THE PREPARATION OF SITE AND SERVICES PROJECTS:
A DISCUSSION PAPER

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This paper briefly presents the major issues which have been raised during the identification, preparation, appraisal, and supervision of the Senegal site and services project and subsequent discussions about the monitoring of site and services projects. The decision to monitor these projects reflects agreement at many levels within the Bank that the site and services concept requires continuing refinement and improvement if it is to be a generalizable method of urban development. The many economic and sociological unknowns in such projects emphasize the need for large quantities of information concerning various aspects of project development. The purpose of this paper is to suggest subject areas and specific questions which are relevant to the preparation of these projects so that staff members participating in the Bank's site and services program can raise these issues at appropriate times during the project cycle. The paper is necessarily brief, but its length does not imply that individual issues could not be discussed in detail for many pages. As we have more experience with site and services projects, the questions will change, thereby requiring further discussions within the Bank about their answers.

The paper is divided into the following sections:

A. The context of Site and Services Projects: Interconnectedness in Urban Development.

B. The Objectives of Site and Services Projects.

C. Tradeoffs and Inconsistencies in Project Preparation.

D. Preconditions of Site and Services Projects.

E. Selected Analytic and Logistical Problems.

F. Site and Services Projects and National Policy Change.
A. THE CONTEXT OF SITE AND SERVICES PROJECTS: INTERCONNECTEDNESS

URBAN DEVELOPMENT

The most significant characteristics of urban development are the complex inter-relationships which exist between various urban activities and resources. Efforts to improve land use, housing, employment, transportation, finance, or social services involve important consequences for other "sectors" within urban areas. The efficiency and success of individual projects is closely linked to these other activities. This fact of urban life suggests that urban projects should be developed as "packages" of recommended policy changes and resource allocations. To operate otherwise may further support the frequently-heard assertion that urban development in LDC's is a "bottom-less pit."

The need for a coordinated, broad approach to urban development is further emphasized by the fact that most governments in LDC's have failed to meet the demands of urban growth with well-considered policies and programs. Public efforts to develop particular sectors within urban areas have often ignored the consequences of these projects on other aspects of urban life. Policy processes themselves are frequently haphazard, lacking both adequate information and procedures for decision-making. This general situation exists in spite of the fact that efforts to curtail urban migration have usually failed and that urban growth is likely to continue in major cities in LDC's.

The preparation of urban projects in this context, therefore, becomes extremely complicated and sensitive if individual projects seek to accomplish more than merely limited, isolated objectives. As this section will suggest, the definition of the context itself is an important part of project preparation in order to permit clearer appreciation of the effects of projects. While the theoretical connections between urban processes may be understood, it may be quite difficult to collect data which explain the particular circumstances of an individual city. Nevertheless, without these data and understanding, the project itself will only be another addition to the haphazard urban management process. Therefore, some systematic approach to this definition of the context is necessary, if at least to better identify areas of knowledge and ignorance within the project preparation process. The following pages will suggest some of the components of this systematic approach.

The National Policy Framework:

An initial step in understanding the context of an urban project is a knowledge of three general policy areas:

1. Urbanization Policy, i.e., policies concerning the desirable rate of overall urban population and economic growth and strategies to achieve that rate;
2. Regional Policy, i.e., policies concerning the desired spatial distribution of population and economic activity between urban areas and regions and strategies to achieve those goals; and

3. Urban Policy, i.e., policies concerning the desired pattern of growth and development of individual urban centers.

There are many sub-headings within these general categories which deserve specific attention in order to make later judgments about premises and methods of the project. In addition, it is important to note that in many cases, no explicit policies may exist concerning these processes. In this sense, therefore, we must consider both decisions and non-decisions in terms of their effects on urban growth.

In view of the many variations in policies affecting urban areas between LDC's, it is impossible to provide a cookbook list of the necessary linkages between specific aspects of these policies and site and services projects. However, it is very important to determine the consistency of these projects with the objectives of national and local policies. Are site and services projects compatible with current housing programs? tax provisions? land use codes? Which elements of current policy should and could be made consistent with the goals of a site and services project? These general questions will be treated below in more detail.

The National Urban Sector

After determining the characteristics of national policies and their relationship to the premises of site and services projects, it is necessary to develop criteria of (1) choice between types of projects which can meet the needs of individual cities and (2) location of individual projects within particular cities. This process should occur only after an overall analysis of the needs and potentialities of the urban sector as a whole. (See the Criteria for Choosing a City for Further Investment, UARD, February 1973.) The comparison of various situations in urban centers, such as population growth, housing stock, and densities, should suggest the possible choices for location of site and services projects. Particular attention should be given to the possibly catalytic role of a project within the national urban sector, both in terms of demonstration effects and consequences for other entities and processes.

Socio-Economic Data Base

While understanding of the policy framework and the national urban sector will require a serious data collection effort, more specific types of data are needed about the city chosen for the project. Without these data, it is impossible to "prepare" or design a site and services project which has a chance of meeting its objectives. The various types of data needed include the following:
1. **Population:** Rates of growth, age structure, size, male-female composition, family size, density by neighborhood and income levels.

2. **Income Distribution and Employment:** Broken down by modern and traditional sector, salaried and non-salaried, seasonal and non-seasonal, head of household and other members, by category of occupation.

3. **Housing Supply:** Distribution of housing of different types, rent variation, building materials used, density per room, availability of credit, construction process and costs, building codes, lot and house sizes.

4. **Estimation of Demand for Housing:** Existing housing programs, calculation of number of families which could afford better quality housing if they paid specific percentages of their income on housing; household budget survey, expenditures on housing and other services; rent vs. owners percentages.

5. **Availability of Land:** Land costs, land use codes, location of available land, procedures for purchase and transfer.

6. **Public Services:** Costs, distribution networks, standards.

Taken together, these various data help to place the project into the national and local context. After these preliminary steps have been completed, it is possible to proceed to consideration of more specific issues of project design.

**B. THE OBJECTIVES OF SITE AND SERVICES PROJECTS**

Within the context described above, site and services projects should be designed to meet the following objectives:

1. Provide the opportunity for individual families to build their own homes under conditions which provide incentives for self-help activities and private investment.

2. Permit "more efficient" land use patterns and "acceptable relationships" between housing quality and "access" to other urban services and resources.

3. Channel urban public resources towards those categories of population which are not presently served by existing housing programs.
4. Meet the needs and capacity to pay of specific target populations.

5. Promote community organization and development, thereby extending the urban fabric of a city rather than isolating individual homeowners from urban life.

6. Improve health experiences of individual households.

7. Encourage internally consistent, low-cost urban policies in specific countries.

C. TRADEOFFS AND INCONSISTENCIES IN PROJECT PREPARATION

Having stated both the context of a project and its objectives, it is important to introduce several notes of realism into the discussion. These points focus on the potential inconsistencies and tradeoffs which may be implicit in the previous discussion. Attempts at coordinated intervention into urban development processes will necessarily involve choices between and among project objectives and between and among efforts to rationalize urban efficiency. Thus, while one can construct several spectra of land use efficiency, tax collection, access to employment or transport, or any other desired objective, it is clear that maximization will rarely be achieved on even one spectrum, much less be coordinated with maximization or even minimal improvement on others. Various objectives will have to be weighted and compared with others in terms of their indispensability for the project. Similarly, the evaluation of site and services project may discover that some objectives, such as community organization, may be incompatible with the capacity to pay of individual households, i.e., those families which meet their individual financial obligations may not see the advantages of participation in community organization. Not all of the objectives, therefore, may be met, either in project preparation, or implementation.

This problem is particularly important when the data necessary for project design are lacking for a city. What kinds of inferences and calculations can be made with less than perfect information? Clearly, if all the data were available for a city, that fact would reflect a level of development which might make the project itself unnecessary. Therefore, some balanced approach to preparation must be developed to meet the real conditions likely to be faced in cities.

In order to further explore the types of inconsistencies and choices which must be made, three general categories of contradictions can be identified: project, policy, and efficiency.
Project Contradictions

Example 1: Capacity to Pay Versus Community Participation

While the project seeks to increase the real income of households through individual and communal self-help efforts, that increase may lead to an individualization of households and a decline in community involvement. Moreover, it is possible that the longer the household lives in a project area, the less active it will be in community organization.

Example 2: Capacity to Pay Versus Elimination of Subsidies

In spite of efforts to have project costs reflect the real costs of urban resources, it may be necessary to introduce some level of subsidy in order to permit the desired target population to be able to meet the project costs.

Example 3: Capacity to Pay Versus Income Redistribution

Given the fact that project will involve some subsidies, and the desire that those subsidies should benefit low income groups, it may be necessary to include higher income groups, at higher costs, in order to allow larger numbers of low income people into the project. This process, however, with double pricing mechanisms and other complexities, may lead to excessive administrative costs which could eliminate the ultimate benefits gained from such an effort.

Policy Contradictions

Contradictions between the objectives of the project and the ongoing activities of public authorities are very likely to be found in all LDC's. Since the policies of most LDC governments tend to distribute resources towards the already favored groups within the society, attempts to moderate these biases or turn them around may confront serious political obstacles.

Example 1: Demolition of Squatter Settlements

Many LDC governments wish to destroy existing squatter areas for various reasons, such as modernization of the city or use of valuable property for other purposes. This reduction in overall housing supply at a time when other new units are being created through site and services may not result in a net increase in housing stock, nor will it decrease prices for housing. While there may be good reasons to demolish some squatter areas, it may be advisable to wait until studies of the costs of in situ improvement have been completed to determine reasonable criteria for demolition. Yet, in some cases, the pressures may be too great to stop demolition.
Example 2: Shifts in Target Population

After having completed calculations and definition of the appropriate target populations, it may be discovered that new charges to occupants of existing housing programs may drive the occupants out of the higher quality housing and into site and services projects. There may be a wholesale shift of the characteristics of the occupant population. Any increases in costs at higher housing quality levels may result in this shifting process. In Senegal, the government responded so enthusiastically to the notion that housing units should reflect real costs, and not subsidies, that the costs of roads and schools in another project were to be added to rents and purchase prices. In some cases, occupants of a three-room unit were paying as if they lived in a four-room unit. The result, if not averted, would have been disastrous for the site and services project which would have been faced with a population no longer able to meet the costs of the higher quality housing program.

Example 3: Housing Tax Distribution

While the Senegalese Government agreed to phase out the higher cost housing units, it still maintained a housing tax which in effect had the entire population subsidizing he already favored segments in the population through the construction of exclusively high-cost units. The distribution of revenue from this tax was revised to allow support for site and services projects rather than the so-called low-cost housing.

Efficiency Contradictions

While the interconnectedness of urban processes may be accepted, the problem of their efficient coordination remains. These examples suggest a few of the problems:

Example 1: Low Density Housing Versus Transportation Costs

A prime example of inconsistency in the site and service approach lies in the reduction of density through peripheral site location and efforts to maintain or least not increase transportation costs. By moving low-income people out of central city areas where casual employment opportunities are most available, significant new transportation costs may eliminate the value of better housing conditions. Worse still, the transportation costs may be so prohibitive as to result in a decline in cash income. Some balance of costs and benefits in this situation must be found.

In Senegal, an effort to ensure that low-cost cars rapide would be permitted to service the project areas has not yet been successful, even though the cars rapide offer service at less than one third of the cost of more modern buses.
Example 2: Land Use and Municipal Revenue

While improved housing is a legitimate goal, low density land use may result in an unacceptable decline in property tax revenue for municipalities. Industrial use of the same property could provide additional revenue which could usefully be devoted to other urban services. Careful calculations, therefore, of the possible uses of land must accompany the early steps of project preparation. However, those calculations may suggest that a site and services project is not the best use of available land.

D. PRECONDITIONS TO SITE AND SERVICES PROJECTS

The dilemmas posed by the above contradictions in objectives all involve risks for the "successful" implementation of the project, regardless of one's definition of "success." In spite of these uncertainties, however, there appear to be another category of much greater risks which arise if the certain preconditions are not fulfilled. These preconditions are suggested below in general terms.

Informational Preconditions

The socio-economic data base required for project preparation has been introduced above. While it is true that these types of data are necessary for the design of the project, a continuing information process is also necessary for implementation of the project. The procedures by which low income people are informed, their applications received and evaluated, their sites selected, and installation carried out all require precise information about the individual households and groups in order to assure that the desired target population is actually brought into the project in a manner which will encourage self-help activities. The long-term character of payments to the executing agencies also demands that administrators understand and anticipate the many circumstances which may develop in the course of settling many thousands of people.

Institutional Preconditions

Site and services projects demand continuous involvement of executing agencies in a wide variety of activities. The coordination of these activities within the project area suggests that the executing agencies must have specific internal characteristics as well as necessary links to other institutions. The following paragraphs suggest some of the questions which should be raised in determining whether a potential institution will be able to meet the requirements involved in implementing a project.
Characteristics of an Executing Agency:

Although the choice of the appropriate institutions as executing agency may not have been made before the arrival of a Bank mission, most often the agency has already been designated by the government. Nevertheless, it is important to ask if the selected institution is the best available choice and to what extent can it be improved.

1. Finance: What is the financial basis of the agency? Do its resources come from the national or local budget? Upon what factors and processes do annual budgetary allocations depend? What kinds of fluctuations in assets are likely to develop?

2. Personnel: What is the personnel structure of the agency? What are the qualifications of the staff? Can the staff grow according to the needs of a major, phased development project? What are the strengths and weaknesses of the staff in administrative, financial and technical skills? Would technical assistance be necessary for this agency to implement the project? What would be the duration, scale, and characteristics of this assistance? Are trainable counterparts available for the technical assistance?

3. Institutional History: What is the experience of this agency in carrying out other major development efforts? What are public and official attitudes toward the agency? What are the other demands and functions of the agency? How would these be coordinated with the project?

4. Relationships with the Government: How does the agency fit into national and local policy processes? Upon which other institutions does it depend? How would those institutions support a major project to be implemented by the agency? What are the various constituencies of this agency? How much authority and power does this agency exert when actions are required from other parts of the government? What institutional channels and/or mechanisms exist to coordinate the activities of this agency with other parts of the government? Should these be created for implementation of this project? Could they be created?
Self-Help Incentives as Preconditions

A particularly important set of preconditions for site and services projects is the creation of an environment of incentives for self-help, which will unambiguously encourage project occupants to improve their dwelling units. These incentives include the following factors:

1. Land Tenure Arrangements

Given the lack of security for squatters, there is usually little incentive for them to improve their dwelling units. The threat of bulldozers, and relocation without compensation has effectively limited the initiative of families with incomes sufficient to raise the quality of their shelter. Without some long-term, guarantee of land tenure, indeed final ownership a site and services project will not develop beyond the bidonvilles which previously housed its inhabitants. Therefore, a very careful study must be made of the tenure arrangements for the sites, with reference to the history of land tenure in the city as a whole and in comparison to other residential areas. It is probably fair to say that without attention to this issue, the project will be a failure.

2. Levels of Public Services

Earlier sections referred to the costs of different levels of public utilities and other services. Studies should be made of the existing service levels in other parts of the city in order to determine (a) if the project's services represent sufficient improvement over previous conditions, and (b) if so, whether they will encourage or discourage self-help activities. The latter could occur if costs prohibited investment in the construction process.

3. Densities

It is assumed that decreased densities, i.e., more individual and community living space per household will encourage improvement in housing. To what degree is this supported in the particular city involved?
l. Distance to the Center of the City

In spite of many other incentives, low-income residents may be unable or unwilling to invest in housing if they must commute long and expensive distances to their places of employment. This factor, while important for overall urban efficiency, is especially important for improvement of real income. Transportation, therefore, must be considered carefully in the estimation of incentives for location within the project.

E. SELECTED ANALYTIC AND LOGISTICAL PROBLEMS

The following issues have arisen during the course of recent supervision and preparation of various projects.

Costs and Target Populations

The analytic and logical relationships between cost components of a project and its appropriate target population are perhaps the most complicated and critically important aspect of project preparation. The creation of an environment of incentives to stimulate self-help construction and improve real income requires a detailed knowledge of the socio-economic circumstances of specific groups within the population. It also demands a careful adherence to the analytic and mathematical procedures which link socio-economic data to estimates for the various project components and thus to the project as a whole. Incorrect information concerning land or service costs will distort the entire financial and socio-economic picture of a project. Assumptions about service levels must be related to preferences concerning services and the possible costs specific population groups are willing to bear. The following section will attempt to indicate some of the steps and their order in the preparation of project costs and their consequences for the choices concerning potential target populations.

1. Determine costs of available land.

2. Determine range of existing and potential subsidies for various services and land.

3. Determine costs of water, electricity, drainage, and other services at different standard levels.

(a) First determine actual service expenditure for different income levels within the population.
(b) Secondly, determine the percentage of household budgets at different levels spent on these services.

(c) Prepare a range of costs for different standard levels, i.e., one standpipe per 100 families, 25 families, 5 families, etc.

(d) This must be repeated for all services, including administrative costs. The range of alternatives must be summed, providing service costs per unit of land which can then be compared to actual household expenditures for these services. Different packages of services must then be determined within the income constraints of varying income levels.

(e) The costs of providing credit and the various interest charges to the agency and the project occupants should be determined.

4. Given the range of service cost alternatives, these should be added to land costs to determine which income groups in the population could afford the costs of the project. This analysis should be compared to the absolute size of the income groups, their proportion of the total population, and their relative housing situation. Thus it is conceivable that the top 20% of the population could afford cost solutions A and B, but since this group already benefitting from a public housing program, it should not be the determinant of which solution is chosen. A judgment, therefore, must be made about the relative need of individual groups as well as the demand for housing.

5. While one can imagine urging an improvement over current service levels, all improvements should be made within the limits of the proportions of income spent on services of these types. If choices would significantly alter consumption patterns for the households, then the basis of these choices should come from sample surveys rather than being arbitrarily imposed from the outside. Raising high service levels in the name of "modernity" or some other justification may not reflect the desires of potential target populations.
6. The processes by which service levels, costs, and potential target groups are brought together is a critical step for the preparation of a project as a whole. While cost estimates may eliminate lower groups within the population, as they did in Dakar, they should only do so if costs are based on service levels which reflect realistic percentages of household expenditures. After the floor of income levels is discovered, eliminating a specific percentage of the population from project eligibility, then some justification must be developed to determine the income ceiling of eligibility. This justification could be: (a) groups not already eligible for existing programs, (b) groups below the average income, (c) need, (d) demand, or many others appropriate to specific country circumstances or Bank policy, such as the bottom 40% of the population, if that is appropriate.

7. After choosing a tentative target population, it is necessary to develop mechanisms for the actual installation of that population into the project. Criteria of ceilings and floors for project eligibility must be carefully considered in terms of their enforcibility. Similarly, within the criteria of eligibility, there should be a statement of the distribution of households of different types. This is critical if different service levels are to be offered to project occupants. Careful calculations must be made to indicate the monthly revenue to the executing agency coming from households receiving varying services.

Information and Selection Procedures

The issue of mechanisms for information, identification, selection, and admission of the target population into the project is particularly critical. A major criticism of development projects in general has been that they tend to benefit already favored income groups within the population. The procedures, therefore, for actually delivering the site and services opportunity to low income groups deserve special attention. The Senegalese authorities had little idea of procedures concerning the selection of project occupants, suggesting that the usual biases in the distribution of public resources would be found in the site and services project as well. Indeed, many well-off Senegalese see the advantages of securing a site within the project and are going through elaborate divestitures of property, to family and others, to meet the criterion of non-ownership of property in the Dakar area. Only a precise information collection mechanism, such as an at-home survey, can provide sufficient data to allow a judgment about the degree to which a household meets the criteria of project eligibility. (See the attached survey questionnaire and its procedural arrangements for greater detail on this point.)
Before surveys are undertaken, however, a carefully-defined campaign must be carried out to inform the eligible population about the project. The frequent biases in individuals and groups "hearing about the project" must be overcome in order to assure, once again, that the less-favored segments of the population present their candidacies for the project. While a city-wide information campaign is theoretically desirable, perhaps through radio and newspapers, this type of effort may result in tremendous lines of people outside the housing offices. In addition, such media efforts may only barely reach the attention of the low-income target groups. Therefore, touring community development workers actually holding meetings in individual neighborhoods may be the only sufficiently "selective mass-oriented" method to inform the appropriate populations. This process, however, should not be totally exclusive, because other groups, such as labor unions or professional associations meeting the income criteria of eligibility, may approach the executing agency en bloc. Other mechanisms, therefore, must be developed to reach specific already organized groups. In any case, it is possible to eliminate biases in the information process, because not all quarters can be informed simultaneously. Processes of self-select on will introduce other biases, often based on other factors such as education, income, or need. In spite of these pitfalls to an unbiased, fair information mechanism, some effort should be made to develop a "selectively-mass-oriented" information campaign which focuses on informing the desired target population.

After the information campaign is begun, and as individuals and groups express their desire to apply for admission to the project, a survey questionnaire should be administered in order to collect sufficient data to allow decisions concerning eligibility. The use of this questionnaire as part of an overall census of all project applicants has been approved within the Bank as a monitoring instrument both for later research and as a technique in population selection. It will be included in all project agreements for site and services projects. Therefore, it should be incorporated into the design of the selection process.

Completed questionnaires should be examined back at the offices of the executing agency and recommendations made concerning eligibility and admission into the project.

Community Organization

Central to the concept of site and services is the role of community involvement in the improvement, organization, and maintenance of the new urban environment. Community organizations can perform a wide variety of economic, social, political, and financial functions which can facilitate the role of the executing agency. Without here examining these multiple functions, it is important to note that community groups can also be used as vehicles for population selection for the project. The Senegal project gives explicit preference to group
applications to the project on the grounds that prior organization will increase the chances of effective collaboration of households when located together on adjoining sites. These groups are supposed to receive continuing attention from the community development agency of the Senegalese government as they prepare to relocate to the project.

While this emphasis on the functions of groups within the project is correct, it should be noted that there are many different categories of groups, such as neighborhood, ethnic, occupational, religious, etc. At the present time we do not have any experience with the differential performance of groups of different types in self-help situations. Therefore, we should not encourage overly-rigid definitions of appropriate community organizations. One of the results of the monitoring study will be an evaluation of the performances of categories of groups in these projects, but these conclusions will not be available for several years.

Another troublesome issue is individual membership within groups eligible for the project. If 50 families have inhabited a neighborhood for 10 years and now desire to relocate en bloc to the project area, it is neither sensible nor humane to admit 40 of the families meeting the income criteria, but rejecting the other 10 because they are beyond the income limits. Methods for their incorporation into the group must be developed in order to maintain the integrity of the group while at the same time not threatening to compromise either the financial basis or the goals of the project. The method of group vouching for families below the income limits is provisionally accepted in Senegal, but it is not yet determined what percentage of group members have to meet the income criteria of eligibility.

A final issue concerns the timing of group formation. Up to this point it has been assumed that groups would be formed before relocation to the project area. However, there is little evidence to firmly assert that groups perform better if organized before rather than after relocation. Therefore, for experimental purposes, until proven otherwise, it might be worth admitting a certain number of individual households into the project, and then organizing them during the process of installation. This will be done in projects to be monitored intensively, but may be worth incorporating into all projects.
Attention to the many issues raised above and the implementation of a site and services project must be considered in the broader context of national policies concerning urban development. While it would be no small accomplishment to design and establish a project which truly provided housing opportunities to low-income populations, the overall impact of such an effort would be small if a companion effort was not made to coordinate national policies with the premises and goals of the site and services concept. In practical terms, international lending institutions cannot hope to solve the world's urban problems through the proliferation of enough projects to aid every eligible urban resident. Rather, each project must be used in terms of its demonstration and leverage effects as well as for its immediate impact on individuals and groups. This process will increase the impact of individual projects on urban conditions within cities and countries.

As stated earlier, the achievement of the goals of a particular project is intimately linked to other public policies and activities in urban areas. Therefore, in order to effectively implement a specific project as well as to maximize its overall impact, there should be a serious effort to make current policies and programs consistent with the project. In Senegal, this approach led to (1) changes in the allocation of revenue from a national housing tax, (2) the gradual phasing out of higher quality public housing programs, (3) delays in the demolition of existing bidonvilles until studies of in situ improvement have been completed, and (4) changes in building codes for particular areas of the city. The assignment of additional technical assistance to the Senegalese government to advise concerning the development of a national housing policy was another effort to rationalize the many related public activities in the housing field.

While the degree of leverage of a site and services program will depend on the Bank's relation with a particular country, it would seem a worthwhile strategy for urban project specialists to attempt to link as many efforts to coordinate and rationalize public policies to individual projects as possible. To do less would be to apply a piecemeal approach which would at best provide modest returns over the long run. Whilst the state of the urban management art is far from refined, this interventionist approach seems more justified than merely accepting the continuation of chaotic policy processes which have thus far failed to confront the inter-connectedness of urban problems.

The strategies to be employed in this interventionist approach deserve serious discussion within the Bank. Judgments must be made about the effectiveness of specific policy instruments as compared to the creation of new organizational and institutional mechanisms to achieve various goals. These questions must be discussed in terms of their timing within the project cycle. The phasing of individual projects may also apply to a phasing of the implementation of the package of policy changes.