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Urban Upgrading

Policy Guidelines Paper

Prepared by: Working group on urban upgrading policy guidelines.

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Introduction

Upgrading of unplanned, (squatter), settlements in peri-urban & urban areas of Zambia has been a focus of much government, donor and non-governmental organization, (NGO), attention over the past decade.

Various approaches to urban upgrading have been used in Lusaka. The World Bank projects in George and Chawama compounds involved a large capital investment with little community management & maintenance capability established. The Kalingalinga Upgrading scheme funded by the German Technical Assistance, GTZ, was implemented in collaboration with Lusaka City Council, (LCC), and resulted in an upgrading manual which highlights lessons learned. LCC has undertaken independent upgrading schemes in a number of areas, following a clear upgrading format. Most recently the Peri-Urban Self Help project initiated by the World Food Programme has introduced a food-for-work approach to infrastructural rehabilitation, under which spin-off community activities such as pre-schools and literacy classes have been initiated. The Irish Aid/LCC/CARE Zambia upgrading scheme emphasizes community participation and capacity building in Kamanga compound in Lusaka.

These various schemes are being examined in light of their replicability and potential as models for urban upgrading in Lusaka. Evaluation and comparison is somewhat difficult to assess however in the absence of a comprehensive policy framework. This fact was highlighted in a March 1994 review of the urban upgrading scheme in Kamanga compound, Lusaka. In response to this reality, a working group composed of representatives from Irish Aid, LCC & National Commission for Development Planning, (NCDP), and CARE Zambia was established.

The Working Group aimed to provide proposals for policy guideline formulation for urban upgrading schemes based on a detailed, constructive examination of the intervention in Kamanga. The intent of the working group was to distribute the document to a broad based audience (international and local NGOs, government ministries and institutions, donor organisations and municipal authorities) to encourage debate and discussion.

Section One

Context

Zambia is ranked as the third most urbanized country in sub-Saharan Africa (*State of the World's Children, 1994*). The 1980 census showed that more than 5% of the annual population growth rate in Lusaka was due to inward migration. The highest rates of net inward migration were recorded by Lusaka, the Copperbelt cities, and the Central province cities. The 1990 census preliminary report shows an estimated annual population growth rate average from 1980-1990 of 6.1% in urban areas. Lusaka has the highest population density in the country at 2700 persons/squared kilometre, followed by Kitwe with 450 persons/squared km.

In Lusaka, 60-70% of the total population of approximately 1.8 million is thought to live in high density areas. (LCC estimate). These areas are characterized by inadequate provision of basic services such as water, waste disposal, health and education facilities, as well as poor sanitation, a high incidence of preventable and communicable diseases, and high unemployment.

Statistics from Kamanga have shown that the lowest income grouping, (over one third of population), spends about 90% of their monthly earnings on food.

It is unclear at present what effect mine closures may have on migration patterns. Whilst many retrenched workers have expressed an interest in returning to rural areas, the lack of a clear agricultural policy may hinder such movement & experience world wide demonstrates the general unwillingness of urban dwellers to return to rural life. In addition, recent droughts have led to increasing inward migration to the cities. With urbanization principally taking place in the poorer, high density areas, the problems of these sites are exacerbated and become more and more difficult for local councils to address.

Section Two

Relevant Legislation

The Ministry of Local Government and Housing and Lusaka City Council have a role in urban upgrading policy formulation, although the principal responsibility lies with the Ministry. While no comprehensive policy framework exists to guide upgrading schemes, a number of acts and statutes exist in relation to upgrading.

The term "urban" was defined in the *First National Development Plan* of 1969 as any settlement of with a population of 5000 or more that is not predominantly agricultural. The term "peri-urban" has not been expressly defined, but is generally understood in Zambia to refer to poorly resourced unplanned high density, areas within an urban setting which do not receive adequate/basic municipal services. This is the definition recommended by the working group.

The main statutes which provide for urban development are:

■ **Public Health Act, #535, 1930**

This act covers all aspects of public health regulations but is overruled by "The Housing Act" (CAP #441) where it applies.

■ **Town and Country Planning Act, #475, 1962**

This act provides for planning authorities, development plans, subdivision of land, and building regulations. This act may be overruled by "The Housing Act" (CAP #441).

■ **The Housing (Statutory and Improvement) Act, #441, 1975**

Key definitions such as "certificate title," "dwelling," "improvement area," and "statutory housing area" are included in this act. The act is considered the principal legislative document on upgrading regulations.

Only the *Minister of Local Government and Housing* has the authority to declare a site an "improvement area." Under the "Housing Act", upgrading standards may be set either by the National Housing Authority or the relevant council and may vary somewhat from location to location. No minimum standard for urban upgrading has been formally established yet. There is a case for strengthening the Housing Act, (Cap 441), in order to take greater cognisance of the unplanned settlement situation.

To date, most upgrading schemes in Lusaka have tended to promote establishment or improvement of cement block houses that meet minimum specifications for ventilation and door height. Experience from

Section Three

the GTZ funded upgrading scheme in Kalingalinga shows that the percentage of homes owned by females dropped after upgrading, indicating that women who could not afford to upgrade their houses either moved out of the settlement or moved into renter positions. The Working Group is concerned about the negative impact the cost of house upgrading can have on the poorest members of a community and recommends that the standards remain flexible. The issue of house upgrading in unplanned settlements, its costs & the minimum standards to be applied, should be examined during the current exercise of formulating a national housing policy.

There is no policy on the position of absentee landlords versus renters in an upgrading scheme vis-a-vis plot allocation and title deeds under a community participation scheme. Overall legality of land title in unplanned settlements, provisions for sustainability of upgrading works, and integration of upgrading schemes into city-wide plans are also not well-defined.

Experience in Kamanga has been that land title issues are of critical concern to residents and are a factor in their decisions on participation in upgrading activities. The Kamanga Upgrading Project has tried to encourage debate in the community on landlord-tenant rights in upgrading to facilitate community decision-making on the subject. To date no final decisions have been made, but the experience has been that this is a long and difficult process which has been affected by political issues. Any policy on plot allocation will need to weigh the advantage of council-created regulations which are standardized and objective against community-agreed guidelines, which will be acceptable to residents and fitting to local circumstances and in particular taking account of access by vulnerable groups.

The above issues should be addressed by a national housing policy which is in process.

*The Kamanga
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Urban Framework Issues

World Bank Aide-Memoire

Introduction

The Working Group reviewed the World Bank Aide-Memoire, (Annex 1), on urban framework issues as it is the main document to date which explores a cross section of issues in urban development. In addition, the World Bank has been a major player in urban upgrading schemes since the 1970s.

Urban Policy Overview

A World Bank mission was undertaken in January/February 1994 with one of its two main purposes being to collect information for a comprehensive urban framework issues paper which will begin the process of identifying priorities and actions required for improving the management of the sector. The paper states that discussions and field visits have served to confirm that the delivery and maintenance of essential urban services is in crisis: local governments are unable to maintain existing infrastructure, utilities, facilities and services in the face of rapid growth, decreasing financial and human resources and escalating costs. Problems date back to Zambia's more prosperous years and the previous government's policies to plan centrally and to subsidize unaffordable and often inappropriate standards of urban development, infrastructure and municipal services for rapidly growing populations. Some of the problems that Zambia's cities and municipalities must contend with as a consequence include:

- outdated development plans which are no longer affordable;
- overlaps between government agencies; for instance, no fewer than eight ministries have responsibilities in relation to water resources;
- uncoordinated donor and NGO assistance, frequently resulting in fragmented and unbalanced capital investments and placing increasing pressure on already over-stretched maintenance resources.

The impact of these problems on local governments and the urban populations they are mandated to serve has been exacerbated by the complexity of the system of land ownership and registration. The intrinsic value of land is vested in the State & therefore no value can be legally attached to the transfer of land between different occupiers. An effect has been to block the improvement of easily developable land in and near urban centres, thereby depriving local authorities of rate incomes. The same influences have inhibited public, private and community-based investment in urban development and housing.

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Some of the other distortions that have arisen include an absence of clear guidelines on the distribution of responsibility and authority between Ministry of Local Government and Housing, other sectoral ministries, and local authorities.

Recognizing these problems, the Government of Zambia has adopted a number of policy initiatives aimed at improving public sector efficiency, reducing waste and encouraging self sufficiency. In some respects, however, these policy initiatives, which have been strongly supported by donor agencies, may be serving to widen the gap in service delivery between high income (urban, formal) and low income (peri-urban, informal) households, and to further weaken local authorities. Some examples are:

- The sharp reduction and erratic delivery of central government grants rather than a phased reduction over a reasonable period of time have left many authorities with deficit budgets and inadequate funds to cover essential running costs.
- The recently privatised Lusaka Water and Sewerage Company is only able to forecast continued self-sufficiency with limited assistance to the peri-urban population who continue to rely on the City Council for whatever services can be delivered.

These pressing problems clearly point to the need to develop an integrated and appropriate urban policy framework, not only to address medium and longer term issues, but also to guide the transition from centrally provided and subsidized infrastructure and service delivery to provision by responsible, self-sufficient and fully accountable local governments.

Key Issues in the Urban Sector

Revitalisation of Zambian urban life will require concerted effort from all key actors in the sector. Policy reform must be accompanied by short term remedial actions. A sustainable programme of planning, investment and maintenance must be defined and implemented and the urban poor must participate fully for policies and programmes to succeed. The following are some of the key sectoral issues. The World Bank will work with Government and other donors to frame a more comprehensive statement of these issues.

A National Policy Level - a selection of issues

- *Land tenure* - There is an urgent need to increase the availability of urban land, whether serviced or un-serviced, covered by long-term leases. Priority should be given to delivery of secure tenure to peri-urban communities.
- *Retention of existing housing stock* - The extreme shortage of housing in Zambia's urban centres and very limited financial resources available to local authorities combine to produce a strong argument for retaining existing housing stock, both formal and informal, wherever feasible. There is an urgent need for a national

policy which disallows demolition of any existing urban housing pending revision of urban development plans.

- *Town planning* - Cap 475 requires revision to allow for regularisation of existing informal settlements.
- *Cost recovery* - A national consensus needs to emerge that the cost of infrastructure and service provision will be recovered from those who benefit and that those costs must reflect ability of beneficiaries to pay.
- *Housing* - A feasible national policy which defines the roles of the various levels of government in facilitating access to serviced land for the construction of affordable housing needs to be developed.
- *Urban environment* - Due consideration must be given in the framing of national policies to urban environmental issues, particularly with regard to water, sanitation, solid waste management, and opportunities for community-based solutions.

B Ministry of Local Government and Housing some policy issues

- *Local government resource mobilization* - As a matter of urgency, the Ministry and local governments must develop and implement standard procedures guiding sale of council owned houses and other enterprises and management of the resulting capital for purposes delimited to rehabilitation of existing infrastructure and extension of essential services particularly to low income communities.

C. Local Governments - some issues

- *Re-thinking service provision* - Local governments must examine new, more effective ways of facilitating the provision of basic services to the entire urban population. In addition to more appropriate technologies, the potential for satellite, compound-based systems should be evaluated particularly in peri-urban settlements. Greater capacity must be developed within and responsibility given to communities for provision and maintenance of local services.
- *Solid waste management* - Each local government needs to examine methods by which solid waste management can be made more cost effective, efficient and environmentally sound. In particular, labour intensive, community-based collection and disposal systems which could incorporate composting and recycling should be considered in all cities.

D. Community Participation

All levels of government should, in addressing the urban sector, seek to maximise the level of community and NGO participation in all sectoral activities.

Proposed Approach to the Sector

The World Bank states that external assistance to the Zambian urban sector, amongst other recommendations, must support immediate, sustainable solutions to infrastructure and service deficiencies which threaten the health of urban populations, particularly in low income areas.

The World Bank will also be working with the Government and donor agencies to draft an urban issues paper. Its purpose will be to achieve consensus on key issues which must be addressed at the national, ministerial and local levels over the medium term in order to improve the delivery of services, infrastructure and housing within a sustainable framework. This paper will eventually include consolidated terms of reference for sectoral reform work referred to in the Aide-Memoire and could serve as a starting point for coordination of donor activities over the medium term in the sector.

Response of the Urban Upgrading Policy Guidelines Working Group

The Working Group agrees with the Bank's main contention that an integrated and appropriate urban policy framework is needed. It is felt that the assessment of the limited capacity of local authorities for service delivery is a critical issue in upgrading. The selection of issues cited in the above summary reflect those perceived by the Working Group to be the most pertinent to upgrading.

The Working Group makes the following suggestions with regard to formulating a more comprehensive urban framework issues paper.

It was felt that service provision through satellite, compound systems has proven disjointed and must in future be linked to main systems, not only for integration, but also to allow for cross-subsidization of services to poorer areas, within the context of cost recovery.

In terms of community participation, it is strongly suggested that in the context of developing the urban sector policy framework, more detailed consideration should be given to this approach on a sectoral basis. In adopting a participatory strategy, immediate **and** sustainable solutions are not necessarily compatible; sustainability is not achieved when the emphasis is on expediency. A distinction should be clearly made between short-term activities to address immediate needs and longer-term, sustainable approaches to resolution of problems in the urban sector, and particularly in the unplanned settlements.

The Community as an institution

Community Participation

Participation encompasses a spectrum of community involvement and responsibility levels, from low participation as passive recipients, through acting on others prescriptions, being consulted, and finally identifying needs, planning solutions, and carrying them out. PROWESS 1. has looked at four types of community participation which illustrate the complexity of the idea:

- **Cheap Labour** concept - community provision of free, unskilled labour and donations of raw materials “in the spirit of self-help”;
- **Cost-Sharing** concept - community provision of in kind or cash contributions toward maintenance;
- **Contractual Obligation** concept - attempts are made to establish at least a minimal local infrastructure to maintain and manage community infrastructure and activities;
- **Community Decision-Making** concept - all project activities must be preceded by participatory community education and by involving a broad base of the community in decision making from the onset.

Upgrading scheme organizers must have a common concept of community participation, and should ask themselves: “What kind of participation?”, “By whom?”, “In what form?”, “At what levels?”, “In which roles?”, and “For what purpose?”. 2. A related question, is “Should upgrading projects impose a participatory approach?”.

The Working Group recommends that full and active community participation be pursued as a strategy for urban upgrading based on the ‘**Community Decision-Making**’ concept referred to above. While this approach is problematic in large settings, it is felt to be the most likely to lead to the sustainability of community infrastructure and development activities. Participation in the form of labour only, is considered insufficient for sustainable development. Upgrading partners must facilitate the building of community capacity to identify, analyse, and resolve problems.

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Constraints

A constraint, especially for municipal councils, to the pursuit of full participation in upgrading lies in many communities only being involved in problem identification, or establishing a "wish list". Because of their political nature, councils are expected to solve residents' problems as Councillors are often elected on promises to fulfil community "wish lists."

1. from pages 16 - 17. Srinivasan, Lyra. Tools for Community Participation. UNDP/Prowess Technical Series, New York. 1990.

2. Ibid, page 19.

The concept of "self-reliance" implied in community participation may not be fully endorsed nor understood by residents in an upgrading scheme. While initial contacts with a community may indicate willingness to participate fully, the implications of this decision may not be fully understood. Unless there is a process of clear dialogue & discussion there is a risk that a community will tell a donor what it wants to hear in order to secure the project.

Promoting full, informed & active community participation is therefore a long-term approach to upgrading. Upgrading partners may be reluctant to invest the time and commitment required to follow this strategy with its less immediate results. Such practical concerns must be balanced against sustainability and capacity building goals.

Initial Stages/Community Entry

The Working Group identified four steps to be followed in approaching communities living in unplanned settlements earmarked for possible upgrading.

1. Creely so as not to create expectations in a community and in order that upgrading partners can compare potential sites.

2. Community profile: initial data collection must be carried out and should include the following components:

- socio-economic information
 - a community self-analysis exercise
 - an inventory of the community's skills base.
-

3. Training community members in participatory approaches.

4. Creating awareness about various problems affecting the community, both perceived and un-perceived (water, sanitation, health, educational constraints, etc.) as an introduction to problem identification, analysis and planning.

Compound selection for upgrading is often pre-determined by politicians or governments which creates expectations in a community which can affect the initial stages of upgrading. In Kamanga, for example, community experience with unfulfilled promises for up-

grading led to a demand for immediate action in order for Irish Aid and Lusaka City Council initially, and later CARE, to prove their commitment. This meant that the preferred careful entry approach identified above was not feasible. The result has been that the upgrading partners gained immediate credibility, however preparedness for the community participation approach lagged behind, leading to some influential community members not accepting it and agitating against volunteerism. This experience indicates that as far as possible, a process of participatory community education must precede needs identification and action planning or at the least take place simultaneously.

Information Flow

The dearth of statistics on unplanned settlements make it difficult to plan upgrading activities and can affect site selection. The Working Group recommends that councils play a more active role in data collection in these areas. A lack of capacity to adopt this role is recognised and is an area for possible donor assistance.

Within an upgrading scheme, access to information affects power relationships and community decision-making structures. Miscommunication and restriction of information flow can have a significant negative impact on any activity. Upgrading partners must facilitate and encourage a process of regular and open communication among partners, between partners and the community, and within the community itself. Upgrading schemes need to look at various modes of feedback such as television, radio, newspapers, community newsletters, loud-speakers, drama, songs, community meetings, and suggestion boxes. Bias in information flow must be considered. For example, written communication obviously is biased against the illiterate or low-literate, which may be mainly elders and women. If community meetings are only organized during working hours, formally employed residents will be left out so gatherings over the weekends are important. A lesson in implementing a community participation strategy has been that partners should not rely on community leaders as the sole means of distributing information to the general upgrading population: knowledge is power, which may be jealously guarded.

Empowerment

Upgrading schemes must examine the issue of empowerment, which encompasses concepts of self-reliance, participation and capacity building. There is the possibility that leaders, (community, political, government, project), may be threatened by community empowerment. In addition, empowerment can threaten large privileged groups, such as men and elders. As part of an empowerment strategy, community roles and responsibilities should be defined in a participatory way jointly by the project and community members. There could be a tendency for staff on upgrading projects to play too large a role in defining roles in the beginning because of the community's unfamiliarity with participatory processes. For this reason, roles will need

Within an upgrading scheme, access to information affects power relationships and community decision-making structures.

to be discussed on a regular basis. In addition, community leader's roles must be debated, agreed upon and publicised before leadership elections.

Current LCC training on community empowerment is focussed on low to mid level employees. The Working Group recommends that senior staff also receive training in community participation & empowerment concepts and methodologies.

Conflicts

Conflict affects a community's development. Lack of coordination among NGOs, donors, and governments often leads to application of different developmental approaches in a community, causing confusion. Political involvement in development activities can cause friction within a community. Participatory methodologies and empowerment objectives may conflict with traditional power structures and/or may not be accepted or understood fully by the community. Constraints to upgrading and to community participation should be identified by the project and the community itself, and solutions sought. This process can be facilitated by the upgrading partners. Recognition of constraints, while not solving anything directly, can at least prepare the way for a smoother application of a community participation approach.

Sectoral Areas

Water

Water Supply

A clear policy on the provision of adequate, safe, clean water to unplanned settlements is needed, (recognition is given to the fact that a national water policy is under process). Various sources of water supply are exploited in these areas ranging from rain water, personal wells, bore holes to main pipelines. Rain water which is seasonal is collected by setting vessels in line with roof over-hangs. This water is usually used for washing clothes and bathing. Wells are also a common feature and water is used in a similar way as in rain water. Wells are problematic areas given variations in water table levels and contamination due to poor sanitation. Main pipelines provide a more dependable source, although the system has its own shortcomings, the most serious of which is that many areas are marginalised in the provision of this vital service.

Councils officially are not permitted to provide water services to settlements that are considered un-authorized/ unplanned. The politically determined standard of 25 house-holds to a stand pipe has, however, led to provision of some water service to unrecognised areas. Lack of maintenance, erratic water supply, rapid population increase and limited expansion of water reticulation systems have made for inefficient and unsustainable water service provision to unplanned settlements.

The use of bore holes has been identified as a semi-permanent alternative/solution in the provision of water to unplanned settlements. Whilst this technology allows for independent structures, which can promote a sense of ownership by the community, it is not advisable to have bore holes in some areas for geological reasons. In Lusaka, for example, the under ground limestone strata is susceptible to fissures, where over pumping would lead to the land sinking. Hydrological studies are vital.

In the case of Lusaka, the Working Group proposed that satellite systems created under upgrading schemes be linked to the Lusaka Water Master Plan. A bore hole system should not exclude connection to the main pipeline supplying the city and feasibility studies should be carried out with a view to determining if one can be interconnected with the other.

Community Ownership and Maintenance

The element of community management and maintenance is crucial

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whatever the system and should be considered and promoted at the onset of any upgrading scheme. Water system management and maintenance approaches will largely depend on the type of system installed, such as bore holes or main lines connection, and that system's operation.

Even with an independent system, (like that in Kamanga compound), there are technical areas of maintenance that cannot be left entirely in the community's hands. The ability of the community to pay for replacement of capital items also has to be considered carefully and limitations recognised.

The Working Group recommends linking water supply management by the community in any upgrading scheme to the local water institution, for example Lusaka Water and Sewerage Company. Early involvement of a water institution is important and should be considered and negotiated in planning stages.

In terms of the community's own efforts, the following issues are considered critical elements of a community maintenance strategy:

- *Basic maintenance and cleaning of water sites* - Water committees should be established for each stand post, with specific minders/attendants who could be trained in basic maintenance. A supply of basic spare parts such as taps and gate valves could be kept by the community leadership, water committees, or water company. The establishment of a community monitoring system should be facilitated. Regular checks by the partnering water institution would assess community maintenance and provide support where needed.
- *Setting and collecting water fees* - Determining the amount of water fees needs to be done in consensus with the community, either on a willingness to pay basis or affordability assessment. A clear explanation to residents on how monies would be used and transparency of records are needed to ensure accountability and sustain contributions. If an active and structured Residents Development Committee (RDC) is in place which is collecting service charges for an array of community projects, it may be that a determined portion could be allocated to the water company. Regardless, the methods and responsibilities for water fee collection need to be clearly established and well understood by all parties.
- *Awareness raising on water-related issues* - An education programme should be developed. Such a programme could cover issues of community ownership, responsibilities, protection from vandalism, and water hygiene, (an example being Mumbwa Township scheme).
- *Partner responsibilities agreement* - Detailed discussions and negotiations could be carried out with the community, water company, and upgrading partners and finalised in a written agreement which clearly lays out roles and responsibilities of each.

Sanitation

Due to space constraints in unplanned settlements, adequate and sustainable sanitation is expensive to install and maintain, requiring a considerable tax base. As a consequence, upgrading schemes must consider both cheaper and shorter term solutions. Recognizing these constraints, the Working Group suggests a number of alternatives for consideration. For all types of sanitation, a major hygiene education and promotion campaign is essential. The importance of this cannot be overstated: without adequate hygiene, improved infrastructural facilities provide little respite from water and sanitation related disease.

Water

The main sanitation concern in relation to water systems is water run-off. All stand pipes should be connected to a soak away area with adequate drainage which the community should be able to maintain easily.

Latrines

Standards are possible for over spill or resettlement areas, but cannot normally be met in existing unplanned areas due to lack of space. Current standards stipulate that every household in an over spill area on a plot of 300 m² should have an individual pit latrine. The Working Group recommends promotion of improved pit latrines, with various models advertised to allow residents to select according to their capacity to pay & space availability. Where household sharing of pit latrines occurs and is culturally acceptable, these private arrangements could be maintained if space & cost are factors preventing the attainment of one improved latrine per household. Pit latrine cleanliness education is critical when families are sharing facilities. In many areas, pit latrines could be constructed around natural groupings of houses or "cul-de-sacs." The feasibility of promoting water jugs placed in the latrine for immediate washing of hands and latrine slabs should be explored.

Due to space constraints, pit latrines are not a long-term sustainable solution to human faeces disposal in urban areas unless pit emptying is considered. Upgrading schemes should explore possibilities of quick decomposing latrines, pit latrine rotation, and pit latrine emptying technologies. Manual emptying could be investigated by a community in collaboration with councils and sewerage companies.

Minimum standards for distances between water sources and latrines have been designed for rural areas but cannot normally be met in high density settlements. LCC recommends that a minimum of 10 metres be maintained between the latrine and house and 60 metres between the latrine and water point, while the World Health Organization recommends 10 metres and 30 metres, respectively. Clearly, distances will vary with water table level, type of latrines (lined or unlined), underground soil composition, and type of natural filtration. Upgrading projects should maintain health standards while looking realistically at space constraints. Calculations of natural

A major hygiene education and promotion campaign is essential.

filtration levels should be carried out so that distances can vary according to local conditions.

Refuse

The experience from the Kalingalinga upgrading scheme demonstrated the difficulties in finding a sustainable means of refuse disposal after exploring numerous options. While communal dumping sites - pits or midden boxes - can be explored, constraints in councils' ability to collect must be given adequate consideration. The Working Group suggests that the following alternatives be looked into:

- The community could employ labour to manually move garbage, or voluntarily move it themselves to a central location where a city council could pick it up several times per year. In this case, a firm council commitment is needed.
- Private haulage on a fee-for-service basis could be looked at, (the residents of Jack compound in Lusaka have successfully organized themselves to move garbage to a central location, paying a private trucker to remove it).
- Individual pits are most often promoted, however space again is the determining factor. In over spill areas where space is adequate, individual garbage pits should be encouraged. Communal pits could be developed around cul-de-sacs, located next to communal toilets. Composting and recycling should also be promoted in order to reduce the volume of refuse.

There appears to be no specific low-cost solution to this problem. Awareness raising through sanitation education campaigns go hand in hand with any physical removal options & interventions.

Drainage

Drainage systems should be designed in conjunction with road rehabilitation and coincide with any existing council plans. The community should be involved in planning, construction and maintenance. Open drains, maintained by the community, should be promoted as the lowest sustainable cost option. Drainage flow should be to the nearest natural site. Additional drains may be necessary where the road network coverage is limited. Drainage alongside footpaths could ensure continued accessibility throughout the rainy season.

Health and Nutrition

Health facilities

Improving people's health status is likely to be identified as a community priority for upgrading schemes. Communities often formulate this priority in terms of health infrastructure (eg. - clinic, ambulance, maternity ward). In assessing the need for a health centre, upgrading schemes must look at target and optimal catchment sizes, health centre usage levels, and sustainability of services with Ministry of Health. Appropriate low-cost standards for clinic construction and maintenance should be explored.

To complement health infrastructure improvements, optimal use of health facilities should be promoted in the community. A community capacity building approach should lead to people demanding better services and standards from their clinic. Client responsiveness training for health centre personnel may be needed to foster good clinic-community relations.

Primary health care (PHC)

Primary health care may not be identified as a community priority, despite its potentially significant impact on improving people's health status in poorer areas. PHC has not been a preeminent feature of urban health services, so upgrading schemes may need to assist health centres and communities to appreciate the importance of PHC. This can be facilitated through participatory health assessment processes.

PHC focuses on communities assessing their needs and planning around these which can clash with the health centres more technical approach. Securing the support and commitment of clinic staff in community health activities is vital to the success, impact and sustainability of PHC programs. Upgrading schemes should emphasize the promotion and improvement of outreach services from health centres for immunization, screening, and referrals. Upgrading schemes should also encourage clinic support of community health initiatives, including health committees and health volunteers. This support can be material, technical, or advisory and should include motivational support and encouragement. It should be noted that the lack of transportation and remuneration incentives often leads to reduced outreach work. These are policy issues usually outside the control of upgrading schemes. Upgrading partners and the community should be aware of this and work together with health centre staff to find solutions.

Present Government policy considers community health workers, traditional birth attendants and sanitation workers as volunteers. No formal evaluation of health volunteer training and their follow-up programmes has been done, but an investigation by the Kamanga Peri-Urban Community Health project indicated that re-training, continuous follow-up, drug supply and incentives are issues which need to be addressed.

The Working Group recommends that in urban areas, volunteerism should be considered insufficient to sustain minimal health education and promotion. Instead, health related incentives such as community contributions, fee for services such as first aid, health worker community "pharmacies", and social marketing of health supplies should be considered for PHC community workers. Such health-related incentives could advance sustainability of PHC initiatives as well as increasing the commitment of PHC worker's.

PHC activities must be designed in the same way as other upgrading activities - through active community participation in problem identification, analysis and solving. Health activities can then be planned with the community to correspond to their needs. When residents do

Upgrading schemes should emphasize the promotion and improvement of outreach services from, health centres for immunization, screening, and referrals.

not perceive certain problems identified by health professionals as priorities, upgrading schemes should facilitate community analysis to assist in decision making on whether or not these issues should be tackled. If priorities are imposed, or sometimes even suggested, by upgrading partners, the community will not embrace the activity as their own.

PHC workers should be supported by their community through a health committee. The Working Group supports the concept of a number of health subcommittees at neighbourhood level, in order to facilitate community health planning and follow-up, and to adequately support PHC workers on a personal level. This can be more effective than a centralized structure.

Health education and promotion activities cover a range of topics and should be as integrated where possible with other upgrading activities. Examples include school health, sanitation education, drainage cleanliness promotion, hygienic water use and storage, and market hygiene.

Nutrition and food security

Structural adjustment appears to have decreased household food security in urban areas (World Bank Urban Poverty Assessment, 1994). Though not traditionally a component of urban upgrading, in today's context food security should be considered. As a minimum, food expenditure and production patterns should be monitored as they impact on residents' health, labour capacity, and ability to contribute financially to upgrading activities.

Nutrition education which promotes locally available and affordable foods can help to ameliorate nutritional status. Upgrading schemes can go further by promoting intensive, small space gardening, composting for no cost fertilizer, planting of fruit trees, and water recycling. Cooking demonstrations of nutritious foods should be considered in conjunction with a child growth monitoring programme.

Education

Formal education

In the upgrading of unplanned settlements it is important to examine the need for education facilities. Approaches to school infrastructure provision could include the construction of low cost buildings, rehabilitation, and expansion of existing facilities. Of particular importance is the need to promote community maintenance of both existing and new facilities without unduly burdening residents. The Ministry of Education exhorts a standard of one pre-school per 2,000 total population, and a primary school per 6,000 total population.

Pre-school education

Pre-school operation is set down under the "Day Nurseries Act", Cap #541, which guides establishment and operation of pre-schools.

The act includes standards for facilities, teachers and curriculum.

In view of the prohibitive cost for most residents in unplanned settlements to send their children to registered pre-schools, the Working Group believes that affordable alternatives should be explored. One alternative to pre-school education could be a play group facility for which standards under Cap #541 would not apply. The play group facility should still have reasonable space, ventilation, toilets and access to clean water. Upgrading schemes could encourage private as well as public pre-schools or play groups. With regard to teacher training, short courses for play group workers could be developed in collaboration with councils and pre-school associations.

Informal education

The issues on how to cater for a large child population that has not gone to school have to be examined. Early in an upgrading scheme, the Ministry of Education could consider an emphasis on lower primary classes with the phasing in of upper grades. UNICEF is currently developing an informal education programme designed to give non school going children an equivalent of grade four education. This could be explored further to see how it can be incorporated in an upgrading scheme. Various forms of adult education such as functional literacy/numeracy and skills training, should also be investigated.

Vocational Training

Due to the low number of places available in secondary schools, upgrading schemes should consider promoting vocational training for upper primary school grades, bearing in mind the high cost of such ventures. Traditional areas such as carpentry, metal work and tailoring could be combined with non-traditional fields such as hair dressing, sign painting, wood carving, art, business skills, mechanics and sculpturing. Production units for funds generation could be established. It is noted that government plans to promote the establishment of private trade schools in Lusaka in 1995.

As well as considering the above education interventions as part of any upgrading scheme, due regard must be given to the quality of the curriculum adapted particularly its appropriateness to the immediate environment.

Accessibility - Roads and Paths

Urban upgrading schemes must consider physical accessibility in order to establish an efficient system of movement to/from and within unplanned settlements. All communities must be accessed with a minimum road network to allow emergency services to enter the area, such as ambulances, fire engines and police. This network should include perimeter roads and one centre road for current or future bus routes. Community facilities such as meeting halls, schools and clinics, should be centralized as far as possible and accessible by road.

In planning the road network, existing motor tracks and foot paths

should act as a guide given that residents have a system of movement which has evolved over time. Upgrading schemes should provide proper technical guidance to the community where existing networks do not provide efficient accessibility. The Working Group recommends that there be no mandatory, uncompensated demolition of structures to provide for roads, given the vulnerability of dwellers in unplanned settlements.

In community planning, residents must consider road width in relation to current and future services (water mains, drains, electrical lines, telephone cables) and balance this against the space required in relation to the number of houses to be removed.

The community should make these decisions in consultation with upgrading partners. Policy guidelines on road width options and methods of community consultation and decision-making could be developed. The LCC twelve metre wide standard for roads with full services should be considered a maximum which may not be achievable in most unplanned settlements.

The International Labour Organization, (ILO), has labour-intensive road construction standards that could be used in community-based road rehabilitation. ILO guidelines should however be combined with council standards to ensure good results for particular physical, social and economic environments.

In addition to roads, foot paths should be upgraded as walking is the primary means of movement within an unplanned settlement. Drainage along side paths would allow use during the wet season. Community decision-making on path sites, widths and drainage should be facilitated.

Housing

The principal legislation for housing is Cap #441, "The Housing Act" (see section 3.0). With regard to plot size the minimum is 324 square metres or 12 metres by 27 metres which has been reduced in some areas to 12 by 20 . Only 20-30% of the plot area is to be covered by structures with one house per plot. In reality there is no enforcement of this standard in unplanned settlements. The Working Group recommends that plot size be set at a more realistic level to cater for space constraints in unplanned settlements.

At the onset of an upgrading scheme, there should be registration of all households and structures, followed by numbering. Whatever exists at this time should be taken as the status quo by the upgrading partners. It is the resident's common responsibility to establish and implement measures to halt erection of additional structures if they wish to attain & maintain legal status for their plots.

Overspill areas are functions of land availability. Relocation should be voluntary with criteria for plot allocation devised and agreed upon by the community. In order to achieve land title under current upgrading regulations, residents relocated to an overspill area are

mandatorily required to construct a ventilated improved pit latrine. Once individuals commence construction of structures, certain minimum standards must be adhered to, such as height, ventilation and lighting. The building standards set down in 1948 are out of date. In reality, Cap #441 dilutes most standards.

Access to building materials is vital and project funders could assist by setting up a revolving fund to purchase in bulk. Local manufacturing of doors and windows and the organizing of a block-making system should be encouraged. Locally available material should be used, with due regard to environmental impact.

With regards assistance to individuals for home improvements, a number of options exist:

Encourage housing banks to enter the community with schemes designed to cater for the low income groupings.

Introduce government-backed rent-to-buy council schemes over a long period. This would require major funders such as bilateral/multilateral donors and the involvement of the Habitat programme.

Initiate grant schemes for building materials. For example, an individual could receive ten bags of cement for block moulding. This needs careful monitoring and could include peer pressure component. Community mutual self help could be a pre-requisite for the grants.

Social Services and Facilities

Social service provision is not a regular aspect of upgrading. There is potential, however, for an upgrading project to assist the community to erect social infrastructure and link residents with essential social services arising from community analysis & decision making. The importance of social and recreational life in a community should not be undervalued by donors.

Community priorities for social and recreational facilities may include a play ground, park space, community hall, child care site, library, football pitch, and other sports grounds to cater for girls/boys/men/women. In addition, market and business area upgrading may be a priority.

In terms of social services, upgrading funders can play a role in facilitating community identification of vulnerable households and linking the needy to social welfare committees.

Cultural and sports activities can also be organized through facilitation by the upgrading partners.

Micro-Enterprise Promotion

The Working Group recognises that a climate conducive to the growth of the informal sector has only just been introduced in Zambia. Upgrading schemes at their onset should stimulate and promote

Relocation should be voluntary with criteria for plot allocation devised and agreed upon by the community.

economic development. Recognition is given to the new LCC concept of Market Administration Committees (MACs) which, with Council supervision, will administer the issuing of licenses and maintain market places.

Whilst there may be scope for income generating activities for Residents Development Committees as a group to offset costs of maintaining community infrastructure, micro-enterprise promotion should be largely aimed at the individual.

Strategies should be aimed at encouraging diversification in businesses and promoting individual & cooperative business ideas and opportunities. Loose business groupings could be encouraged where there are common aims and objectives, in particular for training and credit access purposes. These groupings may also assist in networking and linkage with specific micro-enterprise organizations, such as Credit Union and Savings Association (CUSA), Village Industry Service (VIS), Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) and Women's Finance Trust.

The availability of credit is a critical element in micro-enterprise stimulation and growth. As well as investigating the scope for community savings schemes, providing credit on a commercial basis using the peer group method should be looked at. This approach avoids the need for individual collateral and promotes a sense of local ownership of such schemes. Scope exists for cross subsidisation by larger businesses of smaller ones in well developed schemes.

Training could emphasize credit management and practical business administration skills. It is considered essential that initial training courses place emphasis on confidence building and motivational issues. Experiences from successful community enterprise projects demonstrate that illiterate people in business can be trained using appropriate & creative techniques.

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Institutional and Inter-Sectoral Issues

Urban upgrading involves various sectors: water, sanitation, health, education, roads, housing, social services, and economic promotion. Upgrading in Zambia has been funded and implemented by a number of actors, including bilateral donors, municipal authorities, the Ministries of Local Government and Housing, Health and Education, National Housing Authority, United Nations agencies, the World Bank and other multilateral agencies, as well as local and international non-governmental organisations. Among sectors and institutions, both collaboration and conflict occur in upgrading.

Collaboration

Collaboration among government, donors and NGOs is strongest at the 'on the ground level'. Upgrading by city councils is normally undertaken by an inter-sectoral team, led by community development staff. Collaboration among donors, NGOs and local authorities is needed, especially for addressing land tenure. The Working Group recommends that councils develop upgrading guidelines which outline strategies to be followed as a means of promoting collaboration & uniformity among interested parties. Steering Committees, involving all the actors in any particular scheme, should be established.

At a national level the government's role in upgrading is the provision of policy and legislation however both are inadequate at present and need to be updated to cater for urban upgrading schemes.

Conflict

Varying approaches to upgrading and development within the same community should be avoided. For sustainability, active community participation should be the approach to upgrading activities. To avoid conflict, planning must be done through a collaborative process with the community and technical advisors. When conflicts arise, upgrading partners can play the role of facilitator to encourage dialogue & negotiation to resolve disagreements through a Steering Committee process.

Where communities do not identify priorities which individual upgrading funders may wish to undertake because of a particular sectoral focus, a referral system to other likely funders should be in place. A further example could be if a community priority is a clinic but not primary health care, upgrading partners would need to work with health personnel to raise awareness within the community on the possible benefits of the latter. Residents could broaden the scope of

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their analysis on health priorities whilst at the same time the upgrading partners should be careful not to impose an outside priority or dismiss those of the community's.

Where communities identify priorities which upgrading funders do not wish to carry out, for example, the construction of sports facilities, facilitators should proceed carefully so as not to transfer ownership of the project away from the community to themselves.

Political differences in a community & possible political interference in an upgrading scheme may make planning extremely difficult. Priority areas for upgrading cannot be determined by political considerations alone. Politicians must work in conjunction with municipal planning authorities to determine sites. The Working Group recommends that the Ministry of Local Government and Housing create awareness among Councillors, Members of Parliament and Ministers on upgrading policies and requirements, building on the Ministry's decentralized governance policy.

Facilitators should proceed carefully so as not to transfer ownership of the project away from the community to themselves.

Recommendations

The Working Group on Urban Upgrading Policy Guidelines suggests the following recommendations as a way of assisting in the formulation of policy guidelines for upgrading of unplanned urban settlements.

The Working Group notes the issues raised by the World Bank in its Aide-Memoire, (Annex 1.), on an urban policy issues framework and concurs with its recommendations on the provision of community-based, sustainable services to the low income groups of Zambia's cities and towns.

The need to develop an urban sector issues paper as suggested by the Bank is agreed with. It is hoped that this document can go some way in highlighting the community development and capacity building focus in the urban sector.

Recommendations on approach

1. Full and active community participation should be pursued as a strategy for urban upgrading of unplanned settlements.
2. As a way of strategically interfacing with poorly resourced communities in a participatory way, four initial steps are suggested:
 - preliminary investigations carried out discreetly so as not to create false expectations;
 - community profile work with the components of socio-economic information, community self analysis, and an inventory of the community's skills;
 - training of the community in participatory approaches
 - creating awareness about various problem affecting the community, both perceived and unperceived, as a lead in to planning.
3. Senior staff of local governments should receive training in community participation and empowerment concepts.
4. Councils and municipal authorities should play a more active role in data collection on unplanned settlements.

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Recommendations on sectors

5. A coherent policy on the supply of water to unplanned settlements which is linked in to a city/towns water masterplans should be developed, (it is noted that this is underway).
6. The management of any water supply in an upgrading scheme should be linked to institutions that have specific responsibilities for water and sanitation, for technical support and sustainability reasons.
7. Maintenance of a water supply system should have a community management element, which could include basic maintenance and cleaning, setting and collecting of water fees, awareness raising on water-related issues, and formulating an agreement with the water authority.
8. Promotion of improved pit latrines needs to be based on appropriate, affordable, safe technologies. Sanitation infrastructure improvements must be accompanied by education and behaviour change promotion. Sustainability of systems needs to be examined, considering options such as latrine rotation, composting and emptying.
9. Urban refuse collection policy should examine the options below:
 - community-employed labour to manually move garbage to a central location for occasional council pick up;
 - private refuse haulage on a fee-for-service basis;
 - individual and communal pits, particularly for overspill areas.
- 10 There should be no mandatory, uncompensated demolition of structures to provide for roads, given the vulnerability of unplanned settlement dwellers.
- 11 Accessibility should be considered in order to set up an efficient system of movement to and within unplanned settlements using the existing system of roads and paths to the extent possible.
12. Participatory health assessment processes should be adopted leading to identification of health activities as well as people seeking improved services from their clinic. Quality of care training for health centre personnel may be needed to foster good clinic-community relations.
13. Volunteerism should be considered insufficient to sustain minimal health education and promotion. Instead, health-related incentives such as fee-for-service first aid, community contributions and social marketing of health supplies should be considered for primary health care workers.

14. The level of food insecurity in unplanned settlements should be considered explicitly in upgrading schemes. Food expenditure and production patterns should be monitored for their impact on residents health, labour capacity, and ability to contribute financially to upgrading activities.

15. To fill the gap not met by the formal education system, informal education should be addressed through promotion of adult and child literacy/numeracy, vocational training, continuing education/night classes, and informal pre-schools.

There should be an emphasis on the quality of education imparted in various forms.

16. Upgrading should stimulate economic development through strategies aimed at encouraging business diversification, promoting individual & cooperative business ideas and opportunities as well as facilitating access to credit.

Conculsion

The Working Group invites comments from all parties to whom the document is being disseminated, ie, government ministries, municipal authorities, local and international NGOs, bilateral and multilateral donors. It is envisaged that the review of the document will culminate in a symposium to further debate and discuss issues, which should put forward contributions to the urban framework issues paper and national policy development. In addition, it is hoped that the discussions resulting from this paper will lead to a more comprehensive and coordinated approach to urban upgrading, within the framework of community participation and capacity building.

Section Nine