be focused.
- In deciding on the components to be introduced in individual projects.
- In deciding on the geographic coverage of the program.
- In the institutional arrangements for the program.

1. THE SELECTION OF TARGET GROUPS

There are at least two major criteria relevant in deciding which target groups should be focused on first -- the

scale and urgency of the problems faced by each potential target group and the feasibility of dealing effectively with their problems.

All of the urban poverty groups of a country (defined in terms of the U.S. Congressional mandate which refers to households at or below the median income or in terms of the World Bank definition which focuses on the income needed for basic survival) deserve early attention. However, financial and administrative resources are likely to be insufficient to tackle the problems of all of the specific target groups within this broad group simultaneously. Priorities based on urgency and equity may favor the lowest income households. Priorities preoccupied with feasibility and the desire to achieve visible results as a basis for enlisting additional political and popular support for the IIPUP program may favor households in the upper levels of the poverty group.

A fairly typical sequence for selecting target groups might be to begin with groups which are of the second kind, proceed later to lower income groups needing stronger support but still interested in improving their condition where they are and, finally, extending the program to support low income households in rental space. This might well be the sequence adopted eventually in the El Salvador program.* The particular sequence which makes sense will depend upon local conditions and priorities.

2. THE GRADUAL INTRODUCTION OF PROGRAM COMPONENTS IN INDIVIDUAL PROJECTS

Once a decision is made about the priorities to be assigned to individual target groups it will be important to determine carefully what the priorities should be for these groups, recognizing that preliminary judgments about their priorities are likely to have entered into the decision establishing priorities among groups. The principal factors relevant here should be the priorities and capacities of the target groups themselves, the external effects of action (or failure to act) in target settlements on the rest of the community (for example, the communitywide health hazards likely to result from a failure to introduce basic sanitation) and the economic and

* EDURES, op. cit.

administrative feasibility of introducing individual program components.

Some of the organizational arrangements for integration entail a gradual introduction of project components. This is important in developing countries where administrative capacities and political commitment may be slow to develop. A sequence reflecting fairly common target group priorities might be, for example:

- Stage 1: Employment generation with vocational training.
Community organization.
Adult literacy.
Legal assistance.
Securing of land tenure.
Provision of credit for land purchases and shelter.
Upgrading of preventive health services.
Improvements in garbage collection and disposal.
- Stage 2: Upgrading/introduction of safe water supply, basic sanitation, drainage and erosion control.
Street lighting and street improvements.
Domestic electricity.
Technical assistance for the construction or improvement of shelter and community facilities.
Improvements in shelter through self-help and mutual aid.
- Stage 3: Credit and technical assistance for small-scale enterprises.
Introduction or upgrading of primary education.
Improvement of links with secondary and higher education services.
Improvement of links with higher level health services.

The particular sequencing which is appropriate will depend, of course, on the specific target groups involved and the situation.

3. THE EVOLUTIONARY GEOGRAPHIC EXTENSION OF THE PROGRAM

Because of the experimental nature of IIPUP and the limitations in administrative capacity which are typical of

most developing areas, it will not be feasible or advisable to attempt to launch the program in a larger number of urban areas simultaneously. Decisions as to which urban areas should receive attention first should be based on criteria which includes:

- The scale and urgency of the problems of the poor in individual cities and towns.
- Administrative readiness, including the readiness of the municipalities involved if local government is to play an important role in the early stages of IIPUP.
- Community willingness to receive the program and to contribute towards its success.
- Replicability, which will depend upon conditions in other areas.
- The political priorities associated with individual centers.

The first, second and fourth criteria might lead to a decision to introduce the program initially in the largest and/or fastest-growing major city which will often be the capital. If success can be achieved there, a second stage of coverage might include the city with the next most severe poverty problems and a smaller town selected as a pilot area for the purpose of identifying the major differences between desirable project characteristics in larger and smaller centers. In both the larger and smaller centers, the IIPUP program might be used as an entry point for the strengthening of local government at the same time as it is targeted on the urban poor.

In a recently designed IIPUP project in Honduras, the strategy calls for initial pilot projects in Tegucigalpa and San Pedro Sula. These two cities were chosen because they are relatively advanced administratively and because of the relative size and urgency of the problems there. In Tegucigalpa in particular, there is a strong interest in IIPUP, and the municipal government has improved its administration dramatically in the last five years with, among other things, the completion of a proper cadaster, the introduction of *valorización* for the financing of infrastructure and improvements in the property tax. The lessons learned from the experiences of these two cities will be useful in setting up the program on a national level through the Community Development Unit of the Ministry of Government and Justice during a second phase.

4. THE EVOLUTIONARY DEVELOPMENT OF THE OVERALL PROGRAM

The preceding discussion of sequencing issues serves as a reminder of the desirability of planning at the national level for the overall schedule in which the IIPUP program is expected to evolve. This is particularly important for the institutional development that may be necessary to prepare for the various stages anticipated in the evolution of the program.

The following hypothetical example serves to illustrate this point:

- Phase I: Analysis of problems.
Program design.
Policy adoption of the program.
Assignment of institutional responsibilities.
Initial funding.
- Phase II: Institutional preparation to provide for initial implementation.
- Phase III: First pilot project in major city, with target group(s) with already established momentum.
Evaluation of pilot project.
- Phase IV: Second pilot project in major city, with more difficult target group.
Evaluation of Phase IV.
- Phase V: Extension of program to second major city.
Pilot project in smaller town.
Evaluation of Phase V.
- Phase VI: National extension of the program, with priorities established in the context of the national socio-economic plan.
Continuing evaluation and improvement of the program.

In this purely illustrative example, it is likely to be desirable to undertake additional institutional preparation in Phase III in order to be able to extend the program to target groups with more intransigent problems in Phase IV. It is likely to be desirable also to begin the strengthening of municipal administration if that is to be the vehicle for

implementing the program in a smaller center in Phase V. During Phase IV, it is likely to be necessary to begin a variety of types of institutional reinforcement to prepare for the extension of the program to all of the nation's urban areas in Phase VI.

5. CONTINGENCY PLANNING

Because of the uncertainties inherent in IIPUP, it is advisable to undertake contingency planning for the program explicitly. The key external events which are likely to affect it should be analyzed, and the alternative courses which those events might take should be identified (with probabilities attached to each alternative if this is feasible). A series of alternative strategies for the IIPUP program should then be established, allowing for each of the possible series of events which has been foreseen.

The types of questions which should be addressed in this process include:

- What is the range of resources that can realistically be expected for IIPUP and what should be done if the resources actually available turn out to be at the lower rather than upper end of that range?
- What are the foreseeable responses of the initial target groups to the program and what should be done in relation to each response?
- If public land acquisition is an important feature of the initial projects, what should be done if the necessary land purchases (or expropriation) prove to be impossible or are delayed a year?

Planning for important contingencies such as these should be a basic feature of IIPUP programming -- for the program as a whole and for individual projects within it. The systematic anticipation of alternative possible futures and explicit flexibility in the program are likely to greatly enhance its chances of success.

PART II
MANAGEMENT AND ORGANIZATION FOR IIPUP

A. THE MANAGEMENT TASK

The urban poor -- the target group -- are the prime concern. But a second group of people is of operational significance in raising the standard of living of the target group. These are the members of the IIPUP programming and project teams. They include the policy makers, administrators, finance officers, physical planners, technologists and technicians of the "head office" and the field engineers, cost supervisors and community development staff of specific projects. From among them is drawn the membership of implementing committees and probably the project manager.

The following sections are focused on implementation. They are concerned with "doing." They assume that a national or metropolitan policy for IIPUP programming already exists. IIPUP policies and programs set out the intent and level of effort. It is through good management that the programs and projects are realized.

1. POTENTIAL IMPLEMENTATION DIFFICULTIES

IIPUP projects will be difficult to implement because of the necessity of deploying and coordinating the efforts of so many contributors. Many problems of coordination between implementing agencies can be foreseen during the design stage but not all will be apparent. There may also be problems with the community that is to be assisted once implementation begins. Only then do community leaders see what is really intended, often despite many hours of prior explanation. Some of the more specific problems that may be encountered during IIPUP implementation are as follows:

a. Organizational Difficulties

- Lack of structure in decision making between national, provincial, metropolitan and local area agencies.
- Lack of clear standing of the project implementation committee, and so of its members, who may not be able to decide in committee, only having the authority to refer back to their home departments for later decision.
- Problems of communication of intent within the lead agency and between the agency and contributing agencies and insufficiently developed persuasive powers to balance out weaknesses in formal powers of authority.

- Failure to nominate a project leader who is clearly in charge of operations.
- Lack of centralization of the authorization of expenditure or centralization away from the project operating team's home agency (in, say, a Ministry of Finance).

b. Managerial Difficulties

- Incompatibility of IIPUP tasks with other commitments.
- Contributing agencies may have a preference for other commitments.
- The form of organization of the lead agency may be ill-suited to the development task.
- The project may lack the requisite high level political support, legal powers and administrative support so that the project team is having to rely on powers of persuasion rather than command.

c. Operational Difficulties

- Inability to manage cash flow.
- Delays in payment of contractors.
- Problems with building materials supply.
- Problems with obtaining title to land.
- Difficulties with the timing of the provision of services by contributing agencies.

d. Difficulties of Personal Dissent

- A growing resentment by senior officers of the organizational changes accompanying the implementation of the project both in the lead agency and in contributing agencies.
- Disenchantment by senior officers who cannot relate personal career advance with project type (i.e. civil engineers may not regard environmental upgrading as a "status" activity) or with the new form of organization in the lead agency.

- Problems stemming from having an operating dependence upon others who lack all sense of project urgency.

Trying to achieve project implementation against such a flood of difficulties presents a challenge to project management. It underlines the need of project conceptualizers and implementors to understand the nature of management skills and their relationship to IIPUP implementation. Two early decisions for a project management committee will be the selection of an appropriate management style and the focusing of project leadership. For these decisions to be optimal, the nature of the management challenge has to be directly faced.

2. IMPLEMENTATION MANAGEMENT IN PRACTICE

The example of a large integrated program for new low income settlement in a major Asian city illustrates the problems that can arise during implementation. In the early 1970s, the city was expanding rapidly by about 200,000 people or 33,000 households per year. To provide for this increased population, a program of 22 separate new, low income projects was planned for a five to six year period which would eventually accommodate 869,000 persons.

The program was established within the frame of a detailed master plan. It was well planned in relation to the financial capacities of low income groups. It was to include many social and community services including advice on house construction, advice on employment, small business loans, mass media education, adult education programs and community development.

Among the government agencies concerned, there was a wide consensus about the desirability of an integrated program to provide for the low income population. The program was included in the country's five-year development plan.

A special operating unit was established to administer the program within the physical planning department of the Metropolitan Development Authority. The project manager role was retained by the Chief Executive of the Development Authority but delegated in practice to the departmental head of the planning department. He in turn redelegated to a senior officer who was effectively the project officer in all but name and needed powers.

The operating unit was to report to an executive committee of 16-18 members with the status of chief or senior executive officer in their respective departments within the Metropolitan Authority. The departments involved would be those most directly concerned with the range of services to be

provided by the program. The executive committee was to report to a high level steering committee chaired by the provincial Minister of Housing, Town Planning and Local Government. The initial efforts of the unit were focused on the detailed design and implementation of the first project site.

In spite of the very comprehensive planning which preceded the program, it met initially with only limited success. After a two-year implementation period, the first project site was only 60 to 70 percent complete and major problems with land titles and financing remained. The standards of the core houses and the plot sizes had been altered from their original design which made them less affordable by the target group. With the exception of small business assistance, few of the social programs were implemented. Sites for two further projects had been identified, but the land had not been officially designated for low income use. The prospects for completing the original large scale program seemed considerably diminished.

The implication of involving such a large number of agents in the service delivery process had not been fully appreciated. Physical development of the project site involved a large number of organizations including many departments within the Metropolitan Development Authority and outside agencies. These included a water department, a public works department, a gas company and an electric company. Housing finance organizations were involved. Social projects required collaboration with health and education authorities and with existing programs for small business assistance and adult education. Each agency had its own existing programs, priorities and budgets prior to the addition of an integrated settlements program. The project operating unit was continuously short of professional personnel. The site engineer was changed four times during the implementation of the first settlement site which greatly complicated site management.

The program coordinating committees proved ineffective. The executive committee met twice at the beginning of the program and then not again. The steering committee -- the high-level control committee -- was never formed and never met. The Director General of the Metropolitan Development Authority, in his seldom exercised role of project manager, had to intervene on an ad hoc basis between feuding agencies. His direct intervention brought the water, sewerage and gas authorities into partial compliance with the program. Direct intervention also helped secure an adequate supply of cement for the initial project. However, this type of forced coordination did not build any long-term foundation for success. Rather it created an antagonism among staff of the participating agencies

whose further cooperation was needed on the later settlement sites.

In this Southeast Asian city, the policy for the new urban settlements was formulated by a relatively small group of higher level government officials and foreign technicians. There was little real agreement among the many agencies which were to carry it out. There was too little dialogue with the affected community groups to integrate their priorities into the new settlement policy. Yet, in many respects, the program was a model of its kind: a conceptual model from whose study many have since profited. As an implementation model, important lessons have been learned:

- . Diffuse patterns of management lead to confusion of leadership and purpose.
- . Steering committees that do not meet are seen not to be steering. This creates the impression that the project they are supposed to be implementing has a low priority.
- . Crisis management may give immediate results under an influential officer, but it lays no base for continued cooperative activity.
- . Unless clearly led, agencies having to work together may become antagonistic rather than cooperative, forcing a project manager into a continuous stance of conflict management.

The implementation of IIPUP is not different in kind from other socially-oriented environmental upgrading projects. It is more complex. In being so, it reflects the complexity of project purpose. Those that have been delegated to play a part in the project team may appear during the initial programming discussion to have common interests. The reality is more likely that they have formed a coalition around overlapping interests -- which is not the same thing. They may eventually be distracted by other commitments, some of which may be of longer standing and have higher political priority than the current project appears to have. In such circumstances, a project leader who has not been given clear authority and requisite powers will find himself unable to implement his responsibility.

B. THE CONTEXT OF MANAGEMENT

IIPUP projects are usually managed either in the offices of a city or municipal government (or that of its development authority) or in a national Ministry of Local Government (or Ministry of Interior).

The administrators, managers and local politicians perform their management task in any particular city in accordance with the history and traditions of their people. The administrations they operate have evolved through history -- their own history plus the history of encounters with other nations, people, international agencies and foreign advisors.

There is usually a need in IIPUP programming to focus on:

- The improvement of the functioning of the general city administration (departmental organization, taxes and revenues, etc.).
- The improvement of the implementation of public services (health and education, etc.) and of public works projects.

Tradition is not the sole constraint upon administrative reform and managerial development. Other constraints include:

- A lack of awareness of the relevance of modern management theory and techniques to development situations.
- The difficulties in transferring management techniques from one culture to another.
- The difficulties in transferring new techniques of management and administration to great numbers of people from one country to another.

1. DIFFERENT FORMS OF CITY GOVERNMENT

Not all cities are governed in the same way. Among the number of possible forms are:

a. Citywide

- City government as part of central government.
- City government as part of provincial government.

- Unified metropolitan area government^a but as part of a provincial or national system.
- Self-government through a metropolitan elected authority.
 - unitary
 - multi-level
- b. Single Purpose Authorities
 - Physical development authorities.
 - Water authorities.
 - Harbor authorities.
 - Military areas in the city.
- c. Combinations of the Above

The more integrated into the national administration it is, the less responsive the city government is likely to be to proposals for operational change.

2. THE OPERATIONS OF CITY ADMINISTRATION

A city administration will operate most effectively when its operating systems (administrative ways and means) are appropriate to its cultural environment. Yet more may be required. If improvements are to be made, some aspects of culture may have to evolve; new attitudes may have to be developed. Effectiveness in a world of change may be brought about by developing administrations that grow with change, some of which the administrations try themselves to bring about.

The form of city administration can be characterized by three operating patterns:

- Habit or the tendency to treat cases by following a more or less conditioned set of responses -- which indeed may all be codified in forms.
- Analysis or the tendency to examine reasons for events, cases and phenomena in order to try to understand situations and work towards apt solutions.
- Synthesis or the tendency to administer through intuitive feel for what is important and what is less so. This is creative administration based upon an interpretation of the intention behind the rules

are enhanced if special attention is given to the officials affected and a due process is proposed whereby their real and imagined grievances may be given consideration. This should be combined with a program of incentives that support the changes.

4. PROJECT ENVIRONMENT

National, provincial, citywide and departmental management is described in this setting as being "context." Project management as an art is quite different in nature from the general run of government administration. Long established managements collect an undergrowth of procedures and approval systems which tend to become more important than actually getting anything of substance achieved. Project management has, on the other hand, been likened more to an activity like that of the "jungle fighter" in which one has always to be on the alert for traps, delays and the unsuspected and be ready at a moment to change the plan of implementation, timing and even the choice of men for a task in the light of the newly perceived context. Project management is action oriented.

rather than the following through of the rules themselves in a flat-footed way.

An organization has an efficient administrative style when habit governs its activities in a stable situation, analysis in an environment of change and synthesis in times of great transformation in politics and economics.

3. ADMINISTRATIVE REFORM

Having undertaken an appraisal of a national ministry, operating department or city government, some designers of integrated social development projects heave a large sigh. If the development journey is to be made, then what has been uncovered does not seem to offer a starting point. The resolve is made to set up a new and semi-autonomous department free from the shackles of past and present custom.

This reaction is understandable. It is tempting but seldom relevant. With widely-spread integrated programs having national, provincial, citywide and local operating contexts, the introduction of another agency is seldom of long-term utility. This is despite (possibly) some initial apparent success when, under the delighted eye of some benevolent minister, big decisions are made that other operating units (working under quite different conditions of stress) reluctantly acquiesce in only to renege on later as political pressures from other quarters force them back to the decision base of their own sector and the need to defend their own narrow interests. It cannot be claimed that the establishment of a new agency will never be part of a national IIPUP strategy, but it is more likely that the IIPUP program will precipitate the need to upgrade and reform existing administrations as the new functions are added. This will be achieved through patience, training and technical assistance.

Successful implementation of the administrative reform program will depend upon the leadership and support of the political authorities and the governing bodies of the city government and urban development authorities affected. This implementation cannot be rushed since many staff members will have to change their function, or practice it anew, in a new setting developed from new objectives. For example, an organization that reorganizes around "service to the public" rather than "meeting the government requirements" will undergo a major change.

Change itself is often an obstacle to change. A major obstacle to the implementation of administrative reform is the real or imagined threat that the proposed changes present to the affected administrators. The chances of implementation

C. PROJECT MANAGEMENT

A project is managed at a particular place and time. The project environment is in part conditioned by the nature of the substantive work and in part by the nature of the organizations through which the project work is implemented.

The administration of an implementing agency will probably directly reflect in style the national form of administration (centralized or decentralized). Projects are conceived in agencies and ministries as they now are, yet they may have as a major intent the translation of the agency into another form of organization -- one more suited to development administration.

The key concepts of project management are:

- The project manager should be clearly in charge and preferably from the stage of project identification through project design to implementation.
- There should be a planned program of integrated work which includes the contributions of all those outside the implementing agency who are called upon to contribute to the project.

These two concepts are supportive of each other. One or the other alone will not achieve the desired result of focused command.¹

Project management and department management are very distinct management tasks (Table II-1). It is quite common in practice for a project manager to continue to hold responsibility for the operations of a single functional department (such as water supply). This often leads to conflict situations for the manager as he is asked to give at the same time priority to his general program of work and to the project. A project manager who is also head of the department of water supply may have difficulty in reconciling pressures from one quarter to finish his general city water supply programs and sub-tasks while receiving pressure from another quarter to put all his best staff onto the completion of a priority project that is in part financed from overseas.

A project has (1) a manager; (2) a project control system; and (3) a mode of implementation. These three aspects are reviewed in turn.

¹ Archibald, R.D., Managing High Technology Programs and Projects, Wiley, 1976.

TABLE II-1: PROJECT MANAGEMENT VERSUS DEPARTMENT MANAGEMENT

Project	Functional Department of Organization
1. A specific life cycle: identification, preparation, design, implementation, evaluation.	Continuous life from one year to the next.
2. Distinct start and finish dates.	Not particularly tied to dates except to the annual budgeting exercise and perhaps to climatic seasons if a construction department.
3. Subject to sudden close-down if goals of project cannot be realized. Closed in any event when project is executed.	Continued existence of the function is generally assured even in the face of quite major administrative reforms.
4. Often a pilot project with many issues of management encountered for the first time.	Usually undertaking well-established functions within well-tried procedures and with perhaps some tasks only slightly different from those traditionally undertaken.
5. Work to be completed within fixed time and at agreed cost.	Maximum work is carried out within the annual budget ceiling.
6. Ultimate prediction of project time span and of completion cost difficult because of environment of mechanistic administration and under-development.	Prediction of annual expenditures (updated for inflation) comparatively easy.
7. Involves many skills and professions from many organizations. The range of organizations may change from one stage of the project to the next.	Involves one or a few closely related skills and professions within one well-defined organization.
8. Rate and type of expenditure ever-changing.	Relatively constant rate and type of expenditure.
9. Dynamic and fluid in nature.	Steady state in nature.

Source: Adapted from Archibald, R.D., Managing High Technology Programs and Projects, Wiley, 1976.

1. THE PROJECT MANAGER

The project manager usually has responsibility to a steering committee for implementing the project or program. His role is to organize, staff, direct and control. Through overall management and communication skills, the project team has to be led and external agency project contributors coordinated from start to finish.

A competent person should be identified when an IIPUP program is being identified. Should nobody of the needed qualities and knowledge be available, it will be necessary to groom someone for the role (see that he or she has training and is exposed to project management situations in his/her own country and/or overseas). The identification of a project manager is seen by many as the prerequisite for proceeding with IIPUP project preparation work. This is because it is strongly felt that the project manager should be involved in the preparation work.

The cutting edge of the project manager's work is as follows:

- To manage the flow of substantive work components and products of the project to enable socially valued change to take place.
- To produce the IIPUP project within the cost and time specifications using the specified technical means.
- To meet the revenue targets of the project or, if these are to follow in time, to lay the physical infrastructure and operational capacity which will enable the revenue earning capacity to be realized.
- To be ready to alert higher authority when at any time during project implementation it appears that timing and costs are getting out of line.
- To make or force needed decisions and to do this with as much diplomacy and tact as the situation allows.
- To be ready to recommend project closure midway or put forward an alternative project schedule or design if it becomes apparent that declared project objectives cannot be met or are seen to be irrelevant.
- To serve as a prime contact point for the project for the AID financiers, local agencies, project team members and managers in contributing departments.

- To negotiate work orders with contributing departments to perform work within time, cost, and quality specifications (see Checklist II-1).²

If a project manager is to be successful in carrying through these functions, then other managers with responsibility in the implementing agency's line and operating departments need also to have an understanding of the character of project management. This will be acutely the case where the project manager has only a small project team and relies upon contributions from functional departments within his organization. Because of the close interrelationship between project management and implementing agency administrative management, both have to be considered in project management study. The implementing agencies that are of concern have names such as Development Authority, Planning and Budget Division, City or Metropolitan Corporation.

The project manager may fulfill his duties on a full-time or part-time basis. One form of part-time service is when the project leader has more than one project to manage. Another is the case of the project manager who shares his time with another responsibility -- the headship of an operating department in the organization that is implementing the project.

2. PROJECT CONTROL

In appraising or designing an organization in which an IIPUP project is to be managed, it is not just a matter of the arrangement of the administrative departments into the pyramid of the whole. These units provide but a framework within which many variations occur. Of equal importance to IIPUP implementation is just how tight or loose the administrative rules are. Other issues include how generally or sharply the duties of each office holder are defined; how restricted is the official channel of communication (i.e. open downwards, closed upwards, non-existent laterally); and how centralized or decentralized the pattern of authority within the whole. Taken together these variations act as indicators of the extent to which the organization is a rigid bureaucracy.

At one end of the spectrum of types of management organizations is the mechanistic. At the other end and having a much more fluid definition of duties, staff relationships

² Archibald, R.D., Managing High Technology Programs and Projects, Wiley, 1976.

and authority is the organic. In Table II-2, these two models are contrasted according to organizational characteristics.

Through a mixture of historic and cultural reasons, a majority of organizations in the countries in which IIPUP projects will be proposed are of the mechanistic kind. Unfortunately, this type of organization is the least suited for developmental tasks and especially unsuited for interagency cooperation.

a. Decision Making in Theory

Problem solving or decision making is the heartland of management. The essential operation can be conveniently described in relation to a four-stage model.

- Information is gleaned from data -- not all data is information.
- An assessment is made based on
 - analysis
 - review of strategies
- A choice is made from among alternatives in the light of declared criteria.
- A plan of implementation is made to govern the carrying through of the decision (this being perhaps the most neglected stage).

Stages 1 and 2 in decision making are governed by the notion of "bettering the situation." Stages 3 and 4 are dominated by the consideration of the range of strategies available to deciders -- what is appropriate to the achievement of a realistic goal. In this, the structure of formal authority (those who hold high office) dominates over the authority of those who "know" in the technical or professional sense. Here, then, is the location of conflicts of value between those who have professional knowledge and those who have to satisfy a political program. Here also is the location of conflicts of value for those from overseas who work with local administrators and professionals to produce designs for IIPUP projects. Each contributing group may define the "needs" of the poor quite differently against a background of differing policy parcels and tactical requirements.

b. Decision Making in Practice

In public life, and certainly in the conception and implementation of an IIPUP project, there will be the need to pursue the decision taking process in the open and in

TABLE II-2: THE CHARACTERISTICS OF ORGANIZATIONS AS DIFFERENTIATED IN THE MECHANISTIC AND ORGANIC MODELS

Mechanistic	Characteristic	Organic
High, many and sharp differentials.	SPECIALIZATION	Low, no hard boundaries, relatively few different jobs.
High, methods spelled out.	STANDARDIZATION	Low, individuals decide own methods.
Means.	ORIENTATION OF STAFF	Goals.
By superior.	CONFLICT RESOLUTION	Interaction.
Hierarchical based on implied contractual relation.	PATTERN OF AUTHORITY, CONTROL AND COMMUNICATION	Wide net based upon common commitment.
At top of organization.	LOCUS OF SUPERIOR COMPETENCE	Wherever there is skill and competence.
Vertical.	INTERACTION	Lateral.
Directions, orders.	COMMUNICATION CONTENT	Advice, information.
To organization.	LOYALTY	To project and group.
From organizational position.	PRESTIGE	From personal contribution.

Source: Litterer, J.A., An Introduction to Management, Wiley, 1978.

committee. In many project designs, there will be much interagency discussion (see Table II-3). Reaching agreements or changing attitudes depends in part on the persuasiveness and knowledge of key individuals, but it also depends upon clearly identifying the purpose of meetings.

Management techniques to enable collaboration to take place are needed. Table II-4 presents some useful techniques for arranging collaboration and comments on their suitability for certain types of decision and action.

The table is organized under two main headings: collaboration between political representatives and collaboration between government officers. This is not intended to exclude representatives of private bodies and industries whose presence will often be required if informed decisions are to be made. Politicians make the policy. Government officers prepare policy options, prepare ways of execution and manage execution.

c. Managing the Project Team

This is a central internal task of project control. Three levels of responsibility of operational departments can be identified:

- The function manager (head of a department). It is with him that the project manager negotiates the work units and services he requires to serve the project.
- The departmental delegate or representative who is nominated by the head of a department to perform or present the function at meetings and on the job. (In practice, this can be a frustrating appointee to have dealings with unless he has been given full power of decision regarding the provision of his function within the agreed project policy to design.)
- The task leader. This is the professional or technician who gets a particular function or component in place in the project.

The project leader has to establish his authority in different ways towards differing people in accordance with their formal responsibility to him (or his to them) at the administrative level. He can, according to the situation, draw on rank ("I am the project manager"), the authority of knowledge ("I know"), moral integrity or personal qualities of approachability or empathy.

TABLE II-3: DECISION MAKERS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF A FIVE-YEAR METROVILLE SITES AND SERVICES PROJECT (IIPUP IN CONCEPT)

Programmers	Role	Information Required
Commissioner, Karachi District RPO, P&D, Planning Commission	Set policy for the pro-program. Review projects and annual budgets. Assist in financing. Coordinate with slum improvement program.	Population accommodated. Income levels. Financial situation. Organization. Squatting situation.
Director-General, KDA Member (Finance), KDA Member (Technical), KDA Director, MPECD Deputy Director (Metroville Cell)	Prepare projects and annual budgets. Acquire sites. Obtain financing. Manage the program.	Population accommodated. Income levels. Site selected. Staging of projects. Financial situation. Sources of finance. Organization. Squatting situation. Standard designs.
Chief Engineer, KDA (Water)	Provide water supply, advise on availability of water.	Sites selected, water demand and sewage generated.
Chief Engineer, KDA (Development)	Prepare engineering design, carry out construction work.	Site selected. Standards. Staff required.
KESC	Provide electricity, advise on availability.	Sites selected. Electricity demand.
KGC and Community Services Agencies	Provide gas, advise on availability.	Sites selected, gas demand.
KMC	Coordinate with slum improvement program. Advise on design. Provide services.	Sites selected, population and income levels, standards and designs.
Land Manager, KDA	Acquire and protect sites.	Sites selected.

TABLE II-3 (continued)

Programmers	Role	Information Required
Commissioner, Karachi District (in addition to above)	Assist in site protection.	Sites selected.
HBFC and Commercial Banks	Review projects, provide construction and house building finance.	Population, income and financing required.

Source: PADCO and Metroville Cell, MPECD, Karachi.

Legend: KDA = Karachi Development Authority
RPO = Regional Planning Organization
PandD = Planning and Development Department
KESC = Karachi Electrical Supply Corporation
KGC = Karachi Gas Company
KMC = Karachi Metropolitan Corporation
HBFC = Housing and Building Finance Corporation

TABLE II-4: DECISION ON IIPUP ISSUES -- WAYS OF WORKING TOGETHER

JOINT ACTION NEED	POLITICAL REPRESENTATIVES		GOVERNMENT OFFICERS	
	Type of Linking Action	Comment	Type of Linking Action	Comment
1. Different ministries and departments need to be aware of each others views, programs and projects.	Informal meetings, dinner parties, telephone contact.	May be of key significance in realizing cooperative efforts in government offices.	Regular informal and personal contact between Permanent Secretaries and Heads of Departments: telephone, dining together.	
	Request Minister from one Ministry/Department to attend meetings in another Ministry/Department.	Most essential to set up meeting well and define clearly purpose of co-option (i.e. to obtain politically acceptable decision).	Regular formal distribution of relevant information plus summaries so that items can be placed on agendas quickly for note and comment.	This can become part of the day-to-day formal office work with one officer in each ministry and department responsible for ensuring information is exchanged.
	Invitation to environmental and physical planning presentations by professionals.	Demanding a politician's time but may save much time later when formal stages are met.		
2. Continuous consultation is needed between two or more authorities (i.e. in sanitation and health programs).	Formal consultation meetings with joint directives on collaboration to be followed as a result.	Very necessary.	Establish formal consultation and coordination procedures between officers.	Needs to be monitored by coordination committee (or responsible ministers) who should check every six months that consultation is taking place.

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continued

TABLE II-4 (continued)

JOINT ACTION NEED	POLITICAL REPRESENTATIVES		GOVERNMENT OFFICERS	
	Type of Linking Action	Comment	Type of Linking Action	Comment
	Joint consultative committee.	Little point unless there is strong feedback to parent Ministry bodies who act on Consultative Committee recommendations.	Standing joint working groups having very specific terms of reference.	Limit number of these to those absolutely essential. Demand reports up to heads of departments every six months. Review need each year.
	Ad Hoc Working groups on special topics of area improvement.	Should have limited life and special tasks. Main task is to feed in proposals to responsible and powerful committees or to key individuals.		
3. Recurrent decisions that have to be taken jointly.	Joint standing committees with delegated powers.	Effective. But only if the committee members can truly commit the parent department.	Starting joint working groups.	For economy of people and time, similar types of decisions can be grouped together and dealt with by a single working group (i.e. timing and execution of utilities contracts).
	Joint meetings of full committee.	Cumbersome and only to be used where a decision cannot be delegated to a special joint committee.		

TABLE II-4 (continued)

JOINT ACTION NEED	POLITICAL REPRESENTATIVES		GOVERNMENT OFFICERS	
	Type of Linking Action	Comment	Type of Linking Action	Comment
4. When a very specific policy decision has to be taken jointly.	Special Steering Committee.	Time-consuming since every decision must be referred back to parent departments and Ministries.	Ad Hoc joint project teams.	Important that terms of reference are clear and who is to receive the recommendations are defined.
	Special committee having delegated powers.	Usually the more effective approach.	Consulting task carried out by one department for another department.	Important that the terms of reference of the task be clearly prepared.
5. The overall policies of different Ministries and Departments need close co-ordination (i.e. in financial planning and budget preparation).	Meetings of Ministers or of officers given authority by them (i.e. heads of departments).	Potentially very powerful means of obtaining unity of purpose and decision.	Regular meetings of those having departmental leadership and management responsibility.	Could be only a talking shop unless clearly directed by policy and a person.
			Regular meetings of a few key officials from various departments.	Essential.
6. Scarce professional staff can be shared between departments.			Staff secondment between departments.	Good for career development.
			Staff in one department work on consulting assignments for another.	Need for clear brief and terms of reference for each assignment.

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The project leader will know that the relationships of administrative units are governed by forms of authority of which two are universal and two culturally bound:³

- Universal
 - structural authority; the right to command
 - sapiential authority; rooted in professional or experiential knowledge
- Culturally bound
 - moral
 - personal

This is an area of potential conflict in the design of management systems for the implementation of IIPUP projects. Implementation may appear to rest necessarily in a command structure based upon professional knowledge. This, however, may appear as a threat to those who already hold command by virtue of authority gained by climbing a career ladder based on age seniority.

d. Conflict Management

However skilled in project planning, conflicts will arise that the project manager has to resolve. These tend to fall into several categories:

- Conflict over priorities within the team over work elements and between the team and other project teams also seeking support from busy or overloaded function departments.
- Conflict over administrative procedures. Very likely where the project style of management develops along lines very different from that of its host body -- the implementing agency.
- Conflict of technical opinion and over technical trade-offs. These conflicts often circulate around the issue of appropriate standards.
- Conflict over staffing and the use of manpower. These often stem from the use in the project team of professionals and technicians from operating or functional departments.

³ Paterson, T.T., "A Problem-Solving Approach to Management Education with Reference to Developing Countries" in Management Development for Industrializing Countries, eds. Morello, G. and Brodie, M.B., Betriebswirtschaftlicher Verlag Dr. Th. Gabler GmbH, Wiesbaden, West Germany.

- Conflict over cost. These often relate to the estimates of support groups from functional departments who say they require more funds for their contribution than are offered in the project budget.
- Conflict over project scheduling. Everyone says they have not enough time for their contribution. On the other hand, the project sponsors are adamant that the schedule not be changed.
- Conflict among personalities which often stems from career worries. ("Will I be overtaken by this task leader from department X?" "Should I not be back in my operating department where the real battles over promotions are being played out?")⁴

Conflict management is a particular challenge to project leaders in which personal qualities of leadership have to be drawn upon. Techniques include:

- Compromising -- i.e. when dealing with heads of departments.
- Smoothing -- i.e. when dealing with sponsors.
- Withdrawal -- when, for the moment, what to do is far from clear.
- Forcing a decision -- when it is only too clear what has to be done.
- Confrontation -- the working out of the differences between adversaries.⁵

Responsibility conflicts are most likely to be common between the project manager himself and the heads of operating or functional departments. Although it is possible to differentiate between their duties logically, it is not so easy to do in the run of daily life. Honest differences will appear.

- The project manager directs what the project tasks are, when they should start and finish and says how much money is available.

⁴ Tharpain, H.J. and Wileman, D.C., "Conflict Management in Project Life Cycles," Sloan Management Review, Summer 1975.

⁵ Blake, R.R. and Mouton, J.S., "The Management Grid," Gulf Publishing, U.S.A., 1964.

- The manager or head of a functional department directs who will perform the tasks, how the technical work will be done and says how much money is needed.

3. THE RELATIONSHIP OF IIPUP MANAGEMENT TO COMMUNITY GROUPS

The basis for successful project implementation is set at the project identification and design stages. These stages should bring a project together which has the backing of all interested parties. This, in fact, seldom happens. Rather, organizations and groups gather around a project that reflects a convergence of interests. Not all hope for the same outcome. Key partners in project preparation are:

- Representatives of the target group.
- The project preparation team, which will probably have a very wide display of value systems and motivations among its members and contributing official spokesmen from other agencies.

Appreciating that there are differences of interest and concern is a starting point for any IIPUP project. Characterizing the nature of these differences is the next necessary step if an implementable IIPUP project is to be born.

The most extreme differences are likely to be found between the conceptual world of the people in the community who are to be helped and that of the organization(s) through which they are to be offered help, whatever the form or values of that organization. This is because there are chasm-like differences between the ties that bind organizations and those that bind social groups in community.

Organizations deal in hard facts. They seek administrative, financial and productive efficiency. Getting a return in excess of investment is the touchstone of success. People who live in target communities are not devoid of concern for such matters but are more likely to inhabit a conceptual world shaped by religious faith, local community norms, family traditions and values. Togetherness within the community, household affairs, the particular place of residence and the world of the spirit can be expected to be dominant themes and to structure daily life. Naturally, what is seen to constitute progress for such people may not be seen to be so by the criteria of officials and social policy makers in organizations.

The view that the chief administrators -- the managers -- of a particular governmental organization takes of poor people

and their concerns will be colored by the kind of men they are and by the kind of organization that they lead. The contrast of the mechanistic and organic models of organization reveals how wide a range there is (see Table II-2). The characteristics of the organization that is basically mechanistic have been noted. This has a strong hierarchy of authority in which communication is lopsided; messages flow down the pyramid of administration but only with great difficulty up and seldom laterally between departments. Such organizations are frequently encountered in less developed countries. This type of organization is not one in which there is likely to be much comprehension of that other kind of world in which people are bound in community through a faith jointly shared, through custom and through having a particular view of community space and place. Table II-5 outlines the principal considerations for achieving greater community participation in the development process.

Cleavages between the conceptual worlds of the to-be-helped and the helpers may prove disastrous in single sector project preparation work. They can be fatal to an IIPUP project if not well handled at the identification and design stages. To state the obvious: a project has to be successful in the eyes of those helped as well as in the eyes of those helping. Each group can be expected to have quite distinctive criteria for assessment.

Because of the two traditions -- that of working for the improvement of a community and that of working with a community so that it may improve its own levels of living -- we have inherited two languages of project discourse that flow into, and sometimes fuse, in the writing about IIPUP.

- A form of words that seeks to define social needs in terms of user requirements -- an outgrowth of the bureaucratic mode and somewhat mechanistic in approach (see Checklist II-3).
- A form of words which brings together concepts of religious intent and social and cultural practices through which a community expresses its desires.

The difficulties of interpreting through the latter are immense, but for a community based IIPUP project there is little choice but to do so. A national level IIPUP program can be designed in the setting of humanitarian principle and common sense management. However, at the local level, humanity is replaced by people. People are less easy to deal with than humanity. The attempt to so arrange things that the people in community are free to say what they wish may be unintentionally undermined by saying that they must arrange their community representation along the dictates of a western

TABLE II-5: THE COMMUNITY AND THE DEVELOPMENT PROCESS IN AN IIPUP PROJECT -- AN ORGANIC APPROACH

PART I: DIMENSIONS

- | | |
|-------------------------|--|
| 1. People/land/services | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. The community. ii. The environment. iii. Patterns of belief and activity. |
| <hr/> | |
| 2. Goals | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. Goals, status system of the community today. ii. Goals proposed for them by others (e.g. better water supplies, a sanitary environment, employment). |
| <hr/> | |
| 3. Survey Knowledge | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. Factual knowledge of situation today: survey direction is given by the development perspective proposed. ii. Identify factors working against the achievement of externally conceived goals. iii. Identify trends working for the realization of goals. |
| <hr/> | |
| 4. Government | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. Identify levels of decision taking and kinds of decisions taken at national, provincial/regional and city level. ii. Plan development through local representative bodies. iii. Recognize importance of communicating with informal patterns of leadership in effected communities. |
| <hr/> | |
| 5. Plan Authority | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. Plans unrelated to planning powers will not be implemented. ii. Establish what authority is responsible for what. iii. The issuing of controls entails the responsibility of issuing guidelines to the community illustrating how requirements can be met. |
| <hr/> | |
| 6. Process | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. Recognition of the area-in-change as being an event that has to be guided. ii. Accept that conflicts of goals and tensions are inevitable and determine the procedure for settling of differences. iii. Plan to ease conflict situations before they arise. |

continued

TABLE II-5 (continued)

7. Physical Planning Study	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. The relationship of the area or district plans to metropolitan, rural and national plans. ii. Let area representatives make their plans and/or contribute to appraising relevance of yours. iii. Do not attempt plans without agreement on standards. iv. Share a dream: something more than municipal engineering is required -- people matter.
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8. Policy Formation and Implementation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. Conceive policy making, implementation and phasing of completion as being all one management activity. Do not declare policy without any idea of "what it will look like on the ground." ii. Marry local community goals to nationally declared goals. This implies flexibility, regional solutions to national problems. iii. Policy does not relate only to the future but also to the past, past policies, present efforts and present conditions.
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9. Implementation Strategy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. The present day condition moves towards a changed future. ii. Ideas of a future condition presses back towards the present: communicate this to local community. iii. Each phase of the implementation will contain elements of (i) and (ii) in Section 9.
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10. Organization and Execution	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. Primary decision making at national level. ii. Releases secondary decision making at the level of concerned organizations. iii. Which work with local community representatives to help them where required to take own decisions: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -- suggest alternatives -- review probable outcomes
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11. Evaluation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. Each stage executed modifies the next and may change the development perspective. ii. Evaluate the evaluation of the local community. iii. Evaluate according to project criteria established earlier as part of project design.
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continued

TABLE II-5 (continued)

12. People/land/services	i. Have we helped people or are we just saying so? ii. Is the project, if suitably amended, the basis for a continuing program? iii. If not, why not?
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PART II: DYNAMICS

1. Communication	i. Community to organizations. ii. Organizations to community. iii. Bear in mind the idea of change as being an obstacle to change.
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2. Developmental Philosophy	i. Opportunity offered to all who wish to avail. ii. Order amid change: change with order (make this principle guide pace of development). iii. Help people to find their own way into the IIPUP developmental process.
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3. Reciprocal Causation Spiral	i. Each element of the implemented project precipitates new developmental possibilities. ii. Ensure adequate social, legal and technical framework available to allow possibilities to develop into potential.
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4. Decision Making	i. Leadership within local community. ii. Leadership from outside community. iii. During the IIPUP implementation process, the frame of reference within which local community takes decisions expands and changes in character.
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Source: Oakley, David J., The Phenomenon of Architecture, Pergamon Press, Oxford and New York, 1970.

type democracy -- dictates of which they may be quite ignorant.

4. PROJECT IMPLEMENTATION

Project implementation is the unifying theme for much that has gone before, the content of which is summarized in Checklist II-1. The following principles offer guidance to the project manager in framing his approach. They are amplified in part by Checklists II-2 and II-3.

- In the design of management procedure, the existing conflicts between implementing agencies should be recognized and potential ones drawn forward for management action. Potential misunderstandings and conflicts between the project approval criteria and the expressed concerns of communities that are to be helped should be foreseen and "bridges" built as early as possible.
- Management decision should be centralized but as democratic as possible (Table II-4) given the multiplicity of implementing agents in an IIPUP program. Once policy is decided on any aspect, the project manager should be trusted with the authority to make implementing decisions -- and the status to take decisions -- in order to reduce the inevitable chain of "clearances" which accompany project operations. The centralizing of spending powers within the operating lead agency is also a great aid to efficiency and speedy implementation.
- Adaptability and responsiveness are required of the institutional arrangements to enable the management organization to adapt to changing circumstance. There should be a built-in process of review and evaluation which can lead to a modification of policy and procedure in the light of experience after discussion within the coordinating committee to whom the manager reports.
- The gap that may occur between policy formulation and implementation needs to be reduced to a minimum and this will be a central task of the coordinating committee and the project manager in dialogue with national policy level administrators on one hand and people living in specific communities on the other. In addition to dialogue, training is likely to be required for all participants from the highest level to affected individuals experiencing the impact of a sanitation or health care program.

- Since competent personnel will be scarce, they should be wisely used, receive encouragement and recognition. Overloading the few competent in order to increase the number of those "being carried" on the project is unwise.
- Phasing of the project activities and their breaking down into sub-projects interrelated within one management frame of reference is a necessity of implementation success.
- It is in the nature of the IIPUP program that training activities will form an important part of the whole implementation strategy. Training will be required for management concerned professionals and administrators, as well as for community leadership and the recipients of specific services.
- Implementation should be accompanied by further seminars and on-the-job training sequences. Training takes time and should be programmed for in the project time chart.

CHECKLIST II-1: IIPUP IMPLEMENTATION, PLANNING AND CONTROL

1. The Project Manager

- To be responsible for planning work, scheduling, monitoring of progress, reporting and evaluation.
- To perform strategic planning work to give direction to those who have more detailed planning responsibilities.
- To see that decisions are taken.
- To establish and maintain effective control of the project.
- To ensure that all plans and schedules are appropriate.
- To ensure that team members carry through their planning and control functions.

2. Project Control

- Establish with team members objectives and goals at the operational level.
- Define the tasks that are to be performed.
- Plan and schedule the tasks in relation to project need and available manpower and material resources.
- Record and measure progress and performance through an orderly system.
- Guide and correct team members and project contributors from outside departments when progress drops behind the executive plan.
- Resolve schedule and resource availability conflicts and if necessary raise them higher and higher in the organization until they are resolved.
- Have all the necessary information available.

3. The Project Identification Document

This should cover:

- The scope of the project.
- Objectives
 - substantive -- how the poor are to be helped
 - institutional -- technical, revenue earning, etc.
- Management approach.
- Contractual requirements
 - agencies
 - operating units
- Specification of physical work elements.
- Target schedules.
- Resources required and timing.
- Listing of contributors to project.
- Recognition of financial and cost flow problems.
- Listing of particular constraints or risk issues.

Source: Derived in part from Archibald, R.D., Managing High Technology Programs and Projects, Wiley, 1976.

CHECKLIST II-2: GUIDELINES FOR THE PROJECT MANAGER WHEN PLANNING THE IMPLEMENTATION OF A COMMUNITY-BASED IIPUP PROJECT

1. Detailed Service Planning (within the framework established by initial program and project planning and tentative budgeting; see Checklist II-1).

(a) This includes: detailed analysis of user needs, capacities to participate (and pay if service charges are to be levied), users' behavioral characteristics (the types of service acceptable, reactions in supplier-user relationships, willingness and ability to participate in service operations and maintenance, the types of payment system to which users are likely to be responsive, etc.).

- It is important to consult directly with leaders of the community and user groups and observe their present use of existing services.
- Realistic options for immediate services and future service development should be discussed with users, including identification of direct user costs and other implications.
- Opportunities should be created for exploring the possibility of community participation in service delivery and system maintenance.

(b) It is important to achieve full user involvement in the service. There should be detailed planning of service installation operations, maintenance and evaluation and of the coordination needed among related services (e.g. water supply, sanitation and basic education for health and sanitation, job counselling coordinated with vocational training, etc.).

- IIPUP service planning should include consultation with user groups, but it probably is unrealistic to expect them to have the time or capacity to participate substantially in detailed planning. Potential users will reveal their intimate concerns based upon moral or religious practices and this is important knowledge for the IIPUP implementation team.
- The services that are to be provided by project associated operating departments should be identified and initial installation coordinated. The types of coordination which are in the mutual interests of the organizations involved should be identified, rather than attempting all out comprehensive coordination (e.g. water supply, drainage, sanitation, street lighting, domestic electricity and street paving and maintenance).
- Identify employment generation opportunities for groups in the community as a factor in selecting among alternative methods of implementation.
- Schedule implementation realistically in relation to capacities of both implementing agencies and users.
- Do explicit contingency planning (e.g. identifying priorities if funds are less than expected, identifying corrective action if user maintenance fails).

continued

CHECKLIST II-2 (continued)

- (c) Detailed financial planning and budgeting.
 - This should be undertaken in collaboration with the proposed implementing agencies and departments; should help to achieve coordination.
 - Budgets should be structured
 - to show how budget items for individual components are related to one another as well as to budget aggregates.
 - to identify the budget for each participating agency explicitly.
 - to identify priorities in case less than the full budget is made available.
 - Off-site project expenditures should be included as well as necessary expenditures in related programs and projects.
 - Identify cash flow.
 - Identify funding sources.
 - Identify expenditures by community target groups, as well as by project component.
 - Identify cost recovery mechanisms with specific institutional responsibilities.
 - Identify explicit and implicit subsidies by community group and by project component.
 - (d) Detailed annual planning of staff preparation and training.
 - Differentiate existing and new staff and identify changes in status, salaries, etc. for existing staff.
 - Identify expected sources of new staff and methods for recruitment.
 - Identify detailed schedule for staff appointments and training and institutional responsibilities for appointments and training.
 - (e) Detailed planning of service promotion and user education (see Checklist II-3).
2. Contracting for Service Installation
- (a) Use explicit and public methods for selection of any private contractors used.
 - (b) Consider employment generation and other impacts on target groups as a factor in selecting contractors.
 - (c) Encourage target group participation, under contract, for installation.
 - (d) Establish penalties for delays, non-performance.
 - (e) Allow reasonable market rates of return to contractors.
 - (f) Get binding contracts/agreements with participating public agencies responsible for installation.

continued . . .

CHECKLIST II-2 (continued)

(g) Organize contracts in functionally related sub-projects under single management groups to facilitate coordination and pinpoint responsibility.

(h) Establish a centralized pool of critical materials and plan and maintain inventories systematically to minimize bottlenecks in implementation.

(i) Monitor implementation systematically and circulate information on status, shortfalls, etc. regularly to participating contractors and contributing departments and agencies.

3. Personnel Management and Development

(a) Provide for

- Selection.
- Training.
- Supervision.
- Counselling.
- Evaluation.
- Personnel services (credit, social activities, etc.).
- Dismissal, with due process, but simple to achieve.

(b) Provide opportunities for members of labor force in community target groups to be system personnel wherever possible. Involve them as employees in locations other than their own to avoid conflict of interest.

4. Information Systems Management

(a) Ensure establishment of a rudimentary but sound information system by each contributing agency, together with a centralized IIPUP information system to support planning and management of service provision and initial operation.

(b) Establish and maintain information for policy formulation, planning, service operations and maintenance, evaluation, service promotion, user education and background analysis.

(c) Keep information system modest; focus on most urgent information-user needs and operate cost effectively.

(d) Include for the promotion of information services and training for both users and suppliers of information.

CHECKLIST II-3: ON WORKING WITH USER GROUPS IN A COMMUNITY-BASED
IIPUP PROJECT

1. Service Promotion

- (a) Describe and promote each service in the IIPUP with systematic follow-up based on evaluation of initial responses, not just one-shot promotion.
- (b) Involve contributing departments in promotion of their own service fields.
- (c) Encourage leaders in community target groups to assist in promotion.
- (d) Promote discrete sub-projects with the specific target groups for which they are most relevant.
- (e) Identify specific responsibilities for promotion explicitly.
- (f) Use promotion as a device for identifying opportunities for community and user group participation in service delivery, maintenance and evaluation.
- (g) Schedule IIPUP implementation to get service operations functioning successfully as soon as possible to provide concrete evidence for further community promotion.

2. Community Education

- (a) Appraise the education needs and identify those agencies who could assist with training.
- (b) Implement public education programs ahead of and concurrent with the provision of services.

3. Establishment of Contracts/Agreements with User Groups for Service Delivery

- (a) Commitments must be realistic in relation to user capacities (i.e. provision of labor, skills or products such as handmade soil or cement blocks).
- (b) Ensure adequate communication and understanding of service benefits and user rights and obligations.
- (c) Provide follow-up on-site counselling to assist users to get full advantage of services, fulfill their obligations and avoid defaults.

4. Operation of Services and Coordination of Related Services

- (a) Assign responsibility and power for coordination of functionally related services to single entities, with central coordination by the principal organization responsible for the IIPUP program.

continued

CHECKLIST II-3 (continued)

(b) Centralize a pool of critical supplies and maintain inventory systematically to minimize bottlenecks in operations and facilitate coordination -- do this for each of the contributing departments' services wherever possible.

5. Collection of User Charges

(a) Make frequency of collection and the collection methods compatible with users' ability to pay and their behavioral characteristics.

(b) Impose significant penalties for failure to pay.

(c) Use private sector collection agencies rather than public authorities.

(d) Involve leadership of user groups or cooperatives in collection procedures wherever possible.

6. Handling of User Grievances

(a) Establish explicit and well-publicized mechanisms of handling grievances.

(b) Undertake regular field checks of user satisfaction and service problems, in addition to responding to user-initiated grievances.

(c) Respond promptly to grievances.

(d) Make specific operating units of the IIPUP responsible for responding to grievances in their own service fields, with independent and regular evaluation of their responsiveness.

(e) Provide simple legal procedures for appeals against decisions on grievances.

7. Imposition of Sanctions for User Defaults

(a) Ensure sanctions explicit and well-publicized when services are initiated.

(b) Ensure sanctions politically feasible, legal and equitable, with due process, but also simple to apply.

(c) Make institutional responsibilities for application of sanctions explicit.

(d) Apply sanctions rigorously.

8. System Maintenance

(a) Establish clear institutional responsibilities for maintenance.

(b) Involve user groups in maintenance as fully as possible.

continued

CHECKLIST II-3 (continued)

(c) Have responsible entities undertake regular maintenance checks with follow-up.

(d) Include centralized independent checking of system operations.

9. Regular Service Evaluation and Follow-up

(a) Provide for

- internal evaluation of service delivery systems.
- evaluation of user participation.
- evaluation of effectiveness of assistance offered by IIPUP.

(b) Provide for direct user participation in evaluation.

(c) Make institutional responsibilities for evaluation and follow-up explicit. Have evaluation of services undertaken by the responsible operating units plus an independent evaluation.

PART III
TRAINING

A. THE TRAINING CONTEXT

1. INTRODUCTION

If an organization is to be aided to make changes, there will be the need for long-term relationships between the organization and its "change agents" in addition to short-term intensive functional and reorganization advice. The change agents will have to learn as well. Change management requires extended time and continued contact between the learners and the teachers. Role reversal frequently takes place.

The teachers and the taught will learn together the particular effects of uniting universal management expertise with a particular organization in a particular environment favoring the following particular objectives:

- There will be a need to understand and reconcile the conflicts between management techniques developed in the western world and the cultural values of a particular nation and the form of the administrative power elite.
- This value/management conflict will become more apparent as the attempt to transfer management techniques to a developing organization proceeds.
- Management patterns will need to be more responsive to environment and to individuals (users) than previously, as well as to internalized norms (cultural, managerial or professional).
- There will have to be understanding of the boomerang effect of policy change. The wide environment of the organization will be affected and react: the inner organization of the corporation or authority will sense changes in the power situation and promotion status and will react. Old customers of the authority will bemoan the changes (and start counter-reformation pressure groups) and new customers will queue at the door demanding service.

Many administrative systems must change to realize development goals. Such administrative reorientations do not come easily in nations where the administrative tradition is basically regulatory.

Whatever organization is devised to serve an IIPUP project, it can be assumed that new organizational entities will be created within existing or new bodies. Unless special

consideration is given to the career prospects of officer grade levels, the possibility of securing appropriate qualified personnel for the organization may be limited. Urban development authorities, unless granted special political and administrative recognition, are often unable to compete for suitable talent with the private sector in their own country or with newly oil-rich states paying high rates.

IIPUP programs will need personnel who can expect reasonably secure tenure with the project. To lose trained and experienced personnel too frequently, especially during the formative years of the project, is particularly harmful. A major intent behind a training program should be the building of institutional competence. This cannot happen if the organization is plagued by frequent transfers.

A factor which can profoundly influence the success of training is the level at which persons are recruited for posts and the standards of selection used. IIPUP management must initially define the kinds of skills which will be required to specify the qualifications and performance standards required of each post. Training cannot overcome the basic skill and attitudinal deficiencies which may result from recruiting persons with inappropriate backgrounds. Training can help with these deficiencies, but it is not a substitute for sound recruitment and placement procedures.

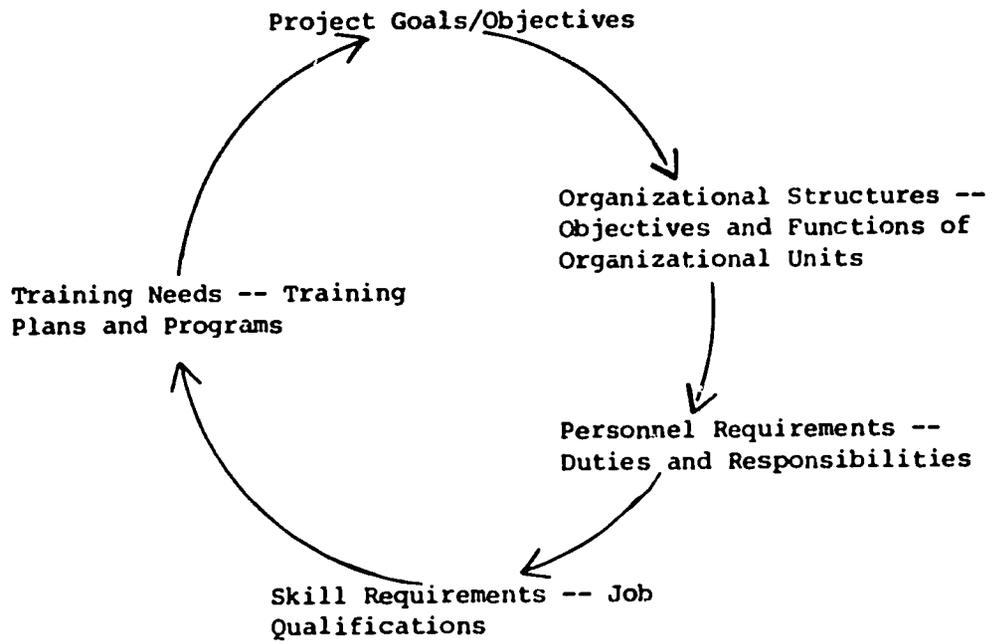
The initiation of a national IIPUP program offers a chance to implement reforms. In fact, it may be impossible to change the delivery of services to the urban poor without appropriate changes in administration and management. Training will be an important agent in this change.

2. TRAINING PURPOSES AND TASKS

Training is an integral part of the development of the IIPUP organization. It must support the project, respond to the manpower or skill needs of the organization at all levels and be oriented to prepare persons to assume necessary roles within the IIPUP structure. The training of personnel will need to be commenced before or concurrent with the setting up of the IIPUP organization.

Training design and content should be derived from an analysis of organizational needs and skill requirements. Figure III-1 illustrates the linkages among project goals, organizational needs and training needs. An IIPUP organization must have clear objectives, program targets and personnel and skill requirements prior to defining training programs.

FIG. III-1: THE TRAINING CYCLE



In one major authority in South Asia, the indiscriminate assignment of personnel to training programs created the illusion that staff competence was being developed. Examination of performance showed little improvement in organizational effectiveness. In fact, the lack of a systematic scheme for utilizing trained officers was the main factor limiting the impact of training. Unit heads did not analyze the skill deficits of their departments; they were merely responding to training opportunities proposed by external training organizations.

In considering an IIPUP project, it is possible to specify a range of purposes to structure training programs.

(i) Establishing project legitimacy. Training is a device for securing recognition for the project and of the needed management style.

(ii) Developing individual skills. Certain technical/operational competencies will be common to all projects including accounting and financial management, staff supervision, survey techniques and data analysis. There will also be a range of professional competencies reflecting the service sectors in the project. An inventory of required skills based on functions of the IIPUP organization should be made and corresponding training needs identified and served.

(iii) Developing policy consensus. Joint professional dialogue and discussion can assist the project team to clarify its goals and achieve a consensus. Such team training sessions will be particularly crucial in projects where various sectoral activities support a common IIPUP objective.

(iv) Improving organizational communication. The exchange of information among staff members is essential to improve the flow of information within the organization or to develop linkages among key operating units.

(v) Developing organizational responsiveness. Organizational renewal is likely to be a continuing requirement of IIPUP projects. There is always the necessity to review progress, to amend policies and procedures to bring the operations into line with project objectives.

(vi) Improving management skills. Specific operational management skills are included under other functional areas of training (i.e. planning, scheduling, monitoring, finance and budgeting). The focus here should be on the behavioral skills of managers -- leadership, staff motivation, coordination and negotiations with contributing departments. Management training can help to cultivate the necessary abilities.

(vii) Community development training. This can take various forms. One might assist leaders of the target groups to develop the ability to negotiate for change. Another form might be assisting with self-help organization.

3. LIMITATIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION

The limitations of formal education offered administrators, planners, engineers, architects and accountants will affect the design of training programs for IIPUP projects. In reviewing the overall manpower and training needs for human settlement work, the Habitat Committee on the subject unanimously concluded that:

" . . . it does not appear that current systems, including course structures and methodologies offered in universities, are adequate to the task (of preparing professionals in human settlement work). Rarely does one find an emphasis on multidisciplinary course work in projects or on projects or on seminars stressing the integral unity of environmental concerns. . . . In short, few programs provide students with a knowledge of the contemporary reality of human settlements."¹

The general inadequacy of formal university training to the kinds of planning, management and operational skills needed in IIPUP projects presents a challenge to the training of IIPUP personnel. Training programs will need to compensate.

¹ Blair, Thomas L., "Training for Human Settlement Development," Habitat International, Vol. 4, No. 1/2, p. 13.

B. ESTABLISHING THE PARAMETERS FOR IIPUP RELATED TRAINING

Time and resource availability limit the amount of training that can be adopted. The following points should be considered in establishing policy for training.

1. PRIORITIES

IIPUP management must decide which training needs are most urgent. Certain criteria should govern these choices:

- The seriousness of the skill deficit of the group being considered for training. Some persons may have sufficient knowledge to commence work on the project without training. On the other hand, the training of managers in inter-departmental planning may be more urgent because understanding the integrated nature of the IIPUP project is fundamental.
- The availability of suitable training resources to conduct the training.
- The scheduling of activities in the project. Depending on how sector contributions are phased, the training of personnel associated with these contributions could be phased accordingly. The project itself may provide part of the setting for training.
- Level of authority. It may be necessary to focus on senior policy making officers before proceeding to train other executive and technical personnel. The outcome of training at the policy making level may provide the context in which the training of other persons can occur.

2. DEVELOPING A TRAINING PLAN

This plan should list resources, numbers and kinds of persons to be trained, the scheduling of training and the methods and techniques to be employed. The plan should say who is responsible. It should be coordinated with plans for staffing and project sequencing. Wherever possible the training plan should be integrated into some wider training program of government so that project personnel in other programs can share in and contribute to the training experience.

3. DETERMINING RESOURCES

The many training needs which have to be tended to obviously cannot be managed and implemented exclusively by the project management.

- . Where projects are of sufficient size, a training officer should be designated. This person should be at a senior level with a background in training. Although technical expertise in the fields of urban planning and community development would be desirable attributes, other important skills needed are in management training and organizational development. The typical duties of the training director are given in Checklist III-1.
- . An inventory of relevant training resources in the host country should be made.
- . Universities, technical institutes, government training centers and other research and training bodies should be solicited for their ability to meet training needs.

Depending on the extent of community development or human settlement projects being carried out in the country, a suitable institution could be found to undertake training that would cut across organizational lines and serve human service/settlement specialists and persons in related or allied programs. The work being done in Indian district administration, especially as it pertains to agricultural development, by the Indian Institute of Management, Ahmedabad, is an example of such a national organization. This arrangement permits a sharing of experiences among professionals in a common work area. Such training tends to mitigate organizational parochialism.

If arrangements can be established with suitable research or training organizations, efforts should be made to develop case materials and other empirically based exercises which support various areas of urban development and human services planning.

4. PREPARING SUPERVISORS AS TRAINERS

All training cannot be undertaken in structured classroom situations. An alternative, although not at the exclusion of all formal training, is to give emphasis to on-the-job training. There are two essential conditions:

- . Experienced, senior personnel must be available.
- . On-the-job training must involve more than exposure to work. The activities of staff must be directed, observed and evaluated by more experienced personnel.

5. TRAINING OF TRAINERS

Any plan to improve the training of human services personnel must also consider means of increasing the number of training personnel for IIPUP and similar human settlement programs.

The following are some possible sources of recruitment:

- . Directors and personnel of training institutions.
- . Staff and instructors from universities, particularly in the physical planning and social science fields.
- . Middle and senior managers in private and public industrial, commercial and agricultural enterprises.
- . Government administrators and technicians.

The training needs of such persons will be one or all of the following:

- . Planning and management of intersectoral human settlement projects.
- . Interpersonal, human relations and communications skills.
- . Methods and techniques of training, training needs assessment and training evaluation skills.

Training programs for trainers should see that some balance among these skills is developed.

6. DETERMINING THE SCOPE OF TRAINING PROGRAMS

Given the frequent serious skilled manpower deficits, training should be given priority in some situations. One strategy which might be effective would be to begin an IIPUP program with a demonstration training project. It would serve as a pilot effort in training persons for project responsibility. The important consideration is that the pilot project be placed within a training context.

In accepting this approach, project organizers would have to allow sufficient time for both structured and informal training and to assume a longer period of implementation because of the training obligations incurred. The fact that a project is in operation would satisfy those who were concerned about deferring the project operations until training needs were satisfied. It would provide a practical context in which training could occur.

C. TRAINING OVERVIEWS

For projects in an IIPUP program, training forms a necessary component, but training is not the focus of the project. The proportion of the overall budget available for training will never be large enough. It is thus important that value is obtained for the money that is spent. It is important that the designers of the project identify the key training needs from among the very wide range of training that might be considered desirable. Key persons in implementation who cannot be left out will be the chairperson of the Executive Committee, the professional engineers (low cost sanitation measures, for example), the community development field workers and a representative number of the local community leaders.

On the supply side, in some project organizations, accounting and bookkeeping may be poorly staffed. In others, the collection of rents and mortgage payments may be unsatisfactorily organized. Where there are a number of projects of a like kind, it may be wiser to focus an interproject group training budget upon the training of trainers. Such a concept would need to be followed through well ahead of the implementation of any specific project in the IIPUP sequence so that the new trainers could apply themselves in part to the organization and tuition of on-the-job training sequences, coupled with seminars held in parallel with project implementation timing. Where an IIPUP program is a nationally based effort, the training of trainers is an economical approach to the training task.

D. DEFINING SPECIFIC TRAINING PROGRAMS

Training may be needed at the:

- Policy level.
- Implementation level for management and planning.
- Delivery level for specific operational units.
- Delivery level for community development.
- User level for community leadership.
- Community level for community workers and paraprofessionals.

The nature of each type of training is described in the following paragraphs and summarized in the checklists which accompany this chapter.

1. POLICY LEVEL TRAINING

a. Objectives

It is especially essential to develop a high level policy commitment for IIPUP. Policy level training is an effective way for IIPUP programs to overcome the disadvantages of their multi-sectoral and multi-agency orientation. Such training should:

- Develop an understanding of the relative advantages and difficulties of integrated projects compared to single service delivery.
- Involve directors of contributing agencies in IIPUP issues such as the selection of target groups and the suitable project mix for serving those groups.
- Develop understanding of IIPUP as an experimental program capable of being expanded and replicated if results warrant.
- Establish regular channels of communication among key policy makers and between policy makers and field operations.
- Develop a climate of cooperation that will be conducive to information exchange and lead to cooperative problem solving initiatives.

b. Target Audience

Policy level training should involve:

- Senior staff from program agencies (e.g. health, education, agriculture, social welfare and human resources and water).
- Senior staff from key regulatory agencies whose policies may affect project implementation (e.g. civil service commission).
- Senior staff from key financial control and monitoring agencies.
- Senior staff from key planning agencies.

c. Training Methodology

Seminars, conferences or workshops should be organized to permit participants to contribute to their own training.

Studies, reports and reviews should be prepared on the types of projects for servicing the urban poor, possible methods of coordination, financial implications and criteria for monitoring and evaluation. Task groups within the training group should conduct intensive exploration of key issues and report their findings and recommendations to the larger group.

Field trips to prospective project sites can be arranged with opportunities for consultation with community representatives.

d. Training Resources

The principle trainers will be agency, department or ministerial representatives. Early courses in an IIPUP program could benefit from technical assistance. The national planning authority or some similar organization which has oversight for development programs could host the training.

An objective, external facilitator would be useful to lead the training. This person might be drawn from outside the government, preferably from a national training institution, a university or a management training center. Where indigenous expertise is lacking, foreign expertise will need to be engaged.

e. Scheduling and Duration of Training

One week is usually the minimum amount of time for this type of training exercise. The training should be located where participants can give undivided attention to the agenda. Considerable lead time for preparing reports and discussion materials should be provided.

2. IMPLEMENTATION LEVEL TRAINING (MANAGEMENT AND PLANNING)

a. Objectives

Training at the implementing level should include some elements of policy training such as developing an understanding of the IIPUP approach, but it should be more specifically geared to setting up an operation and making it work.

The objectives of training at this level include:

- Understanding the target population, the various constituencies within the target community and relative differences of their respective needs (i.e. to develop an ability to discriminate among levels and kinds of needs).
- Understanding the importance of the various sectors in the project and appropriate areas of interaction and collaboration among them.
- Understanding the interdependent needs of urban poor groups.
- Appreciating the management context of multi-sectoral projects and appreciating the potential areas of cooperation and conflict.
- Developing the ability to apply management principles applicable to IIPUP projects:
 - flexibility of approach
 - delegation and decentralization of decision making
 - feedback
 - accountability (in terms of delivering services)
 - staff supervision
 - responsiveness to user groups of the community
 - public relations and promotion

b. Target Audience

The participants should include:

- Project managers.
- Other managers of specialists (i.e. housing, health, education, executive engineers of various public authorities).
- Representatives from state and municipal authorities who may be immediately external to the project but who have some governance over project activity (planning commission, budget officers, licensing agencies, zoning commission, public utilities and public works).

c. Training Resources

If institutes of management and social welfare exist within the host country, the organization of such training might be carried out by a collaborative effort between the two.

In a country where several projects are planned, a panel of resource persons could be assembled from which trainers would be drawn. A common scheme for organizing and conducting the training, including the preparation of suitable training materials, should be prepared.

d. Training Methodology

The most effective training methodology is a combination of theoretical and applied study. Substantial emphasis should be given to case studies. These could be derived from existing projects or from raw data on the target community being served by the IIPUP project.

e. Scheduling and Duration

The training could be combined with the ongoing work responsibilities of the officers. A training cycle of one to two years might be desirable. At various intervals following the orientation training, more formal sessions could be arranged, the purpose of which would be to analyze field experience and to develop approaches to problems.

3. DELIVERY LEVEL TRAINING (SPECIFIC OPERATIONAL UNITS)

a. Objectives and Purposes

Previous work of officers will have been principally administrative. Past responsibilities are more likely to have been oriented toward compliance with procedures than towards service to target groups. The underlying objective of this

training should be to improve the ability of trainees to relate their professional knowledge to the needs of the community.

Training, therefore, should strive to:

- Improve understanding of the needs met by each sector and the relationships to other service needs.
- Gain an understanding of the family unit or household as the context for providing a service.
- Develop the ability to plan for services on the basis of user needs rather than preconceived objectives and to plan services in conjunction with related programs.
- Develop an understanding of critical points of intersection among programs (for example, to distinguish when a health need should be handled only in conjunction with sanitation improvements.)

b. Target Audience

The training audience would consist of:

- Primary sector specialists.
- Secondary sector specialists.
- Project managers.
- Social planners.
- Other social managers with generalist backgrounds.

c. Training Resources

A principal resource could be the target group itself or, more specifically, a particular family within the target group. Families might be "adopted" by trainees with the intention that, through observation and diagnosis, the concepts cited above would be understood and diagnostic and problem solving skills would be developed. Such an approach to training can only be successful if the director of training has established a close rapport with community leaders.

4. DELIVERY LEVEL TRAINING (COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT)

a. Objectives

This training is for the intermediaries who translate the sentiments of citizens to project administrators and likewise interpret the project and its services to the target population. They will have to dispel misconceptions and apprehensions about the service, convince community residents to participate and aid in the formulation of community organizations. Their training should enable them to perform the following tasks:

- Preparing the community for specific service inputs.
- Securing community involvement in determining service priorities.
- Designing service inputs in ways which conform to community needs and capacity to absorb.
- Ensuring effective and proper utilization of service.
- Encouraging community self help.
- Stimulating the community to extend service benefits into other community-initiated projects.
- Assisting the community to develop leadership and organizational resources.
- Assisting the community to adapt to changes required with new or modified forms of service.
- Assisting the community to handle conflict situations among competing groups or community interest.

b. Target Audience

All persons on the project team who have significant contact with the target groups comprise the target audience.

c. Training Resources

This training revolves around communication and motivational skills. There is no set format for such training.

d. Training Methodology

The laboratory approach is desirable. This permits individuals to experiment with various behavioral styles in order to test personal approaches to other persons and situations and to improve skills in handling different situations.

e. Scheduling and Duration

The training of community development personnel should be continuous. Changing circumstances during the evolution of a project introduces new elements in the interaction between the service providers and the users. Training interludes of a week to ten days might be organized twice yearly.

5. USER LEVEL TRAINING (COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP)

a. Objectives

The helping of indigenous leadership to more effectively represent the community and motivate residents to use the services provided through IIPUP is a principal objective of training at the community level. The objectives of such training are to:

- Develop an understanding with local leaders of the objectives of the project.
- Assist indigenous leaders to identify the problems of target groups and to identify a range of needs to be satisfied.
- Develop a sense of responsibility for improving community welfare.
- Help local leaders to see that their own stature as leaders will be enhanced by assisting in settlement improvement programs.
- Assist local leaders to understand organization and planning aspects of community improvement.

b. Target Audience

Community leadership may be either formal or informal. Formal leaders include religious leaders, teachers or persons holding office on councils or voluntary agencies. Other sources of leadership will be less obvious. Their leadership skills are more achieved than ascribed. An initial concern of any community leadership program will be to search out

"natural" leaders who are willing to assert themselves for the advancement of their fellow residents.

Leadership should also be drawn from sectors where project activity is likely to be focused. For example, midwives could be decisive agents in promoting health and nutrition programs.

Caste and region of origin may also play a role in deciding upon the leaders to be cultivated. To the extent possible, leadership should express the diversity of the community.

Some combination of the following criteria is proposed in selecting candidates for leadership training:

- Already serving as leader in community by virtue of administrative, commercial, economic, religious or political role.
- Represents significant constituency which the project proposes to serve.
- Has demonstrated ability to organize and motivate members of the community to action.
- Has good linkages with outside agencies.
- Has long-standing association with the community and thus is generally knowledgeable about its problems and needs.
- Has good communication with residents of target area.

6. USER LEVEL TRAINING (COMMUNITY WORKERS/PARAPROFESSIONALS)

a. Objectives

There are generally two roles for community residents in support of IIPUP projects:

- As local organizers and facilitators of project components.
- As paraprofessionals in service dispensing roles.

The first role is an extension of the community development function of project personnel. The major distinction, however, is the greater extent of loyalty to the community by the indigenous community workers. They are to be viewed essentially as agents and spokespersons of the

community and can be expected to take an advocacy position. Their training needs are essentially the same as those identified under the leadership and community development training to be provided to user groups.

Local paraprofessionals can improve the effectiveness of service delivery and provide relevant feedback to project managers. Paraprofessionals must be occasionally supported in their work by professional guidance. The most important objectives to be met in the training of indigenous community workers or paraprofessionals are:

- . Developing a sufficient level of technical skill to carry out service activities.
- . Assisting community workers to communicate service benefits and motivate user involvement in the project.
- . Assisting the community to work cooperatively on problem solving.
- . Assisting community workers to organize residents and self help projects.

b. Target Audience

The target audience is the community based paraprofessionals. Community leaders could be involved in the non-technical elements of the training.

c. Training Resources

The same resources required for community leadership and community development training apply to the training of paraprofessionals.

d. Training Methodology

Role playing exercises and related participatory training devices should supplement a human relations type training. The paraprofessional aspect of the training should be provided largely through demonstration projects and simple how-to-do-it manuals.

e. Scheduling and Duration

The training should take the form of induction training followed by in-service training, the latter designed to refurbish skills on the basis of experience. Programs of a month to six weeks have generally been sufficient to equip most paraprofessionals. Periodic in-service training and consultation should be arranged.

CHECKLIST III-1: DUTIES OF AN IIPUP DIRECTOR OF TRAINING

1. To survey the wider training scene in the nation to see if IIPUP training can be undertaken in part with the training of other technicians and community workers.
2. To work with other trainers and training institutions to establish common core training programs where possible.
3. To prepare phasing plans for training of all levels of officers and community members to illustrate the interrelated sequence of their training needs and time that it is estimated it will cost.
4. To prepare comparative estimates of alternative ways of implementing training nationally and locally, at home and overseas.
5. To develop annual training plans for the project personnel.
6. To coordinate with managers and supervisors within the organization concerning the training needs of staff.
7. To develop internal training programs where such are warranted and contact and prepare resource persons who would be needed for such training programs.
8. To coordinate organizations whose services as trainers would be needed to meet the training needs of the project.
9. To prepare annual training budgets in consultation with the management of the project.
10. To designate and approve persons being sent for training.
11. To monitor and evaluate training and facilitate the integration of training experiences with management and operational responsibilities.

CHECKLIST III-2: POLICY-LEVEL TRAINING

1. Objectives

- (a) To develop a high level policy commitment to IIPUP.
- (b) To develop understanding of advantages and limitations of integrated projects.
- (c) To identify difficulties in implementing IIPUP projects and produce possible remedies to anticipated problems.
- (d) To adopt possibility of project being replicated and expanded.
- (e) To establish communication channels among policy makers and between central agencies and field operations.
- (f) To develop cooperative attitude among participating ministries and departments.

2. Target Audience

- (a) Senior personnel from substantive ministries.
- (b) Senior personnel from regulatory agencies.
- (c) Senior personnel from financial control and monitoring agencies.
- (d) Senior personnel from planning agencies.

3. Methodology

- (a) Seminars.
- (b) Workshops.
- (c) Conferences.
- (d) Task force committees.
- (e) Field observation and analysis.

4. Resources

- (a) Agency personnel (participants).
- (b) Management or public administration expert.
- (c) Human relations specialist.

5. Duration -- approximately one (1) week.

6. Timing -- at time that project is adopted.

CHECKLIST III-3: IMPLEMENTATION-LEVEL TRAINING (MANAGEMENT AND PLANNING)

1. Objectives
 - (a) Understanding environment of target site population.
 - (b) Develop inter- or trans-departmental approach to services provision.
 - (c) Ability to relate specific services to interdependent needs of target group.
 - (d) Understanding management tools and procedures for administering coordinated, integrated projects.
 - (e) Ability to apply suitable management principles to IIPUP projects.
2. Target Audience
 - (a) Project manager.
 - (b) Operating department managers and specialists.
 - (c) Representatives from other authorities able to affect project.
3. Resources
 - (a) Community development specialists.
 - (b) Management specialists.
 - (c) Management departments or institutes.
 - (d) Social welfare and community development institutes.
 - (e) Panel of resources; in lieu of suitable institute support.
4. Methodology
 - (a) Lectures/discussions (management issues).
 - (b) Case studies/management exercises.
 - (c) Controlled training demonstration project (applied).
 - (d) Consultants.
 - (e) Staggered work/training program -- work experience training.
5. Duration -- staggered training/work cycle of one (1) year.
6. Timing
 - (a) At project inception stage -- orientation.
 - (b) Intervals during first and second year of project -- in-service training.

CHECKLIST III-4: DELIVERY-LEVEL TRAINING (SPECIFIC OPERATIONAL UNITS)

1. Objectives

- (a) Relate operating specialty to other related service needs of users.
- (b) Understand households as critical target of services.
- (c) Plan services on basis of user needs.
- (d) Understand points of intersection among service components.
- (e) Ability to relate user needs to other relevant services and programs.

2. Target Audience

- (a) Sector specialists (primary).
- (b) Sector specialists (secondary).
- (c) Human service/community development generalists.
- (d) Project manager.
- (e) Project planners.
- (f) Engineers and other professionals.

3. Training Resources

- (a) Target site families.
- (b) Series of transsectoral seminars organized by suitable in-country institutions supplemented by international technical assistance agency.

4. Methodology

- (a) On-site observation and involvement.
- (b) Seminars involving interdepartmental participation.
- (c) Case studies.
- (d) Lecture/case study presentations for project management skill development components.

5. Duration

- (a) Foundational training -- minimum two (2) weeks.
- (b) Project management skill training -- 4 2-week sessions.

6. Timing

- (a) Foundational training -- prior to or at inception of project.
- (b) Project Management skill training -- intervals during first year to 18 months of project.

CHECKLIST III-5: DELIVERY-LEVEL TRAINING (COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT)

1. Objectives

- (a) Develop ability to generate interest and prepare community for project.
- (b) Develop techniques of determining community-perceived needs.
- (c) Design service provision in conformity with community needs and social system.
- (d) Develop ways to assure effective use of services.
- (e) Assist community to organize local help and extend benefits of initial project input.
- (f) Assist with development of community leadership.
- (g) Assist community to adapt to change.
- (h) Assist community to handle and resolve conflict situations.

2. Target Audience -- all personnel assigned by project to assist recipients directly.

3. Training Resources

- (a) Experts in communications, human relations and inter-personal relations training.
- (b) Local or overseas human relations or community development training institutions.
- (c) International aid agencies (i.e. American Friends Service Committee, OXFAM and UNICEF).

4. Methodology

- (a) Laboratory or human relations training.
- (b) On-the-job training with consultation.
- (c) In-service refresher training.

5. Duration and Scheduling

- (a) Induction training -- two (2) weeks.
- (b) Refresher training -- bi-annual sessions of one (1) week to ten (10) days.

6. Timing

- (a) Prior to project start-up.
- (b) Semi-annual refresher training.

CHECKLIST III-6: USER-LEVEL TRAINING (COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP)

1. Objectives

- (a) To help local leadership to accept project objectives.
- (b) To help local leaders develop ability to identify and prioritize problems.
- (c) To develop leaders who identify with community welfare.
- (d) To assist leaders to organize and plan community resources.
- (e) To enhance confidence of leaders in possibility of improving community.
- (f) To help leaders help residents to identify with community.

2. Target Audience

- (a) Politicians.
- (b) Religious leaders.
- (c) Leaders of voluntary community organizations.
- (d) Teachers.
- (e) Representatives of important constituencies in community.
- (f) Potential leaders by virtue of
 - knowledge of community.
 - natural communication skills.
 - organizational skills.
 - influence with outside (larger) community.

3. Training Resources

- (a) Community development training centers.
- (b) Social welfare training centers.
- (c) Local colleges and universities -- social welfare departments.
- (d) Human relations/communications experts.

4. Methodology

- (a) Role playing exercises.
- (b) Supervised projects.
- (c) Human relations/group dynamics training.
- (d) Simulation exercises/leadership development games.

continued

CHECKLIST III-6 (continued)

5. Duration

- (a) Intensive training of six (6) weeks to two (2) months.
- (b) Periodic reinforcement sessions of one (1) week.

6. Timing

- (a) After project has been formally established and begins operations.
- (b) On-going with refresher experiences at least annually.

CHECKLIST III-7: USER-LEVEL TRAINING (COMMUNITY WORKERS/PARA-PROFESSIONALS)

1. Objectives

- (a) Develop technical skill.
- (b) Develop communication and motivational skills.
- (c) Develop ability to foster cooperative problem solving in community.
- (d) Assist community to organize to improve services through self-help projects.

2. Target Audience

- (a) Paraprofessionals.
- (b) Professionals -- supervisory.
- (c) Community leaders.

3. Training Resources

- (a) Professionals (extension and supervisory personnel).
- (b) Community development specialists.
- (c) Communications, motivational and human relations experts.
- (d) Community development training centers.

4. Methodology

- (a) Role playing exercises.
- (b) Demonstration/pilot projects; on-the-job training.
- (c) "How to" manuals.
- (d) Supervision and consultation by professional (counselling) counterparts.

5. Duration

- (a) One (1) month to six (6) weeks for skill development.
- (b) Periodic in-service training.

6. Timing

- (a) Prior to or at outset of project.
- (b) In-service training to be given bi-annually.

PART IV

DATA COLLECTION, SURVEYS AND EVALUATION
FOR IIPUP PROJECTS

INTRODUCTION¹

To accomplish the design of IIPUP projects along the guidelines outlined in Part I, project planners will require a large amount of information. In addition, baseline information (prior to the project) will be required for use in program and project evaluation. However, before embarking on overly ambitious data collection efforts, IIPUP project planners should consider the following principles:

- IIPUP is not an academic exercise; it is a complex but focused program. Information is required to make specific design decisions about the target group to be benefited, the mix of project components, the geographic scope of the project and the appropriate institutional, financial and legal arrangements. Only the information required to make these decisions and to evaluate the ultimate success of projects should be collected. It is not uncommon for data to be collected in excess of the actual needs of the project.
- Data is frequently unusable for project design because it has not been originally collected with projects in mind. For example, most countries compile volumes of census data on housing conditions which is usually of little use for project design because there is no correlation of housing conditions with the social and economic characteristics of occupants such as rents, employment and income. This information is essential in designing an IIPUP project, especially if there is a shelter component.
- Data collection is difficult enough in the developed countries. It is especially difficult and costly to collect data in the less developed countries. In addition to the numerous cross-cultural interpretation problems listed below, it is frequently difficult to find adequate resources for data collection and analysis. There is a shortage of personnel with the required skills at all levels. The time required to organize surveys in the

¹ The material presented in Part IV draws heavily on material originally prepared by Mathematica Policy Research, Inc., "Surveys for Designing and Evaluating Integrated Improvement Projects for the Urban Poor: Data Needs and Survey Methods," Princeton, N.J., 1980; and "Evaluating Integrated Improvement Projects for the Urban Poor: Guidelines for Evaluation Methodology," Princeton, N.J., 1980.

developing countries is usually longer than in the developed countries.

- Given the high costs of data collection and the focused data requirements for IIPUP planning, it is legitimate to question the need to collect highly detailed and precise data. Mathematically precise data may not be justifiable to make the decisions required in IIPUP project design. The costs may be prohibitive, especially for relatively small IIPUP projects, and the improved effectiveness of design decisions made with more detailed and precise data may be slight. In short, diminishing returns can become a factor very early in data collection for these types of projects. Shortcut methods are often adequately precise for IIPUP project design.
- Some reliable data is important for project design and evaluation, but it cannot replace the need for experienced interpretation. IIPUP projects involve an extremely complex set of relationships. Much of the ultimate success of IIPUP will rest on the judgment of the experienced practitioners who must make the leap from a data base to the realities of project design and implementation.

The data collection process should begin with an assessment of the data that will be required for project identification, design and evaluation, keeping in mind the principles outlined above. The data requirements will depend to a large degree on the type of sequence being followed in project development. Data will be required for two main purposes: (1) to identify the urban poor target groups and to define their needs, priorities and resources, and (2) to identify the capacities and potentials of service delivery systems which may be available to meet the needs of the target groups.

Much of this data, especially data to meet the latter purpose, may be available from existing secondary sources. In addition, it is usually possible to obtain information about the service delivery system from informal interviews with agency representatives. It is important to exhaust potential secondary sources and interviews fully prior to undertaking expensive and time-consuming field surveys. Nevertheless, some specific information may have to be collected from the target group using specialized field surveys. This may be necessary to obtain data for both project identification and design as well as to generate baseline information for later evaluation. The analysis of aerial photography is a particularly useful shortcut means of collecting data on the target group and stratifying samples for subsequent specialized field surveys.

A. DATA NEEDS

The development of individual IIPUP projects can follow a number of different sequences. These are presented briefly below and in Figure IV-1.

1. Beginning with a national urban poverty assessment, moving to identification and analysis of target groups and then to project identification.
2. Beginning with identification of target groups, moving to an IIPUP resource assessment and to project identification.
3. Beginning with an idea about the usefulness of combining some specific services into an integrated services package, and then proceeding to identify and analyze the target groups, an IIPUP resource assessment and specific siting of the project.
4. Beginning with a specific project opportunity, moving to identify the specific target groups and to an IIPUP resource assessment, and then identifying the project's services package.

The focus of data collection and the level of detail required is likely to vary depending on the project development sequence being followed. Sequence 1 will require a broad-based national urban poverty assessment prior to identifying specific target groups and services packages. This approach to IIPUP is likely to require the most extensive data search.

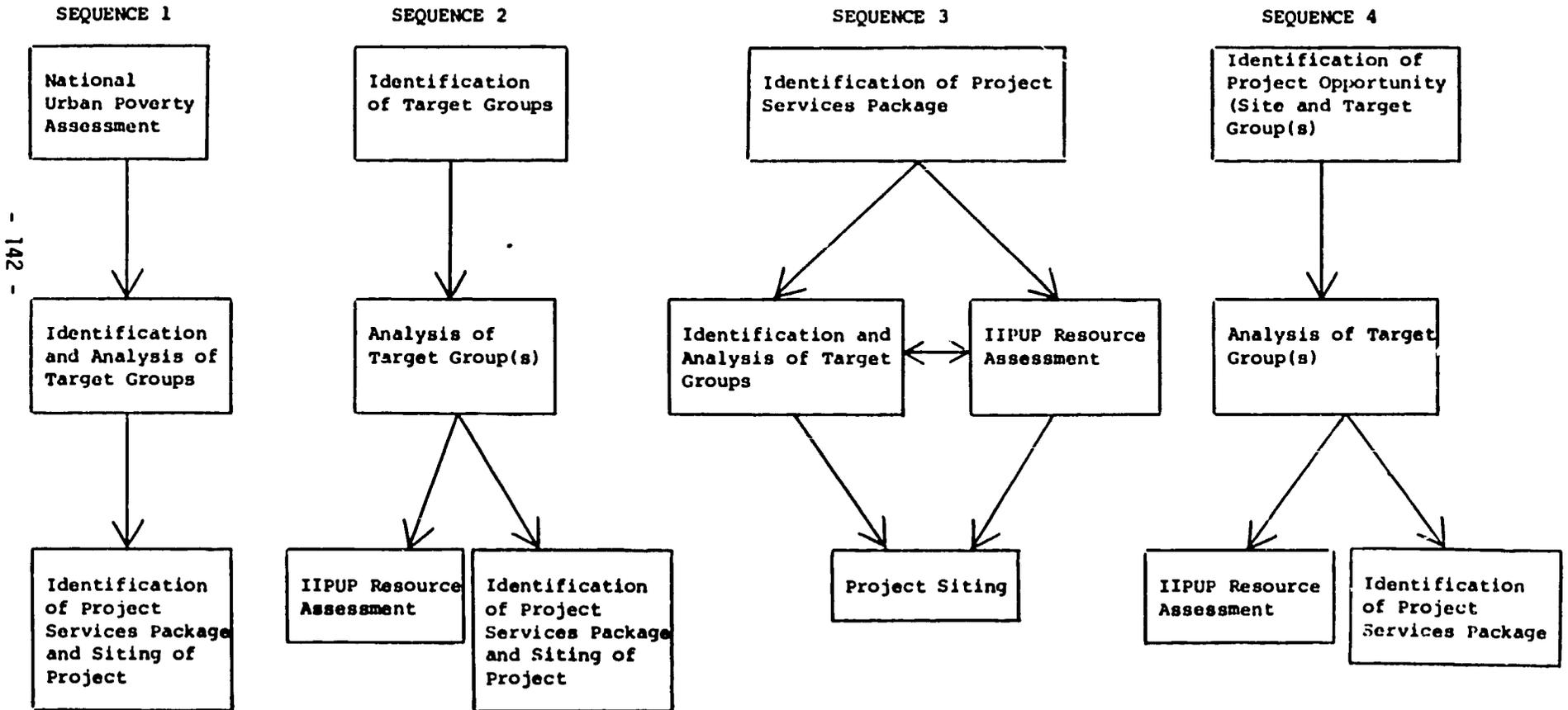
Sequence 2 begins with a target group already identified. Data collection can focus much more narrowly on that target group and its specific needs.

Sequence 3 begins with the identification of a potential services package. Data collection can concentrate on the existing capacity to deliver those services and on identifying those groups which would benefit from the services package.

In Sequence 4, a particular project opportunity is identified at the outset, including the specific target group(s) and site(s). In this case, again, data collection can focus on the specific needs of those groups and areas.

Although the focus is different in each sequence, in all cases data for project identification and design is required for two basic purposes. The first is to assess the needs, priorities and capacities

FIG. IV-1: ALTERNATIVE SEQUENCES OF IIPUP PROJECT IDEA DEVELOPMENT



of the urban poor groups (target group assessment). This will enable the target group(s) to be categorized according to their current consumption, capital needs and territorial orientation, as suggested in Part I, Section B. The second purpose is to assess the capacity of the services delivery system, including the financial and administrative capacities of the relevant agencies in each sector and the effectiveness of their outreach to the urban poor (IIPUP resource assessment).

Table IV-1 outlines each of these purposes in detail and shows how they differ in emphasis depending on the type of project sequence. Table IV-2 outlines the data needed to meet these purposes and shows how the focus of data collection for each purpose varies depending on project sequencing.

The data required for IIPUP project identification, design and evaluation can be divided into several categories as listed below:

Demographic Characteristics

- . Demographic characteristics
- . Social characteristics

Economic Characteristics

- . Income, net worth and expenditures
- . Personal credit

Housing

Health and Welfare

- . Food and nutrition
- . Water
- . Health and sanitation
- . Infant and child health
- . Family planning

Labor and Education

- . Employment
- . Vocational skills and training
- . Education

Transportation and Communications

- . Transportation
- . Communications

The data required in each category is listed in detail in Annex III. It contains the types of data that may be required for each category with brief explanations of why each type of data may be needed. In addition to the sectorial orientation of the list, the data needs are further disaggregated into data on (1) characteristics, needs and behavior of populations and subgroups; (2) cultural values

TABLE IV-1: PURPOSES OF DATA COLLECTION DEPEND ON PROJECT SEQUENCE

<p>Sequence 1: National Urban Poverty Assessment → Identification of Target Groups → Projects Identification</p>	<p>SEQUENCE 2: Identification of Target Groups → Project Identification and IIPUP Resources Assessment</p>	<p>SEQUENCE 3: Project Package Identification → Identification of Target Groups and IIP / Resource Assessment</p>	<p>SEQUENCE 4: Project Opportunity → Analysis of Target Groups → IIPUP Re- source Assessment and Services Package</p>
<p>Determine and evaluate national priorities, policies and plans affecting urban services delivery.</p> <p>Examine government structure, inter-agency cooperation, coordination of social service agencies.</p> <p>IIPUP RESOURCE ASSESSMENTS</p> <p>Study legal framework and financial and managerial resources in all human services sectors.</p> <p>Analyze level and distribution of social services to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • determine adequacy • identify underserved groups (equity) • examine effectiveness (impact and efficiency) <p>Identify potential target groups and project service areas at the national level.</p> <p>Intensive examination of potential target groups identified in national assessment focusing at regional or local level, to choose specific project services package and site(s).</p> <p>Identify the causes as well as the symptoms of poverty of the target groups being considered.</p> <p>IDENTIFYING AND ANALYZING TARGET GROUPS</p> <p>Analyze level and distribution of social services delivery:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • analyze unmet service needs of potential target groups • determine inequities in service delivery to these groups • examine effectiveness of delivery of specific services by sector to these groups, both in terms of impact (do services have a beneficial impact on individuals' needs?) and efficiency (are services being delivered more expensively than they could be?) <p>Identify situations (target groups, services package, and site) where services integration can improve adequacy, equity, impact and efficiency of services delivery, and where services package will impact causes as well as symptoms of poverty.</p>	<p>Determine and evaluate national priorities and plans affecting target group(s) that have been selected.</p> <p>Examine structure, cooperation and coordination of agencies that serve target groups that have been selected.</p> <p>As project package emerges, narrow focus to relevant sectors and determine legal framework and financial and managerial resources at national and regional level that will constrain project.</p> <p>Examination of the target group(s) selected in order to determine services package.</p> <p>Identify the causes as well as the symptoms of the poverty of the target groups selected.</p> <p>Analyze level and distribution of social services delivery to target group(s) that have been selected in order to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • determine adequacy and unmet needs • compare services delivery to chosen target group(s) with others (equity) • examine effectiveness (impact and efficiency) <p>Identify situations (services package and site) where services integration can improve adequacy, equity, impact and efficiency of services delivery to selected target groups and where the services package will impact causes as well as symptoms of poverty.</p>	<p>Determine and evaluate national priorities, policies and plans in the services areas selected.</p> <p>Examine structure, cooperation and coordination of agencies delivering services selected to determine extent of integration at the national level.</p> <p>Study the legal framework and financial and managerial resources in sectors selected to determine constraints on projects.</p> <p>Analyze level and distribution of services selected in order to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • determine adequacy • identify underserved groups • examine effectiveness (impact and efficiency) <p>Identify potential target groups that would benefit from proposed integrated service package.</p> <p>Intensive examination of potential target groups identified in national assessments and PADCC Guidelines, focusing at regional or local levels to choose target group(s) and specific site(s).</p> <p>Identify the causes as well as the symptoms of poverty of the target groups being considered.</p> <p>Compare potential target groups with respect to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • unmet service needs in particular sectors covered by service package selected • equity in delivery of services in sectors covered by chosen service package • effectiveness of delivery of services in sectors covered by chosen service package in terms of impact and efficiency <p>Identify situations (target group and site) where services integration can improve adequacy, equity, impact and efficiency of services delivery, and where the services package already selected will have impacts on the causes as well as the symptoms of poverty.</p>	<p>Determine and evaluate national priorities, policies and plans affecting target group(s) that have been selected.</p> <p>Examine structure, cooperation and coordination of agencies with programs that serve target group(s) that have been selected.</p> <p>As project package emerges, narrow focus to relevant sectors and determine legal framework and financial and managerial resources at national and regional level that will constrain project.</p> <p>Examination of the target group selected in order to determine services package.</p> <p>Identify the causes as well as the symptoms of poverty of the target groups selected.</p> <p>Analyze level and distribution of social services delivery to target group(s) that have been selected in order to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • determine adequacy and unmet needs • compare services delivery to chosen target group(s) with others (equity) • examine effectiveness (impact and efficiency) <p>Identify situations (services package) where services integration can improve adequacy, equity, impact and efficiency of services delivery and where the services package will have impacts on the causes as well as the symptoms of poverty.</p>

TABLE IV-2: DATA NEEDS DEPEND ON PROJECT SEQUENCE

<p>Sequence 1: National Urban Poverty Assessment → Identification of Target Groups → Projects Identification</p>	<p>SEQUENCE 2: Identification of Target Groups → Project Identification and IIPUP Resources Assessment</p>	<p>SEQUENCE 3: Project Package Identification → Identification of Target Groups and IIPUP Resource Assessment</p>	<p>SEQUENCE 4: Project Opportunity → Analysis of Target Groups → IIPUP Resource Assessment and Services Package</p>
<p>Collect national data pertaining to social services sectors:</p> <p>IIPUP RESOURCE ASSESSMENTS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • National priorities, policies and plans affecting urban services delivery to potential target groups. • Government structure, interagency cooperation, coordination of social service agencies. • Delivery of social services by sector in terms of adequacy, equity, impact and effectiveness. • National services expenditures by sector. • Economic and tax structure information. • Legal structure of social services sectors. • Managerial and technical capabilities in social services sectors. <p>Collect statistics identifying potential target groups:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • population trends • income distribution • employment data • consumption data and unmet service needs. <p>Supplement national data with interviews of national officials and experts about social services delivery.</p> <p>IDENTIFYING AND ANALYZING TARGET GROUPS</p> <p>Collect regional and local data on potential target groups:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Services delivery to potential target groups: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -- unmet needs -- equitable distribution -- impact • Existing services delivery systems: 	<p>Collect national data pertaining to social services needs of target group(s) selected:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • National priorities, policies and plans affecting urban services delivery to selected target group(s). • Government structure, interagency cooperation, coordination of social service agencies concerned with selected target group(s). • Delivery of social services by sector in terms of adequacy, equity, impact and effectiveness of services delivery to selected target group(s). • National services expenditures by sector to selected target group(s). • Effect of economic and tax structure on selected target group(s). • Effect of legal structure of social services sectors on target group(s) selected. • Effect of managerial and technical capabilities on target group(s) selected. <p>As services package emerges, obtain above data on more detailed basis for relevant sectors.</p> <p>Supplement national data with interviews of national officials and experts about social services delivery to selected target group(s).</p> <p>Collect regional and local data on selected target group(s):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Services delivery to selected target group(s): <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -- unmet needs -- equitable distribution -- impact • Existing services delivery systems to selected target group(s): 	<p>Collect national data pertaining to service package selected:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • National priorities, policies, plans affecting delivery of selected services to potential target groups. • Government structure, interagency cooperation, coordination of services in selected agencies. • Delivery of services selected to potential target groups in terms of adequacy, equity, impact and effectiveness. • National expenditures for services in package selected. • Effect of economic and tax structure on services in package selected. • Effect of legal structure of services package selected on social services delivery. • Managerial and technical capabilities of social services sectors selected. <p>As target groups emerge, obtain above data in a more detailed basis for target group(s). Data identifying potential target groups:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • population trends • income distribution • employment data • consumption data and unmet service needs. <p>Supplement national data with interviews of national officials and experts about social services delivery to selected target group(s).</p> <p>Collect regional and local data on services in package selected.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Services delivery to potential target groups: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -- unmet needs -- equitable distribution -- impact • Existing service delivery systems to potential target groups: 	<p>Collect national data pertaining to social services needs of target group(s) selected:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • National priorities, policies and plans affecting urban services delivery to selected target group(s). • Government structure, interagency cooperation, coordination of social service agencies concerned with selected target group(s). • Delivery of social services by sector in terms of adequacy, equity, impact and effectiveness of services delivery to selected target group(s). • National services expenditures by sector to selected target group(s). • Effect of economic and tax structure on selected target group(s). • Effect of legal structure on target groups selected. • Effect of managerial and technical capabilities on target groups selected. <p>As services package emerges, obtain above data on a more detailed basis for relevant sectors.</p> <p>Supplement national data with interviews of national officials and experts about social services delivery to selected target group(s).</p> <p>Collect <u>site</u> data on:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Services delivery to selected target groups at the site: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -- unmet needs -- equitable distribution -- impact • Existing services delivery systems at the site:

continued . . .

TABLE IV-2 (continued)

<p>Sequence 1: National Urban Poverty Assessment → Identification of Target Groups → Projects Identification</p>	<p>SEQUENCE 2: Identification of Target Groups → Project Identification and IIPUP Resource Assessment</p>	<p>SEQUENCE 3: Project Package Identification → Identification of Target Groups and IIPUP Resource Assessment</p>	<p>SEQUENCE 4: Project Opportunity → Analysis of Target Groups → IIPUP Re- source Assessment and Services Package</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -- administrative efficiency -- integration, coordination, coop- eration -- management and financial resources <p>Collect data on target groups that permit study of the causes as well as symptoms of poverty:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -- income -- employment and productivity -- household size and composition -- education and training -- health and nutrition -- water supply and sanitation -- housing -- transportation -- attitudes and opinions <p>Supplement secondary data with interviews of officials and experts, surveys of potential target groups and studies of local services delivery. (Data to be used in selecting target groups, identifying projects and as baseline information for evaluation.)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -- administrative efficiency -- integration, coordination, coop- eration -- management and financial resources <p>Collect data on target group(s) that permit study of the causes as well as symptoms of poverty:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -- income -- employment and productivity -- household size and composition -- education and training -- health and nutrition -- water supply and sanitation -- housing -- transportation -- attitudes and opinions <p>Supplement secondary data with interviews of officials and experts, surveys of target group(s) and studies of local services delivery to selected target group(s). (Data to be used in identifying projects and as baseline information for evaluation.)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -- administrative efficiency -- integration, coordination, cooperation -- management and financial resources <p>As target groups emerge, collect data that permit study of the causes as well as the symptoms of their poverty:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -- income -- employment and productivity -- household size and composition -- education and training -- health and nutrition -- water supply and sanitation -- housing -- transportation -- attitudes and opinions <p>Supplement secondary data with interviews of officials and experts, surveys of potential target groups and studies of local service delivery of services in package selected. (Data to be used in selecting target group(s) and as baseline information for evaluation.)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -- administrative efficiency -- integration, coordination, cooperation -- management and financial resources <p>Collect data on target group(s) at the site that permit study of the causes as well as symptoms of poverty:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -- income -- employment and productivity -- household size and composition -- education and training -- health and nutrition -- water supply and sanitation -- housing -- transportation -- attitudes and opinions <p>Supplement secondary data with interviews of officials and experts, surveys of target group(s) and studies of site services delivery to selected target group(s). (Data to be used in identifying projects services package and as baseline information for evaluation.)</p>

and beliefs, knowledge, practices (attitudes and opinions) of populations and subgroups; and (3) institutions. Data for the first two categories may be available from secondary sources, but it must frequently be collected from target group surveys. Data on service delivery can generally be collected from secondary sources and interviews with relevant officials. It may also be necessary to collect some data on service delivery from target group surveys as well as determine the actual accessibility of existing services to the target group.

Annex III is intended as a checklist to remind the user of all the types of data that may be required. In most cases, this checklist should be narrowed to a more limited set of data needs. For example, if it has already been determined that a project will focus on particular sectors, such as health services and education, particular attention should be paid to those parts of the list. However, even if a particular sector has already been selected, data will still undoubtedly be needed on the demographic, economic and social characteristics of the target population. Also, other parts of the checklist should be reviewed because of the strong interrelationships among the various aspects of poverty.

The scope of the data required also depends on the sequence of project idea development, as discussed above. If particular target groups have not yet been identified, the data may have to be national in scope. Where target groups have been selected, the user can refer to Table I-3 (Part I) to identify the project types most appropriate for those sectors. In most cases, sector specific data will have to be complemented with data on the demographic, economic and social characteristics of the target population.

The list in Annex III is intended as a reasonably comprehensive checklist. However, it may not be exhaustive. Each country and poverty situation has its own unique economic and cultural factors and problems, some of which may not have been anticipated in the preparation of this list.²

For project evaluation purposes, it is important that the data be selected which best measures the most significant impacts. The following list of AID evaluation criteria provides a useful starting point for reviewing data needs for evaluation.³

²A supplementary list of data needs can be found in E. Muller and D. Freedman, Standard Package of Demographic and Economic Questions, Population Studies Center, University of Michigan, 1976.

³AID Handbook on Evaluation, Appendix B, p. 167 (draft, 12/1/79).

- . Comprehensiveness and coverage. Data selected should be sufficiently comprehensive to illuminate all significant impacts.
 - . Validity. Each indicator should accurately reflect variations in the quantity, quality, intensity, etc. of the change.
 - . Objective verifiability. The indicator should be unambiguous and incontestable (i.e., it will receive the same interpretation by two or more observers).
 - . Time. Indicators should be able to reflect the appropriate time dimensions of the change.
 - . Corroboration. A limited amount of redundancy in indicators can serve to corroborate the measurement of change. Redundancy is insurance against the effects of unforeseen variables and misleading signals in the measurement process.
- Accessibility. Data must be obtainable easily or the indicator is not useful.

The specific purposes of evaluation are discussed more fully in Section D below.

B. ASSESSING EXISTING DATA

Having determined the data needed for project design and evaluation, a project officer must then decide whether to conduct a field survey. If so, he must determine the appropriate focus of that survey.

Surveys of the urban poor are particularly difficult and costly, especially in developing countries. Consequently, the decision whether to conduct a survey should be made carefully. Any survey contemplated should be highly focused on the information required to avoid excess costs and extraneous problems. The following steps should be followed to assess survey needs:

- Review existing secondary data to determine whether the data needed for project design or evaluation are already available. This review should entail an item by item comparison of a list of data needs (compiled using Annex III) with available data.
- Conduct selective interviews with service agency officials to complement secondary data and further meet identified data needs.
- Examine the quality of the available information that fits data needs. Is it reliable? How was it obtained? What is the extent of its coverage? How recent is it?
- If there are gaps in the data or if aspects of those data are inadequate, what will be the effect of these shortcomings on project design and evaluation? A survey may not be cost effective.
- Draw up a precise list of the data needed that cannot be obtained from secondary sources or interviews. Is every item essential?

Secondary information may be found in government reports or reports from human services agencies. Population data, socio-economic characteristics, service statistics, survey or census data and published data on expenditures may all be reported in tabular form. A census typically obtains information on household composition: age, sex and birthplace of each household member; social, economic and educational characteristics; religion; property; and health status. In the next few years, 95 countries plan to conduct censuses of population and/or housing. Many developing countries have at least one household survey or employment survey for the major

cities.⁴ Table IV-3 suggests some potential secondary data sources for three types of data needs.

In the majority of less developed countries, some secondary information and data exist pertaining to programs, plans, policies and human services needs. In addition, many countries may have primary data available including raw data tapes with information gathered directly from interviews, self-administered questionnaires and program records designed for specific purposes. These data can frequently be analyzed for different purposes and special tabulations obtained.

A project officer must assess the reliability, appropriateness and completeness of existing data. It is best to synthesize information and data from a variety of sources, thus offsetting the disadvantages of any one source (and implicitly one methodology), thereby providing a combination of sources upon which to base project design, implementation or evaluation.

Considerable secondary data exist on urban poverty in developing countries, and those data are improving. Nevertheless, the available data may be inadequate for project design and evaluation, so site surveys must be considered.

⁴ A useful bibliography of those surveys can be found in C. Chiswick and J. Kipnis, Size Distribution of Income: Bibliography of Basic Sources, Staff Working Paper 217, The World Bank, Washington, D.C., March 1978.

TABLE IV-3: SOURCES OF SECONDARY DATA

Data Needed	Sources
DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS	
Household characteristics	Census, recurring and special urban sample surveys.
Values, beliefs and attitudes	Academic studies, sample surveys.
ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS AND ACTIVITY	
	Finance Ministry, Planning Commission, relevant government departments, World Bank, U.S. AID and other international assistance agencies, commercial marketing firms.
SECTORAL CHARACTERISTICS AND ACTIVITY	
	Relevant department/ministry, sectoral offices of international assistance agencies, national professional associations.

C. CONDUCTING A FIELD SURVEY

1. SAMPLE DESIGN

A sample survey is an abbreviated alternative to collecting information on all members of a population. Sample IIPUP field surveys are likely to focus on one or more target groups to discover their characteristics and behavior as well as their attitudes, opinions, priorities and knowledge (as outlined in Annex III). A survey may be based on a probability or non-probability sample. A probability sample is selected according to statistical specifications requiring that every unit in the population have a known, non-zero chance of selection in the sample and that the probability of selecting every unit of the population be known in advance. In a non-probability sample, the selection of sample members depends on the judgment of the investigator. Non-probability samples rely on the hope that the sample members are fairly typical of the population.

Sample design using strict probability sampling methods can be difficult and costly, especially in the developing countries. For this reason, a shortcut technique has been developed for selecting samples for field surveys based on the interpretation of aerial photography. The use of this technique also generates a large amount of information about the living conditions of the target population which can be combined with more specific field survey data to construct a full profile of the target population.

a. The Interpretation of Aerial Photography⁵

The interpretation of aerial photographs, together with selected field sample surveys, has proven an excellent way to generate a citywide data base quickly for the development of IIPUP and shelter projects. The technique can be used to identify the physical characteristics of residential neighborhoods in a metropolitan area, such as house size, building materials and residential density. Social and economic data, such as income and rent levels, collected in traditional surveys is of little use for project design if it is not correlated with physical characteristics. This method enables data on physical characteristics to be correlated with overall housing market data.

⁵ This methodology is explained more fully in "Methodology for Aerial Photo Interpretation in Policy Formulation and the Identification and Design of Housing Projects for the Urban Poor of Developing Countries," CITRUD, Washington, D.C., 1978.

First, aerial photographs of the city are prepared if recent ones do not already exist. A scale of 1:8,000 enlarged to 1:4,000 is appropriate for analysis in most situations. The photographs are analyzed to identify a housing settlement typology to be used as a basis for subsequent field investigation of household characteristics. Most cities have identifiable areas with reasonably homogeneous house types and socioeconomic characteristics.

This is especially true in developing countries where squatter areas and other densely settled low income areas are easily visible. The area occupied by each type should be measured, the number of houses in each type counted and the land use parameters (lot size, street width, etc.) and construction materials prevalent in each area should be observed. The materials used for roofs can be easily identified from aerial photographs. Sometimes the sides of houses can also be identified. In any case, there is usually a high correlation between roof types and other construction materials used. This can be identified with limited field checking.

Next, maps should be prepared of the low income settlements identified and of population density by area and housing type. Population density will have to be estimated initially from existing data on families per dwelling and persons per family by income group. This can be cross-checked later in field sampling. Finally, a limited number of houses within each area should be identified for sample field surveys. This requires a judgment about which housing units appear most representative of their respective housing types. The entire analysis to this point can be accomplished for a city of one million inhabitants by a team of six persons (three skilled technicians, three trainees) in three to four weeks if satisfactory aerial photographs are available.⁶

With the population divided according to the physical characteristics of the type of housing it occupies, the results of the field survey for each housing type can be extrapolated to a citywide basis. The social and economic questions answered in the field surveys can also be easily correlated with the data on the physical characteristics of housing gathered from the aerial photographs.

⁶ See Plan de Developpement de Port-au-Prince et de sa Region Metropolitaine, Projet Nations Unies HA1/77/R-40, Vol. I, Plan de'Ensemble, Annex Methodologique, United Nations, New York, 1977. PADCO has also applied this methodology in Yaounde, Cameroon and in Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic.

The hypothesis underlying this methodology is that homogeneous housing types with similar physical characteristics (spatial organization, density, plot and house size, infrastructure level, construction materials, etc.) are inhabited by relatively homogeneous populations with similar socioeconomic characteristics. Although this sampling technique cannot guarantee the precision of more traditional statistical methods, it has been used with success in designing projects for the urban poor in many cities in the developing countries. It has yielded accurate enough data to make the necessary project design decisions.

This method is much more inexpensive and less time-consuming than more traditional techniques. In most cases, it is the only methodology that can be used by a developing country agency to generate a data base for IIPUP using its own staff. More sophisticated methodologies are likely to require outside consultants.

b. Traditional Probability Sampling Techniques

In some cases, it may be necessary to locate a representative sample of the target group(s) using more statistically accurate means. If enough information is available from secondary sources, it may be possible to design an efficient sample that concentrates surveys disproportionately in areas that are most likely to require IIPUP programs. When there is insufficient secondary data available to design an efficient probability sample to locate the IIPUP target populations, preliminary screening can be used to identify two or more strata in which the distribution of the target population substantially differs.

For example, assume that a survey is being conducted to evaluate the impact of IIPUP on a target group, defined as families and unrelated individuals residing in sub-standard housing. The urban area impacted by IIPUP is segmented geographically into neighborhoods or census enumeration districts. These neighborhoods should then be stratified based on the expected percentage of target group households. Let us assume that stratum A includes neighborhoods in which at least 50 percent of the households reside in sub-standard housing; stratum B, 25 to 50 percent; and stratum C, less than 25 percent. These strata should then be sampled at different rates to optimize the "yield" of sample members with respect to cost per completed interview. Preliminary screening is usually based on interviewer enumeration which is a labor intensive and time-consuming process. The urban area expected to include the target population is divided into segments for enumeration, either from existing maps or from preliminary listings of physical structures. Representatives of all or a sample of the dwellings in these segments are interviewed

to ascertain the presence of persons or groups of persons (e.g., households) that meet the target population criteria. Based on this information, the segments are stratified and sample members are selected for the main survey.⁷

There is a general problem with this method that applies to developed as well as to developing countries. Screening is bound to result in false positives (sample members erroneously included in the target population) and false negatives (sample members erroneously excluded). The probability of screening error increases with the complexity of the screening criteria. False positives can be identified during the main survey. However, false negatives go undetected unless a subsample of "ineligibles" is sampled for the main survey. The size of this subsample in relation to the total sample depends upon the magnitude of the problem.

2. FIELD SURVEYS IN THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES⁸

Interviews with members of the IIPUP target population must generally be conducted in person. These interviews are usually conducted in the sample member's residence, but they may be more conveniently scheduled at the respondent's place of work or other location.

a. The Principal Problems in Questionnaire Design

The most difficult task in designing questionnaires or interview schedules is developing concepts and measures that are equivalent in meaning across the cultural groups which are sampled. Four major areas of equivalence must be addressed in cross-cultural questionnaire design.⁹ These include (i) comparability in the meaning of the concepts (conceptual equivalence); (ii) equivalence in the operational definition of the concepts; (iii) linguistic equivalence through translation; and (iv) comparability in responses. These four areas are discussed below.

(i) Conceptual equivalence. Many concepts do not have the same meaning for different cultures. A concept such as "looking for work" may have a very different meaning for a recent rural migrant than for a long time urban resident.

⁷ Methods used to optimally allocate the sample are discussed in Kish, Chapter 11, 1966.

⁸ Several references are cited in the bibliography to this chapter which describe techniques for fielding surveys, training staff and coding the results. In this section, we concentrate on survey issues of particular interest in the developing countries.

⁹ Almond, G. and Verba, S., The Civic Culture, Princeton University Press, Princeton, N.J., 1961.

(ii) Operational definition of the concepts. Even if a concept has similar meanings to different cultures, it is extremely difficult to develop measures from personal interviews that are equivalent. For example, even a seemingly simple measure such as age may be very difficult to measure comparably in cultures where tribal "age grades" or relative ranking within a group are used.

Economic concepts and attitudes are especially difficult to compare for different cultural groups. For example, wealth is measured very differently in different societies.

(iii) Linguistic equivalence. Typically, questionnaires are designed in English or another language that is foreign to the target population, translated to a major regional language and further translated into local dialects. There are several potential problems with direct translations. The translations tend to be stilted and unnatural in the local setting. The translations may contain offensive words that touch local taboos, may include words for concepts outside of the respondent's experience or may include incongruous words that suggest concepts different from those intended.

A procedure used to minimize these problems is back translation. A bilingual person translates the questions from language A to language B, and another bilingual person independently translates the draft interview schedule back into language A. If the new version A is comparable to the original, the translation is reasonably accurate.

(iv) Comparability in responses. There may be differences in response styles that are determined by cultural norms, values, or social class. In one study in Malaysia, the frequency of "no answers" to precoded questions and the frequency of answers to open-ended questions varied significantly between Chinese and Indian respondents.¹⁰ In many cultures, there exists a "courtesy bias" in which the respondent gives answers to please the interviewer. The social desirability bias, which may also characterize different social classes in more ethnically homogeneous developed societies, may also be a problem. The respondent gives socially acceptable answers that he or she presumes to be proper. This type of bias is more of a problem for attitudinal than behavioral questions but may affect behavioral questions that indicate social status, such as income or employment status. In other cases, members of a cultural group may deliberately deceive an interviewer in order to outwit an outsider.

¹⁰ Warwick, Donald P. and Lininger, Charles A., The Sample Survey: Theory and Practice, McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1975.

These problems highlight the value of indigenous investigators to the survey. An indigenous investigator can bring to the questionnaire design process an understanding of the potential conceptual, operational, linguistic and response problems.

b. Small Interviews and Pretests

Unstructured field observations (of physical characteristics) and interviews with a small sample representing the target population can help in questionnaire design. The main intent of the interview is to obtain the respondent's ideas, evaluations, descriptions, attitudes and behavior with respect to particular concepts. This method provides the researcher with insights to the population's values and attitudes and provides indications on how people use language to express these values and attitudes.

Detailed questionnaires should be pretested prior to being applied to the entire sample population. Such pretests should test the content of the questionnaires with respect to respondent burden (the length and difficulty of the responses required), field procedures, such as optimal times for interviewing and problems in locating respondents, formatting, coding and data processing.

The size of the pretest may be constrained by cost and the time schedule. If there are no major concepts or procedures to be formally tested, the results of the pretest can be evaluated during a debriefing which includes investigators, project evaluators, survey supervisors, interviewers and, in some cases, respondents. A pretest of under 50 observations should be sufficient. If there is a formal test of two or more alternative methods of measurement, data collection or field procedures, a larger sample is required. The size of the larger sample should depend on the variation in the data to be collected and the desired precision of any statistical tests to be performed.

The questionnaire should be evaluated for clarity, sensitivity, complexity and relevance. Is a question ambiguous or does it take too long to get to the point? Are some questions too sensitive or embarrassing for local traditions, superstitions, taboos or politics? Are questions insensitive to local status distinctions? The order of questions is important. Are the sensitive questions located at a point in the interview at which the respondent has developed trust? Can the impact of the sensitive questions be moderated by being placed after less sensitive warm-up questions? Do questions pose options or situations which are outside the respondent's experience?

c. Encouraging Respondent Cooperation and Accessibility

Non-completion of interviews due to the sample members' refusal to participate or because of inaccessibility will bias the results of

the survey if the missed respondents differ systematically from those who complete interviews. There are several precautions that can be taken to minimize this problem. These include presurvey publicity, an appropriate introduction, privacy and confidentiality.

(i) Presurvey publicity. Publicity is desirable if the subject of the survey can be presented as beneficial, or, at least, non-threatening to the community. The survey should not be construed as a tool for use in taxation, conscription, political surveillance or prosecution. The publicity campaign may include a press release (a valuable device for institutional populations), radio or television advertisements or an explanatory pamphlet which the interviewer can leave with the respondent (if literacy is moderately high).

(ii) Introduction. The introduction to the interview should include information on the subject and sponsor of the survey. These topics should be presented in a brief and honest description if the topic is not sensitive or threatening and the sponsor is well regarded. A more diffuse approach may be required for possibly threatening subjects or if the sponsor is associated with a foreign or unpopular government. In a fertility study in Jamaica in which the government was not mentioned in the pretest introduction, there were positive results.¹¹ However, a new government which was perceived to be more favorably disposed toward the lower income sample, came into power after the pretest. Respondents were then disturbed at the omission of government sponsorship.

In some rural studies, it is also necessary to get the sponsorship of the village headman, tribal elders or an important landlord to encourage cooperation of sampled respondents. This may be less necessary in urban areas, but in some cases it may be desirable to involve local influential persons, such as religious or political leaders, in the survey.

In some surveys in developing countries, there is suspicion or superstition about the interviewer's motives. This includes fears about the effects of medical services, changes in taxation policies and fulfillment of religious prophecies. Another problem in gaining access is resistance resulting from low opinions that respondents may have of their own status or abilities. For example, women may wish to defer to their husbands or young adults to their elders. It is important to be aware of these potential problems before the survey begins so that measures can be taken to allay respondents' fears.

¹¹ Back, Kurt W. and Stycos, J. Mayone, The Survey Under Unusual Conditions: Methodological Facets of Jamaica Human Fertility Investigation, Society for Applied Anthropology, Ithaca, N.Y., 1959.

(iii) Privacy and confidentiality. Confidentiality is generally stressed during the introduction to western surveys. This may not be necessary or even desirable in some developing countries which do not share western notions of privacy. An extreme example of this problem is illustrated by the Jamaican study cited earlier. During the pre-test, interviewers were physically threatened in rural areas after stressing confidentiality. The residents did not value privacy and associated the interviewers' concern with witchcraft.

Although privacy is generally preferable during the interview for most attitudinal and many behavioral questions, it will often not be possible and, in some situations, not desirable. For example, persons other than the sample respondent may be able to provide better information for household income.

Although interviewers sometimes may use their ingenuity in getting rid of unwanted third parties, there are many situations where this is not possible. Husbands may refuse to let their wives be interviewed in person. The mother-in-law may insist that only she can speak on child rearing. In some situations, household members may be interviewed as a group.

(iv) Scheduling interviews. In any cultural setting, it is essential to know when respondents are likely to be available. The survey director and supervisors must be aware of respondent work schedules, marketing hours and times when interviewing may be unsafe. It may also be useful to schedule interviews away from the home at a time and location which is convenient for the respondent if privacy is necessary for the interview.

d. The Cost of Surveys

The cost of a survey includes personnel, other direct and indirect (overhead) costs and any fees charged by participating organizations. Surveys are often underbudgeted, especially when surveying populations whose responses are difficult to predict. It is important for all participating organizations to review project costs regularly and discuss problems that may revise the expected cost or schedule of the survey. These problems may include a greater than expected number of pretests to develop instruments, unexpectedly high screening costs to locate the target population, difficulty in recruiting or training staff, interviewing problems that result in low interviewer productivity or unexpected problems in processing or cleaning the data.

Table IV-4 provides a list of the types of costs which should be considered in survey design.¹² However, each survey may have unique costs which must be added to this list.

The interviewing of urban poverty groups is very difficult in western as well as in developing countries. Despite careful budgeting, unexpected problems in the conduct of IIPUP surveys could result in substantial cost overruns in order to salvage the survey. In the United States, some important surveys of urban poverty groups have resulted in additional costs of as much 100 percent above the original estimates. Program officers should approach surveys with an awareness of the potential costs and the risks of obtaining incomplete or biased data. These considerations must be balanced against the potential value of data obtained through surveys.

3. IMPACT EVALUATION

Since IIPUP activities are usually intended to extend over a period of several years, it will be necessary to set up a monitoring and evaluation system. Where IIPUP programs are of a sufficient scale, a monitoring and evaluation unit can be established within the agency in charge of IIPUP. Monitoring and evaluation systems differ, but they have the common purpose of documenting the experience gained from projects so that the planning and implementation of future projects can be improved.

Monitoring is a system of reporting on actual progress within a program or project. It is a management tool and is a more routine exercise. It is usually done within the implementing agencies. Monitoring systems should be concerned with measuring actual progress against planned schedules and identifying the reasons for any substantial delay in the program. Monitoring should also keep track of actual versus planned expenditures, noting the reasons for any overruns or shortfalls in estimates. Other easily measurable indicators such as the level of community participation or the rate of attendance at training programs can also be monitored where appropriate.

The monitoring system adopted should be kept as simple as possible to limit the management resources required. Only the most salient information need be tabulated. This should be done in aggregated indices at reasonable intervals.

Evaluation provides an analysis of the effects of a project on the target population after the project is executed. It tests the success of the project in achieving its initial goals and purposes. The results of the evaluation should be used to improve the policy, planning and implementation of future projects. It is often preferable for evaluations to be carried out by outside agencies such as universities or consultants. Evaluations can be extensive and costly

¹² Warwick and Lininger, op. cit., pp. 33-34

TABLE IV-4: CHECKLIST OF FIELD SURVEY COST COMPONENTS

1. Salaries and Other Personnel Costs

(a) Administrative staff: project director for general administration and coordination and others as needed for supervising the work in the study. Estimates should include time for planning and reviewing the literature, sampling, questionnaire design and pretest(s), interviewing, coding preparation, editing and coding, consistency checks and "data cleaning" tabulations, analysis and report writing and publication.

(b) Clerical staff: secretaries, sampling clerks, accountants, recordkeepers, etc.

(c) Field staff: field supervisors, interviewers, drivers, others needed to collect the data. Budget estimates should allow for training and practice interviews, as well as any field work that may be needed for the sample.

(d) Consultants: general consultation and specialists such as sampling experts and computer programmers needed only in certain stages of the study.

2. Travel Costs and Living Expenses in the Field

The travel costs and maintenance of study directors, supervisors, samplers, and interviewers during sampling; pilot tests of the questionnaire; interviewers' training; and actual field work. Estimates should include transportation to group meetings and the costs of maintaining the staff while away from home (per diem).

3. Services

(a) Printing of questionnaire and instructions.

(b) Vehicle operation and maintenance; insurance.

(c) Coding of the data: personnel.

(d) Machine consistency checking and corrections.

(e) Data processing: personnel, computer time or other equipment expenses.

(f) Publication costs: editing, typing, printing.

4. Equipment and Supplies

Vehicles (including mileage charges by the staff for the use of their own cars as well as rentals in the field); office equipment; paper; printing the questionnaire and miscellaneous printing and

TABLE IV-4 (continued)

reproduction costs; telephones and other communications expenses.

5. Other Costs

(a) Overhead (indirect costs of maintaining the buildings, administrative staff, library, auditing, etc.).

(b) Publicity for the study; conferences during the planning stages or later to discuss the results.

(c) Transportation of materials and equipment to and from field sites.

(d) Rent for temporary office space during field work.

efforts. The cost of evaluations should be kept in proportion to the scope of IIPUP programs and projects. Given the limited scope of many of the initial IIPUP efforts, the scale of evaluation must be held to reasonable levels. Evaluations can be limited in their complexity to reduce the time and expense required. They can also be undertaken on a limited scale only on selected projects which have particular characteristics of interest.

Evaluations should measure the impact of the project in terms of its original goals and purposes (see Part I, Section A). Accurate indicators will be required to measure progress towards these goals and purposes.

Indicators of the goals might include the daily consumption of water or the caloric intake of the target group. Indicators of improved asset positions might be home ownership or increased land values. Measures of intermediate purposes will also be important. These might include the levels of employment and incomes of the target groups and the availability of essential goods and services. The AID logical framework matrix provides a useful format for establishing evaluation criteria and means of measurement. Table IV-5 shows the goals and purposes of an IIPUP project with small scale enterprise assistance in Tunisia and how they are to be measured.

In order to be able to evaluate the project, it is necessary to select appropriate indicators before initiating the project and gathering baseline data. This should be done at the time of initial data collection and surveying. Baseline data may be available from secondary sources; it may have to be collected from the participants.

An evaluation compares the outcome of the project, as measured by the selected indicators, to what the outcome would have been in the absence of the project. The key indicators are studies using one or more of the following comparisons:

- . The comparison of before and after program situations.
- . The comparison of individuals randomly assigned to the project to individuals not participating.
- . The comparison of indicators from the project area with indicators from areas that did not experience the project.
- . The comparison of indicators on groups of individuals who experienced the project with groups who did not (whose selection cannot be purely random).

TABLE IV-5: THE GOALS AND PURPOSES OF SMALL-SCALE ENTERPRISE ASSISTANCE IN THE TUNISIAN IIPUP PROGRAM

<u>GOALS</u>	<u>MEASURES OF GOAL ACHIEVEMENT</u>
● Improved viability of small business.	● Reduced business failure in project area.
● Increased incomes.	● Business and household incomes in project area.
● Increased employment.	● Levels of employment in project area. Number of people employed by small enterprise.
<u>PURPOSES</u>	<u>CONDITIONS THAT WILL INDICATE PURPOSE HAS BEEN ACHIEVED</u>
● Establishment of revolving loan fund.	● At least 200 loans for small scale enterprises issued per year in the project area; minimal default rate.
● Establishment of technical assistance for small scale enterprises in:	● Trained technicians within the Labor Office providing regular technical assistance as required.
-- accounting	
-- inventory management	
-- marketing	

a. Comparison of Before and After Situations

The simplest type of evaluation is a before and after comparison which measures the impacts of the project on the target group. Such a comparison requires that adequate baseline data be collected in advance of the project for the types of indicators suggested above. These indicators should be reassessed at appropriate times after the project. In the case of a project which involves physical improvements, such an assessment should take place immediately after the improvement and again after a period of two to three years.

Before and after comparisons may be sufficient to assess many of the types of improvements brought by IIPUP. For example, an increase in the consumption of water after the installation of a water system would probably not have taken place without the project. Changes in other indicators such as land value increases or higher incomes may not be entirely due to the IIPUP project. For this reason, more complex evaluation systems may be required.

b. The Comparison of Individuals Randomly Assigned to the Project with Individuals Not Participating

Errors may arise in an evaluation if the project results are compared to situations using a methodology that is either biased or inefficient. An evaluation is biased if there are systematic differences between the two situations or groups being compared other than those related to experiencing or not experiencing the program. An evaluation is inefficient if there are so many random differences between comparison groups that there is a high probability of obtaining a spurious result.

Bias in an evaluation can be minimized if participants are assigned randomly to the program and a control group is maintained of individuals who do not participate. Random control group selection minimizes the effects on the evaluation of extraneous factors.

Random assignment does not necessarily eliminate inefficiency, however, for although there may be no systematic differences in the two groups, there may be a substantial degree of random difference. The random element can be reduced by simply increasing the sample size in the evaluation because random assignment is the most desirable evaluation from the point of view of bias, its advantage from the standpoint of efficiency depends upon how many observations can be examined, which is in turn a function of the evaluation budget.

Although purely random assignment can provide the least biased evaluation, it is neither possible nor desirable in most IIPUP situations.

IIPUP projects which are concentrated in specific sites cannot select individual participants randomly. By their nature, they must cover the entire site. Random selection and the maintenance of control groups is time-consuming and expensive and probably not affordable in most IIPUP situations. It would also be difficult to deny services to the control group. For these reasons, somewhat less precise evaluation methodologies may be more appropriate for most IIPUP situations.

c. The Comparison of Indicators from the Project Area with Indicators from Other Areas

Because many IIPUP programs will be located in specific sites, it is possible to undertake quasi-experimental evaluations that approximate random assignment. The approach is to select control sites that are similar to the IIPUP program sites. Project participants are randomly selected from the control sites. The World Bank is using this type of evaluation for many of its slum improvement projects.

It is important that the control sites selected be well removed from areas in which the program is taking place. If the sites overlap, two kinds of problems could arise. First, individuals in the control sample may have had the opportunity to participate in some aspects of the program but decided not to participate. This could result in a selectivity bias. Second, a program concentrated in a geographic site may have effects on the behavior of nearby non-participants. For example, a program that provides job training to some residents of the program site may reduce the supply of unskilled labor in the entire area and raise the wage rates for unskilled labor. This may encourage nearby residents who otherwise would not be in the labor force to look for work (e.g., women).

Control sites should be identified that match the program site as closely as possible along important dimensions of target group and area characteristics. Then, each site should be given a selection probability in proportion to its similarity to the program site, and control sites should be randomly selected. Next, the population of each control site should be examined and each individual assigned a selection probability according to the individual's similarity to program participants. The control sample should then be selected randomly with probability proportional to similarity to the experimental sample.

This method produces two groups that will probably not differ in important ways. Any remaining observed differences can be accounted for in the evaluation analysis.

d. The Comparison of Indicators on Groups of Individuals Who Experienced the Project with Groups Who Did Not

This type of evaluation is similar to the one described above. It is used by the World Bank for the evaluation of sites and services projects. A control group is selected randomly from non-participants from the same sites from which participants are selected. Thus, control groups come from the same low income population as the participants sample.

As discussed above, this type of evaluation may result in a biased evaluation for two reasons. First, because the members of the control group may have had an opportunity to become members of the participant group, either through their own choice or by being chosen for services, the possibility of a selectivity bias exists.¹³ Second, because the control group lives in the same neighborhoods as the participant group, the possibility exists that they would be affected by the project through the kinds of spill-over effects described above. For example, the price on availability of housing, building materials or construction labor may change in the site as a result of the project.

This type of evaluation is somewhat short of pure random assignment but maintains many of the advantages of more statistically accurate methodologies. It provides a good compromise between limited evaluation resources and the realities of operating in the developing countries on the one hand, and requirements of accuracy in evaluation on the other.

¹³ Early tabulations from the San Salvador site indicate that indeed the characteristics of the control group differ from that of the participant group. The latter sample has higher income, better motivation, more education, etc.