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# **REMOVING UNFREEDOMS CITIZENS AS AGENTS OF CHANGE**

Sharing New Policy frameworks for Urban Development

Prepared for DFID

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## **EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**

This paper argues that in the light of the work of Nobel Laureate Amartya Sen, there is a need not only to modify current policy frameworks that deal with development, but also to share them across the globe. Such a shift would enable the national governments and sponsors to consider that the wider overarching goals of human development are those that provide individual citizens with ever expanding opportunities for freedoms. There is a need to let citizens live the life of their choice. It argues that an objective that enables human beings to lead the life that they value is higher than one that enables them to be merely less poor and more efficient producers of wealth.

Suggesting new policy goals for a more effective development policy, this paper suggests the need to make a beginning by modifying the current evaluations and indicators that are used by policy makers. It suggests sharing the new evaluation methods and data. Such data would rely on democratic discussions to evaluate citizens choices about the life that they want to lead and value. The paper also argues for the need of a lead agency to co-ordinate urban development policies, programmes and projects within an overarching shared urban policy framework. Such a shared framework would acknowledge that the ultimate goal of development is to enable people to choose their own life styles through the process and enjoyment of ever expanding freedoms.

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

As the new century begins, we observe our world caught up in a fast moving process of urbanisation that is unprecedented in the history of urban settlements. In the last twenty years, more than a dozen mega cities have appeared and an urban population of 10 million is not uncommon. If estimates in the Economist are to be believed, “ in the next decade an extra 100 million people will join the cities of Africa and 340 million in the cities of Asia: equivalent of a new Bangkok every two months. By 2030, nearly two-thirds of the world, population will be urban.<sup>14</sup>”

### *New patterns of urbanisation*

It could be argued that this rush to the city from the countryside is part of a historical process that had already been experienced by the West at the end of the Industrial Revolution. But there are important differences. These differences could have significant implications for current policy formulations that are intended to support economic development in the developing world. Consider these differences:

- *Many parts of the developing world are without effective central authority.*
- *The migration to the towns is not only economic, but also in part caused by push factors related to the growing chaos and insecurity in the countryside.*
- *There is little evidence of significant investments in urban infrastructure that could absorb this influx of urban population. Unlike at the time of the Industrial Revolution when the enormous rise in factory production and investment offered jobs to the urban migrants, today's developing world migrants often have few employment opportunities that would result in value being added to the economy. On the contrary often this migration gives rise to hidden unemployment.*
- *There is either an absence of representative authority or the presence of weak state structures.*
- *Effective intervention often takes the form of an imposed military presence.*
- *The identity of the Nation State is being compromised by increasingly militant expressions of regional or ethnic identities that are centred on territorial claims. These claims often cleanse regions from ethnic groups by forcing them to migrate.*
- *These conditions are prevalent not only in many parts of the developing world but also in large parts of the erstwhile Soviet Union territories which once had high levels of industrialisation.*

The historical precedence is therefore reminiscent is not so much of the post-industrial experience of the West as it is of other periods in the history of Europe. Eric Hobsbawm explains:

*“ I believe that the disintegration of the states in these regions of the world is mainly the result of the collapse of the colonial empires, of the end of the era in which the great European powers controlled large portions of the world, where they had found non-state governed societies, and had imposed a degree of external and internal order. This also applies to the territories conquered by Russia after 1800, such as the Caucasus...What has occurred in these parts of the world seems to be similar in some ways to what occurred in Western Europe following the fall of the Roman Empire. There was no*

*longer any central authority. In some cases there were local authorities, which still managed to function, in other cases there was conquest by groups from outside which came to establish order. However, in reality vast regions of Europe lacked normal and permanent state structures for a long period of time. I believe that this is occurring again in parts of the world.<sup>xii</sup>*

### *Urgency of the need for new urban-based initiatives.*

The motivation for this sudden spurt in urban migration in many parts of the developed world is not just a move towards greater job opportunities but more significantly it is a move in search of greater security from the growing anarchy in the countryside. Thus the search for solutions needs to weigh the choices between rural and urban-based development initiatives. It is clear that development policies need to urgently address the lack of adequate state authority in order to secure development initiatives. Weak state authorities need to be strengthened. State authorities are located in cities to enable them to effect control. Their presence would therefore make it imperative to focus the primary thrust of development initiatives in the urban centres. For if the growing anarchy of the countryside is to be effectively tackled, it will need to be tackled by the urban based state authority. Such an authority would need to be strengthened through urban-based development initiatives and programmes.

The need to strengthen urban-based state authorities is a precondition to establishing a sense of order in the country as a whole. The growing disorder in the countryside needs urban-based remedies. However, the need to bolster up the capacities of state administrations cannot presume that strong urban-based rule is per se acceptable without qualitative conditions. A strong urban-based non-democratic dictatorial regime, for instance, would not be conducive to development. Although such a regime could be seen as a strong counter-force to stateless disorder, its very definition as an undemocratic system of governance precludes it from being development friendly. Such regimes introduce arbitrary military priorities that often counter people-friendly development goals. There is ample analysis about the importance of participatory policies in development theories to demonstrate that elected friendly governance is a pre-requisite to successful and lasting urban development.

Amartya Sen's contention is that the development process is inextricably bound up with a process of ever expanding freedoms that need to be granted to the individuals of a community. In enhancing the capabilities and potentials of the citizens of an urban society, or for that matter any society, policy makers need to focus on areas that will give the greatest impact. Not only is there a need for the greatest impact, there is also the need to intervene in those areas where the multiplier effect of the consequent benefits will be the greatest. The impact of urban development initiatives will spread the significant benefits to all un-free communities.

Sen's view of development being the enhancement of freedom for individuals to live the life they want to live is valid for society as a whole including rural and urban settlements. I have argued elsewhere in this paper that, currently in many countries, the fragility of social, political and economic conditions in the urban areas needs urgent support because of the type of urban migration that is taking place. One

needs therefore to consider the potentials and capabilities for self-improvements in the livelihoods of urban citizens, and to make them the special subject of our concern. Such a concern would link higher levels of development to freedom rather than income levels.

## **2. AMARTYA SEN AND EXPANDING THE CONCEPTS OF DEVELOPMENT**

Noble Laureate Professor Amartya Sen has explored these development-freedom linkages in his seminal work "Development as Freedom"<sup>iii</sup>. In their citation announcement for the 1998 Award of the Nobel Prize in Economic Science, The Royal Swedish Academy mentioned that Sen, "*By combining tools from economics and philosophy, had restored an ethical dimension to the discussion of vital economic problems*". His work is both philosophical as well as a treatise on economics. By combining the principle concerns of economics with the ethical questions of philosophy, he has opened up a new domain, which is far more comprehensive than the erstwhile and hitherto more popular independent domains confined to the discipline of economics. The work is a theoretical analysis of the human condition in contemporary times. The implications of the concepts proposed by him can have far reaching consequences on a number of fields. The two key words in the title of the book separately form a subject of vast information, research and theories. The topic of *development* is a vast enterprise, as is *freedom*. By combining these two enterprises into a correlated whole, he has achieved a sort of fission effect that reveals new ways to move forward towards improving the human condition in this new post ideological age.

Sen has advocated the need to re-evaluate the framework of development to encompass a much wider concept that centres on *freedom* rather than on a debate about *poverty versus prosperity*. New parameters are defined that include an expanded definition of development. There is an assumption that development integrates economic, social and political considerations with equal weighing. The traditional narrower and almost exclusive focus on economic criteria as the determinant of the level of development is thus re-described. These earlier narrower criteria tended to subjugate the social and political aspects of society. Thus social and political aspects were regarded as less important than economic aspects. Governments could justify undemocratic or repressive regimes to achieve high growth rates.

This re-defined freedom approach describes processes of development as a quest by individuals for ever expanding freedoms. Hitherto, economic criteria for evaluating development consisted of measuring Gross National Product, personal incomes, levels of industrialisation and technological advances and so on. While these continue to remain valid for evaluation, they are now seen only as a *means* to expand freedom and not as *ends*. The goal of development becomes the pursuit of enabling ever-expanding freedoms to be gained and this becomes the overarching objective of human development.

### *Components of freedom*

The constraints to ever expanding freedoms are termed “un-freedoms” – barriers that could exist in economic, social or political realms of society. Thus poverty, malnutrition, poor sanitation, tyranny, poor economic opportunities, social deprivations, poor public facilities, intolerance, communalisation, ethnic centrality, repressive state apparatuses, lack of education, absence of health care, lack of security, corruption can all be termed un-freedoms. They are all regarded equally relevant. In the efforts to remove un-freedoms, vital roles are played by markets, market related organisations, governments, local authorities, political parties, civic institutions, educational facilities, media, opportunities for free speech and public debate, social norms and values about childcare, gender issues as well as the treatment of the environment.

In evaluating the degree of freedom available to the individuals of a society or community, the citizen’s rights and opportunities are perceived through the perspective of the five instruments, or components, of freedom. In a sense these instruments are considered to be five different and distinct types of interdependent freedoms and are seen to be instrumental because they are the principle means of accessing the rights and opportunities that help individuals to expand their freedoms and capabilities. These five instruments of freedom are explained thus:

**Political Freedoms.** The free opportunities citizens have to determine who should govern them and on what principles. Enshrined in this opportunity is the right to evaluate and criticise authorities, to a free press as well as freedom of expression and participation in the political process. During the 20<sup>th</sup> century, various forms of undemocratic governments have behaved in brutal ways that have severely damaged the prospects of development in their countries. Abuses of human rights (in Myanmar for instance) have placed significant constraints on human freedom and hence human development. But despite the presence of these autocratic regimes, significant progress has been made at a global level. The UN informs us of this progress: while in 1975 only 33 countries had ratified the ‘International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights’; this figure had risen to 144 by 2000. In 1900 no country had universal suffrage while today almost all countries have it. Between 1974 and 1999, multiparty election systems had been introduced in 113 more countries and today only about 40 countries do not have multiparty electoral systems.

**Economic Facilities.** Inhabitants need to have the opportunities and freedom to use the economic resources of the city, its hinterland and other territories for the purposes of consumption, production and exchange (trade). Freedom of access to these facilities includes the availability and access to finance. Being able to gain a productive livelihood through the means of one’s choice requires adequate and supportive facilities. The lack of such facilities is an unfreedom and a constraint to development. At least 150 million of the world’s workers were unemployed at the end of 1998. This cause of unemployment can vary within a society and may be caused by social constraints. For instance, in South Africa, the unemployment rate for African males is seven times higher than that of

their white counterparts. Apart from the unemployment of the work force, in developing countries, there are some 250 million-child labourers.

**Social Opportunities.** The arrangements and choice of opportunities that the administration makes for education, health care and other essential community facilities for its citizens is relevant to evaluate the level of development. It is an essential responsibility of the administration to provide opportunities for the basic requirements of its inhabitants and not leave these to undefined national agencies. Much progress has undoubtedly been achieved. Between 1980 and 1999, malnutrition was reduced and the proportion of underweight children in the underdeveloped world fell by 10% to 27%. Between 1970 and 1999, in the rural areas of the developing world, the percentage of people with access to safe water increased four fold to 71%. But severe deprivations remain worldwide. 1.2 billion people still live on less than a dollar a day and 2.4 billion people lack sanitation facilities.

**Transparency Guarantees.** Citizens need to be provided the guarantees for openness, necessary disclosures, rights to information and tangible evidence of trust so that the clauses of the social contract between the administration and the citizens are always clearly defined and enacted. A vivid example of the relationship between transparency and economic development is provided by contemporary Angola. Angola is an increasingly important source of oil for the developed world and its importance is enhanced by the fact that it is not an OPEC member state. The big companies extract its oil and they pay an estimated \$5 billion in revenues. However none of the companies disclose their figures. The rulers of the country as well as the big oil companies take full advantage of this lack of disclosures. Nobody seems to know what happens to this revenue. Angola's population is 12.4 million; 82.5% live in absolute or relative poverty; 62% have no access to drinking water and 76% have no health care.

**Protective Security.** State institutions need to undertake measures to provide the necessary freedom to access the protection of a social security net that prevents the consequences of poverty and suffering from spreading amongst its inhabitants. Thus the state needs to provide support for the suffering caused by natural disasters, epidemics and war.

In order to redefine the ends of development with these new definitions, new evaluation methods and data to inform us about citizen aspirations and not government perceptions needs to be gathered. Such data needs to be collected through democratic discussions that evaluate the citizen's choices that could enable them to lead a life of their own choice and value.

### **3. THE NEED FOR NEW EVALUATIONS**

For Amartya Sen, *"The success of a society is to be evaluated primarily by the substantive freedoms that members of that society enjoy"*<sup>iv</sup>. Expansion of freedom is viewed both as the *primary end* and as the *principal means* of development. Thus one may assess the needs of development as the needs to remove un-freedoms from which the members of the society may suffer. His proposition of five

components or instruments of freedom that have been explained earlier (*political freedoms; economic facilities, social opportunities; transparency guarantees; and protective security*) are interdependent and interconnected. Indeed these interconnections are central to a fuller understanding of the instrumental role of freedom<sup>v</sup>. Existing evaluations rely on an information base that cannot provide adequate knowledge for decisive action or policies. In the urban field, this information base is dominated by the income based poverty survey. One of the reasons for regarding this base as inadequate is that recent development literature has advocated the need for a shift towards participation and democratisation through *bottom up* policies. However, the view on how deprivation is measured has remained largely technocratic and *top down* in its evaluation. The evaluation process of measuring poverty is therefore out of synchrony with the policy goals because it does not address the potentials of individuals.

### *Need to measure potentials and capabilities*

It has been argued in this paper that the pre-eminent goal of development policy should be to expand human freedom. In doing so, I have relied on the work of eminent economists Haq and Sen. Both have suggested that the existing approach that takes poverty eradication or income increments as goals in themselves is inadequate. Indeed, both economists have pointed out that poverty eradication is a means to human development, not its end. In order to redirect our development goals towards the ideal of expanding freedoms, one needs to pay closer attention to the evaluation procedures that are required to inform us of the nature of the change proposed. Clearly if one was to rely entirely on the existing evaluation methods, one would end up with inadequate data to redirect development policy goals. Most existing evaluation procedures are exclusively entrenched in poverty evaluation methodologies and need to be supplemented with some measurement of freedom. We need to be better informed by a broader base in order to evaluate the capability of a person who is involved in the search for a better life.

### *Beyond UNDP's Human Development Report*

If we are to move away from the economic centred view of development towards a wider more ethical centred goal of human freedom, we will need to set up a modified information base that is sensitive to freedom values rather than just to economic values.

Some of the pioneering work of shifting the emphasis away from economic growth towards sustainable human development was done by the economist Mahbub ul Haq. He was convinced that development must deal with society at large and not limit itself solely to an economic perspective. As such development becomes people centred and both socially and environmentally sensitive. During his years at the UNDP (1989-95) he began work on the question of developing indicators to measure human development. The first Human Development Report was published in 1990 and it contained evaluated data for the first time, on a global scale, that questioned the measurement of human progress through the narrow perspective of economic growth data. The data in these reports, which became an annual feature of UNDP<sup>vi</sup>, began to demonstrate the need to shift away from

concerns about *inequalities* and move towards concerns of *inhumanity*. In many ways, Haq's pioneering work, which culminated at the UNDP in the annual Human Development Reports, began a process of questioning the traditional economic notions of 'trickle down' economics. Economic growth was only the means to the real end, which was human development. Empowerment was more relevant as a policy goal than the quantum of the handout. The Human Development Report 2000 has focused on 'Human Rights and Human Development' and has considerably expanded the inherent linkages between human freedom and human development. This focus has clearly emerged out of the work of Amartya Sen who has written the first chapter of the Report.

Haq highlighted the need for a better, more informative database and suggested the use of the "Capability Poverty Measure" (CPM) that was eventually included in the UNDP 1996 Human Development Report. This index supplemented the data derived from income poverty measurements and complemented the Human Development Index (HDI). The CPM data considered the percentage of people who lacked minimal essential human capabilities. Three basic capabilities were measured with an overall emphasis on women:

- *Nutrition and health* measured the proportion of children under the age of five who were under weight.
- *Safe reproduction* measured the proportion of births that were unattended by health personnel.
- *Education level* measured the degree of female literacy.

In this evaluation, human capabilities and potentials were directly linked to deprivations experienced by women who were considered as the centre of the family. Haq maintained that poverty could not be eradicated simply by increasing income. For a person or a family, the improvement of their condition would have to lead to an expansion of basic human capabilities leading in turn to the productive use of these capabilities. Such a contention can easily be understood if one considers the unchanged condition of a family whose income earner wastes his increased income on non-productive uses such as gambling or drinking. One of the reasons for applying non-income-based measures was to try and resolve the discussion about how much money is required to escape poverty. Income levels measured in monetary terms could only approximate ways to measure the value of goods and services. Monetary valued incomes were regarded as indicative of the purchasing power of the family or individual. But such a measure does not reflect, in all cases, the well being of the person or his family. 'Income' is surely only a means to well being while, enhanced 'capability' represents a closer approximation to the ends of the benefit that the individual or family seeks.

When he first put forward his ideas of evaluating capabilities, Haq did point out that the potential shortcomings of the CPM evaluation were caused by the need to rely on data collected for more traditional evaluations: "*Ideally in measuring deprivation in capabilities, indicators should be used that directly reflect capability shortfalls<sup>vii</sup>*". Sen discusses possible strategies to adopt to evaluate capabilities. Not all capabilities are easy to measure on metric scales so that one may need to rely on

supporting data from monetary based indices. In order to overcome these difficulties and to move forward on current data collection practices. Three alternative practical approaches are suggested:

- *Direct approach* – which exclusively compares data that evaluates capabilities, employment, longevity, literacy, nutrition and so on.
- *Supplementary approach* – which uses the traditional interpersonal income-based status evaluation and combines this with some direct approach capability data. Thus income level data could be combined with data on the availability of health care, evidence of gender bias in the family, extent of joblessness and so on.
- *Indirect approach* – which modifies the traditional income-based data through influences derived from capability data. The monetary value is therefore altered by non-monetary values. The monetary value of income is modified by the weight given by literacy levels, gender bias, unemployment and so on.

Since the goal of the wider approach to development through ever-expanding freedoms focuses on the *capabilities and potentials* rather than on the *income* of an individual, it is *capability* that one needs to evaluate in order to determine its constraints. We would therefore need to determine both the extent of un-freedoms as well as the real incomes of the citizens. In order to do this we need to modify the selection of relative weights that are used in the evaluative process. Inevitably these modified weights may not lend themselves easily to a uniformity of assessment techniques. Standard questionnaires cannot be used across different communities to evaluate their un-freedoms. Interpersonal comparisons cannot be made through standardised simple uniform question – answer procedures for data collection. The condition that is being evaluated as a constraint to freedom is, by its nature, a subjective condition. Therefore it is imperative that the current technocratic evaluations are supplemented with evaluations that have a democratic origin derived through a participatory process rather than a statistical quest. There is a need to use both qualitative as well as quantitative information.

### *Evaluating constraints to freedom*

In order to evaluate the condition of development of a community or a society, it becomes necessary to evaluate the status of the freedom of the individuals who compose the group under evaluation. In regarding these individuals as agents of change rather than patients of diagnoses or recipients of benefits, it becomes necessary to evaluate their capabilities rather than their economic condition. In other words, their deprivation is evaluated not in *economic* terms but in *capability* terms. Instead of simply evaluating income or expenditure, one needs to measure the potential of the individual and the constraints on that potential. By grouping constraints according to the five instruments of freedom, it is possible to evaluate them in terms of un-freedoms. New indicators would provide an informational base with relative weights given to the five types of un-freedoms. Data could supply a cross measure between relative degrees of individual un-freedoms within a community as well as a basis for comparing the relative degrees of freedoms enjoyed by individuals in other communities. Thus one

could look forward to new indices being brought out reflecting the degrees of freedom enjoyed by communities – a Human Freedom Index supplemented by sub indices that could measure each of the five instruments of freedom.

Inclusive tables as well as exclusive composite indicators need to be collected and then used discriminatingly. Composite indicators can be particularly useful to assess how different policy options can affect the prospects of enhancing freedoms. Thus development policy will need to balance the human achievement outcomes of a policy between the different types of achievements, which one may need to choose since all freedoms may not be accessible or realisable simultaneously. Policy makers may realise that, in the given circumstances of a case, it may be impossible to guarantee ideal political freedoms and policies would need to be devised that would distinguish between the long-term national level achievement goals and the shorter term localised ones. Such shorter-term goals could distinguish between constraints to freedom that have local origins. Such an approach would regard the overarching obstructions to freedom to be composed of an aggregate of constraints at different levels. However, such desegregating of unfreedoms does not imply any hierarchies in the components of unfreedoms. All freedoms are interdependent and equally relevant. The choice of aiming at removing particular unfreedoms and not others simply enables policy makers to make realistic choices between longer-term deep-rooted constraints and others that may have local or family level impacts on the citizen. A different level of policy may be required for enabling the removal of constraints that need fundamental political and social transformations.

Ideally, the goal of a policy maker should aim at creating 'enabling' environments in which people's capabilities can be enhanced and their range of choices expanded. Factors preventing such enabling environments to blossom are to be found within all levels of society and contribute to the persistence of different unfreedoms. Effective policy making needs to be dynamic and adaptable; thus, before formulating matrix for the evaluation of freedoms, one needs to confer with the subjects of evaluation to determine their perceptions of un-freedoms. The matrix for evaluation would emerge out of public discussions so that the weights given to the indicators are understood and agreed to by the community being surveyed: Public support is a precondition for identifying criteria for evaluation.

In the following table, existing participatory and sustainable indicators are organised within Sen's five instrumental freedoms, distinguishing between those indicators that are 'technocratic', typically quantitative and exogenous, and 'participatory' indicators that are qualitative and endogenous:

## ALTERNATIVE EVALUATORS

*Table 1: Measuring Un-Freedoms*

Instruments Of Freedoms	Technocratic, Top Down, Quantitative Evaluators	Democratic, Bottom Up, Qualitative, Subjective evaluators
<b>Political Freedoms</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Persons imprisoned</li> <li>• Voting rights</li> <li>• Access to written, electronic, broadcast media</li> <li>• Access to libraries</li> <li>• Women in government, police, etc.</li> <li>• Access to telecommunication</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Constraints to voting</li> <li>• Access to voting booths</li> <li>• Constraints on legal access</li> <li>• Constraints on access to law and order services</li> <li>• Nature of land title</li> <li>• Constraints on access to information</li> <li>• Constraints to act as representatives</li> <li>• Constraints on use of telecommunications</li> <li>• Whether Constitution or national law promotes the right to adequate housing</li> <li>• Whether Constitution includes protections against eviction</li> <li>• Other housing related rights (including gender sensitive)</li> <li>• Institutional arrangements between central and local governments and balance of power between them</li> </ul>
<b>Economic Facilities</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Male female employment</li> <li>• Income</li> <li>• Earned income share in family</li> <li>• Loans from banks</li> <li>• Youth unemployment rate</li> <li>• Children in employment</li> <li>• Women's GDP per capita</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Percentage of family income retained by women</li> <li>• Loans from money lenders</li> <li>• Interest rate on loans compared to market rate</li> <li>• Individual disabilities</li> <li>• Constraints to mobility</li> <li>• Access to credit</li> <li>• Constraints on women to seek employment</li> <li>• Access to training facilities</li> <li>• Access to transport</li> <li>• Access to markets</li> <li>• Recovery of dues.</li> </ul>
<b>Social Opportunities</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Life expectancy</li> <li>• Birth and death rates</li> <li>• Contraception rates</li> <li>• Infant mortality</li> <li>• Maternal mortality</li> <li>• Infant immunisation</li> <li>• Access to health services</li> <li>• Access to safe water &amp; sanitation</li> <li>• Birth attended by health personal</li> <li>• Population per doctor</li> <li>• Underweight babies</li> <li>• Malnourished children</li> <li>• Calorie intake</li> <li>• Adult literacy</li> <li>• Mean years of schooling</li> <li>• Primary enrolment</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Access to alternative medicine practitioners</li> <li>• Access to fuel</li> <li>• Stability of dwelling</li> <li>• Domestic injuries</li> <li>• Exposure to pollution</li> <li>• Constraints on water access</li> <li>• Constraints to school attendance</li> <li>• School drop out rate</li> <li>• Unattended children</li> <li>• Working children under 10</li> <li>• Children per class</li> <li>• Children per teacher</li> <li>• Distance from primary school</li> <li>• Areas considered as dangerous or inaccessible to the police</li> </ul>
<b>Transparency Guarantees</b>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Settlement of transacted work</li> <li>• Time spent on bondage obligations</li> <li>• Facilities to report crime</li> <li>• Presence of women in police station</li> <li>• Unreported thefts</li> <li>• Unreported molestation</li> <li>• Non formal payments for services, shelter and work</li> <li>• Regular independent auditing of municipal accounts</li> <li>• Published contracts and tenders</li> <li>• Sanctions against faults of civil servants</li> <li>• Laws on disclosure of potential conflicts of interest</li> <li>• Civil society involved in alteration in zoning</li> <li>• Civil society involved in major public projects</li> </ul>
<b>Protective Security</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Catastrophic deaths</li> <li>• Destroyed houses</li> <li>• Destroyed schools and health centres</li> <li>• Epidemic cases</li> <li>• Density of population before and after calamity</li> <li>• Existence of shelters</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Access to communication networks</li> <li>• Access to emergency food programmes</li> <li>• Duration of migration</li> <li>• Distance of migration</li> <li>• Nature of resettlement</li> <li>• Emergency and delay</li> <li>• Constraints to access shelter</li> </ul>

#### **4. CONCLUSIONS**

The wider approach to issues of urban development presented in this paper is not yet another universal prescription. On the contrary it is, I believe, the emphasis on the diversity of the particular within the universal that lies at the core of this approach. At the universal level, this approach considers that ethical principles and the need for human obligations and duties are part of our normative ethical system. At the particular level, it emphasises the need for new norms and standards to improve the human condition. Inhabitants with their diverse circumstances and cultures are given preference over universal structures. The emphasis on evaluating particularities such as capabilities and potentials ensures that citizens are regarded, not as spectators or patients but as participative agents of change. This emphasis is the substance of the new freedom centred approach being advocated here. It questions the adequacy of earlier evaluation assumptions. In this approach the goals become freedom centred and are based on a number of variables that emerge out of citizens' desire to remove constraints preventing them from leading the life that they wish to live.

The freedom centred approach emphasises the need to take into account the varying subjective wishes of individuals whose capabilities may be constrained by factors not necessarily common to all people. While a community as a whole may share many such constraining factors, the freeing of these obstructions may not relieve individuals per se. Particular obstructions to freedom need to be considered since each citizen is regarded as an independent agent for change with its own capability and potential.

This approach considers the issue of shared ethical principles in a different way. It argues that the approach to development that centres on people should start by understanding the variances in morals and ethics governing the lives of different human beings. If there were any common moral points to be concerned about, then they would have to emerge out of the practical considerations of capability evaluations. These common moral and ethical themes cannot be predetermined. Thus knowledge on particular constraints to the inhabitants of a community is preferably to be gained at an intimate level rather than as disengaged gross knowledge.

The following tabular format of the policy implications of the freedom-centred approach gives a bird's eye view of the issues that have been outlined in this paper. While admittedly, it presents a simplified synopsis of this paper, it does provide an opportunity to overview the overall extent of the issues that have been discussed as well as a guide to the elements of a possible enlarged policy framework.

## 7. Summary framework: A wider approach to foster development

INSTRUMENTS Constituents of a person's freedom that enhance his capabilities and potentials to live a life he values.	ARRANGEMENTS Rights, opportunities and entitlements that enable expansion of human development and freedom.	CONSTRAINTS to the enhancement of a person's potentials and capabilities – Types of un-freedoms	EVALUATIONS Assessments required to inform policy makers about capabilities and potentials of development.		SOME EXISTING STRATEGIES And policy goals compared to the wider ever-enhancing goals of development as a freedom from constraints.	
			on the technocratic, top down, quantitative side	on the democratic, bottom up, qualitative, subjective side	THE HABITAT AGENDA	DFID STRATEGY PAPER
<b>POLITICAL FREEDOM</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Institutional arrangements</li> <li>▪ Forums for free debate</li> <li>▪ Ability to participate in public discussions</li> <li>▪ Protection for dissenters</li> <li>▪ Free media</li> <li>▪ Existence of political parties</li> <li>▪ Elected bodies</li> <li>▪ Facilities to scrutinise authorities</li> <li>▪ Constitutional arrangements to ensure checks and balance between judiciary, legislature and executive</li> <li>▪ Decentralisation</li> <li>▪ Citizen's participation</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Absence of civil rights</li> <li>▪ Denial of political liberty</li> <li>▪ Press-censorship</li> <li>▪ Presence of undue influence to constrict market mechanisms</li> <li>▪ Absence of critical public discussion</li> <li>▪ Authoritarian rule</li> <li>▪ Absence of access to telecommunication</li> <li>▪ Political manipulation by vested interests</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Persons imprisoned</li> <li>▪ Voting rights</li> <li>▪ Access to written, electronic, broadcast media</li> <li>▪ Access to libraries</li> <li>▪ Women in government, police, etc...</li> <li>▪ Access to telecommunication</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Constraints to voting</li> <li>▪ Access to voting booths</li> <li>▪ Constraints on legal access</li> <li>▪ Constraints on access to law and order services</li> <li>▪ Nature of land title</li> <li>▪ Constraints on access to information</li> <li>▪ Constraints to act as representatives</li> <li>▪ Constraints on use of telecommunications</li> <li>▪ Whether Constitution or national law promotes the right to adequate housing</li> <li>▪ Whether Constitution includes protections against eviction</li> <li>▪ Other housing related rights (including gender sensitive)</li> <li>▪ Institutional arrangements between central and local governments and balance of power between them</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Decentralisation and strengthening of local authorities, association &amp; networks (§180)</li> <li>• Popular participation &amp; civic engagement (§181)</li> <li>• Participatory and consultative mechanisms (§68)</li> <li>• Capacity building and institutional development (§177-179)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Develop the capacity of local actors to manage pro-poor urban development and regional growth (Action 2 §5.4.4-6)</li> <li>• Strengthen efforts by the international community to support the urbanisation process which involves the participation of poor people (Action 4 §5.4.9-11)</li> <li>• Need for governments to provide the right enabling, legislative and regulatory framework, pro-poor and market sensitive (§4.2.1)</li> <li>• Empowering poor people themselves to demand and realise their rights and entitlements (§4.2.2)</li> <li>• Optimise the opportunities offered by decentralisation (ibid.)</li> <li>• Support to civil society groups to advocate poor people's needs and to participate in political systems (ibid.)</li> </ul>
<b>ECONOMIC FACILITIES</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Open labour market</li> <li>• Protection from bondage</li> <li>• Spaces and opportunities for free economic exchange</li> <li>• Access to product markets</li> <li>• Saving opportunities</li> <li>• Stable business ethics</li> <li>• Title to land</li> <li>• Freedom for women to seek employment outside home</li> <li>• Access to credit</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• No employment opportunities</li> <li>• Low income</li> <li>• Arbitrary controls on transaction</li> <li>• High inflation</li> <li>• Indebtedness</li> <li>• Labour bondage</li> <li>• Market controlled by vested interest</li> <li>• Price fixing and manipulation</li> <li>• Unfair trade</li> <li>• Prohibitions</li> <li>• Market monopoly</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Male female employment</li> <li>• Income</li> <li>• Earned income share in family</li> <li>• Loans from banks</li> <li>• Youth unemployment rate</li> <li>• Children in employment</li> <li>• Women's GDP per capita</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Percentage of family income retained by women</li> <li>• Loans from money lenders</li> <li>• Interest rate on loans compared to market rate</li> <li>• Individual disabilities</li> <li>• Constraints to mobility</li> <li>• Access to credit</li> <li>• Constraints on women to seek employment</li> <li>• Access to training facilities</li> <li>• Access to transport</li> <li>• Access to markets</li> <li>• Recovery of dues.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Financing shelter and human settlements</li> <li>• Gender equality</li> <li>• Improving urban economies (§155-162)</li> <li>• Enabling markets to work (§71-72)</li> <li>• Mobilising sources of finance (§80)</li> <li>• Ensuring access to land (§75)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Support to the private sector for PPP, small business and socially responsible business (§5.1.4)</li> <li>• DFID will work to increase the capacity of cities to attract investment and to develop improved links with rural economies (§5.4.4)</li> <li>• Need to ensure that the distribution of the opportunities of economic growth reach the poor (§2.2.25)</li> <li>• Develop the capacity of local actors to manage pro-poor urban development and regional growth</li> </ul>
<b>SOCIAL OPPORTUNITIES</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Good health</li> <li>• Basic education</li> <li>• Encouragement and cultivation of initiatives</li> <li>• Gender equity</li> <li>• Women's well being</li> <li>• Child care</li> <li>• Property rights for women</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Under nutrition</li> <li>• Premature mortality</li> <li>• Absences of services</li> <li>• Gender exploitation</li> <li>• Low income</li> <li>• Illiteracy</li> <li>• Child labour</li> <li>• High child mortality</li> <li>• Lack of hospital services</li> <li>• Lack of nutrition supplements</li> <li>• Selective property rights</li> <li>• Low female literacy</li> <li>• Urban violence</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Life expectancy</li> <li>• Birth and death rates</li> <li>• Contraception rates</li> <li>• Infant mortality</li> <li>• Maternal mortality</li> <li>• Infant immunisation</li> <li>• Access to health services</li> <li>• Access to safe water</li> <li>• Access to sanitation</li> <li>• Birth attended by health personal</li> <li>• Population per doctor</li> <li>• Underweight babies</li> <li>• Malnourished children</li> <li>• Calorie intake</li> <li>• Adult literacy</li> <li>• Mean years of schooling</li> <li>• Primary enrolment</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Access to alternative medicine practitioners</li> <li>• Access to fuel</li> <li>• Stability of dwelling</li> <li>• Domestic injuries</li> <li>• Exposure to pollution</li> <li>• Constraints on water access</li> <li>• Constraints to school attendance</li> <li>• School drop out rate</li> <li>• Unattended children</li> <li>• Working children under 10</li> <li>• Children per class</li> <li>• Children per teacher</li> <li>• Distance from primary school</li> <li>• Areas considered as dangerous or inaccessible to the police</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Need for economic development, social development and environmental protection (§69)</li> <li>• Ensuring access to basic infrastructure (§84-87)</li> <li>• Environment sustainability (§128-144)</li> <li>• Conservation of historic &amp; cultural heritage (§152-154)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• DFID will contribute to programmes that help to improve the living and working conditions of the poor: water &amp; sanitation; energy sources; tenure arrangements; supply of land for housing and health &amp; safety (§5.4.3)</li> <li>• Poor people should benefit from improved health care, better education opportunities (§2.2.1)</li> </ul>
<b>TRANSPARENCY GUARANTEES</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Absence of corruption</li> <li>• Mechanisms for seeking justice</li> <li>• Guarantees of disclosures and lucidity</li> <li>• Speedy judicial decisions</li> <li>• Access to police protection</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Corruption</li> <li>• Financial irresponsibility</li> <li>• Protected underhand dealings</li> <li>• Insecure banking system</li> <li>• Unchallenged governance</li> <li>• Bullying &amp; intimidation by organised 'mafias'</li> <li>• Constraints to access justice and police</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Settlement of transacted work</li> <li>• Time spent on bondage obligations</li> <li>• Facilities to report crime</li> <li>• Presence of women in police station</li> <li>• Unreported thefts</li> <li>• Unreported molestation</li> <li>• Non formal payments for services, shelter and work</li> <li>• Regular independent auditing of municipal accounts</li> <li>• Published contracts and tenders</li> <li>• Sanctions against faults of civil servants</li> <li>• Laws on disclosure of potential conflicts of interest</li> <li>• Civil society involved in alteration in zoning</li> <li>• Civil society involved in major public projects</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Strengthen shelter related information system (§67)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Improve DFID's and others capacities to address the urban challenge through information support, and knowledge and research development (Action 5 §5.4.12-18)</li> <li>• Improve local accountability systems (§5.4.4)</li> <li>• Need to access and to share information so to negotiate on a more equal footing with others (§2.2.12)</li> </ul>	
<b>PROTECTIVE SECURITY</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Network arrangements to mitigate disasters</li> <li>• Emergency facilities for rescue and damage control</li> <li>• Shelters</li> <li>• Subsidy for victims of famine and disasters</li> <li>• Arrangement for protection of extreme deprivation</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Famine</li> <li>• Neglected natural disaster effects</li> <li>• Absence of administrative network</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Catastrophic deaths</li> <li>• Destroyed houses</li> <li>• Destroyed schools and health centres</li> <li>• Epidemic cases</li> <li>• Density of population before and after calamity</li> <li>• Existence of shelters</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Access to communication networks</li> <li>• Access to emergency food programmes</li> <li>• Duration of migration</li> <li>• Distance of migration</li> <li>• Nature of resettlement</li> <li>• Emergency and delay</li> <li>• Constraints to access shelter</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Disaster prevention mitigation &amp; post-disaster rehabilitation capabilities (§170-175)</li> </ul>	

## **5. APPENDIX.**

1. The role of Government
2. The role of culture
3. Experience of DFID
4. Habitat Agenda.
5. Formulating Policy Frameworks

## **1. THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENT**

In the middle of the last century, the realities of the impending cold war provoked extensive academic debate on how alternate economic and social systems could improve the human condition. This debate was centred on how the so-called factors of production – land, labour and capital could be combined in the best way possible to increase the wealth of nations. Marx had introduced the notion of the need to wrest control of these factors of production from private ownership and to place them in public ownership. The liberal and pro-capitalist economists formulated theoretical alternatives to demonstrate that private ownership of these factors could provide a better alternative to the communist planned economies. These contesting theories of economic growth were exacerbated in the midst of decolonisation. As large parts of the world became independent, the new leaders began to look for ways to improve their wealth and prosperity. In searching for these ways, they had to choose between two alternative models of economic growth – one the Soviet and Chinese models of post revolutionary society and the other, the American model of private enterprise.

### *The role of the state in development*

The depression of the 1930s as well as the significant role that Keynesian policies played in mitigating its worse consequences had confirmed that the state needed to play an important role in supporting development. The downward cyclical depression spiral of lack of demand leading to a lack of investment leading to massive unemployment, in turn leading to further reduction in demand, needed to be broken. This break could only be introduced by macro level state interventions as classical economics solely relying on market mechanisms could not deliver. The Marshall Plan for the reconstruction of Europe firmly established the pro-active role of the state in economic affairs as a balancing force to market mechanisms. Many new independent nations followed policies of state interventions in their economic programmes. Keynesian doctrine as well as the experience of the Soviet Union endorsed, at varying degree, the economic responsibilities of the state. Borrowing the terminology of the Soviets, India, for instance, adopted the instrument of The Five-Year Plan to direct social investments.

The early development theories advocating a rush towards industrialisation and Take- Off (best seen in W.W. Rostow's "Stages of Growth") were postulated as alternatives to the Soviet Model that had industrialised at a phenomenal rate. Such approaches saw development as an aggressive process that was fierce and tough and contested the socialist view of development, which was pre-conditioned by traumatic Revolution. Opposing views on development engaged the two power blocks in a contest for constituency gains in the poor world. Both power blocks poured aid into the developing world to support vast capital-intensive infrastructure projects. There were enormous and undeniable gains from these investments, but the solution to poverty eradication remained elusive.

In the second half of the Twentieth Century, theories of economic development in the democratic world continued to evolve. This evolution was partly in response to the mixed choices that many developing countries had made about their routes to economic prosperity. For instance India, Egypt

and Ghana chose to opt for non-aligned, non-revolutionary policies that combined socialist planning with state protected private enterprise.

Development economists needed to consider the constraints that arose from the varying choices of economic growth models chosen by post colonial countries. Despite considerable improvements in the economic status of these developing countries, the national wealth seemed to be continually eroded by the continuation of overwhelming poverty despite half a century of searching for solutions.

### *Impact of the cold war*

The issue of “continuous development” as a broad goal for the improvement of the human condition has always been placed within an area of concern that lies somewhat equidistant between the disciplines of economics and philosophy. In the twentieth century however, this issue seems to have dominated the field of economics more than the field of philosophy. This is understandable since great strides have been made in the theoretical formulations that have informed the realm of economics. The establishment of the Soviet Union enhanced enormously the theoretical formulations of Marxism as a defined alternative economic system. Across the ideological divide, equally large strides were taken in the theoretical body of thought that proposed free enterprise as a solution to the predicaments of continuous development.

The cold war profoundly affected the discipline and literature of economics as also it influenced so much else. The whole issue of human rights came to the fore. The confrontation of the cold war polarised the criteria for achieving improvements in the human condition. On one hand, the West accused the socialist countries of having a poor record of human rights while on the other hand, the socialist countries accused the west of tolerating poverty and deprivation as the evils of the market system.

Both ideologies were in agreement that a process of development was required and that it needed fiscal investments. But the two sides always answered the eternal philosophical question of justifications and “ends and means” in diametrically opposite ways. Indeed these opposite views were clearly apparent in the contrasting ways and means of raising and spending fiscal investments in development. The two sides in the cold war were thus not only military adversaries but also philosophical, economical and moral adversaries. The formalised collapse of the Socialist project in the last decade has brought about fundamental changes in the future potentials of the measures and goals of development because both ideologies had expressed their achievements in contesting measurable indicators of the economy related often to the levels of industrialisation.

Fifty years of contesting with the Soviet Union had affected liberal core attitudes and policies towards both developed and underdeveloped communities. In rejecting the centrally planned economy approach, liberal attitudes advocated development through decentralised, unplanned economies that could be reliant on the market mechanism and the spirit of private enterprise. The achievements and

successes of both approaches were measured and evaluated by a range of indices that emphasised the measurement of economic prosperity as represented by National Income. Thus average per capita income levels, National Income, Gross National Product, level of industrialisation, percentage of urban population, literacy levels etc provided a seemingly convincing criteria for the comparison of the development levels of a community or a country. The two contesting systems used these indicators to gauge the relative merits and successes of each ideological system. Such criteria facilitated a convincing way to compare the status of societies across the ideological divide. Moreover, as data from these indices was cumulative across a time span, it became possible to compare the trajectories of development that a society had achieved under each ideological system.

The twenty first century has certainly begun with a sense of triumph for the liberal democratic system. The freedom approach to development has been vindicated as opposed to the anti-freedom approach of the Soviet system. This victory has however also raised questions about the future adequacy of measuring development in ways that had more narrowly focused on comparisons with the “other”. In the absence of the “other”, there are now new opportunities available to widen the focus on development to include more fundamental philosophical issues that relate to the real goals of development. No longer are the criteria for levels of development constrained by the need to compare and contest economic systems based on the duality of the ideologies of the last century. While new and variant ideologies may continue to emerge and fade, the discipline of economics can now return to some of its early concerns about the nature of the human condition in free societies.

### *The new climate*

The collapse of the Socialist project in the 1990s has modified the options for economic growth available to the developing world. In the present uni-polar world of Pax–Americana, it is no longer possible for countries to promote models of mixed economies. Globalisation and liberalisation have dismantled the national edifices of socially owned resources. The goals of economic growth are tempered with conditionalities on good governance and by structural adjustment programmes. The whole debate about the merits of rural led versus urban led development needs to be re-considered as the options for economic investments are being re-defined.

In this new climate, arguments on economic development that had been ideologically rooted began to be replaced with emphasis on human development. Newer models began to be constructed around more focused issues such as urban poverty, sustainable futures, rights to information, decentralised democracy, gender issues, cultural sensitivities, health care etc. The international donors influenced by the UNDP reports began to re-evaluate the goals of their aid programmes and took on board the strategies for a people-centred approach.

### *The just society*

At the beginning of the new century, it can perhaps be said that the highest goal of a society’s achievement is to enable its individuals to be able to live in a free society. Since the beginnings of

economics, and earlier, writers have been discussing the qualities that such a free society should bear. Traditional philosophical concerns about the goals of seeking a just human society can be considered as a combination of a number of approaches. Amongst the more important ones is “Utilitarianism” which focuses on seeking a sense of satisfaction or happiness achieved through the acquisition of utility goods in as much as they fulfil one’s desires. Such an approach does not consider the importance of the value of freedom or the nature of the distribution of the goods and happiness amongst the community. The need to have recognised rights does not feature as a desirable goal. Thus an unjust society is one that is unhappier than it should be and the measurement of this unhappiness might indicate what needs to be done to rectify the situation. The other ideas about a just society defines, with various intensities, the importance of liberty. “Libertarianism” preoccupies itself with liberties and rights of different kinds. Satisfaction and happiness are not regarded as important. Thus having rights of freedom, the right to own property, civil rights etc is considered an absolute necessity. Social goals have no priority in this view of a just society. Each of the proponents of these ideas put forward different ways to evaluate what they considered to be the goal of social stability.

Current paradigms on poverty reduction and social justice have evolved from these earlier ideas. These original concerns of seeking ways to form just societies remain pivotal to most development theories. Many subjective, qualitative and relative approaches aiming to incorporate the individual agent in the evaluation of poverty have been proposed since the late 1970’s. The better ones include the Human Development Index tailored by the UNDP, Amartya Sen ‘s entitlement perspective representing poverty as a failure to access resources, and a Social Anthropological notion of vulnerability as relating to poverty from which led to the Sustainable Livelihoods approach of Robert Chambers.

All These alternatives have in common an attempt at comprehending poverty in its complexity, diversity and subjectivity. Participatory means have helped to convey alternative people centred views of poverty so that the poor cease to be seen as a monolithic static and impersonal group of individuals but become to be considered as agents of change. Not recipients in, but accelerators of, the development process

### *Significance of the individual citizen*

Current approaches to urban aid and investment have shifted away from an almost exclusive focus on macro issues towards sophisticated approaches that address micro level intervention. With the growing importance of the work of world wide NGOs, policy makers have begun to be better informed about micro sectors. This has resulted in a growing understanding of the multi-dimensional nature of poverty. Poverty is no longer regarded just as the absence of income but as a much more complex condition that varies from community to community and needs to be tackled with a multi-pronged approach. Thus policy directives as well as identification of goals and targets have widened considerably and social investment has become a crucial component of economic investment.

As a result of this widening, the role of the individual as the basic building block of change has gained wide acceptance in many policies. Sen's recasting of the priorities of development has reinforced the pivotal role of the individual in any development strategy. The individual is seen as the agent for change, the accelerator and receiver of the change that could take place. Liberating his unrealised potential is the ultimate purpose of improving the condition of mankind. The more unrealised his potential; the lower is his level of development. His potential and character are constrained by unfreedoms and are the components of his special and unique identity. This identity is expressed often through culture.

## 2. THE ROLE OF CULTURE

The significance of the choice that an individual makes about the life that he wants to choose to live is strongly influenced by culture. Russian philologist Mikhail Bakhtin's was perhaps the first theoretician to draw attention to this link. He had emphasised the connections between the character and potential of a person and his cultural identity. In each culture, Bakhtin maintained, the past had enormous characteristics and potentials, which remain hidden, not revealed and unrealised. These are present throughout the history of that culture. Each person discovers their selves and their cultural identity through the eyes of the other, the alien culture in the midst of which it they finds themselves. The presence of an alien culture inevitably leads to new questions being asked about their own cultural identity. The alien culture too views the neighbouring culture as a whole, an entity, and the portrayal of deeper meanings begin to be discovered about the identity of both cultures. The ensuing dialogue between the two cultures does not result in a merger or mixture or blending of the two into one. Each culture retains its unity and uniqueness and both cultures get enriched. Each culture reinforces its own integral nature. Conversely such a process could work the other way and cause deep and intense antagonism within an urban setting (This is certainly the case of Jerusalem). In a community, cultural characteristics influence the forms of production and distribution. These forms are part of the alternative means of development. For instance a market oriented community economy may use its surplus production for a different purpose than one that uses its surplus for social exchanges. Instead of accumulating surpluses, a community may use its surplus for maximising reciprocity and enhancing social relationships. Dr Martin Von Hildebrand has shown how such an alternative development model works<sup>viii</sup>.

### *Evaluation in urban areas*

The urban settlement in the developing world could be seen as a domain of two cultures that relate to each other, discover each other through the eyes of the other and co-exist side by side. Such a co-existence could be the result of a historical process or one that traumatic events precipitate. The one culture is the macro-culture dominant and codified in written rules regulations and receptacle of the dominant written culture. The other is the 'informal city', as Arid Has an terms it, which can be seen to be the meso-culture, the culture of the oral world, the culture that has migrated from the countryside, the culture that negotiates, one that is reluctant to codify and place constraints on its options. I have coined the word meso-culture from the Greek word 'mesos' meaning 'middle'. Such a culture signifies a city of temporary stability, mediating its spaces and forms between the pressures of the micro-world of individual citizens and the macro-world of written civic authority and order. In the domain of the inhabitants of this meso-culture, the community meshes its activities not along functional regulations but on the basis of a permissiveness bordering on the turbulence of a moving stream, where tolerance and acceptability of the ensuing chaos is almost an asset to use and exploit in new ways. It defines its cultural identity and potential through the interaction of the dominant macro-culture.

It is generally seen that the inhabitants living in the domain of the meso-culture have the greatest constraints on their freedom. The inhabitants of the macro-culture who believe in civic order actively

resist them. There is a need to understand that the economy of the city becomes dynamic because of the interaction of the two cultures in a special relationship that is interdependent. In many cities, (Bombay, Karachi), the majority of inhabitants live in the domain of the meso-culture even though they may occupy marginal lands for their habitation. They provide the greatest opportunities for initiating development because they are the un-free with potentials far beyond their opportunities and rights. In order to include them in the process of development it is useful to include in their evaluation, their own cultural constraints and unfreedoms. An important role in this democratic evaluation procedure is played by cultural identity. Cultural expressions are linked to identity formations. Cultural clashes and identity crises are interlinked. Thus evaluating the subjective role of culture and identity could form an important part of the evaluative process.

### *Role of cultural traits in evaluation*

Urban communities include mixed migrant populations where daily life is no longer integrated with many of the traits and attributes associated to a functioning historical cultural identity. These absent traits include a recognised shared history; geography or a cohesive social structure connected to spiritual values and belief systems. The urban migrant population is physically and emotionally dislocated from its previous geographical and social character and begins to adopt a new cultural identity that is formulated in response to the role of the dominant culture into whose domain they have migrated.

Encouraging urban development initiatives in culturally dislocated migrant populations requires serious preparatory work by development agencies to understand the circumstances out of which new aspirations for a quality of life and cultural identity may arise. As Hulya Turgut explains<sup>ix</sup>, the integration with the city life may take the form of a series of processes, which reflect physical, and socio -cultural characteristics of the past cultural identity. Important changes may begin to take place in their lifestyles and aspirations with reference to a new cultural identity as they experience urbanisation as an inflexible collection of interactive exterior forces.

It may be that the migrant population has recently escaped an oppressive social or political situation, or abandoned a failing rural economy. Nevertheless “acculturation patterns” of migrant populations in urban settings initially have been shown to reflect physical and socio -cultural characteristics of the region from which they’ve migrated. In these initial instances a cultural memory is functioning and forms part of the specific identity of the group. During the continued process of “acculturation” previous cultural values and ties get weaker and may even disappear so that the urban settlements transform and reformulate a new set of complex relationships determined by the exterior forces and a new preference of lifestyle. Under the external influences there are unyielding pressures to adopt new values or to assimilate others. While many cultural traits have been remarkably persistent in a period of great technological and political change, others have been devalued often with damaging results to both rural and urban aspirations and environments.

Consistently the primary vehicle for both the transference of cultural knowledge and the creation of new aspirations unconsciously or with intent takes place verbally often times in the realm of unwritten words. Another method is through the physical body memory process characteristic of many cultures. Both the individual and collective experience of the spoken unwritten word originates in the memory realm of the folk and oral knowledge of a collective conscience of people. This is not necessarily rooted to the previous geographical home of the migrant people nevertheless the spoken unwritten word is a fundamental characteristic in shaping and preserving cultural identity and needs to be considered in the evaluation process. In this way apparently hidden cultural characteristics may migrate into the informal city by way of a spoken unwritten folk memory and express/ assert itself or remain silent. The degree to which this memory is set in motion determines the expression of the cultural identity in relation to the formal city or the new environment that may or may not be understood applicable or appreciated.

Indicators need to consider both the constraints and capabilities of these cultural trait complexes and how they may become part of new reference values within urban development policies. The oral unwritten folk traditions explained by Julie Cruikshank<sup>x</sup>, is not so much the same story of a past geographical identity but a present evolving awareness with on going ideas, continually reinvented with new meaning.

### *Evaluation of Cultural traits complexes and attributes*

Culture identity can be identified by a variety of traits, attributes and expressions that are all encompassed in the potentials of the individuals of the community. In formulating evaluations, according to Paul Oliver<sup>xi</sup>, a cluster of these potentials and characteristics is perceived as physiological features employed to portray and distinguish races or human groups gathering in specific geographical areas. Generally speaking cultural traits, attributes and expressions can be organised into specific areas of observation beginning with the family as a social unit and the larger social framework, which considers organisation and values of the family within a community with particular reference to understanding the aspirations and capabilities of the community. Recognition of the interaction and dependence of cultural traits has led to these clusters of characteristics being regarded as “trait complexes” which can be related and then mapped. These are the individual human components of culture which are broadly common to most, sometimes all people, but which have specific and distinguishing expressions contributing to a vibrant and expansive collective and individual identity.

Beginning with the Family and home Paul Oliver explains there are several clusters of cultural trait complexes expressed in the unwritten and oral realm:

- Domestic environment and routines identified by repetitive behaviour and sequences frequently designated by specific gender roles.

- Family types and cycles portray how the family and the household in their many forms and through the social lifecycles of generations interact with and have influence on their accommodation.
- Kinship and residence considers the underlying rules of lineage filiations and location within different cultures, which then interacts with political and social systems and the process, and rules by which decisions on territory, authority, participation, resource sharing are based.
- Domestic economy describes the process by which the family supports themselves, the exchange and market of surplus goods.
- Language: identified as the oral unwritten domain where the expression of culture defines a variety of ethical relationships, which establish sustainable community structures.
- Values and Norms sanction or constrain biological and social behavioural functions and practices. These effectively provide guidelines to the intelligent, instinctive, emotional and sentimental realm, which determines ethical actions and integrates social behaviour and structure in communities.
- Religion and spiritual practices relate to worship, which marks the progression of human life where the material external spatial organisation and the inner orientation interrelate and reflect a spiritual awareness.
- Transference of cultural knowledge to another generation includes all of the above traits and attributes are expressed sometimes verbally and sometimes involve the training of bodily memory.

### 3. EXPERIENCE OF DFID

Let us consider the approach that has been taken towards development by the UK Department for International Development (DFID) as an example of a multi-layered approach to policy making. It is part of the International Development Co-operation Agencies (IDCAs). Its approach towards development has been varied for a number of reasons that relate not only to its internal changing perspectives but also to the shifting ground in the political status of the host countries where its programmes are implemented. As Michael Mutter has explained in his paper:

*“At the turn of the millennium there are mixed messages within government policies – both for national governments, and for international development Co-operation Agencies – in approaches to Urban Development and Shelter Programmes. Whilst national governments have come to understand the importance of having coherent strategies for urban development, the IDCAs have taken a different course. The UK is such a case, the national government putting much emphasis on new thinking – for example the methodologies for regeneration and sustainable development, and more recently, the government’s Urban Task Force – as much as traditional thinking that emanated from the emergence of town planning as a statutory requirement in UK from 1947 onwards. Urban planning and development, however, has come to be underplayed and typically not viewed as a priority for international development”<sup>xii</sup>*

Further endorsement of such mixed messages and variable responses to these can be seen in the two papers recently presented by Sue Unsworth, a person central to DFID thinking. In these papers, she contends that donors find it easier to say “*what*” needs to be done rather than “*how*” it is to be done. Her analysis of the ‘how’ problem is extensive and it could almost be considered nebulous in view of the range of issues that are identified and is illustrative of the plight of many donors who are trying to understand and tackle underdevelopment.

#### *Under-development*

The condition of under-development has not only persisted across historical time periods, it also extends spatially across large parts of the globe. Understanding it has been the subject of a continuous search for generations of economists. Five decades ago it seemed that economists had a prerogative over theories about underdevelopment, but as other disciplines such as sociology, political science and anthropology joined in to broaden the debate, the search for an acceptable definition of underdevelopment has become a shared pursuit. From the earlier and simpler theoretical formulations that advocated industrialisation as a single point cure, current development literature is multi-disciplined and advocates multi level, multi- directional approaches. Sue Unsworth’s analysis reflects this multi-sectoral approach to tackle the wide range of symptoms encompassed under the term “*underdevelopment*”. She mentions historical legacies, geography, social, economic and political processes, the role of institutions and the state as being relevant to understanding the causes of poverty. Her formulations are grounded in the effort to clarify the aims and objectives of donors while assisting underdeveloped societies. However, in advocating a wide, or what I would term a “nimble

footed approach”, she almost advocates an instinctive rather than an evaluated understanding of situation. There is a possibility that such an approach may not answer the donor’s “what and how” questions adequately. It is important not to mingle the symptoms of underdevelopment with those of policy directives when the two need to be distinguished from each other simply because the ideals of the recipient seldom coincide with the more technical and bureaucratic concerns of the donor. It would be an ill-advised policy that aims at forcing the varying perceptions of the recipient and the donor to become identical as a precondition of donor policy. While focus on such key themes is undoubtedly a useful basis for a brainstorming session or a workshop to evolve strategies, it may not provide a sufficiently reliable framework for donor policy.

While the condition of underdevelopment is inherently unstable, there is a need to have a stable framework to view it for policy purposes. Such a policy framework needs to be not only simple but also broadly acceptable by the international community to ensure co-operation between all the parties concerned. In identifying the various issues of underdevelopment and donor responses, the international community may have given inadequate attention to two issues that are important enough to need specific attention. Firstly there is the issue of the relationship between the countryside and town in underdeveloped countries. This is not only important but also yet unresolved and it is being debated heatedly by donors while considering their spatial and regional priorities in locating projects and directing policy thrusts. I have already commented, earlier on in this paper, on the importance of urban centres in the midst of the crises that are unfolding in this century.

Secondly we need to consider the important issue of inter- donor co-ordination. In order to tackle the wide complexities of underdevelopment, one needs to cast a much wider net than any unilateral aid agency could do on its own. Since it is easier to identify the problem of underdevelopment than to tackle it, one needs to consider more fully the role of international co-ordination. Unfortunately, recent events have emphasised the reluctance of the United States of America to rely on international agencies, and this has damaged the possibilities of effective international co-ordination. As George Soros has commented, those international institutions that deal with trade and global financial markets are much stronger than those that deal with social investments. Issues of peace, political stability and poverty alleviation have been subjugated at the expense of issues related to trade, currencies and the movement of capital around the globe<sup>xiii</sup>. The reluctance of the United States to pay its UN dues has undermined the role that an organisation such as the UNDP could play in co-ordinating inter donor efforts. Such undermining is also reinforced by E-U strategies in many countries. For instance, during my own extensive engagement in employment programmes initiative in the Balkans, it soon became clear that, despite the fact that the programme was E-U financed through the UNDP, the E-U saw itself as a contestant to the UNDP. As a result, a number of futile obstacles prevented the smooth running of an obviously successful programme. While I am not specially advocating the case of the UNDP, I would like to stress here that unilateral donor strategies with their narrower agendas often strike against the potential role of lead agencies. The wide policy and strategic aims advocated by Unsworth cannot be successfully implemented without lead agencies. As I have argued in the last section of this

paper, such an agency could hold up the framework through which donors could address their individual concerns in each country. Inevitably each donor has a unique relationship with the recipient country that is based on special historic links as well as their own metropolitan compulsions. These unilateral concerns need to be addressed in each donor programme. However, if one was to define a simple framework at the lead agent's level, then donors could enter the field through this common framework and submit the results of their initiatives to a common evaluation procedure thus formulating a shared platform for the evaluation of successes and failures.

### *DFID's Urban Livelihoods*

Another account of the multi-dimensional approach to development of DFID is seen in a recent publication-*"Urban Livelihoods-A people centred approach to reducing poverty"*<sup>xiv</sup>. This book defines the compendium of analysis, policies and programmes of DFID. Within this compendium, a range of approaches has been assembled in an effort to address the multiple dimensions of poverty alleviation. Such an omnibus approach casts a wide net and catches almost all the problematic symptoms of the poverty. Any predefined policy framework for such an approach would inevitably be very complex. The emphasis and priority of the overarching goal of sustainability and poverty reduction is clear enough and so is the clear emphasis on a people-centred approach:

*" Inherent in this conception of livelihoods is the notion that the relative poverty or economic well being of poor people should be understood from the point of view of the people themselves...this people centred view provides a balance to the global and more strategic perspective normally offered by a sustainable development policy approach."*

The approach advocated in the book regards the individual as the possessor of livelihood assets that ought to be enhanced by development initiatives. These assets are composed of five capitals and policies are required to enhance the value of these capitals. In adopting this approach, emphasis is placed on reversing the 'deprived' condition of the recipient and substituting it with a view of an asset-owning member of a community. The assets of the poor are to be protected from vulnerabilities and are listed as follows (no particular sequence):

- Financial (savings, access to credit).
- Human (labour, health, education, other skills).
- Natural (urban agriculture, rivers, land).
- Physical (housing, livestock, economic and social infrastructure, production equipment).
- Social (social support mechanisms, information).

The *vulnerabilities* of the poor are listed as follows:

- Legal status (informal wage employment, shelter, land, political rights).
- Services and infrastructure (lack of basic social services).
- Local environment (poor physical environment, socially challenged environments).

- Dependence on the cash economy (vulnerability to fluctuating market prices).

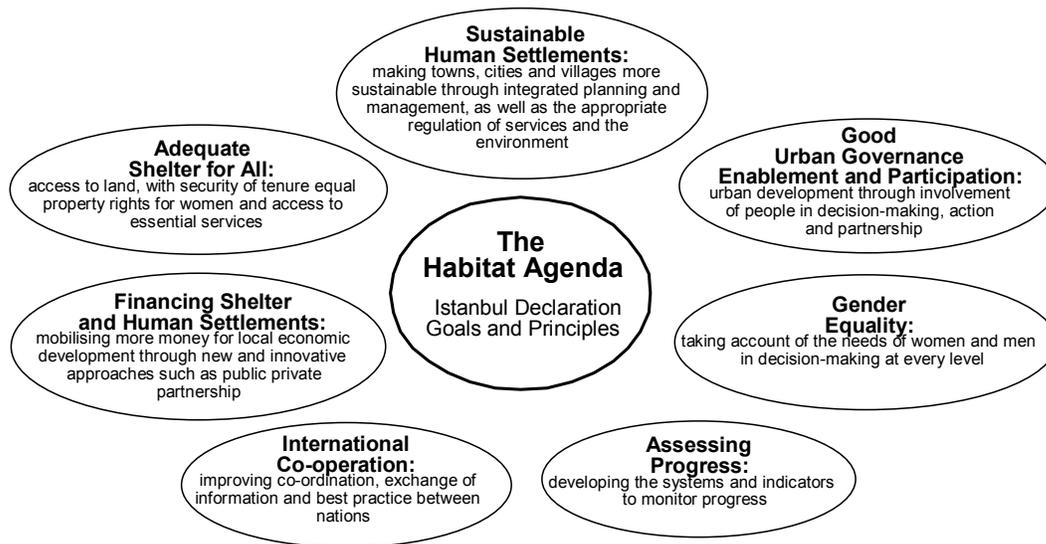
From this analysis, it can be seen that the DFID approach to development and the approach advocated by Sen are mutually interlinked. However the merit of the framework being proposed in this paper is that focusing on the concept of freedom can replace the overarching goal of DFID's *poverty removal* policies with a higher and more desirable goal of *expands individual freedoms* to enable a person to live the life that he values. While the DFID approach regards the *productive status* of the individual, the Freedom approach emphasises his *potential to be free*. DFID's goal of *removing poverty* is contrasted with the freedom approach goal of *enhancing freedom*. Poverty eradication and increase in income are the *means*, while the pursuit of freedom is the *ends* that reach out to the broader ideal of the human beings.

#### 4. Habitat Agenda

Notwithstanding these varied approaches towards broader development issues, there is, in the international arena, an approach towards urban development that largely coincides with the freedom approach: The Habitat Agenda<sup>xv</sup> recognises that the issue of rapid urbanisation and the growing number of poor people concentrated in cities has become a major concern for governments and communities in developing countries. The Agenda has been used as a common ground and a shared vehicle for formulating policies and practices. Therefore, it could provide a key tool for the narrower goals of urban poverty reduction through local development initiatives, using best practice approaches, by working with national governments.

The Agenda commitments are based on the *upholding of human rights and enabling the poor to participate in decision making and to benefit from development process*<sup>xvi</sup> (see figure: The Seven Habitat Agenda commitments). However, the localising process of Habitat Agenda has some limitations as it does not entirely address urban poverty adequately. Apart from the fact that the Agenda is only advisory, there is not enough co-ordination, understanding, involvement and obligation from all sectors to address the Agenda commitments effectively<sup>xvii</sup>. This experience helps one to understand the inherent problems of having a common policy framework that may be too narrow in its perspective to make it coincidental to all the participants' individual goals. In some sense it would therefore help to define the common framework to focus on broader development goal such as the one advocated by Sen that that centres on unfreedom rather than on poverty. In some countries (for example Spain and a certain extent Brazil), there are good examples of successful implementation as a result of effective networking from various agencies. This suggests there should be ways and means to strengthen the role of UN-Habitat, establish networking, improve and reform the broader goal of development and promote the use of a more effective best practice approach for policy and programme implementation. Essentially it endorses the need for a lead agency to co-ordinate donor policies.

**Figure : The seven Habitat Agenda Commitments**



Source: DFID (2001) Meeting the challenge of poverty in urban areas

The International Urban Development Goals of Habitat Agenda are further backed by the Millennium Development Goals (UN, 2000). Target 11 sets out clearly the goal of improving the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers by 2020.

Habitat Agenda has all the ingredients for orchestrating a concerted and co-ordinated effort to foster development in urban areas. It highlights the potential role of networking among all levels of stakeholders in Urban Development. It focuses on action by the 'Habitat Agenda Partners' – the full range of participants from all levels, which covers international agencies to local communities, including NGOs, the private sector, and all levels of government. They all play essential roles in strengthening the commitment to achieve the Urban Development Goals set out in Habitat Agenda. It also suggests forming global, national and local action networking to achieve the commitments.

One of its partners, DFID, as an International donor agency, recognises the goals and targets set by the United Nations and especially Habitat Agenda, and has supported the implementation of the Habitat Agenda localisation approaches and the application of a best practice policy framework. This is part of a global strategy set out in the DFID plan *'Meeting the challenge of poverty in urban areas: Strategies for Achieving the International Development Targets'*<sup>xviii</sup>. This continues the recognition of the need to deal with urban poverty that was laid out in the 1997 UK Government White Paper on International Development. The plan outlines 5 key actions:

1. Enable the poor to participate in the decision-making process, and to benefit from urban development.

2. Develop the capacity of local actors to manage pro-poor urban development and regional growth.
3. Support national governments to strengthen the legislative and regulatory framework within which city based development takes place.
4. Strengthen efforts by the international community to support the urbanisation process, which involves the participation of poor people.
5. Improve DFID's and others capacities to address the urban challenge through information support, and knowledge and research development.

Some countries that have signed Habitat Agenda have formed Habitat Committees to follow up on their commitment. Limited success has been achieved in localising the Habitat Agenda, for example through the use of a best practice approach (for example Spain). But a stronger networking at all government levels of each country is needed to make sure that the Habitat Agenda development goals are understood and implemented. Finding out and strengthening appropriate means of mediation within the various governance and institutional arrangements in the whole networking process appears to be an essential element. At present, there is little evidence of any conscious use of Habitat Agenda by local communities. The UN-Habitat Best Practice Database has few examples of good practices by local communities in support of urban poverty reduction. This may reflect the fact that there is not enough capacity for local communities to use a best practice approach, especially among the urban poor. Unfortunately only some NGO's and organisations in the education sectors and very few in the private sectors are committed to the implementation of Habitat Agenda. However, with increasing understanding of these issues, there are undoubtedly growing numbers of actors who have started focusing on achieving the development goals of Habitat Agenda. These actors do not stand independently but interrelate to each other in their development approach. These links are important and need to be reinforced.

However existing international urban development approaches need a simpler framework to relate their co-ordinated efforts. While earlier efforts had focused entirely on physical and infrastructure development strategies the need to address the wider social economic and political aspects of development is being recognised. Such a strategy would need higher levels of participatory activities from the community. While community participation has now been recognised and implemented in many urban development policies of international agencies as well as other actors, the need for a common framework through which all these co-ordinated efforts are interlinked is required. While it focuses on human settlements and housing, Habitat Agenda is not wide enough in its scope to cover the instruments that are defined by Sen. However, some of the issues are partially embedded into the different sets of headings of the context of human settlements. The Habitat Agenda is more specific in its emphasis on community urban poverty especially in respect of housing and achieving sustainable urban development. The Agenda goals do however emphasise the need to uphold *human rights and enabling the poor to participate in decision-making and to benefit from development process*. The right to development offers a means to greater stability and peace in the world; Democracy enables such

development through human rights, transparent, representation, an accountable government and administration and effective participation. The right to development of various religious and ethical values, cultural backgrounds and philosophical convictions is also recognised.

A comparison of goals is set out in tabular form below:

Development as Freedom	THE HABITAT AGENDA	DFID STRATEGY PAPER
<b>Political freedom</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Decentralisation and strengthening of local authorities, association &amp; networks (§180)</li> <li>Popular participation &amp; civic engagement (§181)</li> <li>Participatory and consultative mechanisms (§68)</li> <li>Capacity building and institutional development (§177-179)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Develop the capacity of local actors to manage pro-poor urban development and regional growth (Action 2 §5.4.4-6)</li> <li>Strengthen efforts by the international community to support the urbanisation process which involves the participation of poor people (Action 4 §5.4.9-11)</li> <li>Need for governments to provide the right enabling, legislative and regulatory framework, pro-poor and market sensitive (§4.2.1)</li> <li>Empowering poor people themselves to demand and realise their rights and entitlements (§4.2.2)</li> <li>Optimise the opportunities offered by decentralisation (ibid.)</li> <li>Support to civil society groups to advocate poor people's needs and to participate in political systems (ibid.)</li> </ul>
<b>Economic facilities</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Financing shelter and human settlements</li> <li>Gender equality</li> <li>Improving urban economies (§155-162)</li> <li>Enabling markets to work (§71-72)</li> <li>Mobilising sources of finance (§80)</li> <li>Ensuring access to land (§75)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Support to the private sector for PPP, small business and socially responsible business (§5.1.4)</li> <li>DFID will work to increase the capacity of cities to attract investment and to develop improved links with rural economies (§5.4.4)</li> <li>Need to ensure that the distribution of the opportunities of economic growth reach the poor (§2.2.25)</li> <li>Develop the capacity of local actors to manage pro-poor urban development and regional growth</li> </ul>
<b>Social opportunities</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Need for economic development, social development and environmental protection (§69)</li> <li>Ensuring access to basic infrastructure (§84-87)</li> <li>Environment sustainability (§128-144)</li> <li>Conservation of historic &amp; cultural heritage (§152-154)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>DFID will contribute to programmes that help to improve the living and working conditions of the poor: water &amp; sanitation; energy sources; tenure arrangements; supply of land for housing and health &amp; safety (§5.4.3)</li> <li>Poor people should benefit from improved health care, better education opportunities (§2.2.1)</li> </ul>
<b>Transparency guarantees</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Strengthen shelter related information system (§67)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Improve DFID's and others capacities to address the urban challenge through information support, and knowledge and research development (Action 5 §5.4.12-18)</li> <li>Improve local accountability systems (§5.4.4)</li> <li>Need to access and to share information so to negotiate on a more equal footing with others (§2.2.12)</li> </ul>
<b>Protective security</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Disaster prevention mitigation &amp; post-disaster rehabilitation capabilities (§170-175)</li> </ul>	

## 5. Formulating Policy frameworks

The difficulties of adopting shared policy frameworks and trying to implement them across a variety of communities are not easy to overcome. Even if the wider goals of freedom were to be adopted by all, the kinds of difficulties faced on the ground by agencies would surely continue. For instance, the commitment by the United Nations, through UN-Habitat, is clearly apparent in its support for participation in Habitat Agenda. However, at the ground level there are difficulties. The Agenda is poorly followed up in many countries due to the limitations of local governments who do not understand the scope of work, or due to the nature of political representation and their priorities. Thus it is not easily to follow up of the Agenda commitment down to the lowest local level. Even though the aspects of participation are recognised by various International Development agencies and despite the promotion of a 'bottom-up' approach, there are severe implementation problems on the ground. It is possible that this complex process requires a longer period of time, a period that may not be considered realistic by all international agencies, due to administrative and political reasons.

While national governments need to be at the forefront of this implementation, in most cases, especially for the developing countries, there is lack of technical, financial and human capacity to manage this process, as well as lack of political commitment and will. Other actors such as NGOs, the private sectors and education institutions have a very limited role. Even though some of them have successfully supported the participation process. The community needs to be assisted directly through a fuller participation process. Using the participatory process in collecting evaluation data could enable this to happen as has been suggested elsewhere in this paper. Such participatory evaluation will need to determine whether local communities have enough freedom of opportunity to participate and whether the community will share this freedom with the actors who are promoting development. Such issues will need to be evaluated at all levels of work:

- At *International* level development agendas are often initiated and then get implemented through national level institutions. Such national level institutions do not necessarily represent community interests. There is clearly a need to make local communities become more aware of this complex situation and use their voice to participate in the development process. One example of good practice in this area is illustrated by the participation of the national slum dwellers federations who attended the recent world Urban Forum held by UN-Habitat.
- At *national* government level, national governments are often viewed as sole mediators by the international agencies. There is clearly a need for the national agency to allow local communities to organise themselves and for them to relax any strict regulations and limitations in the affairs of local initiatives in urban development. There may be a need for taking steps to allow local urban governance to emerge as more representative form of urban community freedom. However, the local community empowered Government may not have sufficient power and capacity to deliver the development goals. In this case, their capacities to govern at each level would need to be strengthened in an appropriate way so that the freedoms sought by the development process can be adequately supported.

- At private mediator levels (Such as NGOs) most NGOs that are funded by international agencies try to bring the International agency development goals to the local community. However this will need to allow the full participation of communities in the consolidation of the goals that they value.
- At Local Community level, poor communities and their representative organisations in urban areas often lack technical capacity. However they have potentials and capabilities that are often not recognised by any agencies working in the area. In the new approach of using freedom as the goal of development, it is these potentials and capabilities that will be of prime importance as the focus of any development programme situated in the community.

Some of the wider concerns for a policy framework need to address the deeper constraints to development. These constraints could have cultural or historical facets, which impinge on rights and capabilities of people due to ethnic, social or other causes. Amartya Sen explains, "One view sees development as a 'fierce' process, with much 'blood, sweat and tears'- a word in which wisdom demands toughness." There is no place for 'luxurious' ideas of democracy, or for political and civil rights. In this view, policy makers are convinced that they know best what is needed at the macro level and the immediate sacrifice of the population in terms of hardship and lack of freedom is seen as a small price to pay for later benefits. This has parallels to the World Bank and IMF justification for the possible short-term hardship endured by the poor following the imposition of Structural Adjustment Programmes. The other alternative view "sees development as essentially a 'friendly' process"<sup>xix</sup>. One in which people participate and are included and have a voice to determine the direction of development, its priorities as well as the identification of the constraints. Policy frameworks will inevitably need to be informed of which of these views is being adopted both for long term as well as short term strategies.

#### *The role of the evaluator*

The measurement of poverty is influenced, not only by the outlook but also by the goals of the evaluator. The top down approach that excludes the poor from the process of drafting and implementation of policies reflects the supremacy of income-based indicators if that is the criteria for the policy. In an urban setting, these indicators have been shown to systematically underestimate the scale of poverty. Satterthwaite and Johnson concluded that the: "(income-based poverty indicator) *has no validity unless it accurately reflects the income level that an individual or household needs to avoid poverty in their particular neighbourhood (whether it is a village, small town, city or large metropolis)*"<sup>xx</sup>

Undoubtedly policies have been slowly moving away from a top down model of development. As local and national governments can no longer cope with the inflationary rates of urban growth, they look towards the 'orthodox' development package that is based on heavy infrastructure investments as a way out of the urban anarchy that is engulfing them as migration into the urban area continues. But this reliance on infrastructure investments needs to be balanced with initiatives in removing constraints

of local governance, citizenry and individual agency restrictions and other negations of capability opportunities. People have to get together and count on themselves to make up for the defaulting of their policy makers and implementers, and the lack of funding. Much literature on community organisation or on the growth of the informal sector has been published, but development agencies and policy makers do need to keep themselves informed of the complexity and dynamic of the new megalopolis. There is a need to craft adequate tools to measure the constraints to urban development seen in the light of the overarching need to remove unfreedoms. The 'inclusive city' needs to be measured in a new light, with the individual as the main agent of development at the centre.

The analysis of the status of development in any society requires evaluation that is grounded on some sort of informational base. Clearly there is a need to identify the characteristics, which are seen to be relevant for evaluating the development potential of a society and to measure them as indicators. A wide range of indicators can be used to compose the information base. As has been pointed out earlier, there is no unique and exclusive way to compose this information base. Currently perhaps the most complex exercise for evaluating development on a common index is the one carried out by the United Nations Development Programme for their Human Development Report.

### *Choice of indicators*

The choice of the information base as well as the particular indicators that are metrically measured influences the resultant policy. But, as Sen has pointed out in his book. "There is no royal road to evaluation of economic and social policies". In order to maximise the usefulness of evaluative techniques, one needs to reflect on the variety of considerations that influence each individual of the community. Existing development policies are inevitably multi-layered. This is partially due to the multiple institutions that are involved in sponsoring development. There are national governments, international agencies and a host of multi-lateral arrangements that influence development policies. National governments sponsor development initiatives through a wide range of accelerators such as neighbourhood organisations; community-based institutions, NGOs, municipalities as well as national bodies. International institutions direct their initiatives through NGOs, United Nation agencies (UNCHS, Habitat, UNDP, etc) as well as national governments (IDCAs). A multi-layered approach thus provides flexibility that can be inclusive of the special interests of these sponsors. To a certain extent, this approach provides a flexibility that could be considered as being more responsive.

### *Need for shared policy frameworks*

However there is a need to provide a simpler framework within which these multi-layered approaches can operate. Such a simple framework would enable evaluation and feedback to be a shared process. A simpler framework would enable communication between sponsors to be carried out in a co-ordinated manner. It would provide them with a common sounding board for their evaluations. Instead of each sponsor holding up unique multi- directional programmes and policies as an end, it could be possible to place these varied policies within a simple development framework that would enable co-operation between the sponsors to a much higher order than has hitherto been possible. This

framework would in no way constraint the different sponsors from selecting their own individual or co-opted programmes and policies; it would simply enable all of them to understand each other's approach in relation to a common development framework. As is suggested in this paper, this simple common development framework is founded on the higher goals of improving the human condition of the suffering in this world by defining an ultimate goal of development strategies as one that provides ever-expanding freedoms to the citizens of each country.

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