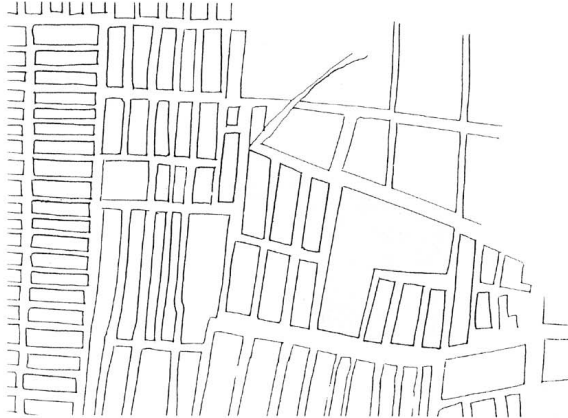


HOUSING CONDITION IN PAKISTAN

ILLEGAL SUB-DIVISIONS

Most of the land in the province of Sindh belongs to Board of Revenue. Illegal sub-divisions are planned squatter settlements, not so much different from site-and-services schemes. An illegal sub-divider (*dala'*) solicits support of local politicians and governmental officials and demarcate plots on vacant public land. The *dala'* see to it that the scheme has a regular road pattern, through his contacts he makes sure that the layout is such which will facilitate the regularization of his sub-division and the provision of infrastructure. The *dala'* recruits his customers from among the urban poor, living in existing, over populated inner-city squatters. He offers the first purchasers plots at a very low price, the only service he can initially provide is water through tankers. It is in the interest of the sub-divider that the settlement develops quickly and continues to exist so that the land prices will rise. The *dala'* makes profits by reserving choice plots, such as corner plots and plots along the main street. The *dala'* does not set any standards for the houses. He engages a building material supplier (*thalawala*) who establishes building materials manufacturing yard. *Thalawala* also provides technical guidance to the house builders. In addition, he arranges to supply building materials on credit and, sometimes, provide cash credit as well, eventually he becomes an important man in the new community. Once a sufficient number of households have settled, the *dala'* forms an social welfare organization. He uses this platform to lobby with the government agencies for acquiring basic urban services.

MAP SHOWING A ILLEGALLY SUB-DIVIDED LAND



KATCHI ABADI UPGRADING

In the middle of the 1970s, the Karachi Metropolitan Corporation (KMC) launched its katchi abadi regularization and upgrading programme. The programme offered 99-years leasehold titles (regularization) and basic infrastructure. (upgrading) to katchi abadis which met certain criteria. Under the programme, a number of katchi abadis were actually legalized and, to some extent, also improved; the best-known examples are Lyari and Baidia Township. However, progress in the regularization and upgrading of katchi abadis is very slow, and the collection of lease charges is rather poor.

The largest agglomeration of illegal sub-divisions is Orangi, in the North of Karachi with a population of about 1 million people. In the early 1980s, Dr. Akhter Hameed Khan, a well-known community development worker started the Orangi Pilot Project (OPP). OPP has applied a research and extension technique to evolve a model of low-cost sanitation-self built, self-financed and self managed by the house owners. The sewerage problem in the katchi abadis presents dilemma. OPP has demonstrated that it can be resolved by mobilizing the social, managerial and financial resources of the people.

The OPP has had enormous impact on the way professionals in governmental agencies as well as in non-governmental organizations in Pakistan look at the possibilities of community participation in improving living conditions in katchi abadis. Dr. Akhter Hameed Khan's ideas about the role of the low-income population in the improvement of living conditions in katchi abadis have strongly influenced the thinking of the Hyderabad Development Authority about the incremental development scheme. The importance of community participation, the organization of the population by lane for self-help improvement and the promotion of construction of infrastructure on self-help basis are ideas develop in the OPP and applied in the incremental-development scheme in Hyderabad.

A UPGRADED KATCHI ABADI



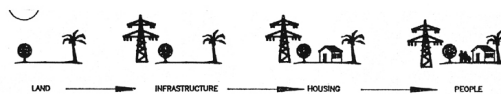
THE PRINCIPLES OF THE INCREMENTAL DEVELOPMENT SCHEME

JOHN TURNER, WHO, IN THE EARLY 1960s POINTED OUT THAT GOVERNMENTS SHOULD LEARN FROM SQUATTER SETTLEMENTS, AS THEY ARE THE SOLUTIONS TO THE LOW-INCOME HOUSING PROBLEM RATHER THAN THE PROBLEM ITSELF.

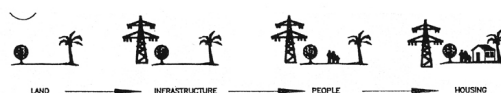
THE TRADITIONAL OR HISTORICAL SEQUENCE OF SETTLEMENT DEVELOPMENT IS:



IN MODERN TIMES, THE TRADITIONAL SEQUENCE HAS BEEN REVERSED. THIS MODERN, 'DISTORTED' SEQUENCE OF SETTLEMENT DEVELOPMENT IS:

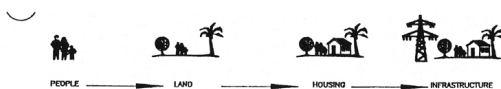


IN SITE-AND-SERVICES SCHEMES THE SEQUENCE OF SETTLEMENT DEVELOPMENT BECOMES:



ILLEGAL SUB-DIVISIONS

The urban poor in illegal sub-division do not buy or built complete houses but built there houses incrementally. They, first, erect a structure which they can afford, by using their savings, then on labour and whatever material they can find. Then, they expand and improve their houses, whenever they have the resources. Once they perceive sufficient security of tenure, they demand infrastructure and services from the local authority or build these themselves. Living condition in illegal sub-division, therefore, gradually improve provided there is sufficient security of tenure: some housing experts have called these settlement "slums of hope".



INCREMENTAL DEVELOPMENT

As with informal settlements, the incremental development scheme has reverted to the traditional sequence of settlement whereby LAND is allocated to the PEOPLE who then have to construct their own HOUSING and INFRASTRUCTURE



As with the illegal subdivision, there is no infrastructure but basic water supply in the incremental development scheme, when the allottees occupy their plots. Infrastructure in an incremental-development scheme is developed after the occupation of the land by the allottees and after the construction of the shelter. It is provided according to the priorities of the residents and when the allottees have accumulated sufficient funds to pay for it. So, the financing, the construction and the management of the infrastructure are the responsibility of the population.

Because there is no need for the housing agency to provide infrastructure, there is no need to wait for other agencies to construct infrastructure: the preparation of the site for the settlement of allottees takes only little time. All allottees know what awaits them and they can take possession of their plot immediately; in fact, immediate occupation of the plots is a necessity for the success of an incremental-development scheme.

Once settled in an incremental-development scheme, residents have to be organized and instructed to pay small amounts into a neighborhood infrastructure fund, until sufficient funds have been saved to finance the provision of infrastructure. In a community meeting, residents can decide what infrastructure will be constructed and at what level; they can also decide whether the community will contribute labour or other resources. There is no need for cost recovery, as the infrastructure is only constructed after the residents have paid.

Consequently, the only expenditure which the allottee has to make is to pay for the plot of land. Of course, this can be a substantial amount, if the scheme is in a good location, and the land value is high. However, the amount which an allottee has to pay for the plot in an incremental-development scheme. The allottee can even pay for the land in a lump sum or in a few large instalments; in that case, there would be no need at all for a cost-recovery.

INTRODUCTION

Policies, programmes and projects aimed at housing the urban poor in developing countries have, for a long time, been and, in some cases, still are dominated by the concepts of conventional housing, where the owner/occupant buys a completed housing unit in a completely serviced neighborhood from a public housing agency or a private developer. Such housing units have to be designed and constructed by qualified professionals, as they have to meet legally defined standards and building regulations. Experience shows that this conventional approach has not contributed an alleviation of the shelter problems of the urban poor who still are living largely in informal or illegal settlements.

There is a growing awareness that, if governments want to improve the housing conditions of the low-income population, innovative approaches need to be developed, while many generally accepted concepts and procedures have to be discarded. This will not be easy, as several actors involved in housing supply have fixed ideas about how shelter must be provided or even have vested interests in existing housing delivery systems. However, new ideas, such as reduced housing standards, appropriate technology, incremental housing development, community participation and squatter-settlement regularization, which once seemed unrealistic and unacceptable, have now become common practice in low-income housing programmes of developing countries.

The incremental-development scheme falls into this category. At first glance, the idea of a site-without-services project and the incremental development of infrastructure seems unacceptable. However, in view of the magnitude of the low-income housing problem, the limited public resources available for housing and the problem surrounding access to land for the urban poor, incremental-development schemes might well be an inevitable approach for housing the lowest-income groups which have not benefited from formal low-income housing programmes.

While the public sector has built its unaffordable "low-cost" houses, the informal sector has provided affordable housing opportunities for the urban poor at a massive scale in informal settlements. Since the 1970s, public housing agencies have been studying these informal settlements, to learn from their mechanisms of development. As a result, many housing agencies have launched squatter-settlement regularization and upgrading projects and sites-and-services schemes which are now generally recognized as the new orthodoxy of urban low-income housing. However, neither of these two types of projects has reduced the housing problems of the urban poor.

Almost all projects have been plagued by the problem of poor cost recovery which has made many governments reluctant to embark on large-scale programmes of squatter-settlement regularization and upgrading and *sites-and-services* schemes. Moreover, officials have generally been dissatisfied with the (low) standards for housing and infrastructure in these projects, although such standards are necessary, to keep the schemes within the paying capacity of the target group. Finally, the limited supply of plots and the tendency to increase standards have led to an infiltration by high-income groups of low-income housing projects.

In 1986, the Hyderabad Development Authority adopted a new approach. After carefully studying the unsuccessful sites-and-services schemes of local authorities in Karachi and Hyderabad (such as the Metroville programme of the Karachi Development Authority) and the illegal subdivisions through which the informal sector has housed many hundreds of thousand of low-income families, it launched the incremental-development scheme on the outskirts of Hyderabad.

This new approach guaranteed an easy entry to the scheme for households in most urgent need of shelter; it accepted the principle of incremental development not only for housing but also for infrastructure; it stressed the need for community participation in the provision of infrastructure; and it discarded almost all standards and eliminated the need for housing loans to residents and the ensuing problem of loan recovery. The concept of incremental development of housing and infrastructure is a direct step forward from the concept of sites-and-services.

Beginning of the Scheme



General View of the Khuda Ki Basti project site

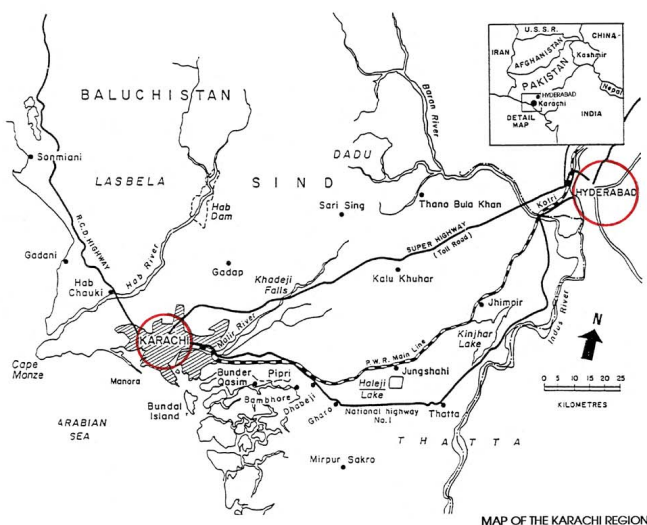


HOUSING CONDITION IN PAKISTAN

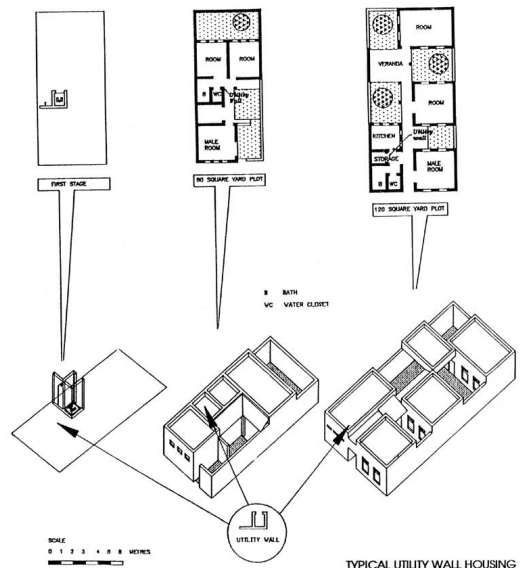
Pakistan consists of four provinces - Punjab, Baluchistan, North-West Frontier Province and Sind and currently has an estimated population of over 120 million and a population growth rate of 3.1 per cent per annum. About 70 per cent of the population of Pakistan lives in the rural areas. Sind is the most urbanized of the four provinces: almost half of its 20 million inhabitants live in towns or cities. The urban centers in the Province of Sind are Karachi, with about 10 million inhabitants, and Hyderabad, a town 180 kilometers north-east of Karachi, with about 1 million inhabitants.

Katchi abadis in Pakistan

Province	Number of Katchi abadis	Population	Public	Area in acres Public Private	Total
Punjab	902	1,600,000	8,876	501	9,376
Sind	1,300	9,800,000	24,300	1,700	26,000
NWFP*	65	300,000	2,826	-	2,826
Baluchistan	65	300,000	1,509	3,434	4,943
Total	2,322	6,000,000	37,510	5,635	43,145



In the early 1970s, the Karachi Development Authority (KDA) developed the Metroville programme. An evaluation of the Metroville I project, in 1979, found that the majority to allottees in Metroville I did not have an urgent need for their plot in the scheme, as they already lived in permanent houses with all basic amenities. Moreover, the majority of the residents and allottees had a higher income than the originally planned target group. A large majority of the residents in the adjacent illegal subdivision belonged to the target group but did not want to go and live in Metroville I. Metroville programme failed to provide land for housing the urban poor, in spite of its failure this concept of sites-and-services was incorporated in the housing strategies of the development authorities in the cities of the Province of Sind. The Karachi Development Authority, subsequently developed Metroville II, III and IV in Karachi. The Hyderabad Development Authority (HDA) launched two sites-and-services schemes - Qasimbab in 1980 and Gulshan-e-Shahbaz in 1981 with a total of 12,522 plots, but, like the Metroville schemes in Karachi, they proved unsuccessful.



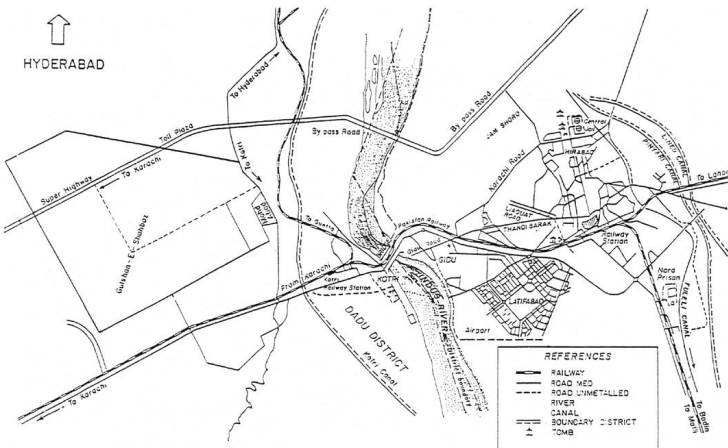
THE DEVELOPMENT OF KHUDAKI BASTI

ABOUT HYDERABAD

Hyderabad, a city of almost 1 million inhabitants, is projected at 1.4 million in 2000 A.D. Hyderabad situated 180 kilometers north-east of Karachi. The River Indus, with the Kotri and Guddu Barrages, is at its outskirts, about 10 kilometers from the city center. Hyderabad is a provincial and regional headquarters for the province of Sind. Its present growth rate is estimated at 3.6% annually against national growth rate of 3.1% and urban growth rate of 4.8%.

Its location, about 170 kms east of Karachi, the biggest port and metropolitan city, is partly responsible for its slow growth, both economically and socially. In Greater Hyderabad Master Plan the area is proposed to be expanded to 141 sq.kms. The condition of urban infrastructure and public utilities is not satisfactory. Only 55% of houses have piped drinking water, 78% have electricity. The Hyderabad Development Authority estimates that about 216,000 persons - 25 per cent of the total population of Hyderabad - live in some 100 *katchi abadis*, covering approximately 1,500 acres.

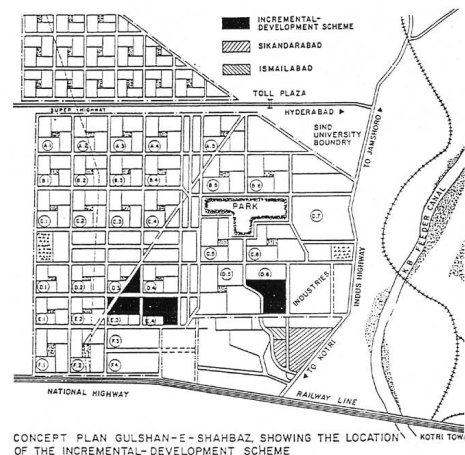
Three levels of government are involved with the administration of the city - the Federal Government at Islamabad, the Provincial Government of Sindh at Karachi and the Local Government - the Hyderabad Municipal Corporation, with a Mayor. There is also a Cantonment Area within the city under the Ministry of Defence to look after the armed forces stationed in the city. For coordination of developmental activities the provincial government has set up a Hyderabad Development Authority under a senior officer - the Divisional Commissioner. Both the Municipal Corporation and the Development Authority suffer from financial problems with deficit budgets.



THE BIRTH OF KHUDA-KI-BASTI

South of the Super Highway lies Gulshan-e-Shahbaz, the sites-and-services scheme of the Hyderabad Development Authority. The scheme is spread over 5,500 acres and is divided into 52 sectors. Gulshan-e-shahbaz is supposed to provide housing for high-income, middle-income and low-income groups.

After studying the growth and dynamics of illegal subdivisions, Hyderabad Development Authority (HDA) realized that, in order to provide housing, some features of illegal subdivisions had to be included in their housing schemes. Therefore a new approach which incorporated factors contributing to the success of illegal subdivisions in government-sponsored sites-and-services schemes was adopted.



THE FEATURES OF THIS NEW APPROACH

- Easy of entry through simplification of the allocation process and reduction of initial costs for the allottee. Entry costs being kept low by providing virtually unserviced land and by eliminating standards for house construction.
- Immediate delivery of the plot to the allottee who does not need to wait for the provision of infrastructure and services. Immediate and permanent occupation are requirements to prove that the allottee is really in need of shelter.
- Incremental development of infrastructure and services, as and when the financial conditions of the residents permit. In this way, problems of cost recovery can be avoided.

This site was selected mainly because it bordered an illegal subdivision and the *katchi abadi* of Sikandarabad, and, therefore, seemed to be an acceptable location for a low-income housing project. The Kotri industrial area of SITE is nearby.



Unoccupied plots in Gulshan-e-Shahbaz

THE RECEPTION AREA



THE FIRST ATTEMPTS

HDA contacted local councilors in Kotri and Hyderabad, to name poor people in desperate need of shelter. In 1986, the Hyderabad Development Authority issued the first allotment orders to 32 households.

After closely monitoring the allottees for 15 days, the staff of the Hyderabad Development Authority noticed that only two out of the 32 allottees had built their houses above the plinth level, nine had laid only the plinths as demarcation lines of their plots, while 21 plots remained completely vacant. When they investigated half the allottees could not afford to build their houses, and the others felt safe as they had the allotment orders. Authority stopped issuing allotment decided not to issue allotment orders until after the structure had been completed and the period for completion of houses was reduced to three months. Authority cancelled all plot allocations to other applicants.

Authority told the new allottees that construction should start immediately, if no construction took place on three consecutive days, the allocation was withdrawn. As a result, within one and a half months, 212 families had laid the plinths for their houses, after a while, construction slowed down again.

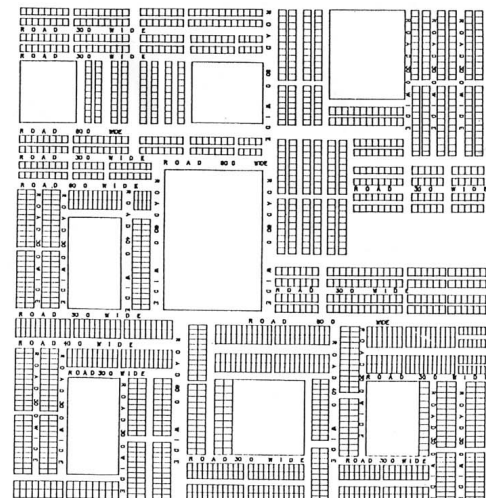
Hyderabad Development Authority came to the conclusion that the households recommended by the councilors did not belong to the lowest-income group. They already had a house and access to electricity and water supply, and they were, therefore, unwilling to move to the new site, until development had taken place. So, the Authority decided to try a new approach.

THE RECEPTION AREA

While people were being settled, a family on the waiting list and in dire need of shelter turned up at the site with all its possessions and simply occupied a vacant plot. This demonstrated a simple fact: a really needy household wants to occupy its plot immediately as it does not have anywhere else to go. This event led to a radically new approach for the selection of allottees - the reception area. For those families in immediate need of shelter - the target group of the scheme.

A family in immediate need of shelter can bring its possessions and settle in the reception area about 2 weeks, to see if its needs are genuine, i.e., if it lives permanently in the reception area, allottee has to erect some sort of structure and start living on his plot immediately.

This procedure proved successful. Within 16 days, 350 families moved to their plots. People who do not want to build a hut in the reception area due to lack of privacy for their women folk disliked this procedure. For them authority had five one room semi permanent houses built in the reception area which was rented out for Rs. 50/- per week.

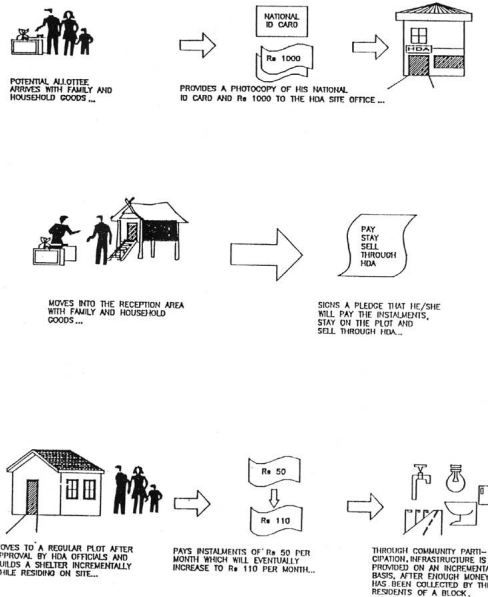


A sector of Khuda-ki-basti

THE CURRENT PROCEDURE

Applicants to Khuda-ki-basti have to make a down payment of Rs. 1000 which covers the full cost of the unserviced land. The development charges were initially set at Rs. 60 per month; instalments are deposited in a separate bank account for each block (or sub-sector) of the scheme; block leaders are responsible for each block account. Once sufficient money has been collected in a block account, the Hyderabad Development Authority calls a meeting of all residents of the block; they decide, by popular vote, which type of infrastructure is to be provided, using the money in the account, and how the infrastructure will be constructed. After the decisions have been taken, the Hyderabad Development Authority hands the supervision of the construction work over to the block leaders.

Procedure for securing a plot



COST RECOVERY

The initial implementation costs for the incremental-development scheme, as a separate project, were minimal. As the scheme is being implemented in four sectors of the Gulshan-e-Shahbaz sites-and-services scheme, planning and design for the scheme have already been completed. Furthermore, the land on which the settlement is situated has always been governmental property; it is non-arable, rocky desert land with no greater opportunity-cost than its current usage.

The Hyderabad Development Authority recovers the cost of the raw, undeveloped land through the initial downpayment of Rs. 1000 which the allottee has to pay when entering the reception area. As the scheme is based on the concept of incremental development of infrastructure, and infrastructure is only constructed once the residents have paid for it, the issue of cost recovery for the construction of infrastructure does not arise. The Hyderabad Development Authority does not lend any money for the provision of infrastructure to the project. The Hyderabad Development Authority has kept the direct costs of the administration of the project to a minimum, and they are the only subsidy to the project. Administrative costs include the salaries of one officer, two clerks and one driver; petrol for the van which provides transport for these officials; and the costs of running the site office. The costs are estimated at Rs. 10,000 per month.



Demarcation of a plot for a Central Garden

Site Office of the Hyderabad Development Authority



CURRENT CONDITIONS IN KHUDA-KI-BASTI

THE POPULATION

KKM's total population is estimated at around 10,500. On average 1.12 households live on a plot, or, sometimes, two or even more merged plots. The average household size is 7.37, majority is Urdu speaking.

INCOME AND EMPLOYMENT

More than half the heads of household work in the informal sector, while 15 per cent work in manufacturing industry in Kotri which is located about three kilometres from Khuda-ki-basti. Because they work in the informal sector, the job stability and security of the head of household is generally low. This, obviously, limits their ability to obtain a plot in a sites-and-services scheme, as families cannot afford a large downpayment and a regular repayment of a housing loan.

The average number of income earners per household is almost two persons: the average income of the head of household is between Rs.1500 - 3000. The place of work of heads households living in Khuda-ki-basti is rather varied. Some heads of households work in Khuda-ki-basti itself (31 per cent) in the many shops and workshops where carpets, rope, paper flowers, paper bags, bangles, building materials and *bids* (local cigarettes) are produced.



Carpet weaving in a house



A UTILITY STORE IN THE BASTI

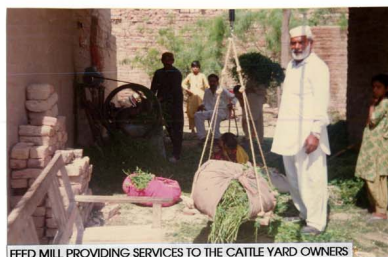
HOUSING CONDITIONS

Building Material	Walls (%)	Roof (%)
Reed matting	1	44
Mud	1	-
Unplastered Bricks/Blocks	87	n.a.
Plastered Bricks/Blocks	11	n.a.
Corr. Iron/Asbestos Sheets	n.a.	15
Tiles	n.a.	37
R.C.C.	n.a.	4

Huts and mud houses have practically disappeared from KKB, and the number of solid houses has increased, but quite a high percentage of the inhabitants still make do with reed matting roofs over their heads. Its means, in the first place, is that the inhabitants of such houses are too poor to be able to afford a better roof, or that they have different priorities to spend their savings on. The common occurrence of these roofs can be taken as a sign that KKB serves a population group that cannot be - and is not - reached otherwise.

As in the illegal subdivisions, most building materials are available from the neighbourhood *thakawalla*, if necessary on credit. The *thakawalla* provides concrete blocks, shutterings and other materials on easy credit and might also provide advice on house construction.

Most households have made significant investments in their house; the average investment per household amounts to about Rs. 38,000.



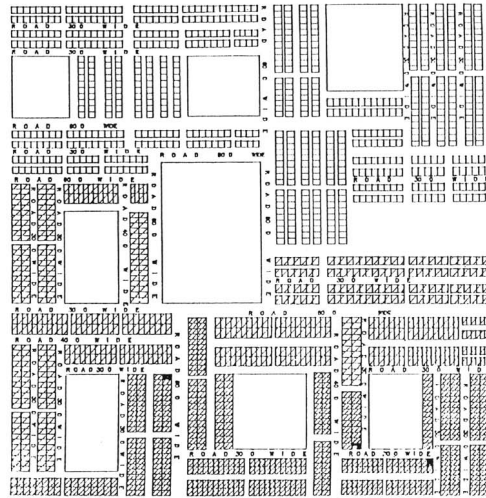
FEED MILL PROVIDING SERVICES TO THE CATTLE YARD OWNERS



IN-HOUSE EMBROIDERY WORK

INFRASTRUCTURE

As the residents pay their development charges infrastructure is provided; by this time 86% residents have piped water in their lanes and 34% have electricity, 33% of the population have a connection to a sewer line others have soak pit, shallow pits or bucket latrines. Recently for one block in K.K.B., HDA with the assistance of SAIBAN (an NGO working for the betterment of K.K.B.) have built a main sewer operated by a pump. Sewage from this block is being used for growing plants.



Sector E-4 with infrastructural development

- Water
- Sewerage & water
- Electricity, sewerage & water
- Leader's house



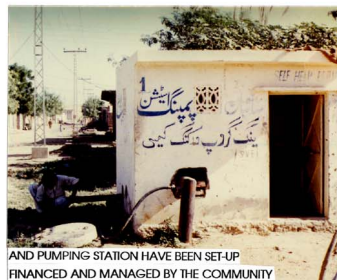
SEWERS BEING LAID BY THE PEOPLE ON SELF HELP BASIS



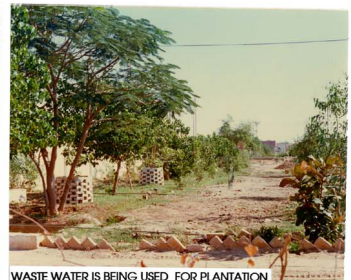
PEOPLE HAVE MADE SOAK PITS IN THE BACK LANES



A SEWERAGE MAIN



AND PUMPING STATION HAVE BEEN SET-UP FINANCED AND MANAGED BY THE COMMUNITY



WASTE WATER IS BEING USED FOR PLANTATION

PUBLIC SERVICES

Reliable transport is now available by bus. The fare for a single trip to or from Hyderabad is Rs. 3/- Primary schools, up till the eight class, are run in KKB. An ambulance van is available for transport of the sick.



A MEETING FOR COMMUNITY ORGANISATION



PRIVATE SCHOOL IN THE BASTI



MEDICAL FACILITIES AVAILABLE TO THE INHABITANTS



Mobile Health Clinic

COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

As far as community participation was concerned, HDA tried to organize the community at lane level, but it did not work out well and people did not want to identify themselves or their desires at this level and it required too much motivation. Then it was tried to have participation at scheme level, but with the increase in size of this scheme the participation was limited to only office-bearers of the social organization with no roots in the community. It was decided to wait and see the response of community organization for specific problems.

Amazing to note is the relationship of problems with the community organization. For facilities benefitting the scheme as a whole e.g. electricity, the scheme residents organized themselves as a whole; for sewerage problem, there was response from lanes. A system of community participation thus evolved by itself and is being supported by HDA.



VIEW OF A PARK



CHILDRENS PLAY FIELD

LESSON FROM THE INCREMENTAL DEVELOPMENT SCHEME

ROLES OF DIFFERENT ACTORS

Major actors are the public sector and the inhabitants of the housing scheme, other actors, such as the private sector and NGOs, have a specific, secondary role. There probably should be no role for the *dawal*.

GOVERNMENT

Best results can be expected if the government's role is limited to the unavoidable minimum. Changing of rule and procedures should be avoided.

INHABITANTS

Principal would be to deliver better housing to (poor) people. Inhabitants, thus, are the principal actors and are responsible for all (incremental) development. In view of this heavy responsibility, right from the beginning they should be given full information on their rights and duties, so that no undue expectations should be aroused.

NGOs

NGOs may act to mediate between people and government, or to give advice to people.

SYSTEM OF ALLOCATION

Residents may be given an option to immediately obtain on-plot facilities against full payment. However, no on-plot facility should be automatically provided, so as to keep initial prices as low as possible. Initial off-plot infrastructure should be limited to the essentials (water and transport) only, just as is the case in illegal sub-divisions.

PHYSICAL DESIGN AND STANDARDS

As regards physical design, a somewhat less liberal use of land - especially for open grounds - should be considered. Smaller building blocks and the introduction of semi-public space might enhance community cohesion. Expert advice should be sought for the design of a sewerage system.

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION AND REPRESENTATION

Community organization can come about only from within the community itself. Out side agencies can almost try and create optimal conditions for this and provide assistance or advice. Such conditions include good access to the executing agency, unambiguous and full information on financial matters, on rights and duties of the different actors etc.



Incremental Development Programme

Hyderabad, Pakistan

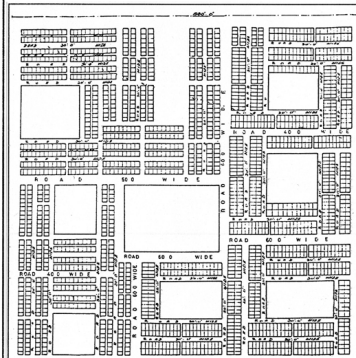
Architect	Tasneem Ahmed Siddiqui Molammas Azhar Khan Hyderabad, Pakistan
Client	Hyderabad Development Authority Hyderabad, Pakistan
Occupancy	March 1986 ongoing
Site	610'000 m ²
Costs - per m ²	8 USD (infrastructure) 140 PKR
Currency	Pakistani Rupees
Programme	Urban Development



The reception area



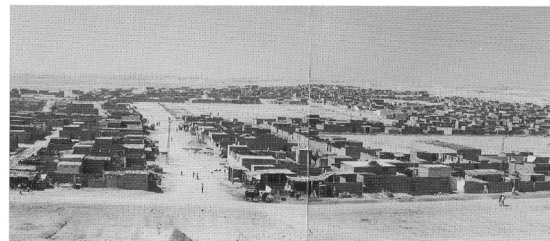
A family establishing itself in the reception area



Layout plan



Beginning of the scheme: 1986



General view: December 1987

Since the adoption of the Vancouver Action Plan in 1976 (sponsored by the United Nations), member countries are expected to resolve housing problems through the increased involvement of the beneficiaries, including the urban poor. This approach also is intended to be stressed in the formulation of housing programmes. As a result, low-income housing schemes have been "re-formulated" such that the poor might be better served, their involvement increased, and their potential better harnessed. Besides conventional, ready-made housing programmes, alternative approaches were introduced - such as settlement upgrading programmes as well as sites-and-services schemes. The latter, especially, were developed to meet the housing needs of the very poor, permitting them more freedom to choose the kinds of houses they need, within the limits of their resources.

The existing thousands of urban poor have not been served by any of these schemes or offered any other possibility to house themselves. It is somewhat normal, therefore, that many of the poor wind up in squatter settlements or *katchi abadis*. This solution has catered for about 40% of the urban population, yet many others are so poor that they cannot even afford to live in slums and have become street dwellers.

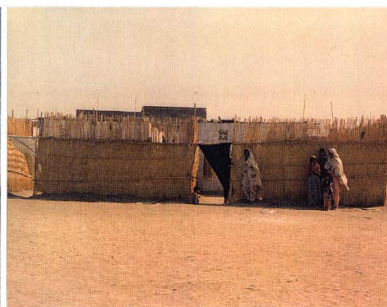
Building Type 085
1995 Award Cycle 987.PAK

The incremental development approach has explored an alternative whereby initial services are limited to a strict minimum so that a very low down-payment of US\$ 60 is sufficient to acquire a plot with basic sanitary facilities. Subsequent improvements take place after the residents build their own houses and gradually pay for the services requested. This self financing scheme has allotted 2'813 plots between November 1987 and May 1988, on which 2'181 families now live permanently. No construction standards or types were prescribed and residents are encouraged to improvise and innovate.

This project constitutes a pioneering attempt on the part of the private sector to make land available to the urban poor. Some 700 jobs were created by the fast growing construction activity.



Site after development



Formal two rooms with courtyard in reception area



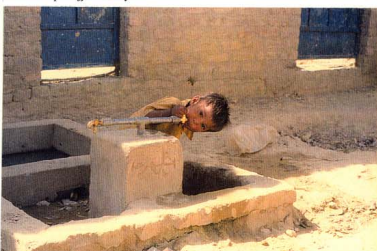
Plot improvement



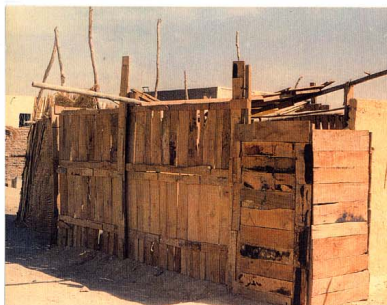
Shelter as per affordability



Low-cost core one-room house



Third phase of water supply; public stand post



A form of shelter