

**URBAN BASIC SERVICES IN UNICEF :
A Historical Overview**

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If some colleagues feel their roles in developing urban basic services have been insufficiently emphasized, I can only apologize and say that it is due to my lack of information and/or space.

PREFACE

UNICEF has been involved in assisting children of the urban poor since 1961. The evolution of policies and programmes over the three decades that followed is not only interesting for its own sake, but also particularly relevant today when the drive to achieve the goals for children in the 1990s requires that the needs of people in urban slums and other low-income areas be specifically addressed.

Many other agencies including the United Nations Development Programme, the World Bank, the World Health Organization and the Overseas Development Agency of the United Kingdom, have acknowledged the fact of "a rapidly urbanizing world", as Dr. Cousins terms it, and have revised their urban policies to stress poverty alleviation, increased employment, improvement of social services, and community participation. These, as the monograph brings out, have been the very essence of UNICEF's urban basic services approach for the past two decades.

Yet, as Dr. Cousins rightly points out, the urban basic services approach has faced many problems during the past three decades, many of which still prevail. At the same time, it appears that with the focus on the goals for the 1990s and the mobilization of mayors and municipalities to shoulder a major share of the burden and responsibility for their achievement, the needs of the urban poor will get more attention.

The new emphasis on urban programmes will need to build upon both the success of the past with respect to community participation and management, the use of low-cost technologies, the multi-sectoral approach and flexibility, and increasingly, incorporate a specific goal orientation. This will imply more systematic baseline studies as well as goal monitoring and evaluation systems at the local, municipal and community levels.

The past experience of urban basic services and understanding the lessons of that experience, will be invaluable to UNICEF and its partner agencies in meeting the challenge of full social development for all urban children.

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PREFATORY NOTE

In this monograph an effort has been made to document and analyse the evolution of the urban programme in UNICEF over the past three decades. This has been done within the context of the evolution of UNICEF from a relief agency to a development agency. Some factors considered are the persistent awareness and advocacy of certain members of the Executive Board, particularly the Swedish delegation headed by Nils Thedin; rapidly rising urbanization in the Third World; the coming together of urban programming with the country programming approach in the 1960s; the contribution of the community-based urban programming experience to the formulation of the basic services strategy; the subsequent elaboration of this strategy in urban projects and programmes; and the unique characteristics of the urban basic services (UBS) approach both within and outside UNICEF.

Some of these special characteristics would not be unique individually, but taken in combination they represent a consistent, explicit and comprehensive approach that is rare among international development agencies and has the possibility of being heuristic developmentally. Some of these characteristics are:

- 1. A special concern with the needs and problems of children and women, who make up about two thirds of the urban poor. Because of this, women's role in urban development has never been a separate subject but central to the programming approach.*
- 2. A consistent emphasis on self help and community involvement as a central principle from the very outset.*
- 3. A multisectoral, multilevel programming approach necessitated by the fact that urban programmes are by definition area-based rather than sectoral and that they require negotiations with government at various levels - municipal, district, provincial and/or state and national.*
- 4. The development within UNICEF of a global network of urban specialists with hands-on experience in multisectoral, multilevel, community-based programmes.*
- 5. An emphasis upon social services for the urban poor and linking of social development with physical infrastructural development. This has led to working relationships with unconventional partners for UNICEF, such as Ministries of Urban Development, Local Government, Works and Housing, Public Works and Interior. On the other hand, while such Ministries would be conventional partners for most urban specialists from other international development agencies, the traditional partners of UNICEF, such as Ministries of Social Welfare, Health and Education, would not be for other urban programmes. The UNICEF UBS approach requires cooperation with all of these partners.*

6. *A capacity for responding flexibly to a wide range of local needs, including immunization, child care, income-generating activities for women, self-help shelter improvement and low-cost water and sanitation. The comprehensiveness and flexibility of the UBS approach has also made it possible to respond to institutionally defined needs such as the child survival and development revolution (CSDR), universal child immunization (UCI), primary health care (PHC) and children in especially difficult circumstances (CEDC).*
7. *A low-cost approach which enhances the possibility of replication and universal coverage.*

There are also many problems which have been considered including: the traditional bias of UNICEF towards rural development; the relatively small pool of staff with urban programming experience; the tendency of urban programme components to duplicate UNICEF sectoral programmes in the absence of effective coordination; the relatively low priority of urban programmes within UNICEF and the unrecognized need to 'urbanize UNICEF' in a rapidly urbanizing world.

It has been an interesting exercise in reminiscence and reflection.

*William J. Cousins
June 1991*

CHAPTER 1

Urbanization in the Third World: Some facts, fallacies and implications for UNICEF

The first fact about urbanization is that the Third World is urbanizing at unprecedented rates. Some of its leading cities have been growing at rates of 7 to 10 per cent per year. To appreciate the implication of such growth, one has only to apply the 'rule of 70' - a demographic rule of thumb which indicates how long it takes a population to double. This is determined by dividing 70 by the rate of growth. Therefore, if a city is growing at the rate of 7 per cent per year, it means that it will double in population in 10 years. If it is growing at 10 per cent, it will double in 7 years.

The problem of providing infrastructure and services to this burgeoning population is mind boggling and seems impossible to resolve within existing resources. Here are some figures which illustrate this: the population of Cairo in 1980 was 2.5 million; in 1989 it was 8.5 million and is projected to be 12.9 million in the year 2000. This means that in a period of 20 years, in order to provide even the same level of services to the population as was provided in 1980, the infrastructural and service capacity of the city of Cairo will have had to be increased more than five times. Mexico City is the most striking example. In 1950 the population was 3.19 million and will have increased almost tenfold to an expected 31 million people by the year 2000.

In 1950 17 per cent of the total world population was urban. By 1980 the proportion had grown to 30.7 per cent, and by the year 2000 it is expected to be 43.7 per cent. In the 21st century more than half the world's population will be urban.

The second important fact is that two thirds of the world's urban population is now in the Third World. But the growth picture in the Third World is uneven. Latin America has long been the most urbanized region in the Third World, with most countries ranging from 60 to 80 per cent urban. By the same token, the urban growth rate is lowest in that region. Africa, on the other hand, has gone from being the least urbanized region of the Third World to being the most rapidly urbanizing region. In Asia, the proportion of the urban population is probably less than 30 per cent, but the sheer size of the population in several countries means that Asia contributes enormous actual numbers of urban dwellers to the world population figures. For example, India's

present population is about 800 million and the percentage of urban dwellers is approximately 25 per cent. This means that the total urban population in India is approximately 200 million people, almost the same as the United States.

The third fact is that most of this growth is taking place in the largest cities, as in the case of Cairo and Mexico City. Most of the world's largest cities are no longer located in industrial societies but are increasingly located in the Third World. In fact, by the year 2000, of the 23 largest cities - megacities of 10 million or more - 17 are expected to be in the Third World. The chart below gives some sense of the growth of the largest cities in Africa, Latin America and Asia.

Chart I

Increase in number of cities of more than 1 million (1950-2000)

	1950	1980	2000
AFRICA	1	19	60
LATIN AMERICA	6	25	50
ASIA	21	81	160

Below (Chart II) is a list of the cities expected to be the 10 largest cities in the world in the year 2000, with their estimated populations.

Chart II

1.	Mexico City	31 million
2.	Sao Paulo	25.8 million
3.	Shanghai	23.7 million
4.	Tokyo/Yokohama	23.7 million
5.	New York/New England/New Jersey	22.4 million
6.	Beijing	20.9 million
7.	Rio de Janeiro	19.0 million
8.	Bombay	16.8 million
9.	Calcutta	16.4 million
10.	Jakarta	15.7 million

Even in the face of this astonishing growth of the largest cities, it is important to point out that, in the year 2000, 60 to 70 per cent of all the people in the world will still be living in settlements of 20,000 or less. This underlies the need to continue to pay attention to villages and small towns, while addressing the growing problems of metropolises.

The fourth important fact is that much of the growth represents a growth in the proportions of poor people in the largest cities. In fact, it is estimated that in the largest cities anywhere from 50 to 70 per cent of the population lives below the poverty line. We know that the poor urban population tends to grow at roughly twice the rate of the overall urban population; therefore, it is no surprise that cities are increasingly becoming pauperized - cities of the poor, cities characterized by vast differences between the poor and the wealthy.

The fifth important fact about urbanization - particularly for UNICEF - is that approximately two thirds to three fourths of the urban poor are children and women. The Chinese say that women hold up half the world; in the case of the urban poor, women and children hold up about three fourths of the world. This fact has enormous implications for the traditional approach to urban development, which tends to be oriented towards the development of physical infrastructure, economic development in the formal sector and adult male employment. One implication is that the UNICEF UBS strategy, which is a way of providing low-cost services to all poor urban children and women, is one of the most timely and relevant.

Some fallacies about third world urbanization

Fallacy No. 1

The vast majority of people in the Third World are rural; therefore, most resources for development should go to the rural areas. As we have indicated above, this is no longer true, and in the next century most people will be living in urban settlements. Yet we are simply not ready for this. Most international development agencies, whether bilateral or multilateral, including UNICEF, still operate on the basis of a rural bias. The World Bank has financed some slum improvement and Sites and Services projects for the urban poor and is now moving more and more into local government capacity building. The United States Agency for International Development has never had a sizeable urban development programme and has concentrated mostly on housing in the private sector. It has now begun to think about housing and urban development. The United Nations Habitat Programme made a significant movement towards addressing some of the problems of the urban poor during the International Year of Shelter for the Homeless, but it still has a strong housing bias and is not a major funding agency in the United Nations system. UNICEF, with its UBS programme, has a clear focus on the urban poor, particularly children and women; but even within UNICEF, the urban programme of assistance is still not one of the major thrusts of the agency.

Fallacy No. 2

Most urban growth is due to migration from rural areas. Studies indicate that this is simply not the case. Approximately 60 per cent of urban growth is due to natural increase and 40 per cent, or less, to rural to urban migration. Part of that 40 per cent, as recent studies in India suggest, is

sometimes due to reclassification of settlements.¹ Again, the fact of natural increase has great implications for development policy. Programmes for the development of physical infrastructure, for increasing productive capacity or male adult employment are not enough. Housing is not enough. There is an urgent need to address those factors that affect fertility in urban areas, and this cannot be done simply through family planning programmes or maternal and child health facilities.

Fallacy No. 3

A disproportion of resources for development has gone to urban areas to the neglect of rural areas. It is true that a disproportion of resources has gone to urban areas, but not to the urban poor. The poor are poor whether they are in urban or rural areas, and their access to resources is limited in both places. Second, while a disproportionate share of national resources has tended to go to urban areas, these resources have usually been directed to major cities and to metropolitan areas, bypassing small and medium-sized towns. In fact, a recent UNICEF-sponsored investigation of the urban situation in the State of Madhya Pradesh in India led to the conclusion that most development resources went to metropolitan areas and to villages, leaving a vacuum of infrastructure and social services in towns of small and medium size of 100,000 or less.²

Fallacy No. 4

Slums and shanty towns are the main problems in cities. This is a question of the eye of the beholder. Certainly, slums and shanty towns are eyesores throughout the Third World - especially to people who are relatively well-off. They are also threats to landowners when people squat on valuable inner-city land. Thus, Governments used to bulldoze squatter colonies to reclaim this valuable land. Or - as in the case of New Delhi and Metro Manila - they would settle large colonies of poor people on the edge of the cities. In other cases, they have attempted Sites and Services and slum improvement programmes. But in the Third World slums and shanty towns are not simply problems for cities, they are much more important as solutions to problems.³ They are solutions brought about by poor people themselves in order to meet their needs. Since government and the private sector are unable to provide housing and services, the poor provide housing and services for themselves.

In squatter colonies they go through the same housing process as middle-class people do. They locate a site, gather building materials and erect a structure according to their needs and resources.⁴ In fact, just as most people live in self-built houses in rural areas, more and more urban dwellers in the Third World live in self-built houses. As for services, in the absence of social security and welfare, they manage solutions of their own somehow. They find the water they require for their daily needs from public stand posts, fire-plugs or handpumps. They dispose of waste in any way they can. They find people who will help them with their health problems and usually they pay for this care, whether through traditional healers, chemist shops, quacks, private practitioners or public hospitals. In some cases, they even provide educational facilities through their own 'unauthorized' classes run by educated unemployed youths or through apprenticeships or traditional mosque or temple education. They even create their own employment opportunities, which have led to the emergence of an informal economic sector sometimes as large as the formal sector of the economy.

They have learned not only how to survive in the city, but increasingly, they are fulfilling important functions in the city: from food vending to street services; from domestic service to personal services such as barbering; transporting supplies and equipment; entertaining on the street; waste recycling and manufacturing enterprises that feed into industrial enterprises in the formal sector or in the commercial market. An International Labour Organisation (ILO) study of the informal economy in Calcutta some years ago, undertaken by A. B. Bose, stated in the introduction that the informal sector of the economy bore the same relationship to the formal sector as a colony to the mother country.

Fallacy No. 5

Most of the poor are unemployed. A recent study in India points out what should have been obvious. There is a very low rate of unemployment among the urban poor because the poor cannot afford to be unemployed. They have to work in order to survive. Much of their work may be in the 'informal sector' as described above. Most of it may be what the economists call 'casual labour', but the bitter truth is that almost everyone in the poor families in cities must work in order to assure the survival of the family. This means men, women and children, and it is one of the reasons why we have seen such a rise in the phenomenon of working and street children.

Implications for UNICEF action

In the face of this unprecedented urban growth, proliferating metropolitan cities, increasing proportions of the urban poor, severe resource constraints and remarkable peoples' initiatives, there seem to be two main implications for action. The first is preventive and the second is people centred.

Two preventive actions that need to be taken are: (1) begin to fill the vacuum of infrastructure and social services in towns of small and medium size, and (2) develop more opportunities for non-agricultural employment in these towns and cities. Hopefully this may lead to some retardation of the flow of migrants to the metropolitan centres. It would be important to begin with those urban settlements that seem to have the greatest need and the greatest potential for growth.

A second set of preventive actions would be directed towards addressing the factors which affect fertility in the city. This means a broad set of social services, plus improvements in shelter, water and sanitation, female education, maternal and child health, family planning services and employment. Particularly, it means increasing access to services which either exist or are to be developed. Often, infrastructure and services exist in cities but poor people are not able to take effective advantage of them because of various barriers to access, including economic, social and psychological barriers.

Another set of activities would revolve around such things as increased access to education for women and girls and increased opportunities for female employment. It seems clear from studies around the world that there is a negative correlation between the educational level of women and the number of children they bear. There also seems to be a negative correlation between paid employment and fertility. This implies also that there would be expanded facilities for child care

and pre-schools for the children of working mothers. All of these actions are included in the UBS programme.

The second implication is that the development process must be people centred. It is important to recognize the fact that poor people are more assets than liabilities in the development process. They are already solving their own problems in very imaginative ways, and it is time for Governments and aiding agencies to accept that people are doing what Governments and their partners have been unable to do. Thus, the logical conclusion is to join them in a facilitating role and help them meet their problems and needs more effectively. Governments must move from a patron-client relationship to a facilitating relationship.⁵ This is all the more important in view of the fact that a large proportion of the urban poor are children. Any nation concerned about development will have to start by assuring that its children can have the conditions for healthy, happy development.

It is out of this concern for children and women that UNICEF has arrived at the UBS strategy, which is people centred. This monograph attempts to trace the evolution of that strategy over the past three decades.

CHAPTER 2

Background of the urban basic services programme: 1946-1962

In December 1946, the United Nations General Assembly passed a resolution establishing UNICEF as a humanitarian organization concerned with alleviating the suffering of children in Europe in the aftermath of World War II. About 15 years later, the focus of UNICEF began to change. Jack Charnow, the first Secretary of the Executive Board, describes the shift in this way:

"In the 1960s UNICEF gradually moved into wider fields of social concern: to its humanitarian aims it added development objectives with a special emphasis on children. This stemmed from a new UNICEF premise: activities benefiting children were more effective if they took account of the interrelationships between health, nutrition, education, community development and social welfare, and of the interrelationships between all these and other aspects of national policy."⁶

Not only was this a shift in the direction of recognizing the needs of the whole child, but it also introduced 'the country approach' to programming. This new policy thrust had arisen out of the Survey on the Needs of Children undertaken by UNICEF in cooperation with Governments and other international agencies.⁷ In the view of E.J.R. Heyward, this survey put UNICEF programming on a broader basis, and the Executive Board agreed that UNICEF would give help on whatever were agreed to be the main problems of children on which action was possible.⁸

Concerning the country approach, Dr. Charles Egger, former Deputy Executive Director for Programmes has written:

"The introduction of the country approach was closely associated with the name of two UNICEF senior staff members, Dr. Georges Sicault who conceived the idea, and E.J.R. Heyward, who helped to get it across. They came up with a bold initiative in launching a worldwide survey of the needs of children with the close collaboration of developing countries and the technical agencies of the United Nations. The far-reaching results were not foreseen by many. A concept emerged of supporting countries in efforts to take into account the whole child whose growing needs - intellectual, affective and vocational - had to be met as well as its physical demands. It recognized that one could not concentrate on children in isolation but had to consider their needs in an interrelated way within the framework of the family, the community and the society, each exercising its particular influence on the growth of children and through which children could be reached."⁹

Thus the first UNICEF urban project, directed explicitly towards the problems of poor urban children, was approved in 1961. This tentative turn towards the city was singled out for mention in the Executive Director's statement to the Executive Board, when Maurice Pate said:

"For many years UNICEF has stressed village aid because of the feelings, with which Governments generally agreed, that there was insufficient penetration of assistance to those living at the village level. Now we have come to see that with the great influx of populations from villages to cities, problems are being created which are equally serious in urban communities; and in the future we expect to present to the Board some further programmes of the type now submitted for urban improvement (I might say on a pilot scale) for Mexico City."¹⁰

Until that time UNICEF efforts had been directed towards children in rural areas. It had been the view of Veroslav Voricic, then head of the Programme Division, that the rural areas had been neglected. Most of his colleagues, both within and outside UNICEF, shared this view. The rural focus was certainly understandable since most Third World countries were overwhelmingly rural; with 80 to 90 per cent of their populations living in villages. Latin America, much more urbanized, was already an exception, however. Thus it was not surprising that the Mexican Government would have identified as one of its problems the needs of poor urban children. Still, for UNICEF it was a tentative policy change, as indicated by the fact that the Executive Director had added the cautionary note that it was "on a pilot scale".

Prior to this time, UNICEF had supported a number of projects and programmes in health, nutrition, etc., located in urban as well as rural communities. The dairy project was one activity which begun in the 1950s and which had a specifically urban locale; but the Mexican project was the first specifically urban endeavour started in response to a concern expressed by some Board members about the plight of children and youth in slums and shanty towns. It was a true forerunner of the present-day UBS projects with - as was to become typical - a number of components, including housing improvement, environmental sanitation, health, social services, occupational guidance and an emphasis on self-help.

This decision to support an urban project arose from discussions at the 1961 Executive Board Meeting that reflected a growing awareness and concern among some Board members about the situation of poor children in the urban centres of the Third World. The Board report on this discussion is a remarkable adumbration of what has grown to be the UBS programme more than a quarter of a century later. Another noteworthy aspect of the Board's deliberations was the informed and prescient awareness of the implications of urban growth in the Third World. That discussion seems just as appropriate and timely today, 30 years later. This can be seen in the following statement taken from a review of UNICEF-assisted projects at the end of the December 1961 Executive Board session.

For a number of years, UNICEF, reflecting the desire of Governments, had laid stress on mothers and children living in villages. With the great influx of population from villages to the cities it became clear that serious urban social problems were being created which required special aid from UNICEF. In line with the more flexible policies adopted by the UNICEF Executive Board in June 1961 ... the Board approved the first of such aid in December 1961 for a project for Mexico City which combined housing improvement, environmental sanitation, and youth vocational guidance and training in several shanty town areas, building upon the self-

help activities which had already begun among the inhabitants; it was also expected that health and social service activities in the project area would be further developed."¹¹ (*Author's emphasis.*)

The statement clearly emphasizes the broad multisectoral nature of the project and the approach of building upon the already existing self-help activities of the residents. This could be a description of a UBS project in the 1980s. Further, the statement clearly implies that this is only the first action in a new thrust to address the needs of the rapidly growing numbers of poor mothers and children in urban areas in the Third World.

The implication is further underlined in a General Progress Report on UNICEF trends and prospects¹². It included a brief description of the Mexico City project and suggested that it "may represent a breakthrough in an area where international aid has not so far been very effective". (Again, a contemporary-sounding observation.) In this report, the Executive Director pointed out that interventions by UNICEF in urban areas are not exactly new. He said, "Several older projects receiving UNICEF assistance have included community centres and community social services for urban children and youth - for example, projects in Burma, Thailand and Uganda" (para. 18). The report also tried to lay at rest a misleading programming assumption that UNICEF must assist either rural children or urban children. It did this by stressing the UNICEF mission to assist all children in need, wherever they were, and by showing the link between rural and urban development.

"So much has been written in recent United Nations documents about the special effects on the child of the social environment, whether urban or rural, that there may be growing up the illusion that UNICEF must establish priorities and make choices in terms of urban versus rural children. Children in towns have their special and acute problems, of which UNICEF is becoming increasingly aware; and at the same time the village child has his special problems too. UNICEF can and does help both. Country plans must be laid for all the children, wherever they are. Although cities are growing rapidly, still by far the greater number of children remain in villages and this will long continue to be the situation. The pathetic lot of uprooted slum dwellers cries out for emergency action, but the village family remains with its ancient burden of ignorance and disease. To improve family life in the village through better education, health and nutrition, is essential for the welfare of the whole society. Even in relation to the urban problem this can have a preventive and salutary effect since to some degree, better life in the village will check the flow to cities and in any event it will give better preparation for those who migrate. Moreover, members of a family may often travel back and forth between village and town, sharing their meagre economic resources. When national plans for the child are made the interrelatedness of city and country should always be borne in mind." (*Author's emphasis.*)

The report of the Executive Board in June 1962 repeats the fact that UNICEF has been assisting children in urban areas through its general programmes such as maternal and child health centres, social services for children, schemes for local processing of safe milk and the provision of cheap high protein foods for children. Then it goes on to mention the Board's approval of the Mexico City project. It also speaks of the recent approval of the Economic and Social Council of proposals "for concerted international action in the field of urbanization". Such action might include assistance to Governments in fields such as research, city and regional planning, public administration, "and organization and expansion of community services, including citizen

participation". It is also in this report that the Executive Board articulates for the first time the basis of what was to become the UBS programme some 15 years later. It says, in part:

"Attention was directed to the importance of the social, as well as the physical, aspects of urbanization. The importance of pilot projects was stressed. Representatives suggested various types of services which they believed especially important for UNICEF to support. These were: urban community development; health services, including maternal and child health services and environmental sanitation; ...social services; prevention of juvenile delinquency; education and vocational training; aspects of housing; planning for new towns; and recreation." (p. 55)

Finally, a report of Countries and Projects Assisted by UNICEF at the time of the conclusion of the 1962 Board session asserts the UNICEF intent to provide aid for such "comprehensive projects" in urban areas in the future.¹³ As it happened, after this determined beginning, this good intention was *not* to be realized for almost 10 years.

CHAPTER 3

The first phase of the urban programme: 1968-1975

After this promising start, almost seven years passed before the UNICEF Executive Board's interest in the needs of urban children revived. In fact between 1963 and 1968 there is no reference to urban projects in Board documents. In her report to the Executive Board in 1971, Dr. Constantina Safilios-Rothschild, an expert in rehabilitation, described that barren period in this way:

"In the Executive Board session of June 1962, there was a discussion about the role of UNICEF in 'a concerted programme in the field of urbanization to be organized by the United Nations family of agencies'. The Board recommended that UNICEF should contribute to this concerted programme, but it did not develop operationally to the extent expected. Subsequently, assistance to several projects of urban community development was approved by the Board and results of varying qualities were realized. Several categories of programmes were developed for urban areas. The Board approved substantial allocations to industrial milk processing for the benefit of city children, with an emphasis on milk distribution in low-income areas. Later, the same emphasis was carried over to help with the manufacture and sale of low-cost, protein-rich foods for young children. Assistance for pre-vocational and vocational training has been mainly directed to urban areas, but we do not know how much of the slum population benefited from it because it is rare to find a division of urban statistics showing separately data for the modern sector and for slums and shanty towns. Help to day care was thought of initially as being largely an urban programme, but it has not become important, apparently because the running costs of day-care centres if organized on conventional patterns are too high for the less developed countries. There is a need for evolving more practical models."¹⁴

In 1968, *Assignment Children* (No. 7) published its first essays on the urban problem: one on Africa, the other on favelas in Brazil. These were followed in 1969 by three more articles: one by Helena Junqueira was on favelas in Brazil which emphasized housing planning and programming. Another, 'L'urbanisme et l'enfant', by Michel Ecochard, focused on urban planning. A third, 'Social Services and Low Income Urban Families in Developing Areas', by Bartell and Walter, used case-studies from Cali, Colombia and Valparaiso, Chile to show the relationship between increased productivity and expenditure for social services.¹⁵ In January 1970, *Assignment Children* continued to publish articles on urban children in the Arab States, India and Latin America.¹⁶

Among these articles, especially important was that by Dr. Sindhu Phadke on India, which had one of the earlier programmes of assistance in urban areas. The article was the result of a study made at the request of the Regional Office for South Central Asia (ROSCA) in anticipation of undertaking this programme. Dr. Phadke, at the time, was a professor at the Delhi School of

Social Work and a member of the Delhi Social Welfare Board. Following her study she joined UNICEF, first as a consultant and then as a staff member.

The article is also important because of its emphasis upon the provision of services for children. It noted the increasing rate of urbanization in India; particularly due to migration from rural areas, as well as from natural increase. It also pointed out the great economic problems facing the urban poor and hinted at the problems of municipal infrastructure and finance as regards services for this expanding group of poor people in the cities. She writes:

"The economic level of urban families [defines] limits within which children can have access to urban amenities and services. Due to steadily mounting pressure of population on urban areas, the needs have far outstripped the capacity of urban local bodies - municipalities and municipal corporations - to cope with the vastly expanding demands for basic amenities and services." (p. 110)

The observation is significant because of its relevance today in the emphasis it places on lack of access to services and the inability of local bodies to expand infrastructure and services at a pace consonant with that of urban growth. The article considers shortages in housing, health, education, nutrition, employment and recreation, and describes their effects on children, emphasizing the need for the comprehensive approach first discussed at the UNICEF Executive Board. Dr. Phadke concludes with the following statement:

"A colossal task thus confronts India's urban development. To be really effective, urban planning must outgrow its preoccupation with physical aspects of urban growth and must aim at a more comprehensive approach integrating social aspects as well." (p. 119)

The second, better-known report on the worldwide situation of children and adolescents in slums and shanty towns in developing countries was prepared by Dr. Safilios-Rothschild and the UNICEF secretariat. This report had been requested by the Board at its 1969 session, largely at the insistence of the Swedish delegation headed by Nils Thedin, who remained until his death one of the Board's most forceful advocates on behalf of poor urban children.

Ulla Wickbom, in her study, *Sweden and UNICEF: 1955-1984*, describes the situation at the Santiago Board meeting in this way:

"... the Swedish Delegation was motivated to make another Swedish push, the recommendation that UNICEF should devote more attention to the conditions of children in urban areas. The Swedish delegates had joined study tours prior to the Board Meeting in Brazil, Mexico and Peru, and had then met some of the problems in the metropolitan areas. They had also followed attentively the Latin American Conference on the situation of children and youth, preceding the meeting. Here the discussion had especially centred around the 'marginal' children in urban slums, children who were denied practically all the rights that the United Nations Declaration [on the Rights of the Child] promised the children of the world."¹⁷ (p. 32)

She goes on to describe the intervention of Nils Thedin:

"Thedin spoke about the necessity for improvements in the rural areas, where the preventive actions had to be set in. There were no chances to turn the tide and expect people from the

cities to go back to the rural areas. But a slowing down of the migration to the cities might be a realistic hope for the future.

"In the second place there was a need for big social investments in the form of slum improvement, including low-cost housing, fresh water supply, garbage disposal, etc. For tackling that problem successfully, it would be necessary to mobilize resources of the whole international aid machine. 'Does this not mean that the task is of such magnitude that would make a meaningful international action impossible?' he asked. 'Is it not so big that an agency with such limited means as UNICEF had better refrain from trying to do anything at all?'

"During the Latin American Conference UNICEF had been referred to as a loudspeaker for children, Nils Thedin reminded the Board. In the opinion of the Swedish delegation, this could be the aim of UNICEF - in addition to fringe activities in some urban areas. UNICEF had at its disposal a big reservoir of facts, of knowledge concerning the urban situation, and could make a special contribution by bringing together material that had reference to the situation and needs of children in urban slums, something similar to the Survey on the Needs of Children in 1961. A survey of this kind could help find realistic approaches to one of the gravest problems affecting children in the world today and tomorrow and it might also be a significant contribution to the UN Conference on the Environment, convened in Stockholm in 1972.

The Swedish suggestion resulted in a recommendation to the Executive Director to undertake such a study and, hopefully, present it to the Board in 1971." (pp. 33-34)

Thus with remarkable insight and foresight, Nils Thedin and the Swedish delegation had set the stage for greater UNICEF action in urban areas.

The Safilios-Rothschild report

The report of Dr. Safilios-Rothschild was based on a review of the literature, field trips to various cities and field offices, consultation with United Nations organizations concerned with urban problems and extensive discussions and revisions at headquarters. According to Anthony Kennedy, the first UNICEF Urban Adviser (and currently UNICEF Representative in Indonesia), Victor Soler-Sala supported the idea that children in poor urban areas deserved specific attention, and was "the main UNICEF HQ staff member involved in backstopping the study".¹⁸

Mr. Labouisse's preface to the report stated:

"There is every reason to believe that much can be done to alleviate the sordidness and misery of existing slums and shanty towns, given steady efforts on the part of the dwellers themselves and a determination on the part of society to play a proper role. However, even more widespread in its effects would be planning ahead in preparation for new settlements - not only for street layout and gradual expansion of urban services (electricity, transport, water, drainage), but also for urban community development and services benefiting children." (para. iii)

He again reiterated the need, as he had in 1961, to consider the needs of urban children, as well as rural children "as equally suited to UNICEF assistance". He went on to say: "We should be prepared to expand help for children in slums and shanty towns on government request, in all fields in which we normally operate. The forms of aid will need some adaptation to urban conditions." (*Author's emphasis.*)

The report began by reviewing the growth of urban populations, the differences in characteristics of slums and slum populations, and the social and economic situations of children and adolescents of children in slums. This included family organization, unsanitary environmental conditions, problems in health and nutrition, day care, social welfare services and schooling. It also discussed preventive strategies for retarding the growth rate of large cities; e.g., policies that encourage people to remain in rural areas, towns or small cities; advanced planning for settlements to accommodate urban growth. Rejecting the argument for purposely slowing down urban development, the report called for more balanced rural and urban development and discussed other ways of preventing the rural exodus.

In introducing a discussion of strategies for slum improvement rather than for the traditional resettlement of slum-dwellers, the report said:

"Squatter and other forms of uncontrolled urban settlement are not 'social aberrations' but a perfectly natural and very often a surprisingly adequate response to the situation. The tragedy is not that settlements exist - which is inevitable - but that many are so much worse than they need have been." (p. 20)

This is reminiscent of the assertion that slums are not simply problems, but answers to problems. The report went on to suggest that self-help efforts be encouraged and improvement schemes designed "so as to make effective use of the energies of slum-dwellers". It also suggested that urban community development might be one of the principal methods for stimulating self-help and cited programmes in Delhi, Baroda and Manila as examples. It then discussed stimulation of community awareness, sharing of costs of services, increasing people's access to power and providing legal aid. All of these sound surprisingly contemporary, and they obviously laid the programmatic and philosophical groundwork for the UBS strategy that was to follow. For example, proposed future assistance included more effective extension to slums of appropriate rural assistance policies, i.e. maternal and child health services, day care, pre-school education, primary education, and strengthening of existing urban assistance policies such as nutrition, community development, vocational and pre-vocational training.

It also proposed facilitating the exchange of information, helping set up or strengthen municipal and national units for dealing with slums and squatter colonies, developing pilot programmes with community participation and government support of self-help efforts, and designing ways of providing services for children that were within the financial means of national and local budgets.

All of these recommendations seem to foresee the UBS programme, but in one area the report proved to be short-sighted. It considered rural assistance policies such as clean water supply and environmental sanitation to have limited applicability in poor urban areas. As it happens, these are beginning to receive more and more attention because of the threat to the health of children and families that comes from the overcrowded conditions in urban slums.

After reviewing the Safilios-Rothschild report, the Executive Board in April 1971 came to certain conclusions that further strengthened the movement in the direction of the future UBS programme. In fact, the following two paragraphs taken from the Executive Board report would not be out of place in a current UBS report.

"A number of main points emerge from the study. Although developing countries were still predominantly rural, the urban sector was growing faster; slums and shanty towns were growing still faster than the cities to which they were linked (three to four times as fast), and usually consisted of a young population. Their growth was as much due to natural increase as to the influx from other areas. Slums and shanty towns would continue to exist and to grow at least for the next two or three decades. Slum clearance had not proved to be a practicable or successful solution, partly because of the high cost involved and partly because of the inability to meet the needs of slum people or significantly to control the spread of slums. Therefore, the limited funds available were likely to produce a greater impact upon a larger slum population if they were channelled into slum improvement projects on a self-help basis." (para. 119)

"It was brought out both in the report and in the Board discussions that, despite widespread notions to the contrary, a majority of the families in slums and shanty towns were stable, well organized and cohesive. Slum people were usually aware of their problems and capable of proposing and participating in practical solutions. There was a basic need to adopt new concepts of slum improvement which were closely identified with the people and laid stress on self-help, mutual aid, local leadership and community participation.... In many slums the inhabitants were working hard to establish themselves in urban employment and to improve their living conditions, and as a result of their efforts there already existed a base from which to start in helping them remove some of the obstacles that stood in the way of their progressive development. In the poorer slums help was needed at an early enough stage to stimulate the process of improvement. Extensive use would have to be made of auxiliary personnel who should be recruited as far as possible from among slum-dwellers and suitably trained."¹⁹ (para. 120). (*Author's emphasis.*)

This last statement clearly anticipates the use of community volunteers and paraprofessional workers who form the foundation of the personnel structure of the basic services strategy.

The various services and programme elements discussed included nutrition, especially for the young child; maternal and child health clinics and extended family planning services; low-cost affordable day-care services; and urban community development as "one of the principal methods of stimulating self-help on the part of slum populations". Education was also stressed, including what we would now call non-formal education for mothers, primary schooling relevant to urban needs, female education and vocational training. The Board even suggested the application of the self-help principle to housing. The importance of linking all of these services to each other was stressed, as well as the role of NGOs and the desirability of selecting projects which were capable of expansion and replication.

The first Urban Adviser at headquarters - Anthony Kennedy

The Board generally agreed with the main lines of action recommended and with the proposed guidelines in the report. It was now the task of the secretariat to translate these into action.

Dr. Tarlok Singh, then Deputy Executive Director (Planning), felt that UNICEF should take advantage of expertise elsewhere in the United Nations and not try to build its own expertise in urban areas. This resulted in a decision to ask the United Nations Centre for Housing, Building and Planning to provide UNICEF with one full-time adviser financed by UNICEF, and at the same time to make its overall resources available to help UNICEF prepare and implement projects. Anthony Kennedy of UNCHBP was engaged in the kind of work most relevant to the interests of UNICEF, and he was designated by the Centre as the person to assist UNICEF. He was seconded to UNICEF headquarters, and in autumn 1971 made his first series of visits to UNICEF field offices. According to his own modest recollection:

"The terms of reference were not all that clear but with a lot of general encouragement and a sense of support, particularly from Newton Bowles, and with the direct interest of Charles Egger and Dick Heyward (a few minutes of inevitably key advice prior to every field trip), I launched into the work.

"My concept of the work was that it was to help UNICEF field offices, on request, to examine the possibilities for developing specific assistance measures for children in the poorest of urban areas. I didn't really know anything about UNICEF when I began, at least not enough to advise others who did, but the idea was that I was the one who knew about cities, urban growth and development in situations of rapid urbanization, and UNICEF would teach me what I needed to know about UNICEF."²⁰

The first projects

Colombia: The 1973 Executive Board approved \$250,000 of assistance over three years in the coastal city of Cartagena. The aim was to establish and test some innovative aspects of an improvement project for slum and squatter areas, which made up about one third of the total population of about 350,000. Services were to be provided through multifunction community centres and included self-help home improvement, improving access to and opportunities for employment, food and nutrition, education and health.

Ecuador: In January 1974, project preparations began for assistance to families living in the squatter and shanty-town settlements in the south-west sector of Guayaquil, Ecuador's major port. In November 1974 a three-year project was proposed, benefiting 376,000 people. It included assistance in the areas of employment, health, housing, sports and recreation, nutrition and community development. At that time, a submission was planned for the 1975 Board "which contemplates the direct involvement of other parts of the United Nations family particularly ILO, WFP and WHO, as well UNCHVP and the Social Development Division" (Kennedy, p. 11).

Egypt: By 1972, the Board had approved projects in Egypt and in India. In Cairo, Dr. Hoda Badran was appointed the first Programme Officer concerned specifically with poor urban areas, and she began developing a project in the Boulak Eddacrour community which, again according to Kennedy, "deeply impressed the Governor of Giza and led far sooner than concrete results would have justified to a desire that UNICEF take on a massive area of Cairo".

In 1972 the Board had originally approved \$40,000 for project preparation and preliminary assistance in a community of about 56,000 people in greater Cairo, which already was a true

primate city with a population of 6.5 million, approximately 20 per cent of the country's total population. The project employed a community development approach which stimulated considerable community response and resulting government support for the project. Supplementary submissions were approved by the UNICEF Board in 1973 and 1974, and activities included maternal and child health, vocational training for school drop-outs, primary education, environmental sanitation and direct project staff support from UNICEF in organizing the project. The proposed expansion of the project was for three to five years covering an additional 800,000 people in greater Cairo and eventually extending to areas in Alexandria and a city in Upper Egypt.

The size of the project coupled with UNICEF lack of experience in urban projects was somewhat worrisome to UNICEF so the opportunity was never really capitalized upon; particularly because Dr. Badran, who was the only one on the staff at that time who really understood urban social issues, was transferred to a regional post in Beirut.

Hong Kong: The 1973 Board also approved \$92,000 in assistance for the four-year period 1973-1976 for a pilot urban community development services programme in Hong Kong. It was to be carried out in a Government Estate Welfare Building with a population of 50,000. The aims of the project were to evaluate welfare services provided for children and adolescents; to explore the felt needs of the inhabitants of the block and to help in promoting community involvement. "A delay in recruitment of the UNDP-sponsored expert to be responsible for detailed definition of the project has caused a corresponding delay of the project, now expected to begin in 1975" (Kennedy).

India: Following her study of children and urban areas in India in 1969, Dr. Sindhu Phadke joined UNICEF as an urban programme officer responsible for project preparation activities approved in 1970 and 1971. In 1972 the Board approved \$935,000 in assistance over two years for the establishment of 12 pilot projects, each in a different city and State in India, for assisting in the improvement of the delivery of integrated services for children and youth in slum areas.

Peter Grennell, an urban planner from the United States, was appointed as an Urban Project Adviser. The first phase of the project was to be a series of studies in each of the cities on the situation of children and youth in slums and shanty towns. UNICEF contracted with a national institute to organize these studies in the cities, and the work was begun. However, the planned programme could not be completed, except for the studies, because in 1973, in preparation for the Fifth Five-Year-Plan (1974-1979), "two large-scale programmes were developed and subsequently incorporated in the Plan, which included so many features of the smaller pilot efforts that its restructuring was required. A revised approach, integrated with the larger Fifth Plan Programme, was approved by the 1974 Board."²¹

These two programmes were integrated child development services (ICDS), which included projects in urban slum areas, and the slum improvement programme under the Ministry of Works and Housing, which was intended to complement the ICDS programme in a number of cities including all of those originally proposed for the UNICEF-supported pilot programmes.

Indonesia: From the beginning, Steve Umemoto, the Programme Officer, recognized the importance of urban projects, and late in 1972 began to develop proposals for UNICEF assistance

for Kampung improvement programmes in Jakarta. In 1973 the Executive Board approved a broad two-year project for Indonesia, which Anthony Kennedy described in this way:

"[It] included assistance towards coordinated planning of national development schemes in the social sector. As part of this assistance, UNICEF has provided a consultant on urban social planning (in place 1974), whose task is to assist in the development of the data base required in the preparation of slum and shanty-town improvement projects in Jakarta, as part of a comprehensive urban planning effort. Part of the consultant's work will be to assist in the training of urban social planners for project development and assistance in low income areas.

"This assistance will be continued in the submission to the 1975 Board, and it is expected that project assistance in addition to data development and the training of planners will be defined" (p. 10)

Thus in August 1974, Ms. Chandan Mehta joined UNICEF as a consultant working closely with Bappenas, the government planning organization. It is interesting that three of the four urban officers appointed between 1972 and 1974 were women from the Third World - Hoda Badran, Sindhu Phadke and Chandan Mehta.

Zambia: Following discussions with the Government in 1972, a joint UNICEF/AFSC (American Friends Service Committee) consultant team assisted the Government in the preparation of a request to the World Bank with related UNICEF and AFSC assistance for a site and service and squatter area upgrading programme. This project was to affect about 80 per cent of Lusaka's squatter population, who made up 42 per cent of the total population of 381,000, and to provide for new migrants to Lusaka over the subsequent three years. The bank loan was approved as well as \$315,000 of AFSC assistance. UNICEF provided assistance for training of community development workers; supplies and equipment for community/young child centres; supplies, equipment and training for health activities; project communication support; programme development and staff training for young child activities (3-6); support for an experimental programme for school drop-outs in squatter areas; and support for monitoring and evaluation.

Projects were also considered for *Kenya* and *Pakistan*, in cooperation with the World Bank, and for *Ethiopia*.

The urban programme was under way in the field.

CHAPTER 4

The expansion phase: 1975-1982

In 1974 the UNICEF Executive Board had approved an additional post of Urban Adviser from the United Nations Centre for Housing, Building and Planning. Anthony Kennedy conducted an exhaustive recruitment exercise and finally identified John Donohue, a U.S. national with varied urban experience. He had begun his career in development as a Peace Corps volunteer in the squatter colonies of Lima, Peru and had then gone on to get a Ph.D. in planning. He had experience in urban planning in Brazil as well as in his own country before joining UNICEF in 1975. By the time Donohue had been recruited and joined UNICEF, Anthony Kennedy had moved on to another assignment as a UNICEF staff member.

In this way, Donohue, like Kennedy, found himself at headquarters as the principal voice for urban programmes. He immediately began a programme of extensive travel to familiarize himself with UNICEF activities in urban areas around the world and to explore the possibilities of initiating and/or expanding programmes of urban assistance in the countries in which UNICEF worked. This seemingly ceaseless travel characterized his entire tenure at UNICEF headquarters and is largely responsible for the enormous expansion of urban assistance during his time. (Appendix III gives a summary of this travel between 1977 and 1984.) Between 1975 and 1982 it grew from 7 projects to 43 projects and entailed two major presentations to the UNICEF Executive Board as well as many other activities.

After Donohue's arrival on the scene, three things of great significance for the UBS programme occurred. The first of these was that in 1976 the UNICEF Board approved the basic services strategy as an appropriate means of meeting the essential needs of children and mothers in rural communities and urban slums.²² Then the basic services strategy was endorsed by the General Assembly of the United Nations at the end of 1976.²³ It advocated community involvement in the provision of essential low-cost services to underserved communities in rural and urban areas. These services included maternal and child health care, family planning and responsible parenthood, safe water supply, environmental sanitation, increased production and consumption of better-quality food, basic education, appropriate technology to ease the burden of women's daily tasks and measures to enhance community participation.

It was no accident that this strategy was so consonant with the emerging programme of assistance in urban slums and shanty towns. In fact, one of the examples of the basic services approach presented in the Board document was that of the Hyderabad Urban Community Development Project, which was being assisted by UNICEF in India. As the Board proceedings show, the very emergence and shape of the urban programme had grown out of this kind of thinking in the Board and in the secretariat, which had its roots in the international experience with

community development and integrated rural development as well as concern with basic needs and appropriate technology.

The second important thing was the request by the Executive Board that a review be submitted at its 1977 session of the experience of UNICEF in providing services in poor urban areas. This led the Urban Adviser to undertake a survey of UNICEF-assisted urban projects in country programmes around the world. The results were presented at the first meeting of the 'urban knowledge network' in Lusaka, Zambia early in 1977. The survey and the meeting report formed the basis for the urban review presented to the 1977 Board session and led to a Board request for a follow-up report in 1978. This second report was followed in August 1978 by PRO 32 (programming guidelines) entitled 'Reaching the Urban Poor'. This was the first formal UNICEF worldwide policy document on programming in urban areas, and it became the basic document for the fledgling urban programmes.

The third important thing that happened was that the status of the Urban Adviser changed from that of a seconded staff person from the United Nations Centre for Housing, Building and Planning to that of a staff member at headquarters. This meant also that the second post, originally requested by Anthony Kennedy, would be a UNICEF post.

The evolution of urban policy, 1977-1982

Three important milestones in the evolution of UNICEF policy on UBS were the reports to the Executive Board in 1977, 1978 and 1982, and the subsequent policy documents that were issued. The immediate origins of the 1977 review can be found in the 1975 Executive Board meeting. At that session, Nils Thedin had again taken up his campaign on behalf of children in poor urban areas. He noted "with regret that the implementation of the assistance to children and adolescents in slums and shanty towns was unexpectedly slow. The Executive Director agreed that practically no achievement had been made".²⁴ The subsequent report of the Executive Board issued in May 1975 confirmed this view.²⁵ It highlighted some projects and suggested some actions.

"... UNICEF involvement in helping governments develop services for children in urban slums and shanty towns on the basis of policies approved by the Board in 1971 had been slower than originally expected. While several pilot projects were under way, in the main the aid provided by UNICEF, with technical support from United Nations Centre for Housing, Building and Planning, was for preparatory activities. A main obstacle was that most countries did not have national policies and programmes to initiate improvements in slums and shanty towns for fear of encouraging rural-urban migration (*Author's note: This fear unfortunately, has still not disappeared.*)

"More effort was needed to gain acceptance of the concept that government services must work in concert with the urban poor in improving existing slums and shanty towns. In that connection, progress might be accelerated by more project staff at the country level. Greater emphasis was also required on the use of professional and technical services available in the countries concerned, as well as those available internationally. The UNICEF secretariat would try to strengthen the collaboration already initiated with other agencies concerned, including the World Bank and professional groups. At the same time, UNICEF would be more open to assisting limited actions rather than awaiting comprehensive approaches. The idea of

a package 'of Basic Services for Children could be adapted for use in forms appropriate to urban slums and shanty towns'." (*Author's emphasis.*)

Clearly, UNICEF was struggling to find its way in what was then largely unexplored territory. It had minimal support from Governments, little accumulated experience and limited staff and technical capacity in the light of a growing awareness of the terrible problems facing children and adolescents in the burgeoning slums and shanty towns across the Third World. Against this background, it is easy to understand and sympathize with the feeling that there should be more project staff at the country level, with reaching out to sister agencies and with the decision to take specific actions based upon its experience in rural areas, rather than waiting for comprehensive programmes.

This concern about the "relatively slow progress" in supporting community-based programmes for poor urban children was expressed at the next Board meeting in 1976 and led to the decision that there should be a fuller review of UNICEF work in urban areas at the 1977 Board session. In preparation for that review, John Donohue undertook a survey of UNICEF-supported activities in urban areas in all of the countries in which it worked. He then convened the first meeting of the 'urban knowledge network' in Lusaka, Zambia in early 1977.

The Lusaka meeting, 1977

This meeting brought together, for the first time, UNICEF officers involved in urban projects across the world and laid the basis for the urban network which was to prove so important to the UBS programmes. In addition to Donohue, it included Anthony Kennedy; Hoda Badran, who had been a key figure in the first urban project in Egypt; Hans Narula, Planning Officer in the Indonesia country office, who had been closely associated with the urban planning activity there; Victor Soler-Sala, who had been involved from the earlier stages with the Safilios-Rothschild report, as well as the Cartagena project and the first India project; William Cousins, appointed Urban Project Officer in India in January 1975 and one of the original Baroda project staff; Nailton Santos, then chief of the headquarters Planning Section; Saidi Shomari, UNICEF Representative in Lusaka, and his staff involved in the urban project; Lars Wadstein, Programme Officer, Karachi; and Mary Racelis, then a UNICEF consultant who had had experience with the famous Tondo Foreshore Project in Manila. Under Nailton Santos's chairmanship, the group shared country experiences in urban programming and arrived at some common conclusions. In addition, they had the advantage of visiting the Lusaka project in the field and talking with project staff, community members and municipal officers involved, as well as with Robert Ledogar, who was in charge of the community development component supported by the American Friends Service Committee.

The report of this meeting formed the basis of the Executive Director's information note.²⁶ The note reviewed the seven urban projects which were currently being assisted by UNICEF and made some observations about "5 the pattern, form and content of UNICEF assistance to urban projects".

It divided these projects into two broad categories:

"... long-range comprehensive programmes aimed at physical improvements and social and economic development of low-income communities, where UNICEF assistance was directed

towards the social components benefiting children; and more limited programmes where the major emphasis was on the delivery of services. Long-range comprehensive UNICEF assistance was given in partnership with a larger funding partner, national or international. Under the more limited programmes, those providing services of fairly immediate benefit to poor urban children, UNICEF was the major outside provider of financial assistance"

The Executive Director also proposed, and the Board agreed, that a further report on urban activities should be submitted to the 1978 session. His reasoning was as follows:

"... As a consequence of increasing general awareness about urban problems and the plight of the urban poor, and particularly because the special urban projects assisted by UNICEF were so limited in scope, there was reason to doubt whether the main approach for UNICEF assistance should continue to be through special urban projects. The Executive Director therefore recommended that a clearer picture be drawn of UNICEF assistance benefiting the children of the poor in urban areas, not just assistance through special urban projects. The constraints affecting the flow of that assistance also needed to be understood more clearly. Furthermore, a framework for providing basic services in urban areas at a low cost was yet to be elaborated. Because it was not possible to cover those questions in the present report, he proposed to report further to the 1978 session. Suggestions for UNICEF assistance policy could follow from that review." (para. 71)

As we shall see in Chapter IX, the same issue arose again in 1987 at the Madras interregional urban workshop where the question of 'urbanizing UNICEF' was discussed.

During the discussion of the Executive Director's information note, a number of interesting points were raised by delegations. Among these was the fact that "most countries lack policies and programmes to benefit poor children and mothers in urban areas"; and that "the basic services approach which promoted the decision making by the concerned rural communities was equally applicable to social development activities in urban areas". Many delegations were happy with the emphasis on the "economic role of women in urban areas and the need for functional educational programmes to assist them". Once again, the question of rural versus urban assistance raised its head. The various views were summarized in this manner:

"A number of comments were made about the level of UNICEF assistance to urban projects. Some delegations stressed that UNICEF should continue to give high priority to the expansion of basic services in rural areas which would reduce the migration to towns and cities. To extend services to children in poor urban areas, would, in their view, represent a dispersion of resources. Others were of the opinion that too much emphasis was being placed on rural programmes by comparison with urban areas where the situation was deteriorating. Migration to towns and cities was a consequence of development and represented an irreversible trend. Furthermore, not to be overlooked in the growth of urban areas was the natural increase of the existing population. Urban development was a determining factor in the overall development of a country and while great efforts were called for, especially in rural areas, progress would not be achieved without the support of towns and cities. There was a general consensus that UNICEF should not change its current efforts to promote basic services in rural areas but should, in addition, make a similar effort to benefit the urban areas. More importance should not be attached to the one rather than the other, but UNICEF assistance priorities should be defined in the context of each country's needs and priorities."²⁷

The second half of this paragraph is an almost classical statement of UNICEF policy on this issue, which still applies, but the complete paragraph was evidence of the continuing struggle to articulate the policy.

1978 Board report

This report and the discussions that followed marked a significant shift towards increasing assistance to children in slums and shanty towns. Two papers were prepared in response to the Executive Board's request for a report on a broader assistance approach to reach children in urban slums and shanty towns. The first paper was a note by the Executive Director, entitled 'Reaching the Children of the Urban Poor', outlining the main lines of UNICEF cooperation in urban areas.²⁷

The other was a background paper prepared by Mary Racelis, entitled 'Basic Services for Children of the Urban Poor'.²⁸

The background paper pointed out that the urban poor population was increasing at about twice the rate of the overall city population and that poor children suffer from many problems. Among these were malnutrition, an unsanitary environment and crowded households. However, there were positive elements in urban slum life such as close neighbourhood ties and the creativity expressed by the urban poor in generating their own sources of income. Dr. Safilios-Rothschild had come to the same conclusion in her 1971 report to the Board. Dr. Racelis said that "the most pervasive constraints in developing programmes to deal with the situation of the urban child were the limited number of personnel in social programmes, weak management capacity and lack of organizational infrastructure. Other constraints were the lack of social policy or planning for the informal urban sector and the difficulties of creating effective links between the community and the government" (para. 111). All of these constraints clearly imply the need and relevance of a strategy such as basic services. In fact, there were some "distinctive features of the urban situation" which would be helpful in adapting that strategy to the needs of the urban poor. These included:

"... high population density, which facilitated the delivery of services; populations which had been prepared by their own experience for change and were ready to help themselves; and an established role for women in economic life. The informal networks of personalized ties abounding in urban neighbourhoods provided a basis for the community's capacity to organize. Given sufficient motivation and training, they could emerge as formal associations with legal personalities and the power to get programmes of their own under way." (para. 112)

She also recommended support for income-generating activities, low-cost construction materials and more effective use of the city's resources such as voluntary organizations and public and private institutions.

The Executive Director's note reported on the survey that had been undertaken in 65 country offices which revealed that, in 52 countries UNICEF was assisting in programmes which included urban components of activities in urban areas.²⁹ Some of these were direct services for children such as maternal and child health and communicable disease control, child feeding, non-formal education, community and day-care centres and training of community workers. A second area of assistance was for policy formulation, planning, project preparation and programme management. Here the focus had been on training, studies and research, as well as salary support for professional urban and social planners and community workers.

The Executive Director's note stated some principles for UBS:

"Taking note of the broad guidelines for the implementation of community-based services delineated by the consultant, the Executive Director suggested a number of principles for the adaptation of the basic services strategy to urban areas. They were the following:

- Services should be planned and carried out that respond to features of the urban environment (e.g. high population density, dependence on cash income, women as contributors to family income, underemployment and idle youth, children left on their own or in the care of other siblings while parents work);
- Advantage should be taken of proven capacity of residents of low-income areas to work on the basis of self-help if given access to technical and logistical supportive services; community groups and individuals should be involved and receive government support in problem identification, planning, carrying out and administering community-level actions;
- Services at the community level should be simple and low cost, with referral services available when required;
- Community workers should be selected by or with the agreement of the community, and should undergo simple training and have the support of government personnel and services.

These principles provide a basis for the development of the various areas of UNICEF cooperation." (para. 117)

The Executive Director reaffirmed support for the two categories of assistance described in his/the 1977 note: i.e. long-range comprehensive programmes and immediate benefit programmes. He also mentioned the possibility of extending national sectoral programmes into low-income urban areas and of initiatives undertaken by local government or voluntary organizations. "While the Executive Director did not propose any new areas of UNICEF cooperation, he stressed that UNICEF in cooperation with government should give more attention to low-income urban areas. UNICEF field staff should raise and present problems in appropriate government ministries as part of preparation for each country programme as it came up for review" (para. 121). Clearly, by this statement, the Executive Director was suggesting that the problems of poor urban children be moved much higher on the agenda of UNICEF. In fact, the Executive Director suggested that in addition to its own resources, UNICEF should "help mobilize additional external assistance from the United Nations development system, international financial institutions, bilateral aid agencies, and non-governmental organizations through the preparation of projects for supplementary funding, and by advocacy" (para. 126). The Board supported the idea of adapting the basic services strategy to urban situations and also the UNICEF advocacy role on behalf of poor urban children. In its conclusions it stressed the importance of strengthening assistance for children in poor urban areas and requested another report on urban projects at its 1982 session. In addition, it requested annual reports on the progress made in urban development programmes.

'Reaching the Children of the Urban Poor' ³⁰

Following this session of the Board, the first formal detailed policy document on UBS was issued. The seriousness of intent is reflected in the stated purposes of PRO-32:

- to relay the conclusions of the 1978 UNICEF Executive Board for assisting programmes for children in urban areas;
- for those field offices that have not already done this, to request that they examine the appropriateness and the opportunity for UNICEF urban collaboration in the preparation for their next country programme;
- to ask all field offices to relay the results of this assessment in their Work Plan for 1979 when a decision is made to work in this area; and
- to request comments and suggestions that would help UNICEF to increase its urban assistance activities. The resulting information will be compiled and circulated as part of expanding the urban dialogue at all levels of the organization. Other activities will be based upon the content of suggestions.

1982 Board report

The 1982 report to the Executive Board was the most definitive statement of UNICEF activities in urban areas and of the UBS strategy ever presented, before or since that time. It was entitled 'Urban Basic Services: Reaching Children and Women of the Urban Poor'.³¹

For one thing UNICEF had "substantially increased its support" for children and women in poor urban areas. In 1977, there were programmes in seven countries and five years later, in 1982, there were programmes in 43 countries. Also, it meant that UNICEF had begun to accumulate a sufficiently broad base of experience to enable it to make some generalizations about work with urban poor and to articulate explicitly the UBS strategy. This can be seen in the following paragraph taken from the Board report.

"...The review of UNICEF-supported urban programmes showed that they have had a limited but growing impact on government actions through expansion within a city or country and to other countries. Factors found significant in their implementation included support to urban programmes as a powerful form of applied advocacy; collaboration with non-traditional ministries which command resources far above those of a typical social service ministry; and the development of effective, multisectoral multilevel coordinating structures through which low-income communities can participate in decision-making processes. Two delegations welcomed the increased emphasis on providing resources directly to communities, enabling them to plan and decide on resource use through programming on block grants. The community-based approach was considered viable, enabling services to be designed in response to needs articulated by the communities and therefore more valued and better maintained by them. Such services were also less expensive, while permitting broader coverage. Rural and urban aspects of development were intimately linked." (*Author's emphasis.*) (para. 27)

The Board also noted that the community-based approach was complex, and that women's income-generating activities were important, as were programmes to assist abandoned and street children. In this connection, it cited the regional programme for Latin America.³² The Board also mentioned the gravity of the problem of urban malnutrition, particularly as a result of bottle-feeding in urban slums and shanty towns. Perhaps the most significant aspect of the Board's deliberations was its clear recognition of the growing magnitude of the problems of children and women in slums and shanty towns and the need to mobilize significant additional resources - both financial and human - to help alleviate these problems. "A number of delegations spoke of the incongruity of the current level of resources, both human and financial, proposed for urban programmes compared to the magnitude of the problem. The task of UNICEF was twofold: to intensify efforts to raise additional resources and to strengthen its advocacy role" (para. 31). Again, it reiterated the need for "continued and strengthened cooperation with other United Nations agencies, financial institutions, multilateral and bilateral aid agencies and NGOs".

In its conclusions, the Board adopted the urban programme strategy presented in the Executive Director's report (pp. 114-124). This strategy included the expansion and strengthening of UNICEF support for urban programmes and the continued application of the UBS strategy as a community-based approach. A list of critical priority areas included malnutrition, women's development, pre-school and day-care facilities, responsible parenthood and family planning, abandoned and disabled children, water and sanitation convergence of programme components and systematic linking of social and physical development.

The Board also stressed the strengthening of national and municipal institutional capacities; continued exchange of experience within and between countries; collaboration with non-governmental organizations; mobilization of external resources; and the provision of "additional technical, administrative and programme support to field offices to undertake the urban strategy for the 1980s. A concerted attack on the increasing problems of urban poverty at the country level needs a more complete urban advisers' support system at the regional and global level".

This final conclusion led to the establishment and recruitment for the posts of Regional Urban Advisers in Amman, Bangkok and Nairobi, as well as the establishment of additional project and programme posts in country offices. This Board report further strengthened and legitimized the UNICEF activities on behalf of children and women in poor urban areas that had been developed around the world during the five years since the 1977 Board.

The urban network

With the Lusaka meeting, John Donohue had begun a process of building an urban network within UNICEF. This made it possible to establish a pattern of mutual support and reinforcement among the small group of staff members with urban experience. The networking also facilitated the rapid expansion of assistance to urban programmes during Donohue's tenure as Urban Adviser at headquarters. This remarkable expansion can be attributed to three factors: (1) the UBS programme was responding to a previously unmet set of needs in rapidly growing cities around the globe; (2) Donohue's indefatigable travel to field offices spreading the UBS gospel of and taking advantage of what he called "opportunistic programming"; and (3) using the small urban network for additional technical support to field offices.

Members of the urban network - sometimes called the 'urban mafia' by colleagues - knew each other personally and interacted frequently. They exchanged information and experiences, at times advised each other and met periodically in workshops organized by headquarters. Donohue also used the network to extend the capacity of the headquarters Urban Section by asking Urban Advisers in the field to attend international meetings with him or on his behalf, to visit and assist other countries with UBS programmes and to assist him in organizing workshops and/or writing reports.

One of his closest associates in these matters was William Cousins, Urban Adviser in India. Together they organized workshops and wrote reports such as the 1982 report to the Executive Board and drafts of the Field Manual chapter. Cousins, along with Anthony Kennedy and John Donohue, also participated in the preparatory meeting for the Habitat Conference held in Teheran, the Malaysian meeting at Fraser's Hill which led to the Malaysian urban project, as well as in the Conference of the Mayors of the World's Largest Cities held in Milan and Turin, Italy in 1979. Another member of the urban network participating in the Italian meetings was Dr. Hoda Badran, then Regional Women's Adviser in Beirut. Other associates were Clarence Shubert, who represented UNICEF at some WHO meetings in Geneva, and Teresa Pinilla, who participated in the annual meeting of National Committees for UNICEF in London in 1979.

In addition, to enrich the networking process, Donohue started an occasional periodical called *Urban Examples*, which appeared about three times a year and presented capsulized accounts of projects in different countries. Usually a particular issue of *Urban Examples*, was focused around a topic of interest such as low-cost sanitation, preschools, urban gardening or primary health care. The Urban Section also sponsored a series of what they called 'occasional papers'. This included a report of a workshop on urban malnutrition held in Haiti, a technical report on low-cost water and sanitation in the Third World, and Board documents such as the widely distributed 'Reaching Children and Women of the Urban Poor', a spruced-up version of the 1982 Board report. Appendix IV gives an idea of the extent of distribution of these and other documents. Between 1981 and 1984 it came to literally thousands.³²

After the 1982 Board report, Regional Urban Advisers were appointed in Abidjan (Gustavo Torres), Bangkok (Clarence Shubert), Nairobi (Ralph Diaz) and Amman (Leila Bisharat). With his interest and experience in Latin America and his knowledge of Spanish and Portuguese, John Donohue himself functioned de facto as the Regional Urban Adviser for Latin America. In the Regional Office of South Central Asia, since India was the largest country in the region, William Cousins acted as the de facto Regional Urban Adviser.

The urban network's functioning as a knowledge network and a technical mutual support group was enhanced by the interregional urban workshops. The first one was held in 1981 in Colombo on the subject of managing UBS. The next was held in Haiti in 1982 on urban malnutrition. The third, held in Nairobi in 1984, was a kind of stocktaking of UBS.

By this time it had become increasingly clear to members of the network that if UNICEF was to go to scale in its programmes of urban assistance, one of the key components in making this possible would be training. In pursuance of this idea, William Cousins in India, who had been serving as Chief of Area Development Services - a category which included all area-based programmes, rural and urban - had been appointed Interregional Urban Training Adviser stationed in New Delhi. This normally would have been a headquarters post but it was reasoned that it

would be useful to have the person stationed in the field in a place which had the largest UNICEF-assisted urban programme and from which they could easily travel to any part of the world.

One innovation during this period was the urban internship programme which was an attempt to address part of the in-house training need. The name is deceptive because it was not so much an apprenticeship programme, as an opportunity for peers to share and exchange insights and experiences in real programming situations. At that time, there was no specialized training within UNICEF for programme officers concerned with a community-based approach to the needs and problems of poor urban children. So Robert Ledogar and Teresa Pinilla from the Latin American region studied and worked in the Indian urban programme as colleagues of William Cousins, Dev Chopra and other project staff in the field. The result was a critical view of the Indian experience by professional peers and an opportunity for mutual learning about UBS cross-culturally. Leo Fonseka from the Colombo office and Ken Olivola from Dhaka studied and worked with Ralph Diaz in Malaysia. Other internships and exchanges of experience were arranged between country offices, for both UNICEF staff and government officers.

In recent years there have been several visits to the India and Sri Lanka projects by teams from Bangladesh, Ethiopia, Nepal and Pakistan. More recently, groups have visited Brazil to learn about programmes for street children, and Brazil has sent a programme officer to Mozambique to help in developing their programme. In one case, an Indian government servant with whom UNICEF had worked closely in developing the urban basic services programme, P.S.A. Sundaram, spent some months in Ethiopia as a UNICEF consultant. In other cases, retired government colleagues such as Dr. Surya Rao and Rama Rao of the Hyderabad Project have served as consultants, projects officers or trainers.

As the number of projects and programmes expanded, new members joined the network, and systematic efforts were made to orient them to the UBS approach through these intercountry visits, workshops, field visits by headquarters staff and interaction with experienced UNICEF urban programme officers. By now, there were a number of people with considerable practical experience in UBS programming. There were Willie Bezold in Peru and his former colleague Teresa Pinilla in Bogotá. There were Vesna Bosnjak, working first out of Bogota and then as Representative in Mexico. There was Nancy Andrade in Guayaquil, Ecuador and a team of consultants including Ephim Shluger, Ana Maria Brasileiro, Karen Giffin and Maria America Ungaretti, who had worked on a project in the favelas of Rio. Anthony Kennedy had been in charge of the sub-regional office in Central America, and Robert Ledogar had also gone there. Patricio Fuentes later became the Urban Adviser in the Guatemala office; Dorothy Rozga had developed an urban project in Belize; Frances Turner and Ernesto Lopez Montana had worked on the project in Haiti; and Marilyn Dawson had worked in north-east Brazil.

In Asia, there were Clarence Shubert who had started with UNICEF in Indonesia and then gone on to become Regional Urban Adviser in Bangkok; Michael Park in Korea; Ralph Diaz in Malaysia who became Regional Urban Adviser in Nairobi and is now Representative in Korea. With Indonesian experience were Joe Judd, Hans Narula, John Taylor and Steve Umemoto. In Pakistan, Ms. Quratul Ain had developed a community-based soak-pit project in Karachi, and Ms. Naheed Aziz was working with the Lahore Municipal Corporation. William Cousins, Dev Chopra, Sehba Hussain, Gerry Pinto, Surya Rao and others were developing the programme in India. Eimi Watanabe had done the first exploratory work in Colombo, Sri Lanka and had spent time visiting projects in India. She identified Leo Fonseka, who helped develop an outstanding

programme in Sri Lanka in cooperation with the Chief Medical Officer for Health of the city, Dr. Trevor Peries, and strong support from the Country Representative Paul Ignatieff. He was succeeded as Representative by Hoda Badran, who had been UNICEF's first Urban Project Officer. In the Philippines were Victoria Rialp and Rosemary 'Jing' Hussain, who had had experience as a community organizer. The first work in Bangladesh was done by Mohammed Parvez, a national officer, who was succeeded by Ken Olivola. In 1985, Olivola was followed by Kathleen Ralph, and when she transferred to New Delhi, Jing Hussain replaced her in 1990.

In East Africa, the Regional Director was Mary Racelis, and the Regional Adviser was Ralph Diaz. In Ethiopia, Hailu Belay was Urban Project Officer. Thus by 1982, the urban network was much wider, more varied and more experienced than when it had begun in 1977.

Two key issues

Urban malnutrition and street children

In his work as Urban Adviser, John Donohue sharpened the focus on key issues in urban areas in the Third World. One of these (mentioned earlier) was malnutrition, which appeared to be a more serious problem in urban than in rural areas. The workshop in Haiti in 1982 was an attempt to direct attention to this problem. Three years later the Urban Section Report discussed it in this way:

"Urban malnutrition still remains one of the most serious problems and one of the most difficult to tackle. The People's Democratic Republic of Yemen reports that urban malnutrition is much higher than rural malnutrition and this is the case in many countries. The causes are many: low income in a cash economy, early discontinuation of breast-feeding by working mothers, and diarrhoea resulting from poor health and insanitary conditions - including bottle-feeding from unsterilized bottles, improperly mixed formulas, and lack of potable water. This problem appears to be growing in countries like Pakistan and is exacerbated by the world economic recession which appears to affect the urban poor more directly than the rural poor because they live in a cash economy. Despite the limited space available in many cities for kitchen gardens, there has been an effort to encourage urban gardening through the publication of an issue of Urban Examples on this subject last year and the issuance of a slide/sound show this year. Two cases where there has been considerable success with urban gardens are Panama City and Puno, Peru. In addition, UNICEF has been supporting the communal kitchens project in Peru, which has been very successful. It now includes a communal children's kitchen which children manage. The experience of this project has now been shared with other countries in the region, including Brazil and Bolivia."³³

Other possible measures to reduce malnutrition would include immunization against measles, the reduction in the incidence of urban malaria, the continuance of breastfeeding, birth spacing to reduce the incidence of low-birth-weight babies, food supplements for mothers in the third trimester of pregnancy, supplementary weaning foods, routine deworming of children, improved water and sanitation, health education and income-generating activities for women.

It is not by accident that this list sounds like the description of a typical UBS project. However, it is still necessary to have better systems for monitoring and evaluating the impact of these programmes upon the nutritional status of children and mothers.

Another area was street children. While working as a social work consultant to the UNICEF office in Brazil, William Myers had become increasingly concerned with the phenomenon of street children in Brazil and, together with representatives of the Government of Brazil, had begun to work to explore the dimensions of this problem and to become better acquainted with the work of the numerous voluntary agencies concerned with street children. Out of this joint experience arose a programme of information sharing, support for some activities and strong advocacy on behalf of street children. Earlier, John Donohue had been instrumental in engaging the services of Peter Taçon as a consultant on street children and Taçon eventually became a full-time UNICEF staff member located first in the Bogotá office, since the phenomenon of street children seemed most urgent in Latin America at that time. Peter Taçon, an experienced, dedicated and charismatic person, was invited to Brazil to help stimulate and formulate the programme on street children. When Taçon was transferred to Geneva, he was succeeded by Francisco Espert-Soro and the position of Regional Adviser on Street Children became institutionalized in Latin America.

The urban staff at headquarters

As support for urban programmes increased around the world, and as urban field staff increased, there was also a need for more support to the Urban Section at headquarters. So, in 1982, a Junior Professional Officer, Francesca Moneti, joined the Urban Section and helped considerably in handling the increasing workload before she left for a position in Haiti. In 1984, Ms. Moneti was succeeded by Marie-Pierre Poirier from France at about the same time that William Cousins succeeded John Donohue as Senior Urban Adviser, Donohue having been transferred to Brazil as Country Representative. Ms. Poirier soon became a full-fledged professional partner in the section until she was transferred to become the assistant to Dr. Nyi Nyi, Director of the Programme Division. Her successor was Ms. Christine Mistral, also of France. The quality of these Junior Professional Officers was so consistently high that it was very difficult for the Urban Section to hold on to them once their two-year terms were over. All three went on to higher-level jobs in UNICEF.

John Donohue was able to do such an enormous amount of work largely through the support of the secretaries who joined the Urban Section and did work far beyond their job descriptions, much of it of a 'professional' nature. These included Eileen O'Connor, who has since been promoted to the professional level position in UNICEF today; Arlene Mathieu who, after a year's study-leave, resigned from UNICEF to complete her doctorate in anthropology; and Migdalia Fuentes who still works in the Urban Section and is, in a sense, the living institutional memory of the section. Three other 'support staff' who played important roles as temporary staff during periods of high pressure on the section were Susan Walsh, who left UNICEF to pursue her studies; Lourdes (Ludette) San Agustin, who was transferred to the Evaluation Section, and Audrey Ebanks.

At the time John Donohue left this assignment, he also managed to get approval for the addition of a second Urban Adviser at headquarters - Ephim Shluger, an experienced and highly trained architect and urban planner from Brazil, who had worked on the original urban project in Brazil as a consultant. Thus, when William Cousins took over as Senior Urban Adviser in 1984,

there was an expanded team in place consisting of Ephim Shluger, Marie-Pierre Poirier and Arlene Mathieu. In this case, it was Arlene Mathieu who was the important link of continuity for the new team.

CHAPTER 5

The consolidation phase: 1984-1989

His nearly 10 years of experience in India with UNICEF plus his intimate work with John Donohue in developing the UBS programme proved to be invaluable experience for William Cousins as he took over as Senior Urban Adviser in this first stage. He knew almost all of the members of the urban network and was also familiar with many of the key players at headquarters and in the field.

Three main tasks had to be dealt with during this period. The first was to follow through on certain initiatives which John Donohue had already begun. The most important of these concerned urban primary health care (PHC) and the related task of emphasizing it in urban programmes, and UNICEF's new policy thrust in the 1980s, introduced by Executive Director James P. Grant, called the child survival and development revolution (CSDR). These activities are described in detail in the next chapter. The second task was to consolidate and institutionalize the UBS programme. This process will be discussed in some detail in this chapter. The third task was a new one: the preparation of a Board paper on working and street children, as part of the policy review on children in especially difficult circumstances, which was to occupy a considerable amount of time and energy in the Urban Section. An account of this experience is given in Chapter VII.

The first stage: 1984-1987

One of the first steps in consolidating the UBS programme was the strengthening of new projects and programmes and the expansion of old ones. Two of these new programmes were in the Caribbean; one in Haiti and the other in Jamaica. In Haiti, Ernesto Lopez Montana and Frances Turner were responsible for the initial design and implementation of the project. When Lopez Montana was transferred to Argentina and Frances Turner to headquarters, Francesca Moneti replaced Frances Turner. Unfortunately, the unsettled political situation impeded the progress of the project.

In Jamaica, Marilyn Dawson, the Resident Programme Officer, saw the need for a more systematic programme to address the problem of children and women in poor urban areas and requested help from headquarters. Early in 1984, William Cousins and Marilyn Dawson visited Jamaica to assist in the process of working with the Government on an urban project design. Subsequently, Marilyn Dawson, with experience as an Urban Project Officer earlier in north-east Brazil, was appointed as Urban Project Officer in Jamaica, and the project picked up in Kingston and in Montego Bay. During this period, Patricio Fuentes was appointed as Urban Adviser in Central America, stationed in Guatemala. At that time, a variety of activities was supported by UNICEF in urban areas in Panama (urban gardening), Costa Rica (women's income-generating

activities), Guatemala (PHC), Nicaragua (public works) and Belize (urban community development). The Guatemala Office began efforts, with support from headquarters, to strengthen these activities and move them towards the UBS model. Only Belize, with support from the Canadian National Committee for UNICEF, had a well-established programme which approximated UBS. In fact, the Belize urban project, assisted by Dorothy Rozga, who had been a Peace Corps volunteer in that country, had made a real impact on the thinking and policy making of the country. At one point, the Government considered adopting this model in all housing projects - rural and urban - in the country. Two other widely separated places where new programmes were begun were Kenya and Argentina.

Ernesto Lopez Montana was transferred from Haiti to Argentina to help the Government set up an urban project there, and he was supported from headquarters by Ephim Shluger. In Kenya, Ralph Diaz, who had helped to begin the Nadi project in Malaysia, had now become Regional Urban Adviser and had helped to develop projects in Nairobi and in Kisumu. In addition, he had been active in forming an African branch of the International Society for Prevention of Child Abuse and Neglect (ISPCAN). Meanwhile, in West Africa, Gustavo Torres helped develop a study in the Bo area of Lomé, Togo and supported a regional conference on street children and a project in the Central African Republic. Along with headquarters staff, he also explored the possibility of an urban project in Lusaka, Zambia. Meanwhile, the urban programme in Ethiopia was expanded to four regional cities. P.S.A. Sundaram, who had been in charge of urban affairs in the Indian Government, took a leave of absence and worked with Hailu Belay as a consultant. This is another example of the urban network in action.

In Mexico, through the efforts and imagination of Vesna Bosnjak and her staff, the urban programme had shown a capacity to deal with various problems as they arose. The role of UNICEF in coordinating responses to the earthquake disaster using an essentially basic services approach was notable. This proved to be an excellent example of how the response to a disaster can be linked with development.

The programme for street children was also subsumed under the UBS programme. This was the case in both India and the Philippines, where the early efforts on behalf of street children were initiated under the urban programme. Jerry Pinto, who had previously served as an Urban Project Officer in the Bombay Office, was given responsibility in the country office for working and street children. In the Philippines, Tessie Silva and Pol Moselino (who had previously directed an NGO project in Olango) joined the country office staff to work on the street children project, which was sponsored by the Canadian UNICEF Committee.

Several countries in Asia expanded UNICEF-assisted urban programmes to a significantly larger scale. These included Sri Lanka, which had begun its programme in Colombo and was now moving out to cities beyond the capital; in Thailand, Suwanna of UNICEF assisted the Government to initiate PHC programmes in Bangkok and four regional cities; and in Indonesia, David Baker helped to expand the urban programme from four to seven cities. Most impressive was the programme in India and its inclusion in the five-year plan, with a goal of reaching more than 200 cities in that five-year period.

Regional Urban Advisers

One of the differences in the role of Senior Urban Adviser now was that the job of backstopping urban initiatives in country programmes was shared with Regional Advisers. Therefore, headquarters no longer had sole responsibility for stimulating and initiating actions and organizing interregional events. The urban staff often had the opportunity of supporting Regional Advisers in activities in their particular countries such as Angola or the Philippines; sometimes it involved participation in workshops organized by a country or a region. Intercountry and interregional workshops were still organized by the Urban Section, as in the case of the workshop on 'Evaluation of Urban Programmes' organized by Ephim Shluger in Mexico and the interregional workshop on 'Going to Scale in Urban Programmes' organized at Fisherman's Cove near Madras, India.

At the beginning of this period, three Regional Urban Advisers had already been appointed in Abidjan, Bangkok and Nairobi, and during this period a fourth was recruited for Amman, Jordan - Leila Bisharat - who had had extensive experience in Turkey and in Jordan. As these Regional Advisers began to function, some of the responsibility for support to country offices began to shift towards them. In addition to regular country visits, workshops on urban programmes began to be organized. For example, there was a workshop organized by the Regional Office for East Asia and Pakistan (EAPRO) in Bangkok for the countries in East Asia. Another workshop was organized in Karachi by Dan O'Dell of the Pakistan country office to sensitize, familiarize and motivate all programme staff to include the urban poor in their work and to develop an urban programme for the whole country. This was one of the earliest attempts to 'urbanize' a UNICEF staff. In both workshops, representatives of the Urban Section at headquarters were invited.

Distribution of publications

Another important activity that was continued, expanded and systematized was the distribution of materials through the urban network. The list of members of the network was computerized, and literally tens of thousands of publications on urban PHC, UBS and other subjects were distributed throughout the world (see Appendix IV).

Madras workshop

One of the high points during this period was the organization of an interregional workshop on urban affairs at Fisherman's Cove near Madras, India in February 1987 on 'going to scale'. The principal working document for this gathering was a draft of a UBS policy paper, which had been requested by Dr. Richard Jolly and discussed in two meetings at headquarters. This workshop differed from previous ones in the size and range of participants. Previously, participants had always been key urban advisers from around the world, but there was an attempt in the case of the Madras workshop to broaden the participation beyond that small in-group as one step towards increasing awareness of the need to scale up the work in urban areas.

Thus the members included a Regional Director (David P. Haxton), Country Representatives, Senior Programme Officers, and programme and project officers who were both generalists as well

as specialists in urban affairs. Included were three generations of Senior Urban Advisers: Anthony Kennedy, John Donohue and William Cousins. The background paper was examined, and the future of UBS in UNICEF was discussed. One of the key conclusions was the need to shift the programming burden from so-called 'urban programme/project officers' to programme officers in general if the urban programme was to go to scale. The group felt that the world was urbanizing so rapidly that soon most of the work of UNICEF would be directed to people living in urban places; therefore, it recognized a need to 'urbanize UNICEF'. It also recognized the need to advocate this position both within as well as outside UNICEF.

Children in especially difficult circumstances (CEDC)

Another main activity of the Urban Section at headquarters revolved around the production of the Board paper on this subject, and particularly the papers on working and street children and abused and neglected children. Once the papers had been submitted to the Board, a support group was developed at headquarters for follow-through on the Board recommendations, which was chaired by the Senior Urban Adviser. Besides representatives from the Urban Section, it included representatives from the NGO Office (Allegra Morelli and Kimberly Gamble) and the Emergency Office (Moirra Hart). This group screened requests for financial assistance from the headquarters level, distributed information as a focal point for CEDC and coordinated support for the future Convention on the Rights of the Child with Defense for Children International (DCI). The Urban Section itself gave support to programmes for working and street children in country offices and several country programmes developed in India, Kenya, Mexico, Mozambique and the Philippines. In addition, the programme in Brazil moved to a new stage, with a great deal of advocacy but very little direct UNICEF support to programmes.

Towards the end of this period, Peter Taçon, who had been transferred from Geneva to the Urban Section at headquarters, left UNICEF with its blessings to establish an international organization for street children in Guatemala called Childhope. This consisted of a number of international NGOs concerned with street children and received financial support from UNICEF. Another consequence of this activity was a paper on working and street children in Peru produced by Dr. Jo Boyden of the United Kingdom, which was translated into Spanish at the request of the country office.

The second stage: 1988-1989

With the retirement of William Cousins at the end of 1987, Vesna Bosnjak took over the leadership of the Urban Section at headquarters and continued to work on the three tasks, i.e., urban PHC and CSDR, CEDC and consolidation of the UBS. The activities concerning street children were expanded with the creation of a special fund for street children to be administered through Childhope. In the middle of 1989, Clarence Shubert, the former Regional Urban Adviser in Bangkok, joined the section with responsibility for CEDC; and Victoria Rialp, formerly of the Manila and Brasilia Offices, joined the staff to coordinate with Childhope and other NGOs working with street children. The Section members cooperated in arranging a number of meetings with other agencies related to CEDC. These included the Childhope Asian Conference on Street Children in Manila; the COSPE meeting on Street Children and Child Labour in Florence; the UNICEF/ILO Regional Meeting on Child Labour in Africa in Cairo; the UNICEF Esquel meeting

on Child Labour in Quito and the ISPCAN Congress in Rio de Janeiro. In addition, there were several meetings on the 'urban child' arranged by the International Child Development Centre in Florence. Another important activity in 1989 was the assessment of the progress of Childhope and related discussions held by Ms. Bosnjak with Childhope's officers in Guatemala City and Rio de Janeiro.

Institutionalizing UBS

There were several setbacks to institutionalizing UBS in 1988. In addition to the reduction of UBS posts in headquarters, the post of Regional Urban Adviser in Nairobi had been abolished in the reorganization of the Regional Office, the Regional Adviser's post in Abidjan was abolished at the end of Gustavo Torres's tenure, the post of Regional Urban Adviser in the Middle East was converted to cover more urgent work and there was no replacement for the Bangkok post vacated by Clarence Shubert. On the other hand, the headquarters staff in the Urban Section was subsequently strengthened by the addition of Ms. Rialp and Shubert. This made it possible for the Section at headquarters to give more support to CEDC programmes and to assist the development of new urban programmes, particularly in Africa.

For some years, it had been felt that the Middle East and North Africa region and the West African region had been given insufficient attention as far as the growing needs of children and women in poor urban areas were concerned. The strengthened Urban Section under the leadership of Ms. Bosnjak set out to rectify the situation. For example, Ms. Bosnjak herself made a visit to strife-torn Beirut and provided recommendations for UBS activities. Her experience as Country Representative during the earthquake emergency in Mexico made her peculiarly suited for this task. She also visited the Gulf countries and Sudan. Leila Bisharat, the Regional Urban Adviser in Amman, was working with the municipal government there on an urban programme. At the request of the Ankara Office, William Cousins was sent to Turkey to consult with the staff and Government on the possibilities of initiating a programme in the Gececondus - the squatter colonies in large Turkish cities.

During this period, the Section also sent a number of consultants to West African countries as well as to Abidjan. One consultant was B.R. Deolalikar, who worked with Shob Jhie, Deputy Regional Director, on the design of a UBS programme for the region. Deolalikar had been a consultant in the early phases of the development of the UBS programme in India in the 1970s, as well as in the design of the Area Development Programme in India. Ken Olivola was sent to Guinea, Ernesto Lopez Montana to Burkina Faso and Mauritania, while William Myers and Miguel Ugalde visited Nigeria and Dr. Jay Schensul of the University of Connecticut went to Peru. Representatives of Childhope went to Angola, Mozambique and Zambia. In addition, Leo Fonseka, Urban Programme Officer in India, went as a consultant to Liberia. Thus the urban network continued to play a useful role. Ms. Bosnjak herself made several extended programming visits both to West Africa and East Africa. In February 1988, she and Marie-Pierre Poirier worked with the Kenya Office staff to develop the urban component of the country programme.

Another part of this consolidation process was the collaboration with the International Child Development Centre in Florence in several enterprises. The first were the consultations on 'the urban child'. The second was cooperation in the production of a series of six case-studies on urban and street children programmes around the world. The third activity was support for a small

meeting of selected experts on the subject of community participation. The Urban Section also represented the Programme Division in the Consultative Group on Child Rights. This collaboration was consistent with the idea proposed at the Madras workshop of sharing the advocacy and programming loads with respect to urban children and women.

Another activity was the cooperation with the Evaluation Section in arranging two evaluations of UBS projects: one of these was the Guayaquil project in Ecuador and the other was the Colombo project in Sri Lanka. The first was done by an outside consultant, and the second by Rhea Saab of the Evaluation Section in collaboration with a representative of the Canadian UNICEF Committee. The Urban Section also collaborated with the History Project in sponsoring this monograph on the history of urban programming in UNICEF, which was seen as being useful as a descriptive review that could contribute to a sectoral evaluation. It will also be helpful for internal training as well as external advocacy.

Another case of external advocacy for the UNICEF perspective and approach to urban development was Ms. Bosnjak's work with the World Bank, particularly with the efforts of the Bank's Economic Development Institute (EDI) to study and learn more about access of the poor to urban services. In the fall of 1989, EDI organized the first policy seminar at Harper's Ferry, West Virginia. UNICEF representatives participated, and there were many references in the background papers to the effectiveness of UBS projects.

Clearly, this recent period has been a new phase of the UNICEF urban experience, much different from the earlier period when there were many questions about whether UNICEF should be working in urban areas at all. At this point, most country offices recognize the urgent needs and problems of children and women in poor urban areas, and those without much experience recognize the need for help in designing and implementing UBS programmes. Thus, the task at the country level involves more technical assistance than advocacy. Another difference is the broadening of the programme, with its strong emphasis on CSD, working and street children and income-generating activities. A third emphasis is on cooperation and advocacy with other sections within UNICEF and with the United Nations and other agencies.

However, the task of advocacy for the participatory, community-based approach both within and outside UNICEF still remained for the Urban Section; and providing technical support at the country level became more difficult since three of the Regional Urban Adviser's posts had been abolished or redefined and the fourth - in Bangkok - remained unfilled.

CHAPTER 6

Urban primary health care: UNICEF collaboration with WHO and Oxfam

*UBS, PHC and CSD*³⁵

UBS projects that started as community-based efforts easily became vehicles for key PHC/CSD actions since the approach and infrastructure had already been established. The Karachi Baldia soak-pit project is a good example. It began with a specific emphasis upon low-cost dug-well latrines in a poor area, then added home schools run by young women in their own homes (since they observe purdah). After that, it was easy to include PHC, and the young teachers became community health workers concerned with CSD actions. In Guayaquil, Ecuador, the process was reversed, beginning with PHC and then adding water and sanitation as crucial components.

Universal child immunization (UCI)

In the case of water and sanitation, actions usually were in response to the immediate felt needs of the people. In the case of immunization, the actions resulted from perceived needs which were induced in the people through education and persuasion. It is interesting that improved water and sanitation were key factors in bringing about sharp reductions in infant mortality in large cities of industrialized nations in the early part of this century, when cities like New York had infant mortality rates as high as 140. Adding immunization to these improvements accelerated the reduction in IMR.

The 1985 Annual Report of the Urban Section summarized the progress in urban UCI programmes in this way:

"In Kabul, Afghanistan, which is the only totally urban country programme, the office announced that the goal of 100% immunization had been achieved. Also, in Colombo, Sri Lanka, immunization has reached the level of 75%-80% in the project areas and a goal has been set of 100% immunization by 1986. Recent surveys of EPI coverage of one-year-olds in Bangkok indicate a coverage of 96% for DPT (II) and over 80% for other immunizations. Immunization campaigns for under-fives in Mogadiscio and Harkeisia in Somalia resulted in 90,000 children being vaccinated with DPT, polio and measles in September. This means that more than 80% of the children in both cities are now protected against these diseases as compared with 10% earlier in the year, which amounts to approximately one fifth of the entire Somalian child population. This indicates the need for UCI in urban areas, particularly in

situations of primacy of the capital cities. The campaign in Addis Ababa reached the level of 41% of the children and 81% of expectant mothers. The Delhi immunization programme continued with 30,000 slum children being fully immunized during this period, bringing the total number to 65,000. In Kisumu municipality (Kenya) where the project has the objective of reducing IMR from 190 to 100 by 1989, an immunization campaign against measles has been carried out in Chiga location and extended to three other centres. It is reaching approximately 480 children per month. In urban district No. 5 in Kotulu, Benin, vaccination coverage for all childhood diseases has increased 18.1% between 1982 and 1985. There are now plans to undertake accelerated immunization in Sudan, Zambia, Mozambique and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen. In Amman, it is believed that UCI in urban areas can be achieved by 1986, which would mean coverage of 70% of the population."

UCI programmes are often successful in urban areas for a number of reasons. For example, there are fewer logistic and transport problems than in rural areas; there tend to be mass media reaching most of the population and more health facilities; there is usually a higher literacy rate and more openness to new ideas and behaviours. On the negative side, there is more social and political heterogeneity and scepticism, as well as more political, bureaucratic and legal problems to deal with. These urban-specific problems and opportunities have been documented in the latest Urban Examples on UCI.

Expanded PHC coverage in low-income urban areas

In some cases, urban PHC projects have expanded their coverage to include most of the urban poor in a particular city. This is the case in Addis Ababa, which had reached almost complete coverage of the city by August 1985. The PHC project in Bangkok, building on a well-developed health care system, started in two peri-urban districts, four improved and three unimproved and congested areas and expanded to city-wide PHC activities. Similar projects were also assisted by UNICEF in congested areas of regional cities and a few small towns in Thailand, through the regional cities' office of the Ministry of the Interior. In the Philippines, PHC projects were assisted in Davao City, Olongapo and in several sites in Metro Manila sponsored by non-governmental organizations. In Colombia, a predominantly urban nation, a national CSD project was established. Urban PHC projects in the Latin American region included Brazil, Ecuador, Haiti and Jamaica. In Africa, there were urban PHC projects in Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia and Swaziland. In Asia, PHC projects were included in the urban programmes in India, Indonesia, Korea, Pakistan, Sri Lanka and Thailand.

Collaboration with WHO

Formal collaboration between UNICEF and WHO on urban PHC began in 1983 with a resolution by the WHO/UNICEF Joint Committee on Health Policy (JCHP).

JCHP expressed concern over the growing health problems of the urban poor in the Third World and the need to adapt the PHC approach to these problems. It decided to review this issue at the next meeting and requested WHO and UNICEF to present a report at that session. In preparation for that report, two seminal papers on urban PHC were prepared by

Dr. Rossi-Espagnet, a former WHO staff member. These papers were 'Primary Health Care in Urban Areas - A State of the Art Report', and 'Joint UNICEF/WHO Programme on Equitable PHC for Urban Populations - Preliminary Compilation of Information'.³⁶

These documents, published by UNICEF and WHO in 1984, were presented to JCHP as supplementary material to the report which had been requested. The report stated in part that, by the year 2000, about 50 per cent of the world's population would be living in urban areas and that it was essential for decision makers, administrators and health workers to be aware that urbanization: (1) no longer concerns a minority of the world population; (2) is no longer confined to industrialized countries; (3) is not a temporary phenomenon dependent upon rural to urban migration, because three fifths of urban growth is due to natural increase; and (4) is no longer confined to capital cities but affects secondary and tertiary cities as well. JCHP supported the recommendations in this report for increased advocacy and support for urban PHC.

Prior to this meeting, WHO had held an Informal Consultation on PHC in urban areas in Geneva in January 1981.³⁷ It had also organized regional meetings in 1982 and 1983 in Guayaquil, Manila and New Delhi. UNICEF had participated in all of these meetings and in its 1978 Executive Board report, PHC had been identified as one of the areas of UNICEF urban cooperation.³⁸ In the 1982 Executive Board report it was reported that in UBS projects in 43 countries various components of the PHC strategy were being supported.³⁹

In some countries there was a strong emphasis on PHC itself; e.g., Belize, Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Honduras, India, Indonesia, Peru and Thailand.

In 1983, the Urban Section of UNICEF also published and circulated three documents particularly relevant to urban PHC: *Urban Examples No. 4*, 'Urban Primary Health Services for the Urban Poor, a Process and a Product'; 'Water and Sanitation in Slums and Shanty Towns, a Technical Report' (TRH10); and Urban Malnutrition, a report of a workshop held in Haiti (WSR11).

Before publication of the background papers prepared by Dr. Rossi-Espagnet, the next collaborative action between UNICEF and WHO consisted of a joint UNICEF/WHO meeting on PHC in urban areas held in Geneva in July 1983.⁴⁰ The two organizations jointly convened this meeting among representatives of Third World cities to review national experiences, elicit suggestions for action by countries, international organizations and non-Governmental agencies and specifically to discuss important subjects that had previously emerged in regional meetings. These included appropriate information, and the structure and functioning of municipal health departments. They also developed a Plan of Action for UNICEF/WHO collaboration in 1983-1984.⁴¹

Next the two organizations planned and held a consultation on urban PHC in Guayaquil, Ecuador, in 1984. For the first time, the conclusions emphasized, among other things, the need for moving beyond the project level towards scaling up urban PHC efforts to keep pace with the "explosive tempo of urbanization". This became the theme of the next Interregional Consultation on Primary Health Care in Urban Areas held in Manila in July 1986. This Consultation attempted to address the issue of universal coverage of all the urban poor with PHC services in the spirit of the Alma Ata declarations.⁴² The Guayaquil and Manila Consultations were held in cities where there were existing PHC projects to which field visits were made as part of the workshops. These

meetings also included representatives of voluntary agencies, as well as those from municipal and national Governments. In addition, the World Bank was represented in the Manila workshop, and a statement from the Director of the International Year of Shelter for the Homeless was read.

The Oxford meeting

Another related event, which involved some of the same partners, was the Oxford workshop on Community Health and the Urban Poor. This was sponsored by the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, Oxfam and UNICEF at St. Edmond Hall, Oxford University in July 1985. This workshop originated in talks between John Donohue and representatives of Oxfam that were continued at the Guayaquil workshop. There, the general shape and direction of the workshop was developed by Brian Pratt and Dr. Tim Lusty from Oxfam and John Donohue and William Cousins from UNICEF. The facilitator of the meeting was W. Laphroig. These plans were further refined in a series of meetings held at the London School of Hygiene with representatives from the School, Oxfam and UNICEF including Pratt, Lusty, Cousins, Patrick Vaughan of the London School of Hygiene and Trudy Harpham representing both Oxfam and the London School.

It was agreed that UNICEF and Oxfam should invite field people from NGOs mainly, and the emphasis would be upon the sharing of concrete practical experience from different parts of the world. The opening addresses were delivered by Guy Stringer, the Director of Oxfam, and Richard Jolly, Deputy Executive Director (Programmes) of UNICEF. Thus, representatives included many people with enormous practical experience, some of whom had never been out of their countries before.

It turned out that there was an embarrassment of riches. There was not enough time to take full advantage of all of the experience present. Nevertheless, it was a stimulating and serious exchange which resulted in two publications which have now become standard resources for urban PHC. The first is the *Bibliography on Urban Primary Health Care* by Trudy Harpham, Patrick Vaughan and Susan Rifkin, published by the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine in 1985. The second publication is a report of the Oxford workshop edited by Trudy Harpham, Tim Lusty and Patrick Vaughan entitled *In the Shadow of the City: Health and the Urban Poor in Developing Countries*, Oxford University Press, 1987. A third volume has recently appeared, entitled *Cities of Hunger, Urban Malnutrition in Developing Countries*, by Jane Pryer and Nigel Crook and published by Oxfam in 1988.

The WHO/UNICEF collaboration on urban PHC is a continuing one. At the same time, each agency also continues to carry out its own activities and produce its own materials. Examples are the recent WHO publications entitled *Improving Urban Health, Programme for Action* (1988) and *Spotlight on the Cities* (1989) by the Division of Strengthening Health Services of WHO.⁴³ A joint meeting of Mayors on City Health was also held in Karachi in November 1989 and continued this advocacy and exchange of experience.

UNICEF has supported pioneering projects in urban PHC in a number of countries, including Ecuador (Guayaquil), Thailand, Sri Lanka (Colombo), Ethiopia (Addis Ababa) and the Philippines (Metro Manila and Davao City). The Guayaquil project, designed with the help of Vesna Bosnjak and nursed into vigorous life by Nancy Andrade, has recently been evaluated by UNICEF. The Colombo project, also evaluated in 1989, was unusual in that it became a broad community

development or UBS project initiated by the Office of the Colombo Chief Medical Officer of Health, and the Health Wardens were the community workers. The pattern for systematizing community participation through representatives of community development councils (CDCs) was developed by Leo Fonseka, the UNICEF Adviser. His experience in Colombo is evident in the design of the expanded UBS programme in India, where he now serves as Urban Adviser. In Thailand, the expanding programme of urban assistance is essentially urban PHC.

The programme in Addis Ababa has two sets of parents. The older one is the experience with a broad urban project in a few kebeles (neighbourhoods) undertaken by Radda Barnen and the city government with some UNICEF assistance. But the expanded urban PHC programme owes its existence to a challenge which Mr. Grant threw to the city leadership on one of his visits.

The experience in the Philippines is different again. There, UNICEF assistance in urban PHC began with support to NGOs during the Marcos regime. One of these was AKAP, which had a community-based project in Metro Manila as well as in a rural area. The other project was located in Davao City, where the local medical school recruited and trained local women as community health workers to serve their neighbours.

The interest of UNICEF in PHC has been revived and emphasized with the emergence of the Bamako Initiative in 1989. In support, the urban section developed a position paper on 'The Urban Bamako Initiative' in 1989 and is preparing an issue of Urban Examples on control of diarrhoeal diseases.

CHAPTER 7

Collaboration with the World Bank in urban projects

The first collaboration with the World Bank on a project was in Lusaka, Zambia in 1973. UNICEF was asked to take responsibility for the community development side of a housing and slum improvement project in Lusaka which was being financed partly by the World Bank. Since UNICEF had no specialized urban staff of its own, aside from the Urban Adviser at headquarters, Anthony Kennedy, it was decided to involve the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC). It happened that AFSC had had some early experience in urban community development; particularly in Baroda, India where it had started and run the Baroda Community Development Service from 1964 to 1969. The Baroda project had been the third pilot project in urban community development in India and had achieved some success as a pilot project and a training resource in India. AFSC managed to get the services of two of the organizers of the Baroda project, Harry and Julia Abrahamson, to help design the community development aspect of the Lusaka project. One was sponsored by UNICEF, and one by the Service Committee. The Abrahamsons made site visits to Lusaka and submitted recommendations for the community development activities.

In the training and operational stages, other people were recruited by AFSC including Richard Thomas of Southern Illinois University, an experienced American training consultant in the NTL (National Training Laboratories) mode. For field work, AFSC brought in a succession of three people. The last one was Robert Ledogar, who had studied urban planning at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.⁴⁴

As the project developed, the World Bank's priorities tended to change the community development approach in which the staff had been trained. The emphasis was on cost recovery, and when people were not paying regularly, the community development staff had to advocate collection above all else. This was not only not what they had been trained for, it was also inimical to their approach and became one of the first intimations of the potential conflict between the approaches of UNICEF and the Bank at the project level.

The second collaborative effort with the World Bank was in Indonesia in the mid-1970s. The Bank had agreed to support a Kampung Improvement Programme started by the Indonesian Government in 1969 in some low-income urban areas. In 1974, UNICEF had appointed a consultant in Urban Development, Ms. Chandan Mehta, who, interestingly enough, had been one of the original staff members of the Baroda Project. Ms. Mehta worked directly with the Government in the Ministry of Public Works, Directorate of Planning in the Directorate General of Human Settlements. It is significant that, as in the case of the Ministry of Works and Housing in India later, this was an unusual partner for UNICEF, which tends to work with Ministries of Health, Social Welfare and Education.

Most of Chandan Mehta's activities were concerned with helping to develop the planning capacity of the Ministry through a series of training experiences. For about 10 years thereafter the Ministry ran annual courses on urban planning and area-based planning. Ms. Mehta was followed by Farid Rahman and John Taylor in the Ministry, and by Joe Judd, who became the Urban Adviser based in UNICEF. Judd helped to put the mechanism in place for a UNICEF-assisted action project. This was done through programming workshops at the city level in coordination with sectoral departments at the provincial and national levels. He also developed an important concept for supporting local self-help efforts - 'block grants'. These were grants to local communities in support of projects decided by the communities themselves.

Thus when Clarence Shubert appeared on the scene in 1980, as a consultant on Kampung Services attached to the Ministry of Home Affairs, the stage was set for starting the programme on the ground.

Shubert helped start the field programme by getting sectoral allocations for cities from the Ministries through programming workshops. The block grants were programmed by the low-income communities themselves. At the time, it was felt that the best way to work was by piggybacking on physical improvement; thus, UNICEF supported complementary actions to those supported by the World Bank in the Kampung Improvement Programme (KIP). However, there was never a joint programme between UNICEF and the World Bank.

KIP consisted of improvements in the physical infrastructure of low-income areas, and the UNICEF role, again, was to develop a system for involving the community members in the improvement process. The work began in three cities, Citabon, Surabaya and Jakarta, and after a couple of years, spread to other cities. One of the management innovations introduced by this project was the 'block grants concept'. This concept emerged in response to a common impediment to developing a programme with true community participation and planning from below, which is that most large organizations have a need to pre-plan all of their activities and expenditures. On the other hand, the community development approach requires an organizational capacity for responding flexibly to the felt needs of people in the community. This has always posed an organizational dilemma.

UNICEF Indonesia suggested a way out. They proposed that in the budget there should be a small sum of money under the heading of 'block grants', which could be used to support flexibly a variety of self-help activities originating from the people themselves. While the proportion of the budget was small, the importance of this kind of institutionalized flexibility was enormous. It amounted to a legitimatization of the use of 'unprogrammed funds' to support self-help activities. It also meant that as other UNICEF offices began to start UBS projects, they could always cite the precedent of 'block grants' in Indonesia to justify 'unprogrammed funds'.

In India, a similar device was invented independently called 'programme funds'. Programme funds had the same functions as block grants in Indonesia. Here also, there had been questions from the UNICEF bureaucracy about exactly what the funds would be used for, where the advance lists of supplies and equipment were, etc.; but finally the concept was accepted when it was understood that this was very similar to what had been called 'aided self-help' in the old rural community development projects in India.

Collaboration with the World Bank in India took several forms. By 1975, an Urban Project Officer in New Delhi, William Cousins was approached by Sven Sandstrom of the World Bank in Washington, D.C., who was involved in the establishment of an integrated urban development project in Madras. This was a project under what came to be known as the Madras Metropolitan Development Authority (MMDA) and it included sites and services and slum improvement activities for the urban poor in certain project areas. In addition to improvements in the physical infrastructure, there was also a provision for some health and social welfare activities modelled after the pilot projects called Integrated Child Development Services projects (ICDS), which were being assisted by UNICEF.

These are projects for preschool children and pregnant and nursing mothers which involve a number of inputs: food supplementation, immunization, health check-ups and referrals, health education and non-formal education for mothers. The activities revolved around a preschool called an anganwadi. Mr. Sandstrom wanted UNICEF to examine the proposal for health and social welfare critically and clear it before the agreement with the Bank could be signed. So, the UNICEF Urban Adviser in India joined the appraisal mission from the Bank on its next visit to Madras. A number of recommendations were made for increasing the possibility of community participation and decreasing the amount of pre-planning from above. One concrete suggestion was the need to incorporate a Community Development Wing in MMDA. The agreement for the Madras Urban Development Project (MUDP) was signed and not many changes were made in the 'software', i.e. the health and social services components of the plan; but this was not the fault of the World Bank, which had made a serious effort to secure the input of UNICEF. This was disappointing to UNICEF but is typical of some of the difficulties in UNICEF-World Bank collaboration at the field level. For example, the health and social services component had an important physical aspect which was most manageable and 'doable' for the physical planners and engineers. Each community was to have a community centre, designed and built by MMDA, in which health and social service activities would take place.

The UNICEF adviser suggested that such centres be constructed only if and when a community felt the need for one; and if so, the community should be responsible for the construction - perhaps with some help from MMDA, if required. But such self-help community centres could not be standardized as to design, costs, time frame, etc., and a large multimillion dollar project, with sophisticated financial and physical planning methods, found it difficult to think and operate in this way - with local communities participating in decision making and executing constructions in what seemed to be an ad hoc and seemingly 'unplanned', or at least unstandardized fashion.

How could carefully planned targets be met in an orderly manner?

However, after a hiatus in UNICEF-MMDA relations, two things happened which brought UNICEF back into the game. First, some communities interfered with the planned process of implementation. When engineers came to install public water taps in one community, where a local NGO had done some consciousness-raising, the people told the engineers to "put them there, not here". This difference of opinion could not be resolved, and the job could not be completed. Another problem was related to the proposed community centres. When the implementing engineers asked the people in one community for land on which to construct the community centre, the people replied: "We have no spare land. Can't you see how crowded it is already?"

The other factor was that a new Member Secretary, Louis Menezes, of the Indian Administrative Service (IAS) came into MMDA. Faced with such 'impediments' to executing the carefully planned project, he realized immediately the necessity of involving the people in decisions which would have a profound effect upon their lives. On going through the old files, Mr. Menezes came across the UNICEF recommendations, so he invited the UNICEF Adviser for consultation. The result was a close and sustained relationship with MMDA, particularly where community involvement and the role of NGOs were concerned. No formal agreement was ever signed with MMDA or the Bank, but a community development cell was started in MMDA eventually and played an important role in the early stages of the sites and services and slum improvement programmes. Later, the cell shifted to one of the implementing agencies, the Slum Clearance Board, where it received material and financial assistance from UNICEF. This is an example of what might be called serendipitous collaboration.

The next collaboration with the World Bank in India was in the Kanpur Project. Here, collaboration started in the planning stage at the insistence of the project leader from the Bank, Chandra Godarvitane, who had become convinced of the importance of community involvement while serving as Municipal Engineer in Lusaka at the time of that project. However, despite careful advance planning, there were some serious difficulties arising partly out of the local situation which had overlapping agencies and jurisdictions, and partly from the difference in working styles of UNICEF and the Bank. UBS calls for a flexible, community-based style with implementation of the physical infrastructure components if and when the community is ready. The Bank and the local authorities were accustomed to centralized planning and implementation according to a pre-established time schedule. For UNICEF, community involvement was a basic given, and an end in itself. For most of the Bank, local engineers and physical planners, community involvement was a means of ensuring local people's cooperation in constructing and maintaining the physical improvements and in enhancing cost recovery (as has been mentioned in the case of Lusaka). Thus, an effective relationship between UNICEF and the World Bank which maximizes or optimizes the complementary strengths of each, is still to be worked out at both the headquarters and the field level.

One other difference in styles is that UNICEF tends to have staff in-country on a permanent basis, who are in regular contact with a project. Thus, UNICEF often knows even more than it wants to about the inner workings of a particular project. The Bank, on the other hand, depends upon regular periodic visits of its 'missions' for first-hand information and feedback, so the feedback is less continuous and more formal. Despite the experience and high calibre of the members of these missions, it is not easy for them to get a detailed and accurate picture of the inner workings of a project in the time allotted. Further, they are treated as honoured guests, wined and dined, and given conducted tours. The style is probably suitable for traditional physical improvement projects, but is less suitable and effective for community-based projects. Moreover, the Bank still perceives community involvement as merely a 'component' of a project, just as water or roads or transport are components. It is certainly not a major 'component,' much less the central one. In the same way, social development, community organizations, and health and social services are considered to be the 'software' part of an urban project. It is interesting semantically, that in these kinds of projects, traditionally related to engineering, 'software' is perceived as definitely less important than 'hardware'. UNICEF, on the other hand, is seldom prepared to operate on the scale of a Bank project in terms of its own allocation of resources and staff.

In Thailand in 1983, there was quite a different experience with a proposed World Bank-assisted project. UNICEF became involved with a regional cities project which had the purpose of planning physical improvements to be financed by a World Bank loan. UNICEF supported two weeks of social planning to be tacked on to six weeks of physical planning. It also was committed to supporting the implementation of social programmes.

The World Bank loan was substantially delayed but UNICEF participation went forward, so that in the regional cities project initially only UNICEF supported the programme. This helped the Government to respond on a modest scale to peoples' expectations, which had been raised during the project preparation period. The UNICEF-assisted activities consisted of community organization, pre-school education, PHC and some urgently needed drainage. Because the communities were first prepared through community organization, the subsequent World Bank-funded physical improvement programme was more effective. A somewhat similar situation occurred in the Kisumu (Kenya) project.

UNICEF and the World Bank continue to explore ways of working together more fruitfully in urban projects, both in country programmes and at the headquarters level. Most recently there have been meetings and discussions with the Economic Development Institute (EDI) of the Bank on the training of policy makers for poverty-oriented programmes and with the Inter-American Development Bank on loans for macro-enterprises in the 'informal sector'. The Urban Section also participated in a workshop sponsored by EDI on 'Access of the Urban Poor to Basic Physical Infrastructure' in February 1990. In addition, UNICEF was represented at a World Bank/UNDP/Habitat meeting in Paris. Perhaps the answer lies in part in UNICEF scaling up its urban projects and the Bank scaling down its projects so as to reach the poorest segments of the population more effectively, but it will require some changes in style and organizational approach on both sides if the collaboration is to become more productive.

CHAPTER 8

Collaboration with the International Labour Organisation (ILO) on working and street children

In 1984, the UNICEF Executive Board requested that "a policy review paper on the subject of children in especially difficult circumstances - including children in situations of war and conflict, street children and working children and children affected by natural calamities - be prepared for the 1986 regular session."

After much discussion, Dr. Nyi Nyi and the Programme Division decided that the definition of children in especially difficult circumstances should be confined to street children, working children, abused and neglected children and children in armed conflict. It was further decided that the Urban Section should be responsible for seeing that the papers on street children, working children and abused and neglected children were produced. The paper on armed conflict was assigned to Bacquer Namazi. William Myers, who had had the first extensive experience in developing a street children programme in Brazil and had just completed his assignment there, was engaged for one year to write the overall policy paper on children in especially difficult circumstances.

Since both Myers and Namazi were working alone, and the Urban Section had responsibility for three subjects, it soon became the focal point for coordinating activities with respect to the policy review. However, in the participatory spirit of UBS, this meant that a democratic working group emerged which was truly participatory - without regard to status, specialization or formal assignments. Most important decisions were made by the group collectively. This group consisted of William Cousins, Marie-Pierre Poirier and Ephim Shluger of the Urban Section plus all of the Section's support staff; William Myers as the key person responsible for the main Board paper; Bacquer Namazi as the person responsible for the paper on children in armed conflict and his associate Howard Fruchtbaum of Columbia University who had been associated with the History Project. In addition, other people were recruited. Notable among these were E.J.R. Heyward, who soon became our senior adviser/participant with his long experience with the Board and Board papers; also Peter Taçon, then adviser in the UNICEF Geneva office and UNICEF's expert on street children; Assefa Bequele of ILO Geneva, as a member of our Task Force on Working and Street Children. In addition, George Thomas, an independent consultant from Boston who had worked as a consultant in Pakistan's urban project, was engaged to help with the writing of the paper on working and street children. The paper on abuse and neglect, subjects with which UNICEF had little project experience, was handed over to two outside experts, the key one being Dr. David Finkelhor of New Hampshire University.

The Working Group felt that field staff should be involved in this process from the outset. So, in April 1985 the Urban Section arranged a meeting in New York and invited staff from selected countries where there had been experience with working and street children projects. The people who participated included Assefa Bequele from ILO Geneva, Peter Taçon from UNICEF Geneva, Cesare La Rocca from UNICEF Brazil, Anupama Rao from UNICEF India; Victoria Rialp from UNICEF Manila; and the Working Group in New York. Early on it was decided that the two subjects of working children and street children could not be logically separated since most street children were working children. Thus the paper was on both working and street children.

In addition, once the first draft of the paper was completed, it was decided that it should be discussed with some of the key international NGOs and individuals in the field. At the very beginning preliminary ideas had been discussed with Nils Thedin of the UNICEF Executive Board, who gave his blessings, encouragement and advice. Thanks to the kind invitation of the United Kingdom Committee for UNICEF, the venue of the meeting was in their offices in London. Robert Smith and his staff handled most of the logistics and he participated in the meeting. The participants included some experts as well as representatives of Oxfam, CARE, Save the Children, Defense for Children International, Rädda Barnen, the Anti-Slavery Society of the United Kingdom, the United Kingdom Committee for UNICEF, and from UNICEF/New York E.J.R. Heyward, Bacquer Namazi, Marie-Pierre Poirier, William Myers and William Cousins.⁴⁵ This stimulating and informative meeting not only led to some revisions of the first draft but also to the development of continuing relationships with colleagues from NGOs who were interested in these subjects.

In the earliest stages of the work there was some apprehension that UNICEF might have a different view from that of ILO about what was then called 'child labour'. However, after William Cousins's initial meeting with Assefa Bequele at ILO it was clear that common interests far exceeded any formal differences. The original concern had been that ILO would be categorically against child labour of any kind; while UNICEF experience in assisting field projects in more than 40 countries had led to the belief that in the poorest families in urban areas it was often necessary for every member of the family to work if the family were to survive. Thus, a categorical and sometimes sentimental objection to children's working had to be examined very closely and realistically. The position of UNICEF was to focus on the exploitative forms of child work.

It soon became apparent that while ILO had as its long-term goal the abolition of child labour, it also recognized that in the short run it would still be necessary for children in some countries to work and contribute to the family income. At the same time, both ILO and UNICEF agreed that there were some forms of work which were so exploitative and so detrimental to the health and well-being of children that they must be categorically opposed. The final paper prepared for the Board discussed these issues and took some clear positions. For example, it began with the statement that "children have always worked" and it went on to specify some of the kinds of work which UNICEF considered absolutely unacceptable.

When the semi-final draft was completed, the Working Group felt that not only should it be circulated to the field offices for comments but that some meetings should be held in different parts of the Third World for face-to-face discussions of the draft paper in order to identify regional perspectives, just as the meeting had been organized in London for representatives of international organizations from industrialized nations. Thus, representatives of the Working Group participated in meetings in Bangkok, Bogotá and Nairobi. This not only yielded the benefit of the views of

voluntary agencies and experts and UNICEF staff in these various regions, but it also meant that they were involved in the process of producing the paper. It was not always easy going. In the Bangkok meeting, for example, UNICEF was continually challenged to take a more forceful position about children in situations of armed conflict such as in Afghanistan, and it was necessary to explain repeatedly (and often unsatisfactorily to the challenger) that while UNICEF was an advocate for children, it was also an international organization with an Executive Board composed of representatives of Governments.

Thus, it was not easy for UNICEF as an intergovernmental organization to point fingers at one or the other of its constituent members as far as any of these problems went concerning children in especially difficult circumstances; particularly as there was no one guilty party. Therefore, the challenge throughout the writing of the paper was to speak truthfully as an advocate for children, but sufficiently sensitively to gain the approval of the Executive Board.

One important consequence of this involved process was that the Working Group began to pay more attention to the Convention on the Rights of the Child which was in the process of being formulated, with the involvement of many colleagues from international NGOs. The result has been that UNICEF adopted a clear pro-active role in facilitating the completion of the Convention and its adoption by the United Nations General Assembly. The Geneva office, particularly Marjorie Newman-Black, bore much of the responsibility and deserves much of the credit for UNICEF involvement in the Convention in the early stages.

Some of the concrete consequences of this work on the Board paper have been described in Chapter V, but two things should be maintained here. There is currently an ILO-UNICEF joint project on training and advocacy material for intervention in child labour in which William Myers is working with Assefa Bequele. Following the cooperation in the Cairo meeting on child labour in Africa, ILO and UNICEF have agreed to a similar cooperation on regional meetings in Asia and Latin America in 1991. In addition, two publications are being produced by the Urban Section. One is *Protecting Working Children* by William Myers, to be issued in English, French and Spanish; the other will be on children in armed conflict. These are in addition to the continuing support for action on behalf of working and street children.

CHAPTER 9

Summary

The UBS programme in UNICEF originated in 1961 out of the concerns of some members of the Board and of the secretariat. It was a tentative beginning with one project in Mexico City followed by a long period of silence on the subject until 1969. The discussion at that Board meeting resulted in the production of the first major policy paper on children and youth in poor urban areas, written by Dr. Safilios-Rothschild and the UNICEF secretariat. Another paper on children and youth in poor urban areas in India was produced about the same time by Dr. Sindhu Phadke. The Safilios-Rothschild paper laid the groundwork for the UBS approach and its essential programme components. It led to the Cairo project in 1972, the Lusaka project in 1974, the Indonesian project in 1975 and the India project in the same year. All of these early projects had in common a community-based approach stressing the possibility of building upon the self-help efforts already existing among the urban poor. In addition, they had common components and concerns such as health, education, child care and vocational training.

Another important factor was the decision to seek the help of the United Nations Centre for Housing, Building and Planning which resulted in the secondment of Anthony Kennedy to the UNICEF headquarters as the first Urban Adviser in 1972. John Donohue succeeded Anthony Kennedy in 1975 and not long thereafter became a UNICEF Project Officer. In 1976, the Executive Board requested information on activities in urban areas since they seemed to be moving very slowly. So, in 1977, the first meeting of the urban network was held in Lusaka, Zambia, resulting in an Information Note to the Executive Board. The Board decided that in 1978 a more substantial report should be made. This 1978 report also included a consultant's report by Mary Racelis Hollsteiner. These two together led to the issuance of the first PRO on work in poor urban areas, PRO 32. Again, the Board report, the consultant's report and the PRO were consistent with the Safilio S. Rothschild report and made UNICEF urban policy more explicit. During the next few years, the number of urban projects grew very rapidly so that at the time of the 1982 Board report they had increased from seven projects in 1977 to 43 projects. The 1982 report was well received and led to the decision to expand support for urban programming.

Between 1984 and 1989 the expanded programme was consolidated. John Donohue was succeeded by William Cousins as Senior Urban Adviser, and Cousins was succeeded by Vesna Bosnjak in 1988. The urban network was active, the production and distribution of materials to this network became a major activity. Regional Advisers were appointed in most parts of the world. In addition, the Urban Section played a major role in the production of a policy paper on children in especially difficult circumstances and had particular responsibility for the subjects of working and street children and abandoned and neglected children.

CHAPTER 10

*Some consequences of urban basic services programmes: intended and serendipitous**

The conclusions of the 1982 Board report still seem to hold true. The review summed up: "The urban basic services strategy is viable, is capable of extending services and facilities to the poorest family, and responsive to community problems. Services are better understood by communities, more relevant to their needs and better maintained when the community is directly involved. In addition, services and facilities tend to be less expensive and therefore permit broad coverage in situations of scarce resources."

The report also cited the following examples. In Lima, Peru, formal agreements had been signed with communities in which they assumed full responsibility for the maintenance and operation of PHC and preschool centres, with the support of the sectoral ministry. In Hyderabad, India, more than 180 preschools had been opened using community volunteers, and over 6,000 low-cost houses had been constructed on a self-help basis by the people themselves within about three years. (Today, that number has doubled at least.) In Colombo, Sri Lanka, more than 1,200 slum residents became part-time community volunteers and received simple training to carry out this work. In Davao City, Philippines hundreds of women had been trained as community health workers - *katiwalas*. In Ethiopia, nearly 300 urban dwellers' associations, called *kebeles*, were being used to address health problems of the urban poor in Addis Ababa.

A few years later, the Government of India officially adopted the UBS programme and incorporated it in its seventh National Plan. UNICEF has been cooperating over the five years in a planned effort to extend the scope of this programme from approximately 40 cities to 295 cities. The new Government has decided to universalize UBS and reach 400 towns and cities in the next Five-Year Plan. This is the largest UNICEF-assisted urban programme in the world and is probably the largest programme anywhere in terms of coverage. UNICEF has been assisting Indonesia in the social development aspects of its Kampung Improvement Programme since the early 1970s, and the programme is expanding to most major cities. The Sri Lanka UBS programme, which began in Colombo, has been expanded to four other major cities, as is the case of the Bangkok urban PHC programme and the Ethiopian UBS Services Programme. The Guayaquil urban PHC programme has reached more than half of all poor urban families, who

* Much of this section draws heavily upon 1987 draft of the Urban Basic Services Implementation Strategy, entitled "Urban Basic Services: a strategy for coverage of the urban poor."

totalling approximately 450,000 people. Central America now has broad UBS projects in each country in addition to national single-sector activities.

Some other consequences are that UBS has helped to keep the concepts of community participation and the basic services strategy alive in the UNICEF programming process. UBS programmes seem to have had effects on national policy in several countries ranging from India, the second largest country in the world, to Belize, one of the smallest. It has helped sensitize the Government of Brazil to the problems and possibilities of street children in that country, and it has been an element in the Million Houses Programme in Sri Lanka.

Some lessons from experience*

There are a number of lessons to be drawn from the experience with the Urban Basic Services approach. The most important of these are:

- I. *It is now feasible to extend basic urban services on a scale adequate to cover all of the poor in the major urban settlements of developing countries within existing resources.*
 - A. The main development which makes massive coverage possible is a dramatic reduction of costs for both urban infrastructure and social services.
 - B. These reductions in costs have been achieved through the application of alternative standards for urban infrastructure and low-cost construction systems in sites-and-services and slum upgrading projects, and through a participatory basic services strategy for social services.
 - C. Much stronger participation of community residents is needed in the UBS management and maintenance.
- II. *The broader socio-economic impact of physical improvement of slum and squatter settlements cannot be achieved without community organization for development and the extension of basic social services to these communities.*
- III. *Successful replication and/or expansion depends upon the following minimal conditions: (a) political will and commitment to this approach; (b) project staff who understand both bureaucracy and community development, are committed to the approach and can implement it effectively.*
 - A. The first condition implies that there will be sufficient 'bureaucratic will' to assure the necessary support, flexibility and intersectoral coordination. Political will is not enough, it is the bureaucrats - the civil servants - who see that the job gets done. This fact of life is often ignored.

* This section is taken from "Urban Basic Services: A strategy for the Urban Poor", a draft of a strategy paper written by the author.

- B. The second condition implies that there is an effective selection and training system operating on a significant scale. In rural community development, this proved to be a stumbling block when programmes expanded, and it is a problem which must be tackled if significant scaling-up is to be attained.

- IV. *The strategy can be a vehicle for dealing with almost any problem faced by the urban poor through the collaborative effort of the people and the government.* Significant progress has been made in some areas where the participatory approach, traditionally, has not been considered an option; e.g. housing, low-cost sanitation and the provision of drinking water. At the same time, they also take up essential social and economic services such as pre-school education, income-generating activities and components of the Child Survival and Development Revolution including oral rehydration therapy and immunization. The approach can begin anywhere, and go anywhere, providing the basic principles are genuinely followed; particularly community involvement.
- V. *It is a low-cost approach in which sizeable resources besides labour can be generated by the people themselves.* These include capital formation - as in the case of self-help housing - and even technical support and design solutions. The emphasis on low cost is important, not only because of resource constraints, but because it *forces* project staff to involve the community and reduces the natural tendency towards paternalism or 'maternalism'. At the same time, it encourages self-reliant behaviour and creativity in the community.

CONCLUSION

Urban growth

The proportion and the absolute numbers of urban poor families are increasing rapidly. The two main reasons for this growth are natural increase and migration to the cities from rural areas. A third reason, in some countries, is the reclassification of settlement from villages to urban categories. This may occur as villages surrounding large cities are absorbed as part of the metropolitan areas or as key villages increase in size and become redefined as towns. Another factor is the increased poverty arising out of economic recession and compounded by structural adjustment policies. This trend is particularly noted in Latin America and Africa. The important factor is that the urban poor population tends to increase at a higher rate than the overall urban population. The implication for UNICEF is that more and more poor children and women will be found in urban settlements, so UNICEF and governments must be prepared to work in a different kind of environment - the urban environment.

The urban environment presents both advantages and disadvantages to the development worker. Logistics problems are fewer; mass transportation and mass media make it easier to provide goods and services as well as information and 'messages'. In addition, the populace tends to have a higher level of literacy and sophistication in most cities and to be more open to change. There is also a much more developed infrastructure for providing social services. On the other hand, cities are large, heterogeneous and politically and socially complex. There are many interests which can either help or hinder in meeting the needs of the poor. The mobility of the population often makes it difficult to provide services for children such as consistent and complete immunization. In addition, the programming process is often a good deal more complex than the one most UNICEF officers are accustomed to. By definition, UBS means multisectoral and multilevel programming. Thus, in addition to the complex process of seeking convergence of services and cooperation among different departments of government, there is also the problem of relating to the central government, the provincial or state government, the municipal government and often the sub-municipal government.

The ethnic and regional diversity of urban populations often means that traditional community organizations are weak or absent. Also, the dependence on work outside the home and community make both community organization and voluntarism more difficult in urban areas.

The possibility of universal coverage

In the face of a continuing urban growth that has reached crisis proportions and in view of the scarcity of resources in most third world countries, UNICEF has advocated the UBS approach in an attempt to provide services in a realistic and replicable manner to all of the urban poor. *In fact, it is the conclusion of the senior staff who have worked in urban areas that UNICEF experience has shown that this strategy has now made it possible to provide basic services to all of the urban poor families within existing national resources.* This goal of universal coverage was implied in the basic services strategy from the onset. In order for UNICEF to play its role in achieving universal coverage three things will be necessary: (1) the effective orientation of and training of all UNICEF programme staff to work in the urban environment, with its complexities and unique features; (2) an organizational commitment to face the challenge of urban growth and meet it through the basic services strategy; and (3) the reorientation and building of links with other agencies assisting urban development.

The advantage of flexibility

The basic principles of a multisectoral, community-based approach imply the possibility of flexible responses to people's needs and the inclusion of different programme emphases as they arise. Thus, the child survival and development thrust of UNICEF required no major adjustments in UBS projects. The social infrastructure was already in place for implementing such programmes as universal child immunization. In the past, the same thing was true of emphases in such programmes as childhood disabilities, women in development and education.

Urbanizing UNICEF

One of the main conclusions of the interregional UBS workshop held near Madras, India, in 1984, was that urban problems and the programmes designed in response to them have become too important for urban programme officers alone. They are now the responsibility of the whole organization, and thus there is a need to 'urbanize UNICEF', i.e. help UNICEF equip itself to deal with the peculiarities of programming in urban areas. This means that the future role of urban staff will be as technical specialists, giving help on specific urban programming problems, providing training for staff, advocating for more attention to urban children, and stoking the flame of community participation.

NOTES

- ¹ National Institute of Urban Affairs.
- ² D.D. Malhotra and W.J. Cousins.
- ³ This view was first articulated by William Myers Mangin in his now classical article in *Scientific American*.
- ⁴ See K. Shah and W. Cousins, 'Housing and Development,' *Shelter*: Hudco Publication, summer, 1981, Vol. IV, No.1. (New Delhi).
- ⁵ This has been explicitly acknowledged in the latest version of the Government of India's Housing Policy.
- ⁶ *What Makes UNICEF Special: a Personal Historical Perspective*, UNICEF, 1986, p. 3.
- ⁷ For a discussion of the origins of this Survey see *Sweden and UNICEF: 1955-84*, a study by Ulla Wickbom, pp. 16-19, 1985.
- ⁸ Personal communication.
- ⁹ Charles A. Egger, 'Main Trends in UNICEF's Policy: 1947-1980', HIST 45/Rev. 1, January 1966.
- ¹⁰ Statement by Maurice Pate, Executive Director, to the UNICEF Executive Board on December 1961. CRP/61-C/2, 28 December 1961.
- ¹¹ E/ICEF/441, 27 February 1962.
- ¹² E/ICEF/447, Add. 1, 25 April 1962 (paras. 18-21).
- ¹³ E/ICEF/455, 20 July 1962.
- ¹⁴ 'Children and Adolescents in Slum and Shanty Towns in Developing Countries', E/ICEF/L.1277, 5 March 1977, prepared by Dr. Constantina Safilios-Rothschild, UNICEF consultant and the UNICEF secretariat (para. 182).
- ¹⁵ 'Some aspects of the Favela problem in Brazil', No. 9, January 1969, pp. 27-40; 'L'urbanisme et l'enfant', *ibid.*, pp. 11-26; 'Social Services and Low Income Families in Developing Areas - Some Case Study Evidence', No. 10, June 1969, pp. 155-166.
- ¹⁶ 'Children in Urban Areas of India', by Sindhu Phadke, pp. 109-124; 'Problèmes de l'enfance et de la jeunesse dans les zones périurbaines des Etats arabes', Colloque de Tunis.
- ¹⁸ Memo to Jack Charnow on Maggie Black's draft on Urban Programmes, 24 March 1986 (pp. 2-4/188).
- ¹⁹ *Op. cit.*, para 120.

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- ²⁰ Personal communication.
- ²¹ Quoted from Anthony Kennedy's report of December 1974, 'Assistance to Children in Slums and Shanty Towns: Review of the First Three Years of UNICEF/CHBP Cooperation', p. 9. This description of the first urban projects draws freely from this Report. See also: Charles A. Egger's memo to field offices of 21/9/72 on the subject 'UNICEF assistance to children and adolescents in slums and shanty towns'.
- ²² Report of the Executive Board, May 1976 (E/ICEF/644, para. 24); Report of the Executive Board, May-June 1977 (E/ICEF/651, para. 131).
- ²³ General Assembly resolution 31/167, 21 December 1976.
- ²⁴ (Ulla Wickbom, p. 36).
- ²⁵ (E/ICEF/639, paras. 95 and 96).
- ²⁶ (E/ICEF/P/L.1653 and Corr.1) (para. 66).
- ²⁷ E/ICEF/L.1372 and Corr.1.
- ²⁸ E/ICEF/L.1371.
- ²⁶ 'Regional Programme: Advisory Services on Behalf of Children Without Families in Latin America and the Caribbean' (E/ICEF/P/L.2108 (REC)).
- ²⁷ This section draws freely from *urban examples No. ...* and the 'Annual Report' for 1985 of the Urban Section.
- ³² see Appendix IV for a list of publications distributed by the Urban Section between 1981 and 1987.
- ³³ 'Annual Report for 1985 - Urban Section', 11 November 1985.
- ²⁸ Report of the Executive Board (15-26 May 1978), (E/1978/54 - E/ICEF/655), Economic and Social Council, Official Records, 1978; Supplement No.14.
- ³⁰ PRO.32, 14 August 1978.
- ³¹ E/ICEF/L.1440 and Add.1 and Corr.1.
- ³¹ 'Primary Health Care in Urban Areas Reaching the Urban Poor of Developing Countries', report on recommendations by the UNICEF/WHO secretariats, JC25/UNICEF/WHO/85.5, January 1985.
- ³² 'Informal Consultations on Primary Health Care in Urban Areas', Geneva, 26-28 January 1981, Report - WHO Document SHS/HSR/81.1 and Primary Health Care for the Urban Poor, 1981, WHO Document SHS/HSR/81.2.

NOTES

- ³³ 'Reaching the Children of the Urban Poor', E/ICEF/L. 1372.
- ³⁴ E/ICEF/L.1440.
- ³⁵ WHO document SHS/HSR/83.1.
- ³⁶ See 'JCHP Report' JC25/UNICEF-WHO/85.5./op.cit., p. 3, paras. 14a and b.
- ³⁷ See 'Urban Primary Health Care, A Response to the Crisis of Urban Poverty', WHO/UNICEF/East Asia and Pakistan Regional Office, Bangkok, December 1987.
- ³⁸ WHO/SHS/NHP/88.2.

Appendix III
FIELD VISITS*
1981

Urban Adviser (John Donohue)

Honduras and Guatemala	Review urban component of country programme	21-23 Jan.
Brazil	ditto	8-15 Feb.
Kingston	ditto	16-17 Feb.
Bangkok	Assist urban programme development	8-12 April
Jakarta	Mid-term review of urban programme	12-21 April
Colombo	Workshop on the Management of Urban Basic Services	21 April 1 May
Manila	Interview possible UNICEF candidates	3-4 May
Monrovia	Assist urban programme development	2-5 June
Abidjan	ditto	5-7 June
Lagos	ditto	7-12 June
Haiti	ditto	24-26 June
Brazil	ditto	7 June-3 July
Lima	Assist in country programming process	3-11 July
Haiti	Prepare urban component of country programme submission	22-24 Oct.
Haiti	Participate in country programme review	15-19 Dec.

* From Urban Section Report, 1981-1984, 29/1/85

1982

Urban Advisor (John Donohue)

New Delhi	Staff Development Seminar and urban programme review	1-12 Feb.
Bangkok	Urban programme development and programme work with Regional Adviser	12-15 Feb.
Manila	Urban country programme review	14-16 April
Bangkok	Preparation of urban work with Regional Adviser	16-17 April
Jakarta	Assist in country programme development	19-23 April
Bangkok	Debriefing in Regional Office	23 April
Brazil	Assist in urban programme Development	4-12 June
Haiti	ditto	13-18 June
Colombia	ditto	3-11 July
Sri Lanka	ditto	22-31 Aug.
New Delhi	ditto	1-3 Sept.
Manila	ditto	4-9 Sept.
Colombia	ditto	10-14 Oct.
Mexico	ditto	14-18 Oct.
Central America	ditto	18-23 Oct.
Guatemala, Nicaragua, Costa Rica		
Haiti	Urban Malnutrition Workshop	12-13 Nov.
Colombia	Participation in intensive country programming review	14-17 Nov.
Brazil	Urban Basic Services Workshop and assistance in urban programme development	21-30 Nov.

Assistant Programme Officer (Francesca Moneti)

Haiti	Urban Malnutrition Workshop	7 - 11 Nov.
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1983

Urban Adviser (John Donohue)

Rio de Janeiro and Brasilia	Review urban programme	20-30 March
Lima and Arequipa	ditto	17-24 April
Haiti	ditto	24-28 April
Rio de Janeiro, Brasilia and Belo Horizonte	ditto	27 Aug.-10 Sept.
Ethiopia	ditto	30 Sept.-9 Oct.
New Delhi	ditto	25-29 Oct.
Dhaka	ditto	29 Oct.-4 Nov.
Bangkok	ditto	4-8 Nov.
Jakarta	ditto	8-10 Nov.
Manila	ditto	10-19 Nov.

Assistant Programme Officer (Francesca Moneti)

Central America Panama, Costa Rica Guatemala, Nicaragua, Belize, Honduras	Urban Internship	14 June-16 July
Central America: Guatemala, Costa Rica Nicaragua	Provide support in evaluation of Urban Programme in the three countries	25 Sept.-5 Nov.

1984

Urban Adviser (John Donohue)

Belem	Review urban programme	26-28 Feb.
Rio de Janeiro	ditto	28 Feb.-2 March
Brasilia	ditto	2-3 March
Lima	ditto	4-8 March
Guayaquil	ditto	8-10 March
Bogota	Representatives' Meeting	25-29 March
Panama	Review urban programme	29-30 March
Nairobi	Urban Advisers Network Meeting	14-18 May
Guatemala	Budget review - Brazil	3-6 June

Urban Adviser (William Cousins)

Kingston	Assess needs for UBS project	2-5 July
Guayaquil	Joint UNICEF/WHO Meeting on	14-20 Oct.
PHC in Urban Areas		
New Delhi	Review urban programme	11-17 Dec.
Bangkok	Regional Urban Programme	17-22 Dec.
	Officers Meeting	

Programme Officer (Ephim Shluger)

Brasilia	Review urban programme	18-22 Nov.
Rio de Janeiro	ditto	22-24 Nov.
Buenos Aires	ditto	24-28 Nov.
Santiago	ditto	28 Nov.-1 Dec.
Lima	Monitoring and Evaluation Workshop	1-8 Dec.
Bogota	Review regional urban programme	8-15 Dec.

Assistant Programme Officer (Francesca Moneti)

Guatemala and Nicaragua	Discuss direction of Phase II of Nicaragua urban programme	10-17 March
Nicaragua	Prepare proposal for Phase II of urban programme	7-18 May
Guatemala and Nicaragua	Support urban programme activities	20-31 August
Nicaragua	Meeting with Dutch delegation on urban programme activities	1-3 Oct.
Brazil	Regional seminar on 'Child of the Street - Our Common Cause'	8-19 Nov.

Assistant Programme Officer (Marie-Pierre Poirier)

Lima	Monitoring & Evaluation Workshop	1-8 Dec.
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Appendix IV
URBAN DOCUMENTS DISTRIBUTION *

<u>Document</u>	<u>Language</u>	<u>Number Printed</u>	<u>Rerolls</u>
Reaching Women and Children of the Urban Poor E/ICEF/L.1440 (Executive Board Document)	English	1600	2000
	Spanish	300	500
	French	400	
	Russian	100	
	Chinese	50	
E/ICEF/L.1440 Addendum: Summary of Nine Case Studies	English	1600	1050
	Spanish	300	500
	French	400	
	Russian	100	
	Chinese	50	
UNICEF Occasional Paper, No.3, Reaching Women and Children of the Urban Poor	English	3000	
Water and Sanitation in Slums and Shanty Towns (Technical Paper, No. 10)	English	460	50
	Spanish	150	30
Management of the Delivery of Urban Basic Services (Workshop Report, No. 10)	English	400	50
	Spanish	150	30
	French	150	
Urban Malnutrition (Workshop Report, No. 11)	English	400	240
	Spanish	75	20
	French	150	
URBAN EXAMPLES 4 Urban Primary Health Care -	English	400	215
	Spanish	1200	20

* From 'Urban Section Report, 1981-1984', 29/1/85

Urban documents distribution

<u>Document</u>	<u>Language</u>	<u>Number Printed</u>	<u>Rerolls</u>
Health Services for the Urban Poor, a Process and a Product	French	120	
URBAN EXAMPLES 5	English	400	90
Management of Urban Basic	Spanish	90	20
Services - The Realities of	French	125	
Co-ordination (1)			
URBAN EXAMPLES 6	English	320	
From the Field			
URBAN EXAMPLES 7	English	550	1200
Abandoned children - what	French	220	
can be done, and EXD 2875,	Spanish	90	
Policy on abandoned and			
destitute children			
URBAN EXAMPLES 8	English	375	40
Management of the Urban Basic			
Services - The Realities of			
Co-ordination (2)			
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