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income Settlements**

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INTRODUCTION

Africa has the highest rate of urbanisation in the world. The unprecedented rate of growth, accompanied by worsening conditions in African towns and cities, presents a major challenge to national, regional and local governments in housing and providing services to the urban population. The scale and escalation of housing, health and environmental problems in African cities is vast, rapid and complex. It leads to spatial discontinuities in the way shelter and services are provided, typically creating 'cities of the rich and cities of the poor'.

These issues, and ways to meet the challenge, were the focus of the Africa Roundtable on Upgrading Low-income Settlements, held from October 3-5 2000, in Johannesburg, South Africa. Participants from over 16 African countries, from Pakistan and Brazil, from international donor, development and aid agencies, along with non-governmental and community organisations, all came together to share experiences, report on projects and seek solutions in improving the living conditions of the urban poor.

This report sets out the discussions at the conference, highlights lessons and good practice in urban upgrading, and suggests future actions and strengthening the practitioners network in Africa.

WHAT IS URBAN UPGRADING?

Upgrading involves the provision of basic infrastructure to slum settlements as well as legalising or regularising insecure or unclear land tenure.

Problem statement

In Africa today about 310 million people live in urban areas; the continent has an urban growth rate of 4.4% per year. In 25 years half of Africa's total population will be living in cities, and most of them will be poor. How will Africa deal with this future?

Urban population growth is outstripping the capacity of city governments to cope. Services have not expanded to meet the challenge of increasing population size and existing services are overused and inadequately maintained. As a result 50% of Africa's urban population currently live in squatter or slum settlements.

The aim of upgrading is to provide affordable services and shelter to the residents of squatter settlements, to regularise their tenure and to improve their living conditions. In the past this was done with minimum involvement of the beneficiaries, in projects that were proved to be economically unsustainable.

The challenge is to upgrade settlements in a way that lends to social environmental and economic sustainability at appropriate standards and in a participatory fashion.

Technical Responses

By the year 2020 the majority of the urban poor in Africa will be living in slums

The technical responses to slum and squatter settlements have changed considerably since the 1960s. Initial responses ranged from demolition, removal and relocation to clearance and redevelopment in high-rise buildings. Many such projects have proved too expensive, unsustainable and socially disruptive. Upgrading – providing basic services, increasing security of tenure, using appropriate standards, working in a participative fashion - represents a more affordable and socially acceptable way of improving the lives of the urban poor.

WHY UPGRADE?

Consider the cost of the illnesses that are caused by poor quality water, the loss of tax revenues from large tracts of valuable land. Consider the opportunity cost of foregone investment in these areas that would otherwise take place within these communities and the loss to the urban fabric of a city. It is pretty clear that the financial and economic returns of these projects as well as the social returns are amongst the highest

Upgrading creates an improved healthy and safe living environment without displacement. It involves improving or installing new infrastructure including water supply, sanitation, waste collection, roads, drainage, and lighting.

Upgrading is associated with higher living standards and lower levels of mortality and morbidity, lower levels of crime and increased private investment, all of which improve city dwellers' standards of living and make positive contributions to the national economy.

KEY EMERGING ISSUES

The conference highlighted key issues to be dealt with in any upgrading programme:

Institutional Arrangements

Institutional arrangements will differ according to location, tradition and existing institutions.

A major institutional challenge is the compartmentalised responsibility for the different sector deliveries. Poverty is multi-dimensional and cuts across a range of sectors. The poor experience poverty in an integrated way, not in sectors.

Institutional priorities should include:

- Setting up a **clear and transparent regulation system**. All users and role players must implicitly understand the various regulations in operation.
- **Co-ordination** between implementing agents and the harmonisation of systems.
- Clearly defining the **responsibilities** of each stakeholders and promoting a **consultative and interactive process** that enables everyone to give their point of view. This will only be effective if there is capacity building at all levels, which should include communication, education and information programmes which clarify roles

responsibilities, and legal frameworks so that everyone can understand the programmes that are going to be undertaken.

- Putting incentives in place to **encourage private investment** in upgrading projects and to encourage the mobilisation of local resources. In addition, initiatives that allow local authorities to raise their own funds and tap into private sector resources should be pursued.

Financing and Cost recovery

Get the finances right. The best programme in the world will not help people if it is stopped in its tracks for lack of finance while waiting for some subsidy that will never materialise

Sustainability is a key issue in upgrading projects. If this is to be achieved it is critical to ensure that the level of assumed budgetary support really is affordable and realistic on an annual basis. In terms of this, consider the following areas:

- **Costs and affordability** – Should the poor pay for full cost recovery while residents of wealthier areas have subsidised services and do not pay full cost? If subsidies are to be applied, it is necessary they are targeted to reach low-income households. The costs of any upgrading project should be considered in terms of: capital costs, operational costs and maintenance costs.
- **Standards** – In many cases, official standards (legislation on land and housing, planning, building regulations, engineering and design) bear little relation to local needs and possibilities. They are too often high and unaffordable. While some standards are necessary, they must not be applied in a rigid or inappropriate fashion. Community participation is key in developing standards. These must match people's expectations and requirements and must be linked with the communities' ability to pay. Technical work and construction should not begin until the community is fully on board and have agreed on standards.

Water and Sanitation

Water is life, sanitation is health

Upgrading programmes should provide for the integrated planning and management of water and sanitation services.

In some cases, private sector independent providers have filled the gap left by municipality departments who have been unable to provide a universal service to the poor. There is, however, a legitimate fear that this may lead to high prices and queries have been raised on quality of provision. Consumer or civic associations can play a role in the monitoring of water quality.

Principles in this regard are as follows:

- Standards for water and sanitation should be **affordable and sustainable**. The traditional engineering standards for pipe size or bulk supply capacity are not always necessary.
- Communities must be **empowered** to participate in setting priorities for water and sanitation service provision. They need to be given information and involved in the planning process.

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- **Regulatory arrangements** should be established to monitor and ultimately improve the quality of services provided by alternative providers
 - Privatisation only makes sense if it **increases** efficiency and equitable provision.
 - Public sector investment in sanitation is still very limited, and should be given **equal status** to water.

Land Tenure and Security

The Global Campaign for Secure Tenure identifies the provision of secure tenure as essential for a sustainable shelter strategy, and as a vital element in the promotion of Housing Rights. The strategy recognises that the urban poor provide most of their shelter themselves, and is aims to promote the rights and interests of the poor, and notably the rights and role of women

Security of tenure is central in upgrading programmes. Upgrading solutions should consider application of various relevant types of tenure, and not just focus on freehold. The major issues include:

- **Title and land allocation** – the need to develop surveying methods, allocation processes as well as titling and registration facilities. Any programme should investigate how land can be used as collateral and how land markets function in shack settlements.
- **Human rights and housing rights** must be the guiding principles. In this regard, policy makers and programme designers need to consider gender issues, the monitoring of evictions and relocations as well as the provision of social amenities in upgrading.
- The need to explore a **variety of tenure options**, including the level of tenure security required, and rental options.

Linkage to other services

Upgrading is about creating new living conditions, targeted at the urban poor. This needs to be done in a comprehensive and multi-sectoral way where service provision should be coordinated and integrated. Policy makers and programme designers need to consider more than shelter and services at the planning stage – for example, issues such as employment generation, support to small enterprise, encouraging finance and savings schemes, provision of social and community facilities.

The youth

50% of the residents of most informal settlements in Africa are under the age of 18. Policy makers involved in upgrading informal settlements must provide suitable facilities for children and young people.

KEY LESSONS AND PRINCIPLES FOR DESIGNING A PROGRAMME

Recent upgrading programmes and projects in African cities have highlighted important lessons for successful urban upgrading: that a **comprehensive approach** is necessary, involving networking with a broad range of local partners, the need for **participation** from the user group and a **bottom up approach** which includes training and skills development in the process; and introducing measures to **prevent new slum**

settlements from developing while the existing ones are being upgraded. These and other lessons will be explored in more detail below.

Participation

Participation is not just about calling people to meetings, but must involve giving them the voice and the capacity to participate in the decision making process

Potential beneficiaries must be involved and must have a say in what gets done and how it gets done. Participating in upgrading programmes strengthens the community's voice and ability to transform the living environment. It can also build capacity of community democratic structures, allowing them to play a greater role in future urban development processes.

- **Capacity building and information dissemination:** To ensure that their participation is meaningful, beneficiaries need access to information on what is planned, alternatives and implications. Programme design should allow for meetings, venues and literature.
- **Realistic and viable alternatives** must be given to allow community members to choose the schemes and programmes that suit them.
- Mechanisms must be created which allow for **local level initiatives** and **local knowledge** to be incorporated into the design and implementation of upgrading programmes.
- A range of local **partnership** agreements between local authorities, communities and the private sector can be made to facilitate participation.

Fight against poverty

We cannot upgrade informal settlements and develop them, we cannot have sustainable action, if we do not place these programmes as part of a multi-dimensional strategy for poverty eradication. If households cannot pay water supplies, it's not because they need subsidies, it is because they lack income

Poverty is becoming increasingly urbanised. Upgrading programmes need to involve **poverty reduction mechanisms** to ensure long-term sustainability, by providing the community with the assets that respond to their most basic needs.

- The financing systems in many countries are geared only towards commercial activities that do not allow financing the struggle against poverty. For this reason, initiatives such as the Mauritanian Fight against Poverty programme introduced private investment funds to encourage financial institutions to invest in upgrading programmes, by decreasing their risk.
- Local government can **promote local economic development** through mechanisms such as sub-contracting, use of local labour, and local materials procurement. Attention should be paid to how these contracts are awarded.
- Local formal or informal economic activity in settlements – small enterprises, trading, hawking, survivalist activities – should be **accommodated in the programme design**, and where feasible, enhanced.

Build Political will

In Mauritania urban upgrading is supported by very strong political will. The Prime Minister himself chairs the committee preparing the urban upgrading project, with a permanent secretariat and technical sub-committees linking all involved institutions.

Many practitioners believe that urban upgrading has not received the attention it has deserved over the past decade, and has been described as an 'orphan of resources'. To counter this there is a need to gain support for upgrading from senior politicians, which must be demonstrated at all relevant levels of government (national/federal, region/state/provincial, and local). This must be followed up by decentralisation of departments, offices and authority, and deconcentration of technical skills and capacity from the centre.

Partnership and obligations

As part of the decentralisation programme in Cote d'Ivoire, central government transferred certain powers and capacities to the local governments. Projects were initiated where community structures worked together with the local authority to implement upgrading programmes. This partnership was only possible when there were well-defined obligations for the government, for the local government and the community.

Partnerships at all levels must be truly equal and inclusive, involving the structures of the public and private sectors, and civil society. They require well-defined obligations, requiring each partner to assume specific functions and carry out tasks in line with the demands of the project. It is essential that partners share power over projects, and build true involvement in decision-making.

Flexibility

There is no recipe; we need to look at upgrading on a case-to-case basis. It's all about networking and exchanging information, knowledge and best practices.

There is no one model for urban upgrading or a one-size-fits-all upgrading theory. Solutions must be relevant to African culture, to African history and to African civil society, and to the prevailing social and economic circumstances for the city and community in question.

ACTIONS FOR URBAN UPGRADING IN AFRICA

The actions that can be taken by African countries involved in upgrading programmes are as follows:

1. Adopt the **principles** as outlined in this report, and apply them in programme and project design and implementation.
2. Seek to **replicate** project approaches and experiences from the local to the regional and national levels
3. Appraise and use the approaches and the **World Bank Urban Upgrading Toolkit** on CD, according to local circumstances

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4. Establish a **network** - Urban upgrade partners need to work with the World Bank, but more importantly with each other. Municipalities, local utility companies, the private sector, civic groups, NGO's and donors must all join forces. Partnerships are no longer just public-private partnerships but a trilateral partnering of the public sector, the private sector and civil society.

Network actions

A key outcome of the Roundtable was the call to build up a network of practitioners, using the Cities Alliance coalition as a model, and a point of connection.

Set up Cities Alliance Africa

The Cities Alliance is a global coalition of cities and their development partners designed to achieve the promise of well-managed cities.

The Alliance was launched in 1999 by the World Bank and UNCHS (Habitat) and aims to improve the efficiency and impact of urban development cooperation by improving the living conditions of the urban poor and supporting urban regeneration initiatives. The Alliance has a focus on the urban poor, aims to create an inclusive urban citizenship.

Africa needs to have a forum in which experience on cities development could be shared. This would allow for an exchange between professionals in the various countries where each could share their experiences in sectors such as urban services, urban upgrading and development, land issues and problems, finance issues, institutional design issues, as well as ongoing training issues. Cross border and adjacent country linkages could also be facilitated through this network, which could become a forum for the sharing of information on similar issues experienced in adjacent countries.

APPENDIX ONE : SOME EXAMPLES OF UPGRADING PROJECTS

Brazil: Guarapiranga

Implementing a large-scale programme. Resettlement, contracting out, implementation scale and costs

The Guarapiranga Basin covers an area of 643 square kilometres in the southern section of Greater Sao Paulo. It is one of the poorest sections of the city of Sao Paulo, where over 70 % of the population earn under 5 times the minimum wage. Greater Sao Paulo has a population of 10 million inhabitants. 450 000 people live in the Guarapiranga basin, of which approximately 110 000 live in slum districts and a further 140 000 in illegal allotments.

Initiated in December 1992 over US \$300 million has been invested in this project, with US\$ 119 million from the World Bank. A total of 250 000 families will benefit directly from this upgrading project.

The Problem: Major slum settlements are located alongside the Guarapiranga reservoir tributaries, providing very poor living conditions and jeopardising water quality. The lake is a major supply of water for the city of Sao Paulo. Approximately 250 000 residents reside in slum or illegal allotments in the Guarapiranga basin. 70% of households living in the catchment area are very poor, earning no more than five times the minimum wage. There are problems of high effluent flow into the reservoir, dispersed sources of pollution, contamination of the water table, erosion, destabilisation of the hillsides and the resulting health problems and environmental degradation.

Project Aims: The overall aim of the programme was to restore the water quality of this reservoir and to upgrade the quality of life of the thousands of residents of the basin area by improving environmental conditions and developing new mechanisms for the rates management of the basin.

Activities: The main activities included the installation of new water and sewerage systems and to connect these into the existing systems, the installation of a water drainage system, and the opening up and repairs to the

main road system to ensure that refuse collection vehicles have access. The geotechnical and flood risks were also a major focus.

It was necessary to remove some dwellings which presented a severe environmental risk or which had to be removed to make way for works. Approximately 12 500 people were resettled. New housing units were allocated in the slums themselves or in complexes outside the water basin area. Temporary dwellings were also provided for the duration of the project.

Social activities involved the identification of local community leaders, a presentation of the programme and the various projects.

Lessons: Some of the lessons which the Guarapiranga programme holds are as follows:

- The **environment** as a central issue providing the trigger for urban upgrading. This allowed for a **clearly delimited action area** with **clear-cut and well-defined objectives**.
- **Multi-sectoral actions** based on **institutional integration** as a new culture driving public policies. This involved joint actions with a range of different partners.

Swaziland

A site specific upgrading model involving cost recovery and land titles.

Swaziland has a predominantly rural population, with only 30% of its population living in urban areas. The cities of Mbabane and Manzini comprise just under half of Swaziland's urban population, where they are experiencing high rates of growth of between 5% and 6% per annum.

This upgrading programme, conceptualised in the late 1980's and begun in 1996, is aimed at the 100 000 people living in informal urban settlements in the cities of Mbabane and Manzini.

The programme is currently in phase 1 of three phases. This involves 27 different infrastructure projects of which 13 are already completed.

The overall costs of this project are US \$ 51 million of which US\$ 29 million has been spent on water and sanitation projects.

The problem: Within Mbabane and Manzini 60% of the population live in urban informal settlements, where they have temporary occupation rights, poor sanitary conditions as well as poor access due to bad road networks. Housing in the informal settlements consists mainly of mud and timber structures. A large portion of the housing stock is occupied on a rental basis. The infrastructure cannot keep up with the demand for water and sanitation services.

Project aims: The main project aims were to improve environmental health standards in the informal settlements and to provide appropriate housing and infrastructure solutions for medium and low-income urban households. Within this, the project aimed to mobilise community resources and to encourage participation in the project.

Activities: The project brought together a range of agencies in the implementation, including the local authorities, the water services, Housing Board, the Deeds Registry office and the Planning Department. The Environment Authority was also a key role player to ensure that developments complied with the environmental regulations of the country.

A range of policy and legislative reforms were introduced in this project to create a sustainable solution to the problem of informal settlements

Financial initiatives were introduced in order to allow low-income earners to access finance. The government provides a guarantee to underwrite 20% of the loan amount, and in return private sector financial institutions provide finance to households who would not otherwise qualify for loans.

Community participation was introduced via Project Outreach Facilitators who were responsible for interacting with community groups on a regular basis and keeping them informed about the report and collecting information. The Facilitators also facilitated the process of allocation and sale of plots, the criteria for which was the outcome a participatory process whereby communities identified categories of residents. The aim was to ensure that households were not any worse off than before. Where relocations were necessary, the project Outreach Facilitators planned this with the beneficiaries so that their

99-year leases were introduced as formal tenure systems were deemed too expensive, this allowed people to have access to the land.

In terms of land allocation, legislation that affects access to land was reviewed in order to ensure that women were allocated land on an equitable basis. This involved a large amount of coordination with other government departments. National benefit of this has been felt and is an example of a single project impacting on the legislation of the entire country.

Lessons:

- **Costs were increased by trying to minimise relocations.** In order to minimise resettlement a policy was developed which provided different financing options to enable residents to participate at different levels of the project.
- **Coordination** between the various agencies for proper implementation between government departments and parastatals.
- **Community ownership of the project** is critical. Community interaction needs to be creative. Ownership can only be achieved through community empowerment. This should happen at a **political** level, where it should provide for the economic empowerment of the community (eg: small contracts were given to community contractors). **Socially**, empowerment through the interaction between the Project Outreach Facilitators is important in making the project socially acceptable to community members.
- The community need to be clear about what is expected from them in terms of **payments**, for example payment for rates whilst holding 99-year leasehold titles.
- Both the community leadership and implementing agencies were provided with **training and capacity building** as part of the project to improve their understanding of project processes prior to project implementation.

Guinea - Conakry

Upgrading in the context of decentralisation

Conakry has a population of 1.5 million people, which represents 15% of the total Guinea population and over half of its urban population. 25% of the city consists of informal housing with a largely informal economy. 40% of residential plots do not have water connections.

The upgrading project is currently in phase 1 of three phases, each of which is expected to last approximately 3 years. The costs for the current phase are US \$ 90 million. Costs for Phase Two are expected to double those of Phase One.

The Problem:

Low levels of sanitation in the informally settled areas.

Project Aims:

The project aimed to upgrade the living conditions of the urban population by providing basic services. This was done by providing trunk infrastructure to improve access to the city, and improving the network of basic infrastructure. This focused on two areas: the management of household refuse and the upgrading of underprivileged neighbourhoods.

Activities:

Management of household refuse collection – this was privatised to a number of Small and Medium Size Enterprises (SMEs) who were contracted to collect refuse in specific areas of the city. The SMEs worked in conjunction with a state department that was set up to handle the transfer and dumping. Recovery rates were raised to 80% and 3 000 jobs created over 3 years.

In terms of the upgrading of underprivileged areas, the main objectives were to improve the physical linkages between neighbourhoods. This included the clearing of streets, tarring

of roads. This improved the linkages between home and the workplace and created jobs.

South Africa – Johannesburg

Urban development in Johannesburg has been hampered by the fact that the city was administered by five separate local councils, leading to a degree of fragmentation and duplication. This may be overcome by the introduction of a single unified administration in January 2001.

Alexandra township lies in the north east side of Johannesburg. It covers approximately 4.6Km². Population estimates range between 150 000 to half a million people, making planning difficult. There are also a large number of illegal immigrants.

Background

Current housing challenges facing the city of Johannesburg are the influx of migrants into the city, burgeoning informal settlements, land invasions and a large council stock of residential and hostel units.

Many of the houses in formal townships have backyard shacks in which up to 3 or 4 other families may live. This is also true for informal settlements where shack owners sublet space to other families to build shacks on their property.

Project Aims

Four strategies have been proposed:

- **Settlement development:** aimed at the rapid release of land and giving security of tenure to those on existing informal land.
- **Integrated Housing Development** to create a residential mixture of people from different income and social backgrounds
- **Privately Owned Rental Stock and Backyard Shacks** – This programme involves regulating private rental housing to improve the quality of stock and the level of tenure with respect to inner city flats and backyard accommodation.
- **Transfer of housing assets** from the local councils. While the

government recognises that rental stock is essential, they do not necessarily wish to be the landlord. An aim of this programme is also to encourage private ownership.

Current problems include hold-ups in the delivery of housing subsidies. In addition, official standards (including minimum plot sizes of 250m²) are constraining development and pushing up costs.

Project: Alexandra

Background:

Alexandra is adjacent to the N1 development corridor and is easily accessible to the Johannesburg CBD, the international airport and other areas of economic growth. At present there are approximately 13 000 people living on the banks of the Jukskei river which runs through the township of Alexandra, a resource which could become a natural green space for the area. The river also presents a problem during the wet season when it floods. Shack density is a major safety problem – there are frequent uncontrollable fires as emergency services cannot get access to the area.

Project Aims:

Relocation project: making land available for the relocation. This involves securing vacant land and the rehabilitation of vacant land.

Regulating backyard shacks – in terms of this, setting up special development

zones for testing alternative standards to promote more efficient land use.

Nigeria

Large scale upgrading programme across states

Nigerian cities are experiencing rapid urbanisation. It is reported that Lagos is growing at 9.4%, and satellite areas around Abuja are growing at 20 – 30%.

There are rapidly increasing rates of poverty with 58% of the urban population living below US \$1 per day – an increase in the levels of poverty compared to 46% of the population in 1985.

Background

High rates of urban poverty are threatening social cohesion and political stability. There is low investment in new infrastructure and poor maintenance of existing infrastructure.

Project Aims

Main project aims:

- to reduce poverty in selected settlements through the provision of basic urban services
- to maximise partnerships between communities, local and state governments
- to demonstrate viable approaches that enable local governments to move away from complete financial dependency on state government.

Activities:

The implementation involves a strong move towards decentralisation with a focus on local government. Although funds will go directly to the state level, an implementation unit will be set up at local government level where State Government staff will be seconded to build Local Government capacity.

The project comprises two phases: in the first phase funds are pre-allocated to each of the seven states based on needs in selected communities. In the second phase, funds will be disbursed on a first come, first served basis based on performance under the first phase.

Transparency is ensured through the establishment of a Community Technical Committee (CTC), which is given copies of all reports, and is responsible for dissemination of information to the community. In addition, a Web page will be established where the public can view all information about contracts and track the projects progress in each state.

Lessons

- Focus on local government partnerships with the communities
- Adopting a programmatic approach within a project
- Testing if incentives to stimulate competition between States work
- Attempting to scale up upgrading with a local governments programme through a CDS as part of the project.

Mauritania - Nouakchott

A comprehensive initiative, involving in-situ upgrading combined with land development

The city of Nouakchott was founded in 1957, from when the population has grown from 4000 people to 600 000 inhabitants in 2000. This has been accompanied by rapid spatial expansion. Presently 40% of the area of the city is covered by informal settlements, where average incomes range between US \$ 80 – 100 per month.

The project is currently in its pilot phase with an experimental phase completed in 1999. The project aims to scale up delivery from February 2001.

The total cost of the pilot phase of the project is US \$ 640 000.

Background

With the rapid population growth has been a high incidence of illegal occupation of public land and the rapid growth of informal settlements. Despite a range of planning interventions, informal settlements continue to exist and their conditions worsen.

Responses: an integrated programme for the fight against poverty in peri-urban neighbourhoods

A new approach initiated in 1997 involved integrated development and participation, and was based on an analytical poverty study of the informal settlements in Nouakchott. The objectives of this programme involved the upgrading of informal areas and 'less equipped' areas, and the development of urban infrastructure. Specific programmes were implemented which attempted to integrate the informal settlements into the social fabric of the city. Other programmes attempted to improve water and health in the informal settlements and the promotion of job creation and revenue generating activities.

Activities

The activities involved using the residential environment as an entry point for mobilising 'solidarity groups' in the relevant areas. The participatory

approach involved four points of intervention:

- Habitat – this involves the provision of residential units and toilet facilities
- Formation
- Improving infrastructure
- Micro finance

An experimental phase was carried out in the neighbourhood of Dar El Beida which will be spread to the whole of the informal settlement neighbourhood in the following phase in 2001 – 2003.

Access to water was identified as a priority issue, (20% of the population get water from the city system, the rest relying on natural fountains and water sellers)

Surveys – to understand the situation on the ground. These were done within target groups to see how they perceive their problems then a more generalised participatory approach to discuss the projects at all levels with all the stakeholders.

Integrated social housing programmes – introduction of the Tweeze approach – this is a local word meaning solidarity and is strong in the culture of rural dwellers who live in the desert. The Tweeze approach involves a strong commitment to working together. Under this programme target groups are formed and with these an integrated

approach is adopted, involving working on a range of issues, including housing, microfinance, facilities upgrading.

Provision of fresh water – this was a priority as only 20% of the population have access to fresh water. The poorest sections of the population buy the lowest quality of water from merchants which sold at the highest prices.

Poverty reduction – the aim was to reduce poverty to 12 % by 2015. This was done by speeding up economic growth within the poor. This was done through training programmes, literacy programmes and participatory approaches.

Lessons

- **Speculation:** this is felt to be a major cause of poverty where those who lived in central areas were transferred to the outskirts of the city and higher income groups took their place.
- **Costs:** cost recovery is critical but a debate still continues as to whether the poor can be expected to pay for their improved living environment
- **Mix of rich and poor areas** is advantageous – to have pockets of poor within the rich areas.
- **Integrated approach** based on the strong institutional framework is an important challenge.
- **Culture** is a vital element – cultural activities were introduced and supported through the upgrading programme, creating a vital social element into the overall integrated approach.

Ghana

Basic citywide infrastructure upgrading

25% of Ghana's population live in urban settlements. Of these, just under a half live in the capital city of Accra, where the population growth rate is 2.6%.

The per capita income in Ghana is below US \$400 per month.

The first phase of upgrading projects in 25 towns began in 1985 with a total cost of US \$ 35 – 40 mill. The second phase, completed in 1999, involved the upgrading of 11 towns, costing US \$100 mill. The third phase currently underway involves upgrading in 5 cities with a current budget of US \$ 13 million and is expected to last through to 2011.

Project Background

Ghana is a relatively small country with a relatively small urban population. A strong feature of urban settlements are the urban slums. The major causes of slum development in Ghana are noted as a lack of land use planning due to a limited capacity on the part of planning authorities, problems of land tenure and population and poverty pressures. To deal with these issues, upgrading programmes were carried out in three major cities: Tamale, Tema and Accra.

Project Aims and activities

These include:

- Reforming the land registration and titling system to promote market orientated land allocation and development.
- Improving the productivity of households in urban centres through better infrastructure and services and policies to foster more efficient urban development.
- Improving the management of urban finances and thereby better delivery and financing of urban services
- Urban environmental protection

Lessons

A range of project planning and implementation lessons have been

learned throughout the course of this project:

- **Phasing:** Infrastructure was provided in stages: the first stage involved the provision of basic infrastructure that allowed the programme to quickly reach large numbers of the population. The second stage involved an incremental follow up when social services such as health and educational facilities were added. This staged process for advanced planning in the design of infrastructure to ensure easy add-on of additional services.
- **Costs:** setting functional standards for infrastructure and developing reasonable resettlement packages will assist in keeping costs down and therefore allowing for greater coverage. Cost recovery is a key issue and should include plans to address land security/ ownership. These should allow the government to recoup at least part of the cost of upgrading.
- **Preparatory studies** need to be thorough and should not be done too quickly. If problems are not identified at the beginning of the programme, they will cause problems at the implementation phase.

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- **Bureaucratic procedures** of both donors and national government have delayed the process significantly. This is due to institutional capacity problems in both parties. Similar capacity problems are also found in private sector contractors and consultants.
 - **Community ownership** of the project has been hampered by an overcomplex design a lack of participation. This has become apparent in cost recovery efforts – there is no cost recovery.
 - **Primary infrastructure and services networks** need to be expanded in line with upgrading initiatives. Without this the city-wide infrastructure is likely to be put under great pressure.
 - **Monitoring tools** must be included in any large scale programme. This must include gathering baseline data at the start of the project as well as information on the social impact of upgrading schemes which will give a clear picture of the true value of upgrading.