

On the Engagement of Excluded Groups in Inclusive Cities: Highlighting Good Practices and Key Challenges in the Global South



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On the Engagement of Excluded Groups in Inclusive Cities: Highlighting Good Practices and Key Challenges in the Global South

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* This note draws on the findings of a research program that included detailed studies of urban poverty in Buenos Aires, Hardoy and Almansi (2011); Egypt and Cairo, Sabry (2009, 2010); India, Chandrasekhar and Montgomery (2010); Pune, Bapat (2009); Sri Lanka, Romeshun and Mayadunne (2011); Vietnam, Thanh et al. (2013); and Zambia, Chibuye (2011). It also draws on the authors' work with Shack/Slum Dwellers International, the Asian Coalition for Housing Rights, the Orangi Pilot Project, and a range of other poverty reduction initiatives. The findings from this research were summarized in two books: Mitlin and Satterthwaite (2013) and Satterthwaite and Mitlin (2014).

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Acronyms

ACCA	Asian Coalition for Community Action
ACHR	Asian Coalition for Housing Rights
CODI	Community Organization Development Institute
NGO	Nongovernmental Organization
OPP	Orangi Pilot Project
SDI	Slum/Shack Dwellers International
UCDO	Urban Community Development Office

The term “inclusive cities” is increasingly being used as a “catch-all” phrase to signify intent but with little precision in its use. In this note we use “inclusive cities” to mean cities in which we see a commitment to an inclusive politics with the establishment of institutionalized interactions between organized groups of disadvantaged citizens and the state with local government taking a primary role. In addition, inclusive cities are ones where public accountability is found, including the provision of essential information about municipal budgets and activities (and those of other government services) with good communication to all residents. They are also cities in which governments have undertaken specific measures to secure improved access for low-income and otherwise disadvantaged groups to a range of essential goods and services including secure tenure for housing, inclusion in access to basic services (e.g., inclusion in the piped water and sewer network, waste collection services, government health care services and schools, community policing, and emergency services), and where required approval of and support for housing improvements.

They are also cities in which local governments and other relevant state agencies have made efforts to ensure a “city for citizens” on a citywide basis that includes investment in affordable public transport; public space throughout the city including the central areas in which urban residents have access for trading, consumption, and recreation; and support for skill training and enterprise development.

This note begins by considering who is excluded and from what and how. It then considers the contributions that large sections of the excluded population make to the city economy and the benefits for city governments of engaging with them. It considers the types of policies and programs that are intended to engage excluded groups, distinguishing between those developed and implemented by professionals and those developed and implemented by aided self-help and social and urban movements.

Seven challenges to the achievement of more inclusive cities are discussed: lack of household income and the continuing prevalence of informal incomes; a lack of state investment capacity; a lack of political will; a lack of the basic data needed for identifying and addressing exclusion; a lack of space for participation, especially by the lowest income groups; a lack of vision for what an inclusive city means within city government; and the constraints on inclusion from city governments organized sectorally. The note then discusses the metrics and indicators that can help inclusion and that have relevance for the post-2015 sustainable development agenda.

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Who Is Typically Excluded or Marginalized in the Urban Context?

A first point to recognize is that the scale and depth of urban poverty in Africa and much of Asia and Latin America is greatly underestimated because of inappropriate definitions and measurements. Understanding the causes of such inaccurate measurement provides insight into those groups who are typically excluded and marginalized; in part they are marginalized because they are “invisible” to those authorities tasked with supporting them.

About one in seven of the world’s population lives in poor quality and usually overcrowded housing in urban areas. Most of these people lack provision for safe sufficient water, sanitation, and many other needs. They include very large numbers of urban dwellers who are malnourished and suffer premature death or disease burdens that are preventable. However, a significant proportion are not defined as poor by many poverty lines because the actual costs they face of food and nonfood needs are not taken into account properly. Most income-based poverty lines fail to take sufficient account of the high cost of necessities in the larger urban centers and/or the costs of meeting nonfood needs such as rent, water (from vendors or kiosks), access to public toilets and washing facilities, and transport. Nor is account taken of the poor quality of much accommodation and of many services.

Obviously, sufficient income is of critical importance to inclusion. To survive, the urban poor have to find work that provides a cash income. In most urban contexts, most or all basic services have to be paid for. Finding income-earning opportunities that are stable and not dangerous and provide an adequate return is central to reducing their poverty or moving out of poverty. This is especially true given that we know that ill-health or injury is a major trigger leading to chronic poverty. Yet we actually know very little about the difficulties facing low-income urban dwellers in securing sufficient income and what would help them to do so. This is all the more remarkable when poverty is defined by income-based poverty lines.

The quality of the home and its neighborhood are important for health and well-being. Home and neighborhood are also often important for income because the home is a location for income-earning work, especially for women. And the lack of adequate basic services such as water piped to the home, electricity, and household waste collection exacerbates the difficulties in earning a living. More generally we know remarkably little about the ways in which income circulates in low-income settlements and how this is influenced by relations with the wider city and the drivers of economic growth. We also know remarkably little about what best supports low-income groups in getting higher incomes—although studies highlight important factors such as the availability of credit and being able to have a bank account, the extension of a reliable supply of piped water and electricity to the home, good social contacts, literacy and the completion of secondary school, and cheap, safe, and convenient public transport. Understanding these requires attention to the spatial aspects, that is, inequalities in these issues between neighborhoods and districts within cities. So, often, the data collected on incomes, living conditions, or service provision are from too small a sample to show these spatial inequalities. Figure 1 summarizes some of the criti-

cal factors that lead to urban poverty in towns and cities in the global South.

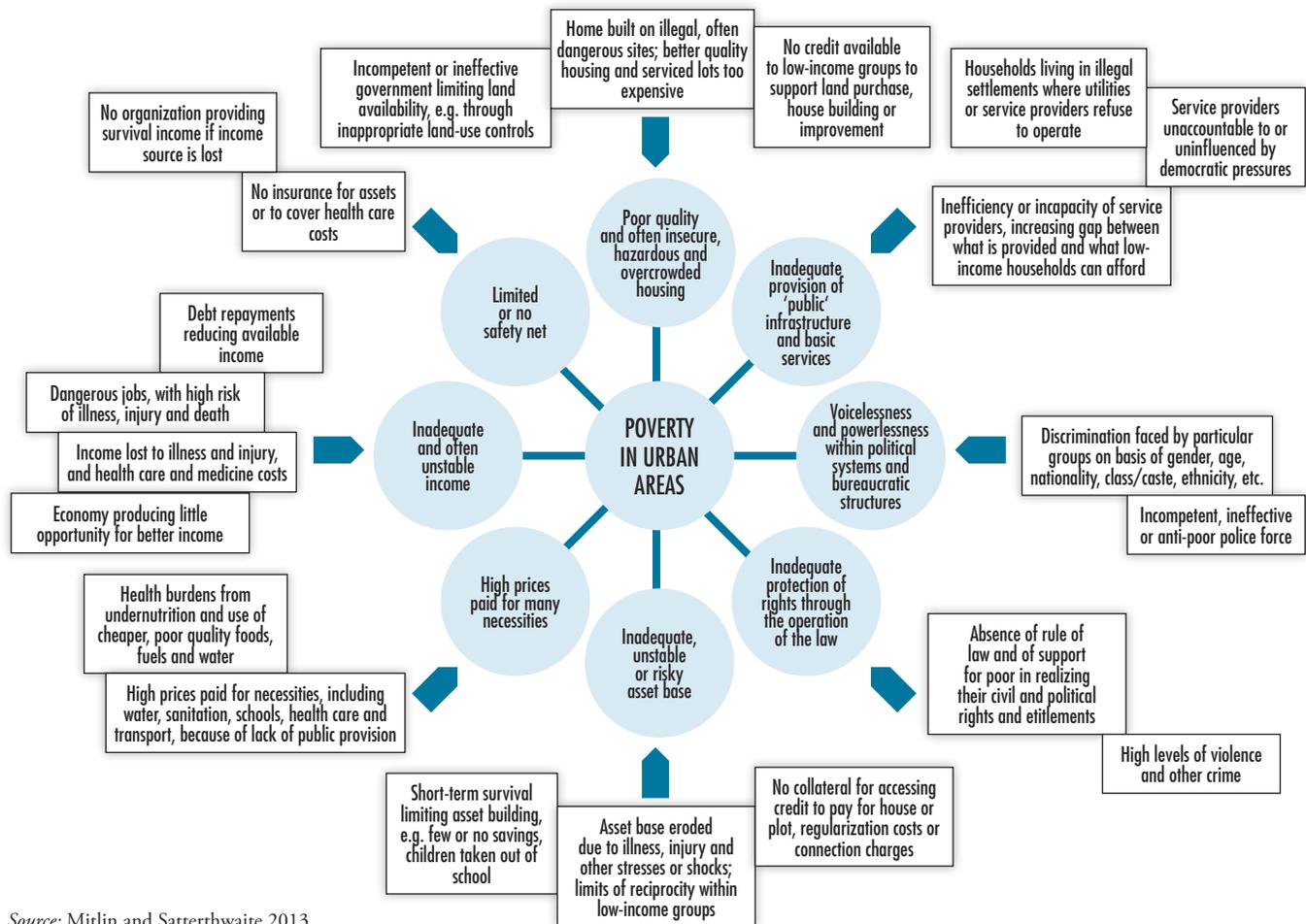
This figure helps us gain insight into those groups that are particularly vulnerable due, among other factors, to social exclusion and deprivation:

- Women frequently face particularly difficulties. They may face discrimination within their household, within the labor market, and in regard to access to services. Women-headed households may be overrepresented within households with below-poverty-line incomes.
- Age can be an indicator of vulnerability with both the (very) young and the elderly facing particular difficulties. One of the difficulties facing many elderly urban dwellers in the global South as their strength and physical capacity diminishes is the lack of pension provision.

- Ethnicity, caste, and other social categories may pose particular difficulties due to social attitudes. This takes numerous forms; for example, the Ga in Accra face risks due, in part, to the difficulties of continuing with traditional livelihoods as the city expands into the areas in which they live. Other difficulties are faced by groups who migrate into urban centers, especially in nations where migrants are excluded from public services.
- Informal settlement dwellers, as noted above, face numerous difficulties and risks. Many larger cities also have a street homeless population that can be particularly difficult to reach.

However, we cannot emphasize enough that generalizations have to be treated with extreme caution. For example, women-headed households may be disadvantaged, but this is not always the case; some social contexts constrain women more than others. In some situations,

Figure 1. Deprivations Associated with Urban Poverty and Their Immediate External Causes



Source: Mitlin and Satterthwaite 2013.

migrants are disadvantaged, but this cannot be assumed (Montgomery et al. 2003).

Lack of income and assets are critical factors determining or influencing exclusion in urban areas. This is manifest both through difficulties faced by those with low incomes who find it difficult to pay for adequate goods and services, including food, and through a residential location within informal settlements characterized by a lack of public services and the kinds of social provision that households living in formal areas are likely to be able to access. Those who are street homeless also face acute needs that are rarely addressed. In Delhi, for example, it is estimated that more than 100,000 homeless people live there, but the government runs only 14 night shelters with a maximum capacity of 2,937 people. However, in addition to those without housing and with a general lack of income and assets, other groups are particularly vulnerable in urban areas.

Young people may face particular difficulties. Two-thirds of Sub-Saharan Africa's population is under the age of 25. Young people have high expectations of urban life: for example, "Dar es Salaam is known by youth as *Bongoland*, the city of *bongo* (brains) where the smart ones go and 'make it'." But in practice, especially in urban Africa, few opportunities are provided, and most youth are unable to access the kinds of jobs to which they aspire. It is significant that young people face the disjuncture between traditional relations and associated practices and hybrid forms of modernity. Governance structures are likely to be dominated by older people who neither understand nor empathize with the needs and interests of younger populations. Both formal and informal neighborhoods lack provision for children (play areas) and for adolescents (youth clubs and recreational facilities). Where facilities do exist, these are likely to be for sports. Girls can be doubly disadvantaged by gender discrimination. Moreover when provision is made for female adolescents, this may not be orientated to those who are already married.

Internationally and internally displaced people also face particular difficulties. In this context, two kinds of urban centers need to be recognized: existing towns and cities in which displaced people locate, and refugee camps that become urban centers. Displaced people are likely to have

experienced significant trauma and may have particular health needs (see below). In addition, displacement negatively affects people's lives. They are likely to have lost material assets and sources of income. In some cases, they may be socially isolated and living apart from families and/or broader communities with the additional problems that a lack of social networks brings. Both internationally and internally displaced people may face discrimination from local residents, and the former may face additional problems of illegality. It is common for displaced people to have low-incomes and limited assets, as better-off families are better able to relocate before forced displacement. Wherever they came from, with limited access to assets and dislocated from the kinds of networks that provide employment and enterprise potential, displaced people are more likely to have incomes below the poverty line. The scale of such populations may be considerable. In Colombia, nearly 10 percent of the country's population lives in the condition of displacement, and despite government support programs, 98 percent have an income below the poverty line.

Refugee settlements may not be recognized as being urban centers but over time many become permanent settlements rather than temporary accommodation. Problems may be exacerbated because of a refusal to recognize the likelihood of permanency and maintenance of a perpetual state of exception. In the short (and sometimes longer) term, basic infrastructure and health facilities can be lacking with appalling consequences. Livelihood strategies are curtailed if the residence is required to be temporary. For these and other reasons, considerable needs exist and we may find appalling conditions. The Global IDP Project (2002, 76), for example, reported under-five mortality rates of 240 per thousand live births in a refugee camp in northern Bahr al Ghazal, Sudan.

Those with particular health problems are also a group facing exclusion. In the greater number of cases, health problems are primarily shaped by low-quality housing, unhealthy living conditions, and limited access to health care services. Much of the exclusion for those with health problems is related to a lack of income and/or assets. Poor health is recognized to be one of the major factors leading to chronic poverty because families that are just coping are unable to recover following the primary income

earner falling sick or being injured. It is accepted that in most nations, levels of HIV infection are *usually* higher in urban areas than rural areas, with large urban areas having the highest HIV prevalence. Within low-income urban dwellers, adolescent girls and young women are disproportionately affected because they are least able to avoid the risks and protect themselves. These populations need particular support in terms of access to medication and basic services, and they are frequently unable to secure these (Mabala 2006).

Lack of pavements and roads makes it difficult for pedestrians to move around, and this is especially so for those with disabilities. This helps explain the very high levels of death per motor vehicle or per motor vehicle kilometers driven from traffic accidents evident in many cities. Even where specific provision is made in terms of public toilets and other public facilities, it is frequently the case that the generally dilapidated state of urban infrastructure and public transport reduces mobility.

3 Primary Benefits to the Local Government, Local Economy, and City Residents of Engaging Excluded Groups

Many positive opportunities exist for health and development to be realized in urban centers, and this is also true of informal low-income settlements. Despite multiple forms of social exclusion and adverse incorporation, cities are places in which many residents undertake new activities and frequently create new identities. As individuals and within family and neighborhood groups, they create new livelihood opportunities, improve their human capital, and positively engage the state. People's energy, optimism, and aspiration are critical resources to address human challenges across the globe. Urban citizens are creative and entrepreneurial; sadly, experience suggests that the challenge for public policy is as much to avoid stifling these as it is to support them. As Benjamin describes, the economic activities in informal settlements reinforce each other, and activities are further disadvantaged by the operations of the real estate market (Benjamin 2004). Government interventions in India have not supported such processes, but he argues that market processes in informal settlements have the potential to provide relatively inclusive urban growth as long as flexible regulatory and land-use policies prevail to enable mixed-use development.

Low-income residents keep the city functioning. They serve in shops, run public transport vehicles, support public services, provide essential goods, and are maids, cooks, drivers, gardeners, security guards, etc. In summary they undertake numerous activities, frequently for very low remuneration, that facilitate the lives of other residents.

The scale of present inequalities across the world is such that multiple and repeated concerns can be identified about associated externalities, that is, the impacts on broader society. Research has shown that violence and conflict are linked to inequality—but this is not the only issue. Underpinning much public concerns is an evident sense of discomfort and genuine ambivalence. The majority of urban citizens appear to be concerned with issues of equity and fairness, and protesters associate their causes with issues of citizenship and social justice.

Significant costs are likely to be incurred if cities are managed in an increasingly differentiated manner with growing spatial, social, and political exclusion and without attention to inequalities of access to basic services, infrastructure, employment, and other opportunities. What is lost? The potential contribution of individuals is not realized. Collective capabilities to address the public interest are not developed. Resources are wasted such as on securitization of urban space rather than invested in more positive activities. Increasing protests and defensive actions may lead to further polarization and increased exclusion. Acting now to prevent such frustrations has benefits for the public good.

A wide set of concerns surround the broader consequences of income inequality, particularly in respect to its impact on democracy. Greater social distance of political elites from low-income populations may result in an increasing inability of government to act in the interests of all.

Self-interested policies that benefit middle- and upper-income groups are likely to mean that basic health and education opportunities are not provided. Concerns have been expressed that increasing inequality may be associated with less democracy. Government policies may be counterproductive (for example, lack of space for informal enterprises): Effective dialogue with low-income and disadvantaged groups may highlight these impacts and lead to policy adjustments. Lack of dialogue (and associated accountability) prevents these improvements from being realized.

Investment in local, national, and global networks of the urban poor may offer new approaches and improved policies, programs, and practices to address deprivation. Already significant programs have emerged from such networks such as participatory budgeting (Cabannes 2004).

Meanwhile new and pressing challenges face us. The more efficient use of natural resources, reduced carbon emissions, and adaptation to climate change require new forms of collective action and collective consumption (for example, in energy use), and urban civil society has long pioneered such innovations.

4 **Overview of Types of Policies and Related Programs and Self-Motivated Actions That Help to Engage Excluded Groups and Reduce Exclusion, Including as Part of Slum Upgrading and Slum Prevention Initiatives**

In practice urban programming draws across a number of approaches as agencies seek effective interventions to reduce urban poverty. Urban poverty reduction programs and projects are generally realized through the combined efforts of different agencies that may include residents' associations and/or livelihood groups, local government officials and politicians, national government departments, and in some cases other professional civil society groups including nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and academic institutions. In many nations, state or provincial governments also have importance. Problems often arise with overlapping responsibilities for particular investments or services within each area—and contestation over relative roles and responsibilities. It is important to recognize that in most aspects of urban poverty reduction, higher levels of government and international agencies are only as effective as the local organizations and institutions they support (and help fund).

We introduce seven approaches below. Many are not specifically urban. Arguably only urban management and the final approach (aided self-help) are “urban.” However, the remaining five are also used widely in urban areas and have taken on a particular modality (as summarized below) because of the realities of urban lives and the nature of urban institutions. All have become distinctively adapted to the urban context, that is, to the commodification of all nonfamily aspects of everyday life, high level of institutional engagement by the state, influence of high population concentrations and densities on housing and basic services, and the dependence of livelihoods on formal and informal labor markets.

The first five approaches are primarily designed and realized by professionals. These may be located in the official international development assistance agencies, national and subnational governments (including urban governments), and international, national, or local NGOs. The remaining two are more clearly hybrids between formal and informal urban livelihoods and ways in which professional interests have sought to engage with and represent more grounded experiences. This is also true of the market approach, which, although deliberately promoted by some, also includes the main modalities by which individuals and households accumulate income and wealth. Arguably, an eighth approach is used by the urban poor themselves—that of clientelism (but this is not expanded on here).

In practice, it is unusual that only one of the seven approaches outlined below is followed for reasons of ideology and the complexity of urban poverty (where one rarely finds a single unambiguous cause). Rather these approaches are taken up and blended together through programs and projects that attempt to address specific contexts and the associated needs and

interests of the urban poor. Further blending of approaches arises because, in the urban context, many institutions have overlapping agendas and responsibilities, and hence the design and realization of urban programs almost inevitably involves a high degree of negotiation between agencies. Although small NGO projects may be able to take place with little interaction with other organizations, these are the exception in urban contexts.

Welfare assistance to those with inadequate incomes usually takes the form of income supplements and/or free or lower-cost access to certain goods and services. The needs addressed by welfare are usually around the income required to acquire essential goods (for instance food, housing, or water) or around access to needed services (for instance, health care and schools). Rarely do we find a single deprivation, and this partly explains why a wide range of welfare-based measures are employed for urban poverty reduction. Welfare interventions may respond to any one of a number of perceived needs. These may in part arise from an unexpected event (for example, a local flood or a global economic recession) in the context of inadequate long-term infrastructure to protect against such events. Needs may result from the structure of the economy (for example, wages barely sufficient or insufficient for survival) and no alternative employment options for some people given existing labor market skills and capabilities. Needs may also be related to the individual life cycle, for example, children and the elderly disadvantaged in the labor market.

Countless different strategies are used for welfare intervention. In terms of understanding the perception of needs that underpin welfare measures, it is helpful to recognize that this may be either charitable and empathetic or rights- or entitlement-based; that is, are programs seeking to realize a basic right or as a response to a need?

One new growth area has been cash transfers, which by 2010 were estimated to reach 850 million people in 173 million households across the global South (Niño-Zarazúa et al. 2010). The literature focused on poverty reduction in general suggests that they are now the principal instrument used by governments. Note that this figure includes all cash transfers such as pensions, child support, workfare, and payments from unconditional and conditional cash transfer programs. The expansion of transfer programs

into urban areas has taken place in recent years (many of these programs were developed for rural areas). One factor in Brazil and Mexico in expanding programs to urban areas is the hope that increasing levels of urban violence can be curbed through tackling poverty and inequality. A significant number of those reached come within several large programs including Oportunidades (Mexico), 5 million households; Bolsa Família (Brazil), 12 million households; the Minimum Living Standards Scheme (China), 22.4 million households; and Indonesia's Safety Net Scheme, 15 million households. Their significance varies considerably: In Latin America, transfers as a percentage of household income for those benefiting range from 6 percent in Brazil to nearly 20 percent in Mexico (Grosh et al. quoted in Niño-Zarazúa et al. 2010, 14). In some countries amounts are just a few dollars a month, and it is difficult to see that these funds will have a substantive impact on household poverty.

Asset accumulation policies have also been used (although on a smaller scale). These provide opportunities for households "to accumulate and consolidate their assets in a sustainable way" enabling them to reduce their future welfare needs (Moser 2009, 253). Conditional cash transfers that incentivize education blend assets and incomes interventions through providing income on the condition that children attend school. Food-for-work programs may also be seen as contributing to collective assets by providing necessary infrastructure. Improvements in housing conditions continue to be provided and where available assist in the acquisition of housing assets. In recent decades "direct-demand" subsidies have been popular; originating in Latin America, they combine financing of subsidies, savings, and loans for the purchase of completed dwellings. Although originally conceived in Chile as a strategy that would combine private-sector loan finance with state subsidies, in practice there has been little commercial lending to the lowest-income groups. Such subsidies were introduced in Costa Rica in 1986 and almost immediately replicated in Colombia, El Salvador, Paraguay, and Uruguay in 1991 (Mayo 1999). As with any subsidized initiative, if the costs for each household reached are high, it limits their scale in low-income countries.

Urban management programs offer a further approach. They generally seek to improve "local government" with a

Box 1. The Benefits of Transport and an Integrated City: Medellín, Colombia

Medellín is Colombia's second-largest city, with a population of more than 3 million in the metropolitan area. Drug-related conflicts resulted in the city's becoming one of the most violent in the world during the 1980s and 1990s. In 1999 the municipal government introduced measures to reduce spatial segregation including a cable-propelled transit system (gondola) that integrated into conventional public transport and other neighborhood improvements for areas serviced by the gondola, including additional lighting for public spaces, pedestrian bridges and street paths, school buildings, recreational centers, centers to promote microenterprises, more police patrols, and a family police station next to a gondola station.



A study compared these neighborhoods with those not included in the public works project to assess the impacts of this intervention on reductions in violence and changes in associated factors such as including collective efficacy (e.g. willingness to help neighbors) and citizens' trust in the criminal justice system and reliance on police. The intervention was associated with significant declines in neighborhood violence: The drop in homicides between 2003 and 2008 was 66 percent higher in intervention neighborhoods than in the set of other neighborhoods that were compared with the intervention neighborhoods (the control neighborhoods), and the corresponding drop in reports of violent events was 74 percent higher in intervention neighborhoods. Residents of intervention neighborhoods also experienced more growth in willingness to rely on the police and perceptions of collective efficacy. By improving public spaces and creating new institutions, the intervention provided more opportunities for neighbors to interact, develop trust, and become willing to intervene when the social order was threatened. It also appears that relations between citizens and police improved in intervention neighborhoods, which could increase the efficacy of law enforcement in fighting violence and further deter would-be violent offenders.

The study also illustrates how the benefits of place-based interventions can diffuse beyond their intended areas of impact. The government's principal motivation for bringing effective public transport to remote neighborhoods was to improve residents' access to jobs and attract new businesses to impoverished neighborhoods.

Source: Cerdá et al. 2011.

focus on efficiency, technical competence, a stronger fiscal base, and implementing local regulations to get effective planning and land-use management, and they address the inadequacies in basic infrastructure and services. This approach, modeled on observations of what it takes to be a modern city, places central emphasis on the state as the implementing agent and relies on state intervention to improve and upgrade physical space and, in some cases, economic activity. It also emphasizes the importance of adequate infrastructure for economic growth. The approach recognizes the critical importance of government in ensuring provision of urban infrastructure and services

and, more fundamentally, in establishing, regulating, and influencing the development of urban space. It generally focuses on essential trunk infrastructure such as electricity, piped water, drains, roads, and public transport networks, conscious of the additional expenses that enterprises face if these are lacking and/or inadequate in scale and quality. The approach has received more support in the last 10 to 15 years as the key role of cities and urban systems in economic growth has come to be more widely appreciated. Box 1 illustrates some of the positive relationships between infrastructure investment and poverty reduction.

Alongside the urban management approach has been the trend toward greater private sector involvement in water and sanitation that was led by a package of donor assistance seeking to address deficiencies in services for both economic growth and general well-being. However, despite a belief that greater private sector involvement would improve the scale and quality of delivery, more than 80 percent of water supplies remain in the ownership and management of the state (OECD 2003). The trend toward privatization for large water and sanitation utilities has not continued in the last decade. However, an increasing trend has been tied to corporatization and a greater orientation to market approaches and commercial interests within company management (including public-private partnerships).

In theory the reform of urban basic services was to include the extension of provision to low-income settlement. Utilities, whether public and private, have been tasked to balance objectives related to economic prosperity, equity, and ensuring a basic standard for health and well-being. In practice if there are no resources for subsidies, the emphasis on cost recovery has jeopardized the equity that was intended because prices or connection fees are too high for the lowest-income households.

Participatory governance includes greater accountability, transparency, and scope for citizen and community participation, that is, improved processes of democratic government to ensure that urban governments are more responsive to the needs and interests of low-income and disadvantaged citizens.

Participatory governance implies the engagement of government with a group with interests beyond those of “its individual citizens”; that is, it includes but goes considerably beyond systems for more accountable government. Participatory governance seeks to provide an inclusive political space at a local level, challenging the notion that widely spaced elections for representatives are a sufficient engagement in collective decision making. One of the most notable urban examples has been participatory budgeting, introduced when the federation of residents’ associations in Porto Alegre (Brazil) found that their mayoral candidate did not deliver on his promises. Participatory budgeting enables local residents

in low-income neighborhoods to be involved collectively in setting priorities for government expenditures in their areas. By 2012 participatory budgeting initiatives had been implemented by more than 1,000 local authorities around the world (Cabannes 2014).

An advance from participatory budgeting comes when it is combined with the coproduction of public goods and services. Coproduction has been defined as the “the joint and direct involvement of both public agents and private citizens in the provision of services” involving “regular, long-term term relationships between state agencies and organized groups of citizens, where both make substantial resource contributions” (Joshi and Moore 2004, 33 and 40). This practice extends participation in political decision making to a more intense involvement in aspects of planning and implementation. A more engaged involvement in the production of infrastructure and basic services necessarily involves collective action and organization. Boxes 2 and 3 illustrate practices and benefits.

The rights-based approach extends rights and entitlements to those who lack these and in urban contexts usually focuses on low-income groups including those living in informal settlements. The approach draws on various different traditions: international human rights frameworks, attempts by advocacy organizations to improve national legislation, autonomous movements of the poor and dispossessed, and the shift from clientelist relationships between the state and people to ones of citizenship (Hickey and Mitlin 2009). In urban contexts, rights-based approaches have been particularly notable in regard to land tenure in informal settlements (anti-eviction), access to basic services, and, in the context of livelihoods, access to trading spaces. In the first and last of these, the strategy has been primarily defensive, reacting to protect homes and work places.

Rights can be used as the basis for proactive strategies to acquire land. For example, in Goiânia (Brazil) tenants undertook a series of land invasions to claim access to common land (Barbosa et al. 1997). In the absence of affordable accommodation, tenants’ movements came to explore the potential within *posseiro* rights; a free right over all land that has not been subject to subdivision.

Box 2. Citizen-Led Coproduction in Resettlement of Those Living by Railway Tracks: Mumbai, India

The upgrading of Mumbai's suburban railways required the removal of informal settlements that in many places had grown to be within touching distance of the trains. The railways had been ordered to slow their speeds in such places to try to reduce the very large numbers of fatalities each year. Those living close to the railway tracks were rehoused without force and with their support. This was possible only when the National Slum Dwellers Federation of India provided an organizational resource (to support the railway slum dwellers federation) that could match the state contribution of land and finance. Needs were acute. Mumbai relies on its extensive suburban railway system to get its workforce in and out of the central city; on average, more than 7 million passenger trips are made each day on five major railway corridors. In 1999 nearly 32,000 households lived in shacks next to the tracks at high risk and without water and sanitation. Discussions within the Railway Slum Dwellers' Federation (to which most households along the railway tracks belonged) showed that most families wanted to move if they could get a home with secure tenure in an appropriate location.



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A relocation program was developed as part of a scheme to improve the rail network. First, the negotiations reduced the number of people that had to move by cutting down the size of the space cleared (the railway authorities initially wanted close to ten meters each side of the track, the federation negotiated down to three meters with the promise of a wall). Land sites were identified to accommodate those that had to move (and these were visited), and the Federation was given the responsibility for managing the resettlement. People to be resettled were involved in designing, planning, and implementing the program. Critically the Federation identified those with an entitlement to receive a new home. Teams of Federation leaders, community residents, and NGO staff prepared maps that showed each hut, and each hut was identified with a number. Draft registers of all residents were prepared, and the results returned to communities for checking. Any claims were checked against the register. Anyone could claim that they had been left out, but they had to have all of their neighbors (as identified on the map) verify their claim to residency. This system prevented fraudulent claims for inclusion and speedily resolved disputes. Households were then grouped into units of 50 and each unit moved to the new site together to reduce the social costs of dislocation.

Source: Patel et al. 2002.

These lands are without formal owners or title deeds, and *posseiro* is the name given to those claiming a right of use over these untitled lands. By 1991, 12.3 percent of the population of Goiânia was living in these *posseiro* areas, and by 1997 the city had officially registered 193 *posse* areas, 75 of which had been established by FEGIP (the Goiânia Federation of Tenants and *Posseiros*). A further example is provided in Thailand, where land sharing, the negotiated division of the squatter land between the

original owner and the residents, was used to ensure that rights could be realized (Angel and Boonyabancha 1988).

Rights-based approaches have also been used to understand and protect the claims of traders and vendors to trading spaces, particularly those in central city locations. Market trading is generally controlled within the city, and informal traders face harassment from the local authorities. Vendors who sell outside designated areas may be fined, forcibly

Box 3. Women's Nutrition and Citizen Action in Peru

In Peru the women's nutrition movement (Organizaciones de Mujeres para la Alimentación) centers on two distinct traditions: community kitchens (Comedores Populares) and the glass of milk committees (Comités del Vaso de Leche). Both provide members with food at a reduced cost and offer free support to those in particular need. Women's organizations manage the provision using both community volunteers and state resources: extensive community involvement in food provision and cooking meals reduces processing and delivery costs. These groups also determine the beneficiaries.



ANDINA/Norman Córdova

The tradition of food relief managed by local women began between 1948 and 1956 when the government set up groups to distribute overseas food aid. During the 1970s and early 1980s, these local kitchens evolved to become an identifiable group of community kitchens with some securing independence from the state. Shortly afterwards, the glass of milk program was catalyzed by Lima's local government in 1984, at a time of acute needs, and rapidly resulted in independent organizations. Just months after the program was initiated, more than 25,000 mothers from 33 districts in Lima marched on Congress to demand official support; this campaign was followed by legislation in January 1985. Activities provide cereal and milk, primarily for children, pregnant women, and breast-feeding mothers. The women's community kitchen organizations have also been involved in similar activities, negotiating for support from the Municipality of Lima as far back as 1986. The community kitchens organizations campaigned for legislation (Law 27307) with associated regulations that ensure the state finances food-processing activities. Participatory planning means that committees sit alongside central and local government representatives—and that demonstrations are no longer needed.

The movement organizations believe they have broadly succeeded in establishing their entitlement and securing involvement in delivery—at the same time affirming their identity as citizens with both rights and management capacity, as opposed to “poor people” with unsatisfied needs and few skills who require patronage and social welfare practices. They have also succeeded in challenging traditional male-led residents' associations and enabling women to play a role as community leaders and political activists.

Source: Barrig 1991; Bebbington et al. 2011.

evicted, have their goods confiscated, and/or be jailed. In some cases such payments are associated with the corrupt practices of officials or local strongmen. Vendors may collaborate to manage this situation seeking to negotiate support from authorities. For example, threatened with expulsion from the city center, vendors' associations in Cebu City (the Philippines) formed a common platform to ensure livelihood security and reduce harassment. The city authorities were persuaded to establish a vendors' management study committee, legalized trading in some areas of the city, and shifted to an agreed policy that demolitions of vendor stalls would be considered only following complaints from other road users.

Rights approaches have also been used in efforts to change exclusionary and inequitable practices toward disadvantaged groups (as rights apply to all). Box 4 illustrates this through experiences from a drop-in center for sex workers in Bangladesh.

The market-based approach seeks to raise incomes and improve livelihoods through better access to financial markets and the provision of support infrastructure and services. The approach recognizes that urban poor groups work within markets—labor markets, financial markets, markets for cheap accommodation and access to services, competitive markets for goods produced or services

Box 4. Sex Workers Fight for Equity: Dhaka, Bangladesh

When women participating in a self-help group of sex workers, Durjoy Nari Shanga (the “Difficult to Conquer Women” association), were asked how it had helped them, the first to reply stated, “We realized we are also human beings.” Recognizing their innate equality with others had not reduced the risks the women faced, but it had equipped them to deal with these risks more effectively.

When CARE staff began working with them, staff found themselves going through a profound change process as they sought to overcome their previous assumptions about these individuals and support the group. The project was piloted in the Tangail brothel within a community of about 800 sex workers and their children. Interactive discussions with the sex workers late into the night enabled the social analysis and self-analysis that staff required to understand the role their own attitudes played in perpetuating the discrimination and stigma against the sex workers.

In one exercise, the sex workers were asked what their priorities were; at the top of their list was the ability to wear shoes outdoors. In the complex network of social relations of the Tangail neighborhood, the *samaj*—modeled after traditional village councils and consisting of landlords and originally two *sardanis* or madams—wielded tremendous power and control over the sex workers. *Mastans*—male gangs allied to local politicians and landlords—acted as enforcers, regulating local economies and exploiting vulnerable groups through the use and threat of violence. Forbidding the sex workers the right to wear shoes was a way of publicly marking their status as lesser beings and restricting them to the locality.

As they organized together and negotiated the right to wear shoes, they were more able to address their needs: for example, challenging the police when they were harassed. The women were working together to manage a health clinic, secure education for their children, and have the ability to save for their old age.

Source: Drinkwater 2009.

offered—and looks to measures that make these markets better serve people. The market approach places greater emphasis on livelihoods and employment rather than other aspects of urban poverty.

No single path can be identified through which the market-based approach seeks to reduce urban poverty. Several major strategies are followed: the extension of financial markets with savings and loan facilities, support for housing markets with shelter microfinance, and support for enterprise development. Many of these interventions are targeted at individual households and/or individuals, although in the case of microfinance, groups may be involved to provide social collateral.

Surveys from Brazil, Colombia, and Mexico show that between 65 and 85 percent of households living in major cities do not hold any kind of deposit account in a formal-sector financial institution (Solo 2008). Faced with such realities, microcredit projects developed to provide low-income entrepreneurs with the capital they needed to expand their business. As microcredit initiatives spread,

acknowledgment was made that savings facilities were often all that was required, and microfinance emerged to address the need for secure savings and small loans.

Loan finance for shelter-related investments is also rarely available through the formal commercial sector, and savings are a major source of finance for incremental housing development. Loans have also been provided for housing—although shelter microfinance as a field remains small.

Both enterprises and housing are linked as commercial opportunities open up as informal settlement areas are upgraded. Entrepreneurs find that business increases as roads and pathways are improved. Rental income is also an incentive—and home owners take loans for the construction of additional rooms and sometimes dwellings—although a lack of investment capital for the construction of rental rooms is frequently a problem.

In addition to microfinance, fostering new kinds of relationships between suppliers and/or customers is also possible. Waste recycling is one area in which

commercial benefits are evident from individual pickers being organized. Without their own organizations, waste pickers get small returns and receive only low prices for the separated wastes from recycled material wholesalers or industries. In Brazil, networks of recyclers formed and challenged exploitative trading relationships; in some cases, the income received from low unit prices was further exacerbated by fraudulent practices such as the use of faulty scales. For example, in Salvador (Brazil) Walmart stores in the metropolitan region have introduced recycling facilities for their clients (Fergutz, with Dias and Mitlin 2011). More than 200 waste pickers from the Cooperative of Ecological Agents and Waste Pickers from Canabrava collect 45 tonnes (U.K.) each month and transport them to the cooperative's center for sorting, pressing, and sale.

Social and urban movements are important because they represent urban poor groups and their capacities to negotiate pro-poor political change. One approach has been to support their work, and the example of waste pickers from Brazil noted above is also relevant here.

In the global South, several different types of movements and related activities are active in urban areas. Struggles in towns and cities can be divided into five broad types: related to formal work, informal work, land (plus housing), basic services, and social discrimination (subdivided by gender, age, ethnicity, and other distinctions). The social movement literature distinguishes between old social movements and new social movements, with the former being viewed as those related to employment relations and the struggle for democracy and the latter concerned with identity—for instance, the movement for gender equality, those concerned with sexual identities, and those with committed environmentalists. However, that distinction does not work well in towns and cities in the global South. As box 4 illustrates, women's struggles involve both identity and financial redistribution; the same is true of movements of informal residents struggling for land, housing, and basic services who may have particular ethnic affiliates, and who also have a strong identity based on their informal localities.

Box 5 introduces the work of Slum/Shack Dwellers International (SDI), a global network of federations of

slum and shack dwellers and homeless, most of whom live in informal settlements in towns and cities of the global South. This has developed and enhanced the opportunities for the urban poor to define their own agendas (see also box 2).

Aided self-help is a further approach with support being provided to households and community groups to address their own needs in terms of their efforts at neighborhood improvements—for instance, through bulk building material supplies, equipment loan, technical assistance, and loans. Moser (2009) outlines the multiplicity of strategies used by low-income women following 30 years of longitudinal research in informal settlements in Guayaquil (Ecuador). She explains how the women undertake self-help, negotiate with local politicians and an emerging political party, are active in protest movements, participate in national government programs to address local needs, and collaborate with an international NGO and international development agency. Such self-help may include both individual and collective efforts to address development needs. At the individual level, households make multiple efforts to invest in human capital including education as well as other learning opportunities. Households may also seek diversification of their income sources to reduce the risk of poverty. It includes but goes beyond activities typically categorized as informal settlement upgrading.

Agencies have sought to capture these efforts in programs. The World Bank began funding for sites and services programs in the early 1970s following its early development in Peru from the 1960s. A further direction introduced as regulatory standards increased in middle-income countries in the global South were the “shell houses” constructed on legally purchased plots and provided in countries such as El Salvador, India, and the Philippines for residents to purchase and then develop (Mukhija 2004).

Relevant to both informal settlements and legal new build initiatives has been self-help financial arrangements. Credit unions and housing cooperatives are examples of more complex self-help strategies that have emerged, and loan programs enable households to finance their own improvements more easily.

Box 5. Shack/Slum Dwellers International (SDI) and the Programming of the Urban Poor

SDI is a network of federations of slum and shack dwellers and homeless and landless groups in towns and cities of Asia, Latin America, and Africa. These federations bring together residents of informal settlements and those living informally in formal areas, enabling them to identify and realize a range of strategies to address their needs and interests. These national federations link to small professional agencies (NGOs) that provide them with support services. The core form of organization within these people's federations remains savings schemes, local groups that draw together residents in low-income neighborhoods to save, share their resources and strategize to address their collective needs. Local groups benefit from peer support through community-to-community exchanges. Community mapping and surveying form the basis for building a strong platform at the neighborhood level, and pilot activities identify and demonstrate improved solutions for housing, basic services, and settlement planning. Where possible, the federations also develop an increasing emphasis on citywide strategies for change.

With most federation savers and savings-group managers being women, these savings groups help address the multiple forms of disadvantage, oppression, and exploitation that they face. The immediate focus and localized orientation to collective savings provides them with a new role supported by their peers. This challenges and helps overturn discrimination and limited social expectations as women engage with each other as *activists* (rather than remaining subservient to male and/or older household members) and in *public* (rather than enclosed in the household) and being *strategic* (rather than passive). The collective nature of savings helps to ensure that women are nurtured as they develop a new understanding of themselves and their capabilities. As women take up new leadership roles in providing essential goods and services, centered on the home and neighborhood, an engagement with the state begins. New relations with the state include those with local councilors, officials, and sometimes traditional authorities. These are essential if urban deprivation is to be addressed and development to take place—even if these are often clientelist. Savings activities lead to Urban Poor Funds (at national and/or city levels) with blended finance.

Since SDI's inception in 1996, the network of federations that make up SDI has grown from the six founding members (Cambodia, India, Namibia, Nepal, South Africa, and Thailand) with the addition of Bolivia, Brazil, Ghana, Kenya, Malawi, the Philippines, Sri Lanka, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. The core SDI network now involves more than 16,000 savings groups with an average membership of 70 per group. A key mechanism for investing in improved tenure and services has been Urban Poor Funds, which are established by SDI affiliates as they begin to undertake precedent-setting investments (for example, building houses or a community-managed public toilet) to show their capabilities. Just under \$10 million is currently in the savings accounts of the federations from daily savings collections. Much of this finance is circulating locally within savings schemes. An additional \$2 million is community savings in national urban poor funds.

These local groups and the larger federations to which they belong are engaged in many community-driven initiatives to upgrade informal and squatter settlements, improving tenure security, and offering residents new development opportunities. They are also engaged in developing new housing that low-income households can afford and installing infrastructure and services (including water, sanitation, and drainage). More than 200,000 households have secured formal tenure (either individual or collective) as a result of this work. Across the network of federations, 102 agreements are in place with provincial or city authorities that establish a dialogue with potential for more equal relationships between the authorities and the communities.

Source: Satterthwaite and Mitlin 2014.

Some agencies such as the Orangi Pilot Project (OPP) support more radical efforts to rethink urban development, identifying improved modalities of infrastructure investment to enable household efforts (including time and money) and state funds to be better used. Their program builds on self-help but remodels solutions to

increase the effectiveness of local investments and ensure state support for local infrastructure improvements. More than 1 million people have been served by self-financed sanitation improvements in the city of Karachi with additional investments in trunk infrastructure. The work of the OPP has extended to Urban Resources Centres,

Box 6. Baan Mankong: Achieving Secure Housing in Thailand

In 1992 the Thai government provided the Urban Community Development Office (UCDO) with capital of B 1,250 million (or just over \$41 million) to allow it to make loans available to organized low-income urban communities so that they could undertake a range of activities related to housing, land acquisition, and income generation. This funding also provided for small grants and technical support to community organizations. The Thai government recognized the successes of UCDO activities, and in 2002 the Community Organization Development Institute (CODI) was established as an independent public organization to continue and extend this work.



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In 2003 the government responded to continuing problems of poor-quality and often insecure housing and neighborhoods threatened with eviction in urban areas with a new program Baan Mankong or “secure housing,” which is broadly consistent with the work of CODI and implemented through the Institute. Baan Mankong channels government-financed infrastructure subsidies and housing loans directly to low-income communities, which plan and carry out improvements to their housing environment and to basic services. Infrastructure subsidies of B 25,000 (\$625) per family are available for communities upgrading in situ, B 45,000 (\$1,125) for reblocking, and B 65,000 (\$1,625) for relocating. Families can draw on low-interest loans from either CODI or banks for housing, and a grant equal to 5 percent of the total infrastructure subsidy is available to help fund the management costs for the local organization or network.

Baan Mankong supports processes designed and managed by low-income households and their community organizations and networks. These communities and networks work with local governments, professionals, universities, and NGOs in their city to survey all low-income communities and then plan an upgrading program to improve conditions for all these within three to four years. Once the plans have been finalized, CODI channels the subsidies and loans directly to the communities. These upgrading programs build on the community-managed programs and on what communities have already developed. Upgrading existing settlements is supported whenever possible; if relocation is necessary, a site is sought close by to minimize the economic and social costs to households. The program imposes as few conditions as possible seeking to support upgrading in ways that allow urban poor communities to lead the process and generate local partnerships, so that the whole city contributes to the solution.

Between 2003 and July 2012, Baan Mankong supported 874 projects in 1,637 communities (some projects cover more than one community) spread across 286 urban centers and covering 91,805 households. Sixty-one percent of beneficiaries belong to communities that were upgraded in situ with long-term secure collective tenure. Ten percent of beneficiaries relocated to new sites within two kilometers of their former homes. During the same period, grants for infrastructure upgrading and associated technical assistance and capacity building exceeded \$147 million, and loans for land and housing exceeded \$181 million. More than 78 percent of households supported by CODI are now living in settlements that have also achieved tenure security, via long-term leases or collective land ownership.

Source: Satterthwaite and Mitlin 2014.

which recognize that aided self-help can be furthered by the political pressure that organized communities can exert if organized into networks and social movements. This is likely to be necessary to address land issues and secure public finance at scale.

The aided self-help approach has developed in many ways, particularly in Asia, building on the experiences of the Million Houses Program in Sri Lanka and the Community Mortgage Program in the Philippines. Box 6 introduces a national government program from Thailand launched to

address continuing problems of urban poverty and informal settlements in towns and cities across the country.

Further innovations and the adaptation of such experiences to countries with little state support has resulted in new

models. Box 7 describes one such initiative that has built on the experiences in Thailand and elsewhere in Asia to support a range of efforts by civil society organizations to achieve progressive urban change.

Box 7. Asian Coalition for Community Action (ACCA) and Community-Led Upgrading

In 2008 the Asian Coalition for Housing Rights (ACHR) launched the Asian Coalition for Community Action (ACCA) to catalyze change in Asian cities in regard to slum upgrading. This program builds on the tradition of work within the Coalition. ACCA enables community groups to be the primary doers in planning and implementing projects in which they tackle problems of land, infrastructure, and housing. In each country, the support for community initiatives is channeled through ACHR members that are already working on issues of urban poverty and housing. These groups share a belief in a large-scale change process that is led by people. Many of these groups already support federations and networks of low-income community people, and most have already cultivated some kinds of collaborative links with local government agencies. ACCA offer new tools to these groups to enhance, strengthen, and scale up the work they are already doing to create a collaborative, citywide mechanism for bringing about change in their cities.

The core activities of the program, which account for 60 percent of the budget, are the small upgrading projects and larger housing projects that are implemented in low-income communities by their residents. The plans for these projects, as well as the citywide surveying, saving, and partnership-building processes they are part of, are developed and implemented by the local groups. The budget ceilings for the upgrading projects are very small (a maximum of \$3,000) but offer flexibility in how community organizations use those small resources to address what they choose. These budgets give people something in their hands to start, to negotiate with, while forcing people to economize and think of what other resources can be mobilized. The expectation is that if communities plan well and use these funds strategically to link with other resources, then these modest amounts can help “unlock” people’s power to negotiate with other actors for more resources, more land, and more support. Each ACCA city can access the following:

- \$15,000 for at least five small upgrading projects
- \$40,000 for one big housing project in each city
- \$3,000 per city for city process support, to cover a variety of joint development processes within the city, such as surveying, network building, support for savings activities, local exchanges, and meetings and
- \$10,000 per country per year for national coordination, meetings, and exchanges.

The program supports the setting up and strengthening of collaborative mechanisms to build linking, learning, and mutual support structures.

By October 2012, the program was supporting infrastructure improvements in close to 1,000 settlements in 165 cities in 19 Asian countries. Community development funds have been established in 107 cities; 70 of these are cities in which the process of fund establishment has been directly linked to ACCA investments. In 57 percent of the big housing projects, the land has been provided by the government under a variety of tenure arrangements. Analyzing the budgets of these projects shows that only 4 percent of funds have been provided by ACCA, 13 percent are from the communities, 3 percent from minor sources, and the remaining 80 percent have been provided by local and/or national government agencies. By December 2010, in 91 cities (out of total 107) some kind of committee was formalizing this city-community partnership. National-level collaborative mechanisms are also working now in eight countries (Cambodia, Fiji, Lao People’s Democratic Republic, Mongolia, Nepal, Sri Lanka, Thailand, and Vietnam).

Source: Boonyabancha and Mitlin 2012.

5

An Assessment of the Key Challenges (Local, National, and International) to Engaging Excluded Groups in Rapidly Growing Cities

Many challenges need to be addressed if excluded groups are to be engaged more effectively and inclusive cities are to be achieved. Eight key challenges are highlighted here: (1) lack of household income and the continuing prevalence of informal incomes; (2) a lack of state investment capacity; (3) a lack of political will and state capacity even when political will is established; (4) a lack of the basic data needed for addressing poverty; (5) a lack of space for participation, especially by the lowest income groups; (6) a lack of vision for what an inclusive city means; (7) the constraints on inclusion from city governments organized sectorally; (8) and the lack of channels through which international agencies can support urban governments and civil society groups.

In regard to the first of these, lack of income is a major reason for social exclusion on the grounds of residency—and an inability to invest in human capital and so improve labor market access and health. Many of the opportunities that are created are most easily accessed by those who have some resources. For example, microfinance programs may require savings. Very low incomes and multiple necessary expenditures mean that individuals and households have a very limited capacity to save or invest and little ability to withstand shocks. Credit unions and microfinance initiatives may require regular monthly payments, but this is particularly difficult for those employed informally on very low wages. Banks may not locate close to informal settlements. Women may find it difficult to accumulate savings if they cannot make deposits outside the dwelling. Such realities illustrate the difficulties involved in taking up market-based opportunities. Subsidy finance and special provision for those with low incomes may also be more difficult. In South Africa, the water and electricity subsidy is offered on the basis of formal residency in low-income settlements. Households informally renting a room or backyard shack cannot access such state redistribution. In cities across the global South, household access to piped water (and hence usually much lower prices per liter) may be offered but be available only to those with the capital to invest in the line and meter. Such examples are also illustrative of the third challenge, a lack of state capacity to design effective interventions.

It should be recognized here that income inequalities may also be significant in addition to inadequate absolute income. High levels of income inequality and the spatially segregated cities to which they contribute appear to reduce social mobility. This occurs as political elites fail to commit to financial redistribution—or do not commit on a sufficient scale. For example, improving incomes through cash transfers may do little if the costs of basic services and other essentials (such as rents) increase as well. Such examples highlight how little we know about factors determining the supply and price of rental accommodation in low-income settlements despite the high percentage of tenants in many towns and cities; it is not uncommon for between 30 and 60 percent of residents in informal settlements to be tenants.

A particular difficulty is that high levels of informal employment in labor markets contribute to income insecurity and may be associated with dangerous and difficult working conditions. No (or very limited) labor market organizing is found among such informal workers and no monitoring of working conditions. Here it is difficult to improve the situation of these workers. Moreover those earning informal incomes are frequently excluded from both market and state opportunities: for example, the ability to access formal credit because of the requirement to deduct loan repayments automatically from wages.

A second challenge is that in many cases local government has very little funding for citywide urban management and to improve infrastructure and basic services for areas that lack such investment. This may be because of low levels of economic development and/or because most revenues are collected by the central government with very little being transferred to local municipalities. Whatever the reason, without investment capital it is not possible to improve public services and take measures to reduce such exclusion. Rapidly growing cities face particular problems as they have to provide for incoming populations without the revenue base.

Lack of government finance means that programs are partial (not universal); the lowest-income and least powerful groups receive very poor quality public services or are not provided for at all. In middle-income countries in the global South such as Brazil and South Africa, municipal capital budgets are between \$20 and \$40 per person per year. In low-income countries they are considerably less, and in most such countries, deficits in infrastructure and service provision are also much larger. In many low-income countries, annual expenditure per person by local governments is less than \$5, and almost all of this goes to cover recurrent expenditures (UCLG 2014).

A third challenge is to secure the kinds of political relations need for inclusion and a need to secure the political commitment at both the national and city scales. Resource scarcity favors clientelist political relations in which a hierarchical community leadership is established with dependency on a patron who secures access for the

neighborhood to (usually) low-quality and limited public services (often with personal favors to the community leader) in return for votes. Not only does this maintain very poor environmental conditions in informal settlements (as the services invariably are very basic and generally do not last for more than a few years), but also it maintains vertical social relations of patronage and is associated with a lack of public accountability.

Examples from cities as diverse as Guayaquil (Ecuador), Nairobi (Kenya), and Karachi (Pakistan) show that some informal entrepreneurs are able to take advantage of this and deliberately prevent public investments so that they can maintain their own businesses and associated incomes. Such vested interests prevent attempts for more inclusive approaches managed by democratic and accountable administrations. In this context, it is a challenge to ensure that programs that are almost inevitably only going to offer support to a percentage of those in need do not contribute to clientelist patterns of dominance that further disempower the urban poor. For outcomes to change, new practices are needed. At the city level, citizens and their representatives have to manage such clientelist tendencies within electoral politics. At the local level, powerful leaders may capture the benefits of programs regardless of the intent of those designing and managing the implementations.

A fourth key challenge is the lack of basic data about conditions in neighborhoods across the city. We know very little about some key areas. Hence local (and national) government lack the ability to make investments on the basis of need and are vulnerable to powerful interests subverting improvement programs. Local government may have little idea of the numbers living in informal settlements, the nature of services in these areas, and in the larger cities may not even know where they are located. This is true even in countries such as South Africa that have local government departments with considerable skills and personnel. Consequently responsible state agencies cannot, for example, know about the main health problems in each district. The lack of neighborhood data is replicated in terms of employment. A high proportion of low-income groups work in what is termed the “informal” economy for which little or no data are available—in part because the official data collected on employment have never been able to capture the variety, complexity, and

diversity of income-earning sources, working conditions, and hours and their implications for health and income levels. A few detailed studies provide insights into the living conditions in informal settlements: for instance, the numbers sharing water points and toilets, the high residential densities, and the length of time that families have occupied their homes. Also, a few detailed studies point to the difficulties faced by those working in the informal economy; for instance, the importance of social networks for getting employment and the more powerful local people who prey on street traders and other own-account workers or demand payment from them. But these are exceptions, and most authorities work with very limited data.

Even when programs are based on accurate data, they may be designed by experts with little understanding of the realities of spatial and labor market informalities. Programs are frequently too formalized to be relevant to those working and living in the informal employment sector. Credit programs may require regular monthly or weekly payments from residents (for either initial savings or repayments), which effectively excludes those paid daily or every few days because of the difficulties of accumulating these monies.

A fifth related challenge is a lack of capacity in both civil society and government to ensure that participatory processes are inclusive. Acknowledgment is widespread that the lowest-income and most disadvantaged groups often do not participate in these processes. Hence even if less powerful groups are included in participatory and/or improved governance processes, they may be dominated by those that have better political connections and/or a higher social status. It takes time for disadvantaged people to be comfortable in social interactions that have traditionally been dominated by those with expert and/or leadership status. Although it has been recognized that the more decentralized the level of decision making and planning activities, the more likely it is that inclusion will take place, this is not always acted on. Hence little autonomy may be available for the lowest level of council (such as wards and *baranguays*) to make their own decisions, and meetings frequently take place in city council officers, rather than community locations.

A sixth is the lack of inclusive vision. Major infrastructure improvements are represented as being in the interests of all, but outcomes are less equitable. For example, the reconstruction of city centers to benefit enterprises almost universally seems to involve the displacement of large numbers of low-income groups and/or informal vendors. An emerging aspirational middle class may be even more anxious to displace the urban poor and “cleanse” their neighborhoods. Street vendors and those providing forms of low-cost transport may be denied access to the city or restricted to particular areas. New alternative models of urban planning and development that allow low-income populations to remain in city centers need to be identified and promoted.

Inclusion needs to reach beyond outcome metrics to include governance. If one almost universal failing in programs and interventions is to be identified, it is the failure to engage low-income groups and their organizations sufficiently—both in prioritizing what should be done and in actually doing it and supporting these organizations to do so. Efforts have been made to improve this, such as participatory budgeting in Brazil and the more general democratizing aspirations of the 74th Amendment in India. But such efforts are too small in scale.

Many program interventions and policy reforms place too great a confidence on the state. Governments may be fickle, and as popular programs are associated with one party, the next to take office may cancel the measures. Greater political inclusion is likely to improve state commitments.

Finally, urban development is complex, and too many agencies look for simple single-sectoral interventions. Within governments, this is in part because of the ministerial divisions of responsibility that characterize modern governmental systems. Effective poverty reduction is likely to include the design of systems that make state support easier to understand and to access. Here one also finds the lack of channels through which international agencies can support urban governments and urban civil society groups, even as these are recognized as key actors in achieving more inclusive cities.

6

Excluded Groups and Collaboration with the State

Many substantive efforts have been made to enhance relations between low-income, disadvantaged, and other excluded groups and the state. These invariably establish more participatory forms of engagement between government agencies and organized groups of citizens. In most instances, the focus of the excluded groups' interaction on the part of the state is with local government. This reflects the primary significance of local government in areas of importance to disadvantaged or excluded residents—including not only access to infrastructure and services but also the influence of building and land-use regulations on the cost and availability of housing and land for housing. Local governments are undoubtedly significant, but it has to be recognized that they generally have very limited capacity to make capital investments and generally support inclusion. Nevertheless city governments are critical to efforts to secure more inclusive cities (as defined in the introduction). Below we summarize three of these efforts to illustrate what is possible.

Efforts to advance democratization in Brazil following the return to democracy in the mid-1980s included reflections on how to advance the accountability of local government. Among other innovations, participatory budgeting developed as a result of innovations taken by activists belonging to the federation of local neighborhood associations and the Partido dos Trabalhadores (Workers' Party) in Porto Alegre. After its introduction in the mid-1990s, participatory budgeting had spread to 104 cities by 2001 and is now in use in more than 400 municipalities in Brazil. The particular form changes in different locations but what is consistent is the organization of residential neighborhoods into groups that either directly express their choices on local priorities for municipal investment or that elect delegates to make these choices. In some cases, other excluded groups such as women are also formed into participatory councils to inform local authorities about their priorities. Formal budgetary responsibility remains with the elected representatives, who respond to the identification of priorities in their budget process. Important in the participatory budgeting cycle is the annual reporting on the priorities identified in the previous year. The scale of municipal investment and the percentage delegated to the local participatory bodies vary considerably across the towns and cities using participatory budgeting. However, it is evident that the balance of investments has changed toward basic public goods and services in response to greater involvement by citizens living in low-income neighborhoods. Participatory budgeting has also been important in institutionalizing relationships between local neighborhood associations and challenging clientelist political practices with their relations of dependency and subjugation.

The work of the Urban Community Development Office in Thailand was partially introduced box 6, which describes the ways in which the Office has used state subsidies to secure material improvements in informal settlements. UCDO also built on other practices of savings-based organizing to strengthen neighborhood associations and bring them together in citywide networks. The residents in informal settlements were encouraged by Office staff and local NGOs to set up community-based savings and loan groups. Loans were made available by the

Office for income generation, revolving funds, housing and land acquisition (for instance, to allow communities threatened with eviction to purchase the site they occupied or land elsewhere and develop housing there), and housing improvement. The National Housing Authority provided some infrastructure subsidies including to communities with UCDO housing projects. Any community could receive any of these loans, provided it could show that it had the capacity to manage savings and loans and that the loans could be used to respond to the particular needs of each group. Local groups established city and provincial savings group networks that were helped to join together and negotiate with city or provincial authorities, influence development planning, or simply work together on shared problems of housing, livelihoods, or access to basic services. UCDO loans were also provided to networks of community groups, who then on-lent to their member organizations. For UCDO, this was in part instrumental: Funding could be provided at lower cost if organized and managed by community organizations or networks and cost recovery improved. But the work has also made local government more relevant to the needs and interests of low-income and disadvantaged citizens who were previously excluded from political decision making. The learning from UCDO then fed into the work and structure of CODI, whose work was described already.

Slum/Shack Dwellers International is described in box 5. Savings-based organizing helps to bring local residents together in city and national federations of the homeless and landless. Such organizations help to ensure that neighborhood groups are not isolated but support each other and work together. The emphasis on

citywide federating is critical to changing urban politics. In terms of strategies to engage local government, most city federations establish city funds, using these monies to add to the capital of local savings groups and, more significantly, using these savings capital in efforts to leverage state contributions. Of particular significance in improving the quality of dialogue between local authority officials and politicians has been the use of citywide profiles of informal settlements and settlement enumerations. The presentation of such information captures attention because the local authorities themselves lack this information. SDI local savings schemes have completed about 9,000 settlement profiles, and in 200 urban centers they have profiled all informal settlements. Approximately 4,000 enumerations have been completed in which all of the residents are surveyed and their shacks numbered. This enables the compilation of detailed reports that include, for example, household size, sources of livelihood, incomes, length of stay, and access to basic services. In just over 1,000 of these enumerations shacks and basic services have been plotted using GIS coordinates, which facilitates the preparation of new settlement plans based on the priorities of residents. SDI has also used pilot activities, called precedents, to identify the kinds of improvements they see needed for water and sanitation provision and housing. Such precedents enable communities to be more effective in their negotiations with local authorities because they know the kinds of improvements they are seeking, the cost of such improvements, and any required amendments to existing regulations. By August 2013, SDI affiliates had signed 104 memoranda of understanding with local authorities formalizing their agreement to work together to address issues of exclusion and neglect.

7

Proposed Metrics by Which the Engagement of Excluded Groups Can Be Monitored and Assessed

Far more discussion has taken place around what indicators should be used for measuring and monitoring progress after 2015 than how the whole data generation system should be structured to encourage, serve, and support inclusion. Most of the discussion focuses on developing an agreed upon set of national level indicators to be applied to all countries. This ignores the extent to which inclusion in urban areas is linked to the capacity, competence, and accountability of local governments and to the extent to which those who are excluded are organized and able to engage with local government. Data collected on exclusion should serve and support those institutions or groups tasked with tackling the different aspects of exclusion.

The list of indicators suggested also fails to address the vast limitations in current indicators—for instance, in relation to water, sanitation, and housing conditions. What is at fault is the whole internationally endorsed data collection system because it fails to produce relevant data with the disaggregation and detail needed to inform (mostly local) assessment and action.

For measuring and monitoring poverty or other aspects of exclusion, fundamental limitations are seen in what data are currently gathered and from whom data are collected (for example, for data collected from interviews, who is interviewed; for household surveys, the size of the sample and how it is chosen). The issue also arises of for whom the data are available and useful; here the key issue is how much this provides relevant data disaggregated to the smallest political unit (for example, the ward) or geographic unit (for example, each street). If a commitment is made to inclusion, it needs to be supported by a commitment to generate the data needed to address inclusion, that is, which housing units and streets do not have regular supplies of safe water piped to their homes, electricity connections, and so on; this is not served by the aggregated figures produced by national sample surveys.

The reliance of most governments on national sample surveys for much of the data relevant to inclusion (or poverty) means that the data collected provide a very aggregated view, for instance, data “for urban populations” but not for each urban center, let alone for each ward or street. Censuses should provide data down to this level and so in theory provide data relevant for addressing exclusion, but they are expensive and generally done only once every 10 years—and it is not clear whether most census-taking institutions actually make the data available to local governments in a form that allows them to identify (socially and spatially) who is excluded.

The issue also arises of whether those who are undertaking household surveys or collecting data for censuses actually include households in informal settlements. It is obviously difficult for such data collection to take place in informal settlements for which we have no maps, no street names, no house addresses or numbers, and no data on households who live there—

and a reluctance may also be present on the part of those collecting the data to go into these informal settlements (Sabry 2009).

Almost all the metrics currently used to measure and monitor urban poverty are flawed. The \$1/person/day poverty line (and inflation-related adjustments) can be seen as a measure relevant to inclusion in that those with incomes lower than this are considered extremely poor. But these are completely unrealistic in many urban contexts because the costs of food and nonfood needs are so much higher than this. For instance, applying the \$1.25 a day poverty line to urban populations, apparently we find almost no urban poverty in China, the Middle East, North Africa, Central Asia, and Europe and very little urban poverty in Latin America and in East Asia and the Pacific (World Bank and IMF 2013). What is a particular worry is that the \$1.25 a day poverty line is being used to measure (and monitor) the proportion of the world's population in extreme poverty for the Millennium Development Goals, and it presents a very misleading picture because it shows this proportion falling rapidly and virtually disappearing in the next 10 to 20 years. Some sources recommend that national poverty lines are also used to measure and monitor poverty but do not discuss what is needed to make national poverty lines more accurate, especially in accounting for the costs of nonfood needs for urban populations living where such costs are particularly high.

Obviously an interest in inclusion means an interest in who is included in formal systems of provision for water and sanitation and who lives in legal (adequate quality) housing. The current international indicator for water (who has what is termed “improved” provision) does not indicate who is included in the official piped water supply system with water supply that is convenient, safe, regular, or affordable. There are comparable problems in the official statistics as to who has “improved provision” for sanitation because the range of toilet types said to be “improved” include those that are inadequate for high-density (and often multistory) urban settings. These official indicators for the proportion of the (urban and rural) population that have “improved provision” for water and sanitation are often based on data from demographic and health surveys that focus on representative samples for nations and so they do not indicate where the inadequacies in provision

actually are. They are based on responses to a long list of questions. For water, this includes what is the main source of drinking water for members of the household (with 15 options listed as well as “other”); where is that water source located; how long does it take to go there, get water, and come back; and do you do anything to the water to make it safer to drink, and if so, what do you usually do. But the use of these data to assess who has “improved water” makes no allowance for differences in rural and urban contexts. This is also the case for toilets, and here too one finds a list of questions on what kind of toilet facility members of the household usually use (with a range of toilet types listed) and whether this toilet facility is shared with other households. It is possible to recommend improvements to the data collected on water and sanitation within the demographic and health surveys (or other household surveys) that then allows a more accurate assessment of who is included in water supply systems that are convenient, safe, regular, and affordable in urban contexts—but as discussed at the beginning of this section, a much more important issue is how to get data on who is excluded that serves local planning and action to address this.

Statistics on who lives in “slums” could be considered as measures of exclusion from adequate quality (and often legal) housing. The statistics on the proportion of the urban population living in “slums” are known to be inaccurate; very little evidence supports the claim of these statistics that the proportion of the urban population living in slums has dropped dramatically since 2000: for instance, for the drop in the proportion of the urban population living in “slums” in India between 2000 and 2010 from 42 to 29 percent. Where is the evidence for the drop in the proportion of Bangladesh's urban population living in slums from 78 to 62 percent in this decade? Or in Uganda from 75 to 60 percent? How did Angola manage to reduce the proportion of its urban population living in slums from 87 percent to 66 percent between 2005 and 2009? Or the Democratic Republic of the Congo from 76 to 62 percent in these same four years?¹ What is unclear is on what these statistics are actually based. UN-Habitat is not conducting annual surveys in each nation to monitor how the proportion of the population living in “slums”

¹ These are statistics produced by UN-Habitat and quoted in United Nations (2013).

has changed. It is possible to draw on national sample surveys (including the demographic and health surveys) for some of the relevant data, but the nations covered and frequency of these surveys are far less than the number of countries for which UN-Habitat presents “estimates” on the proportion of their urban population living in slums for 2005, 2007, and 2009. But even if the accuracy of these statistics was improved, they would still have the same limitation of other statistics drawn from national sample surveys—they do not give the needed local detail to support action.

What is needed is not only indicators that are realistic for urban contexts but forms of data collection that make evident the deprivations faced by those in different informal settlements or other areas where low-income groups are concentrated within each urban center. You can hardly plan for an inclusive city if no data are at hand on who is excluded from infrastructure and services in that city and where they live. National statistical offices almost never seem to support local governments with the information base they need to become more effective—which includes data on housing conditions and infrastructure and service provision to each neighborhood.

It is easy to list a set of measures (and indicators) for each of the eight aspects of deprivation noted in figure 1. Some of these would coincide with what is being collected already—for instance, for water, sanitation, electricity, and access to schools—although as suggested above, the level of detail needs to be increased (so for water, it is possible to assess who has safe, sufficient, regular, and affordable water). Some additional indicators are suggested—for instance, the proportion of the urban population with health care services, emergency services, provision for drainage, regular collection of household wastes, policing,

access to safety nets, and public transport—although as with provision for water, each of these may need a set of questions to allow an assessment of whether these needs are being met. Not much point is seen in measuring who has access to health services if these services are poor quality and unable to provide needed responses to most illnesses and injuries. It would be important to identify relevant indicators for other aspects of deprivation, including voicelessness and powerlessness within political systems and bureaucratic structures, risks of eviction from homes, and those based on gender, age, ethnicity, etc. On issues of affordability, it would be useful to get data on the proportion of income going to (for instance) water, pay-to-use toilets, keeping children in school, electricity, health care, transport, and so on, which can highlight where action is needed to reduce such costs. But this is an assessment that needs doing in each city to feed discussions of inclusion (and the means for inclusion).

Finally, one of the most profound forms of exclusion is the way in which low-income groups and their organizations are never consulted about their needs and priorities. We have mentioned earlier the range of ways in which representative organizations of the urban poor have addressed this, and this includes collecting data about their settlements through enumerations, mapping, and surveys. This provides the data for each settlement that can serve the inclusion of the inhabitants in the formal city (no longer illegal) and in official systems of provision for infrastructure and services. When representative organizations of “slum” or shack dwellers develop working relationships with local government with agreements on joint work and with local government staff that they know and work with, some of the most important aspects of exclusion are being addressed.

8

Conclusion: Toward Measures of Inclusion That Work for the Excluded

Perhaps the most important issue in regard to what information supports inclusion is greater acknowledgment about what urban poor groups are doing themselves with respect to data collection and analysis and how they see and use this to negotiate greater inclusion: for instance, the extent to which one finds direct support to urban poor organizations that also helped support their work in partnership with local government—as in the more than 100 cities with formal agreements between local government and the federations and/or a jointly managed fund or the Urban Poor Fund International managed by SDI and the Asian Coalition for Community Action (ACCA) managed by the Asian Coalition for Housing Rights.

This in turn is supported by new forms of data collection whose collection and use contributes to greater inclusion—as in the surveys, maps, and enumerations undertaken by federations or networks of community organizations already mentioned. Direct engagement is also needed by local governments with organizations of the urban poor to identify the metrics that work for them and their members. The list of topics that these need to cover will not differ much from the previously noted lists, but the indicators chosen by urban poor groups for measuring and monitoring these may differ very considerably. One of the indicators that appear to be important are the numbers who, facing relocation, are located close to their original locations, or who are allowed to identify alternative sites for their new accommodation. Ease and cost of access to water, public transport, toilets, electricity, and other basic services matter enormously to the low-income populations and particularly women, who have primary responsibility for providing for their families, but the actual indicators they would choose to assess these are likely to be more detailed than the kinds of indicators suggested for the post-2015 sustainable development goals—and rooted in local contexts.

The ability to move around the city safely, quickly, and cheaply is also likely to be important for large sections of the low-income population: A well-functioning affordable public transport system helps widen the income-earning choices of low income groups. A city where the needs of pedestrians and bicycles are met also is important for inclusion.

One revealing indicator of exclusion is the proportion of land occupied by informal settlements plus the proportion of the city population living in such settlements. Indicators of inclusion might be worth considering such as the level of support for improving informal settlements, the presence of consultative mechanisms to engage city councils and organized residents, the presence of review mechanisms to assess government expenditures, and the presence of up-to-date information about informal settlements including populations, existing services, and the land area these occupy. But it is important that the metrics chosen to measure and monitor exclusion are locally generated and locally relevant—and thus with limitations on how these can be compared internationally. When working in a particular city, it is possible to report on a range of indicators important for inclusion, for instance, the quality of the relationship between urban poor organization leaders and local government staff and politicians, the ease with

which these leaders have access to senior staff, evidence of formal agreements between local government and urban poor organizations (such as formal memoranda of understanding), joint measures to identify groups most at risk from extreme weather, and provisions that allow urban poor organizations to oversee local government decisions on public works investments. Then we find the examples of where local governments have allowed formal housing developments by urban poor groups with minimum lot sizes and infrastructure provision that do not meet official standards. Strong examples are available of each of these that show how these aspects of exclusion can be assessed in each locality, but how can these contribute to national indicators?

Our earlier discussion explored general challenges to achieving inclusive cities. These are challenges that governments and communities must tackle through their collective efforts. In terms of collaboration between groups, three particular challenges must be addressed: First, to

avoid being partial in their efforts and so to reach out to all groups in the city through finding forms of engagement that incentivize a breadth of activities drawing in all of those in need. Second, to set up processes that outlive specific administrations or interests and that provide for continuity in collaboration between civil society and the state in each city. A risk exists that interesting initiatives are associated with partisan politics, and joint activities have to be renegotiated following elections. Although some of this may be inevitable, it is important that this be minimized. Ongoing experiences and considered learning are necessary if practices are to be improved. Third, to link across cities and city regions. Many of the challenges of exclusion do not stop at city boundaries, which are necessarily arbitrary. Hence we see a need to think about collaboration and joint efforts between city administration and surrounding municipalities, as well as a need to link experiences and efforts across cities. This should help in ensuring appropriate central government policies, regulatory frameworks, and the redistribution of resources.

Appendix 1: Summary of the Seven Approaches

Approach	Primary Concern That Approach Addresses	Theory of Change	Major Concerns
Welfare	Assistance to those lacking the resources and access to services to meet their basic needs.	Establish the ability to provide cash or in-kind goods or services to alleviate immediate needs. Possibly make this conditional to changing behavior in favor of keeping children in school and obtaining health care. May be funded in part by compulsory individual and/or collective savings that helps to prepare for life-cycle needs and reduces the role of the state.	Achieving scale is critical, but this is expensive and hence has to be a political priority. Programs may tend to be top-down in management, dividing groups into deserving and undeserving poor with discrimination against some groups. Some modes of delivery encourage the individualization of citizen state relations, preventing the consolidation of social movements.
Urban management	Lack of planning, basic infrastructure, and services for urban well-being and prosperity.	Investment in infrastructure and services will increase income-generation opportunities and support enterprise development. Those investments need to be located at the local government level to be effective. Need is evident to manage land-use and land-use changes guided by a city plan.	Emphasis on the management of urban centers for economic growth may lead to models of urban development that exclude low-income groups from the city centers and other prime locations. Modern urban management models may be expensive and unlikely to be an efficient use of scarce resources. Professional designs may be less effective for inclusive pro-poor cities than alternative approaches. The focus is the city, excluding consideration of the nesting of city economics within the macroeconomy and social links at the household and other levels.
Participatory governance	Improved processes of democratic local government to ensure that it is more responsive to the needs and interests of its low-income and disadvantaged citizens.	Creating institutions of participatory governance to ensure that democracy becomes more pro-poor. This can be achieved through a diversity of strategies offering citizens and community organizations greater inclusion and influence in political decision making and state action. May extend to coproduction	Participatory fora can be limited in their decision-making role. They may also not be inclusive or pro-poor. Participatory opportunities may also be dominated by nonpoor groups or include only some of those who were previously excluded. Government policies can be influenced by elites whatever the intentions of politicians. Clarity between models of representative and participatory democracy needs to be in place.

Approach	Primary Concern That Approach Addresses	Theory of Change	Major Concerns
Rights-based	Failure of state to treat all nationals as citizens with equal rights. Failure of state to meet its duties and obligations.	Extending rights and entitlements will protect low-income and disadvantaged groups and individuals. The emphasis on rights rather than needs reinforces a broader understanding of social justice.	Rights can be difficult to achieve by groups that have little power. Legal processes to claim rights can be complex and formal, and hence exclude low-income households. Rights-based approaches strengthen the power and legitimacy of the state, which may be more concerned with property rights than the urban poor.
Market	Lack of access of low-income individuals and households to private services that have to be paid for, to market opportunities required to provide needed incomes over the life cycle and for enterprise development.	Improved access to financial markets will enable scarce cash to be used better to address needs and generate further income. The market encourages improved access to a range of goods and services. It is often anticipated that an emphasis on markets will provide livelihood opportunities.	Not all people are able to enter the market and/or withstand the competition. Market approaches favor those who are already relatively better-off. Market approaches may increase vulnerabilities for households unable to manage debt. This does very little to address adversity in difficult macroeconomic conditions.
Social and urban movements	Without strong mass organizations and associated processes to represent their political interests, the urban poor will be disadvantaged and will be excluded from political decisions and infrastructure and service provision.	Strong and capable urban poor organizations will be able to develop effective strategies and realize them. This includes making alliances with each other, building relations with a range of professional organizations, and negotiating with the state.	Movements respond to both immediate and long-term difficulties that the urban poor face. However, movement activities may be short lived and with a focus on making demands on the state and so may not sustain the pressure needed for substantive change. Movements may also be manipulated or co-opted by political interests. Movements may not represent the interests of the lowest-income members.
Aided self-help	The urban poor have to provide themselves with housing, basic services, infrastructure, and land acquisition. They can do this better with the support of local government and access to financial services.	Individuals and groups make substantive investments in addressing their own needs for housing, infrastructure, and basic services. With government provision of bulk supplies, trunk infrastructure, technical assistance, and loans and with appropriate regulatory regimes, much more can be achieved.	Without external resources and subsidies, the lowest-income households may not be included in the solutions promoted by aided self-help. Local solutions for improved basic infrastructure and services are unlikely to be fully effective without access to trunk infrastructure networks, which requires considerable state investment.

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