Urban infrastructure and development

♦ Briefing papers
The complexity of urban systems
Integrative analysis of urban systems

♦ Features
Investing in urban development; the 2020 megacity; the Pacific Asian metropolis; the postcolonial city in Southeast Asia; urban governance, management and research in the Pacific; urban service provision in New Zealand; urbanisation patterns in South Africa

♦ Viewpoint
New urban space in Hong Kong; land tenure, population and migration in the Philippines; women’s development and schooling in Bangladesh

♦ Update
NGOs in development
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Development Bulletin is the Network's quarterly journal. It includes short articles (normally 1,500 to 2,000 words); conference reports; announcements of forthcoming events; details of courses, research and work related to development or development studies; project reports; and information about development education materials, recent publications and other news.

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If you have information you wish to share with others in the development field, such as conference announcements or reports, notices of new publications, interesting items from the press, information about the work of your centre or courses you offer, or you wish to respond to articles or Briefing Papers, please write to the Editor.

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Editors' notes

Urban infrastructure and development

This issue of Development Bulletin considers the widespread deterioration of urban infrastructure in the region, possible solutions and likely future impacts. The papers give particular emphasis to the privatisation of urban utilities, urban government management and governance issues and the impact of urban infrastructural change on the poor. The papers provide in depth information on the situation in Asian and Pacific Island countries.

Briefing papers

Two briefing papers accompany this issue of the Bulletin. Both provide broader insights into some of the central issues surrounding notions of urbanisation. Tony Champion, of the University of Newcastle upon Tyne, addresses questions concerning the evolution of urban systems, and the degree to which urbanisation and counter-urbanisation patterns have followed similar patterns across the world. Helen Ross, of the Australian National University, argues that a holistic approach to solving environmental problems in cities is necessary and more useful than a specialised one. She cites the cases of Bangkok and Curitiba to support her argument.

AusAID

Network staff, and we are sure all Network members, greatly appreciate AusAID support in publishing Development Bulletin and making this important information widely available.

Next issue

The next issue of Development Bulletin will focus on the social impacts of the economic downturn in Asia. If you have any queries or would like to contribute to this issue please phone, fax or e-mail us. We are here to help.

Pamela Thomas, Sally Oliphant, Mary-Louise Hickey
Urban infrastructure and development

With urbanisation occurring at an unprecedented pace worldwide there are growing difficulties providing adequate infrastructure. The effective development, supply and maintenance of road, transport, electricity, water, sanitation, and garbage collection are proving too expensive, even for industrial countries. Local investment in infrastructure and utilities is patchy. International finance is forcing privatisation. Too late, there is the recognition that privatised utilities need specific management skills if they are to provide efficient and cost effective services. In many developing countries privatised utilities have proved a disaster. The services do not function and are more expensive than when managed by the public sector.

As Neilson points out, there is a widespread lack of recognition that infrastructure is supposed to provide services to society, not make money.

The need for basic health and safety regulations are being ignored and regulations, when in place, are bypassed. The impact of rapid urbanisation and the seeming inability of governments, municipal bodies, or private companies to put in place effective infrastructure and utilities have alarming implications for urban dwellers in the future. Those who will be doubly disadvantaged will be the urban and peri-urban poor.

In discussing the rapid evolution of cities in Asia and the way they must now meet the economic imperatives of globalisation, Forbes points to new urban functions and the necessity for changing structures and infrastructures.

Ward provides a detailed reference paper, supported by an exhaustive bibliography, on urbanisation in the Pacific. He points to the inherent problems of traditional land tenure in attempting to provide adequate urban planning and legislation.

A number of contributors raise the issue of managing and governing large cities. A strong metropolitan government is often seen as a threat to national government. Surprisingly, as Connell and Lea point out, these problems also exist in some Pacific Island countries.

Contributors from New Zealand look at privatisation of urban utilities in Auckland and the resulting social polarisation as the urban poor are now consigned to the urban periphery. Privatisation of key public assets has raised $NZ16 billion but little consideration, they point out, was given to market failure or alternative means of providing services: 'A country which once prided itself on egalitarian principles, now has people renting garages as the only accommodation they can afford'.

The contributors to this issue of Development Bulletin discuss these vital issues, and provide some innovation solutions.
Investing in urban development

Lyndsay Neilson, Centre for Developing Cities, University of Canberra

Privatising urban infrastructure

Governments everywhere are being pressed to open up the financing and provision of urban infrastructure and services to the private sector. Partly this is a follow on from privatisation of significant sectors of what might be described as 'national' infrastructure, such as power generation and tele-communications in many countries. Such privatisation has usually been motivated by a search for increased efficiency in service provision, usually through creating a competitive supply of services in the expectation that competition will improve service efficiency and quality, reduce costs and drive prices down for end consumers.

In many cases privatisation has also been driven by attempts to reduce the size of the government sector in the economy, by taking government out of areas which might be owned and operated on a commercial basis. This motivation has been coupled in some cases with policies aimed at opening up new areas of private investment in economies where traditional business areas such as manufacturing have been run down through international competition.

A third motivation has been the reduction of public sector debt through the sale of assets, although in many instances the proceeds of asset sales have been used as an alternative to tax increases to fund recurrent expenditures rather than to pay off debt.

The role of international finance

International financial markets have taken the scale of government ownership and investment in national economies and associated levels of government debt as indicators of government performance. Governments which are rated highly are those with small public sectors, low debt, extensive private investment in infrastructure and services, positive policies towards the disposal of public assets and reliance on the private sector for new infrastructure investments.

Such international pressure has had the effect of driving national and sub-national governments towards increasingly uniform economic policy settings, consistent with the expectations of financial markets, multilateral funding agencies, and international credit rating agencies. World Bank Chief Economist, Joseph Stiglitz, raised cautions about what he called this 'cookie-cutter' approach in a recent address:

Though repeated so often as to sound hackneyed, the Washington consensus concerning basic economic reforms - keep inflation to a moderate level, limit the size of the fiscal deficit, do not introduce large distortions into the economy, open the economy to foreign competition - merits constant repetition. The good news is that many countries have followed these prescriptions; they have learned the lessons. But the bad news is that despite this, they have not seen the dividends in growth (Stiglitz 1997:17).

Stiglitz supports the argument that government imperfections are inevitable - indeed, they are part of the problem and should simply get out of the way of privatisation and the operation of the markets. He argues for a new agenda that sees governments and markets as complements rather than substitutes, with governments having a special responsibility to create the institutional infrastructure required for markets to work effectively.

Stiglitz's sense of a partnership between the government and the private sector, while tested somewhat by recent events in East Asia, is especially important in the field of infrastructure investment. Earlier, in its 1994 World Development Report - Infrastructure for development, the Bank had laid down principles for reform in the provision and operation of infrastructure. These were:

- Manage infrastructure like a business, not like a bureaucracy;
- Introduce competition - directly if feasible, indirectly if not; and
- Give users and other stakeholders a strong voice and real responsibility.

The Bank observed that public-private partnerships in financing had particular promise, and that governments were responsible for developing legal and regulatory frameworks to support private involvement in the provision of infrastructure services.

In 1997, the Bank, echoing Stiglitz's interest in the effective functioning of government, focused its World Development Report on The state in a changing world. The basic message in the report is that:

... reducing or diluting the state's role cannot be the end of the reform story. Even with more selectivity and greater reliance on the citizenry and on private firms, meeting a broad range of collective needs more effectively will still mean making the state's central institutions work better. For human welfare to be advanced, the state's capability - defined as the ability to undertake and promote collective actions efficiently - must be increased (World Bank 1997:3, emphasis in original).
In particular, in addressing privatisation as an approach, and while continuing to advocate it as a means of achieving more efficient and effective delivery of services and infrastructure, the Bank, drawing on the very mixed experience of practice internationally over recent years, warned that experience has shown that the way privatisation is managed is ‘terribly important to the end result’ (World Bank 1997:6).

This is a central issue in relation to the private provision of urban infrastructure traditionally provided by governments – the means by which private sector involvement is achieved is terribly important to the end result – not just in terms of the efficiency and effectiveness of the particular infrastructure item and the service it provides, but in terms of the end product served by that infrastructure: urban development and the well-being of urban communities.

**Experiences of privatised infrastructure**

International experience with private investment in large scale transportation infrastructure in developing cities has been very mixed. The spectacular failures of toll road investments in Mexico, and the succession of failed privately funded freeways and now urban rail projects in Bangkok are examples of what can go wrong. Privatisation of Manila’s water supply, in contrast, is thus far regarded as a significant success (Conger 1997:18).

Australia’s own experience with BOOT (build, own, operate and transfer) schemes for urban toll roads has also drawn criticism. What looks like and in some cases undoubtedly is good business, turns out, when examined closely, to be bad economics. NSW Auditor-General, Tony Harris, has completed a number of reports on private road projects in NSW developed under BOOT arrangements, only to conclude that they have not been good deals from the viewpoint of the NSW community. In part this is because the State Government remains the major risk taker in a number of projects, and in part it is because of transfers through the taxation system of part of the financing responsibility and trading risks to the Australian taxpayer in general.

**Service provision or profit?**

The provision of infrastructure is not an end in itself. Infrastructure provides services to properties and the people and activities which occupy them, or directly to people or organisations as consumers. These services facilitate the efficient, effective, safe, healthy and, hopefully, sustainable functioning of urban communities. Neutez cites one dictionary definition:

> Infrastructure may be defined as ‘the network of services in a society which are essential for its cohesion and for the efficient functioning of the economy’ (Penguin and Macquarie Dictionary of Economics and Finance, 1988) (Neutez 1997:17).

The quality of urban development and the functioning of cities will certainly be affected by the quality of the services provided by its infrastructure – most obviously its transport infrastructure. But the predominant influence on the functioning and character of cities lies in the form and functioning of its built environment. The quality of urban development and the way it occurs is the issue of key concern, with infrastructure being a necessary component part of that development.

**Who pays and who benefits?**

In most Australian ‘greenfields’ urban development, the initial product for which a private sector developer, and sometimes government owned development organisations, is responsible is a fully serviced allotment of land. ‘Fully-serviced’ means an allotment which has a sealed road passing by, kerbing and guttering, stormwater drainage, sewerage mains in the street, water supply, usually gas supply, electricity, street lighting and telecommunications. As a home or other building is constructed on the allotment, connections are made to these services.

Services are often laid in a common trench constructed by the developer. Private gas companies, or telecommunications providers, usually lay their pipes/wires at no cost to the developer. For water supply and sewerage, gutters and drainage, roads and footpaths, electricity and street lighting, the developer will meet the costs of constructing the services within his/her estate and, importantly, passes the assets on to the (usually publicly owned) service provider to own and maintain.

The developer may also pay a charge to those providers to cover some of the costs of headworks, including dams and sewage treatment works, and trunk supply services. The developer’s costs are recovered from the sale of land, with prices reflecting the costs of production of the allotments, including services, financing and other management costs, and the developer’s profit.

The initial purchaser of the land therefore effectively funds the provision of infrastructure to service that land, except for those services laid by private service providers at their own expense. The capital costs of these later services will be recovered over time through connection fees and user charges for the gas or telecommunications provided.

The developer is producing the first elements of urban development – serviced allotments – and is the organiser and manager of the development process which sees that infrastructure installed.

> The increase in the value of the land which results from servicing and subdivision, over the raw land cost prior to development, is where the developer gains his/her profit.

This is important. Urban growth and change, when well managed and especially when accompanied by the installation of infrastructure which provides additional or improved services to property, and to the people and activities occupying that property, almost always generates land value increases.
Planning for those increases, and capturing as much of it as it can, is what the private sector urban development industry does for its living, along with generating new products, including land, housing, other built space, for sale or rental.

When new infrastructure is installed, especially new transport infrastructure which changes patterns of accessibility within the city, land markets respond. But where redevelopment rather than new development is undertaken, those increases in land value frequently accrue directly to the existing property holders who benefit from the new infrastructure investment. In effect, they achieve an unearned increment to the value of their property.

It is of no physical consequence in terms of new urban development whether the pipes being laid or the wires being strung are publicly or privately owned. It may be of considerable consequence in terms of the cost of a serviced allotment to the initial purchaser. If public agencies have their assets funded by the developer and hence the purchaser, those assets are handed over to them free of charge for their ownership, maintenance and use. If there were a private provider of water supply or sewerage, it is highly unlikely that such arrangements would be acceptable, and the provider, like gas or telecommunications companies, would be expected to finance its own service installations, and to recover costs from connection fees and user fees over time. The first-time cost of allotments should, accordingly, be less.

Generally, the larger the scale of the development under a single manager, the more efficiently such infrastructure provision can be designed, staged and provided. Large scale private land developments have become increasingly common in developing countries in recent years. The new cities around Jakarta, such as Lippo Karawaci, or near Kuala Lumpur (Cyber Jaya, Putra Jaya), are well known examples where land development profits are meeting the capital costs of infrastructure provision (in some instances with the developer going on to become the manager of the infrastructure and the provider of services, financed from fees and charges). Many such developments are criticised as being essentially middle-class escape routes from less attractive urban areas, as they are often 'gated' communities, excluding the general public and, most significantly, the poor. Malaysia has attempted to resolve this problem, with legislation requiring developers on new estates to provide low cost housing as a proportion of their total development.

Funding infrastructure redevelopment

In the case of redevelopment, it is clearly more difficult to finance infrastructure investment through increases in land value, although not impossible. Proposals for new light rail facilities in Hanoi are based on the location of stations and associated commercial and residential complexes on government owned land, enabling the government largely to finance the light rail construction from anticipated capture of land value increases through either sale or development of these sites.

In Australia, under the Better Cities programme which operated from 1991 to 1996, the national government provided over $800 million in government funding to state governments to fund innovations in urban management. Some states, and relevant municipalities in some cases, established corporations or quasi-corporations whose task it was to plan, manage and 'seed fund' the renewal of generally run down, redundant inner city property, much of it old industrial land. In most cases, much of that funding was spent decontaminating land and overcoming local capacity thresholds in infrastructure, especially water, sewerage and drainage, which neither the infrastructure agencies nor individual private developers could afford to fund.

By providing development plans, clear development policies, and a development manager to facilitate private sector involvement, and by coordinating the actions of many government agencies, these corporations effectively acted in much the same way as the private developer of a large estate, but without control over all the land and assets. Their activities drew in private investment, increased land values in the areas for which they were responsible, and increased the value of government owned property in the areas concerned. Some of the expenditure made by states was able to be directly recouped as a result of sale and/or development of state owned assets in these areas.

In areas such as east Perth, inner Brisbane, Ultimo-Pyrmont in Sydney, parts of inner Melbourne, inner Adelaide, inner Hobart and Launceston, market interest in new residential and commercial land was created through clear government policies, and through the existence of organisations which could coordinate and facilitate government and private investment. These organisations were also in a position to make the necessary planning and development decisions quickly, and publicly promote clear economic, social and environmental objectives and innovations for these areas.

Partnerships for urban infrastructure development

For the most part, these areas demonstrate the benefits of public/private partnerships, with public sector leadership focused on comprehensive development outcomes while at the same time 'unbundling' those outcomes into components readily marketable to the private sector as investment opportunities. The private sector was not the lead player, but once initial investors, confident of the opportunities offered, proved successful, others quickly followed. The state and local governments benefited directly through increased value of the assets they held in these areas; through increases generally in land value, leading to increased property tax revenues; through re-use of formerly redundant land assets; through revitalisation of key parts of the city; and through the demonstration effect these projects created in the wider market.

New ways of managing growth and change have influenced not only the behaviour of agencies within government, but
also the expectations of markets and communities about the quality of redevelopment and renewal to be expected in established areas of the city.

Functional partnerships of this kind are inherently more appealing than simply 'leaving it to the market'. Public objectives can be explicitly pursued through such mechanisms, while private sector uncertainty is reduced. Such partnerships generate the capacity to ensure that a high-quality public realm is created along with attractive privately-funded projects. Good urban development is the result.

* Lyndsay Neilson is a geographer and planner with extensive experience in the public and private sectors, both in Australia and overseas. He is Director of the Centre for Developing Cities and Adjunct Professor in Urban Planning at the University of Canberra. He is also the Director of Neilson Associates Pty Ltd., a planning and management consultancy.

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The great divide in the 2020 megacity

Sonja Lyneham, Planning Workshop International*

Urbanisation trends, problems and opportunities

The rate of urbanisation worldwide is increasing exponentially. By the year 2020, migration, coupled with natural increase, will have had an unprecedented impact, transforming major metropolitan cities within the APEC region into megacities, located primarily along coastal areas and waterways. By the year 2020, world population will have increased from the Malthusian one billion at the beginning of the 19th century, to eight billion. Approximately 1.6 billion of these people will be in the developed regions, while 6.4 billion will be in the developing regions of the world.

Between 1996 and 2020, approximately 95 per cent of the global population increase is expected to take place in developing regions, with Africa growing to 1.58 billion, China to approximately 1.5 billion, India 1.5 billion, Pakistan 267 million, Indonesia 263 million, Brazil 245 million, Mexico 150 million and Iran 122 million. Australia, by comparison, is expected to increase from its 1990 population of 16.7 million to 22.7 million by 2025. Taking into consideration rural production potential, mineral and mining reserves and the surrounding pressures on land to house the exponentially increasing population, it is difficult to postulate a global situation where the projected population increase for Australia will be limited to these figures. External forces and trends within the region will pose increasing pressure upon Australian governments and politicians to review the low levels of projected population growth, which are driven primarily by forecast natural growth and minimal in-migration from the surrounding region.

Malthusian apocalyptic pronouncements have so far been averted by technological innovation. However, the following indicators all illustrate both the scale and the nature of the environmental consequences of failure to design, construct and operate transport systems, water supply systems and sewerage infrastructure, at levels capable of accommodating existing population and the projected growth in these cities. These indicators are:

- deteriorating environmental conditions
- depletion of the ozone layer of our atmosphere
- the destruction of forests as a result of uncontrolled deforestation (20 per cent loss of tropical forest in the last 40 years)
- the loss of top soil from cropland (50 per cent loss in the last 50 years)
- increasing salinisation of vast areas of continents, including Australia
- the contamination of aquifers and pollution of river systems in such cities as Jakarta, Bangkok and the other megacities
- rising air pollution and CO₂ levels as a function of the ever-increasing use of motorised vehicles, particularly with two-stroke engines which, in cities such as Taipei, account for approximately 60 per cent of urban air pollution.

Moreover, regional and subregional disparities and inequities will increase significantly prior to any substantive redistribution of wealth occurring in the large emerging economies and megacities. These will be particularly exacerbated in megacities with high levels of population growth and the consequent growth in numbers of the urban poor, frequently located in ghettos within and around the historic centres of cities, as well as in shanty towns and at high densities on the periphery of cities. This is already evident in cities in Africa and India, as well as in countries within the APEC region.

Over 50 per cent of the increase in population projected by the year 2020 will be located in megacities, those which today have a population of approximately one million people. Yet over one billion people, the equivalent of Malthusian global population and the population of China today, are already living in poverty in an environment which, in many instances, is itself exacerbating the distribution of wealth in favour of coastal cities as opposed to inland cities. Within these coastal cities, resources are distributed in favour of what are already more affluent areas, instead of being directed to historic city centres and industrial zone ghettos with deteriorating physical conditions, poor transportation, and to high density shanty towns on the outskirts of cities, remote from transportation and jobs.

The world cities of 1954 which accommodated more than ten million were confined to New York and Greater London. Today, only four cities of over ten million are in developed countries – Tokyo, New York, Los Angeles and Osaka – while ten such cities are in developing countries. None of these are in Africa. By around 2015 or 2020, Istanbul will join these megacities of developed nations, by which time there will be over 22 cities in developing countries with over ten million people. Africa will emerge by the year 2020 as the most populous continent, and will also continue its restructuring into an urbanised society, with Lagos emerging as the third largest city in the world.

The existing problem of the urban poor will eclipse the historical plight of poverty in rural areas, with squatter housing already evident as a highly significant component of urban shelter in such cities as in Dar es Salaam, Lusaka, Istanbul, Karachi, Kingston and Johannesburg.

Technological innovations resulting in increased agricultural productivity will take place in response to techniques of in vitro fertilisation and genetic splicing. Robotics will increase

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industrial efficiency and capital substitution for labour at the lower end of the skill scale. Depending upon the alternative opportunities available to rural and industrial communities, the transformation brought about by these technological advances will have the ability to both reduce or heighten the plight of the rural and urban poor. Large multinational corporations, increasingly detached from their country of origin, compete globally, to ensure an even larger increase in market share. Capital flow is facilitated through deregulation, and technology now allows transfer, not only of information, but also of capital between countries. By comparison, population migration remains tightly regulated and, unlike the flow of other factors of production such as capital, technology and information, people are bound to place and country and the feast or famine characteristic of their place in the city, in the country and in society.

Globally, distribution networks of nations have been increasingly transferred to private companies, who build, own and operate and, in some instances, will eventually transfer to governments, such infrastructure. Telecommunications, public transport and water supply are no longer able to be centrally funded, due to the exponential growth of urban populations and diminishing public sector resources. Increasingly, they are being funded through various mechanisms and structures, principally through private sector arrangements guaranteed by government. The transaction costs of any such private sector participation in infrastructure is generally higher with private sector rather than government funding. However, various regulations restricting the level of government borrowing, and the desire in some countries to remove such a debt of obligation from public sector balance sheets, has resulted in an increased rate of transfer of what were previously considered 'natural monopolies', to private sector interests.

The transfer of major distribution networks will, in the long term, determine the accessibility of individuals and households to jobs and will directly affect the redistribution of wealth within a society. It therefore requires a regulatory structure which will ensure that any such essential network and distribution systems for transportation and essential services offer the required standard and quality of service, at the most efficient and effective price, available across all sectors, both economic and geographic. Developed countries are likely to have a far higher level of requirement for regulatory structures to enforce such conditions than may be the case in many developing countries. The development of strong institutional structures to coordinate, prioritise and monitor increased private sector participation in public projects (e.g. BOOS, BOT and BOOT) is vitally important.

Coupled with the requirement for institutional strengthening is the availability of adequate budgets for development corporations and other such agencies, which are increasingly responsible for the management of urban settlement and infrastructure. The education and training of staff is vitally important to the successful implementation and management of both public and private sector projects.

Public–private sector partnerships

The Asian Development Bank (ADB) forecasts that Asia will need to spend one trillion dollars (US) on infrastructure between 1994 and 2000, merely to keep pace with the demands of the region's economies. Hence, on average, the level of infrastructure spending will need to increase from five per cent of regional GDP to seven per cent over this period. Telecommunications alone will require US$150 billion, power and transport approximately US$350 billion each, and water supply and sanitation approximately US$100 billion. A significant proportion of these funds will be allocated to infrastructure investment in the People's Republic of China.

The public–private sector dialogue organised under the APEC Co-operation and Infrastructure Conference in Jakarta in September 1995 reiterated statistics such as the growth of population in the Asia-Pacific region surpassing three billion, growing by a quarter of a million each day. The countries of developing Asia spend, on average, approximately five per cent of GDP on infrastructure each year. Furthermore, if supply is to keep pace with demand, this figure will need to rise to seven or eight per cent of GDP over the next decade. In a report prepared by the ADB, various structures were outlined, such as BOT and BOO, by which the private sector could participate in infrastructure development. However, it is stressed that governments must take the leadership in setting industry standards for private entities and, furthermore, that governments must be prepared to provide limited or full guarantees to cover both political and financial risk.

Governments in such circumstances must act as a close and effective regulatory power of policies and standards, while the private sector provides equity, management and operating skills. Nonetheless, the major issue in any such public–private sector structure is that of 'allocation of risk'. Various mechanisms and structures are developed to distribute this risk to various parties, by way of mechanisms such as 'partial credit guarantee' or 'later maturity guarantee'. Government is required not only to provide such part guarantees, but is also required to provide additional sweeteners in the form of tax incentives, depreciation allowances and provision of land within the rights of way of proposed infrastructure projects, at a zero or nominal value. It is also required to provide additional land for redevelopment in the vicinity of strategic sites such as railway stations, or in the case of major water supply and sanitation projects, large areas of land for urban development. It should be recognised that projects are required to reach hurdle rates of return on investment before private sector finance is available either in the form of equity or debt for such projects. In other words, a gap in capital or operating costs will be required to be met by government, if the project is deemed to have merit in the eyes of respective governments.

Governments in developed countries such as the UK and Australia, as well as in developing nations, are relieved to be able to move major projects 'off the government balance.
sheet'. In Australia, however, auditors-general in states such as NSW and Victoria have queried whether the risks taken and guarantees variously offered by governments have been made transparent, and indeed whether the risk has been taken off the government balance sheet or whether it has been merely hidden from existing and future voters.

In a report prepared by Kohli et al. (1997), the World Bank has identified a number of major constraints to private sector participation in infrastructure provision. These include:

- the existence of a wide gap between the expectations of governments and the private sector on what is reasonable and acceptable;
- lack of clarity about government objectives and commitment and complex decision making;
- the need for more conducive sector policies (pricing, competition, public monopolies) and inadequate legal and regulatory policies including investment codes and dispute resolution mechanisms;
- the need to unbundle and manage risks and to increase credibility of government policies;
- underdeveloped domestic capital markets;
- the need for new mechanisms to provide from private sources large amounts of long term finance at affordable terms; and
- need for greater transparency and competition to reduce costs, assure equity and improve public support.

The transfer of debt to the world's biggest banks also raises significant issues. According to a survey of international banking published in The Economist in May 1996, this trend paints a picture which suggests reckless lending, corruption and sharp suited gamblers, rather than sober suited financiers. This explained public opposition to the Japanese government's plan to spend approximately 685 billion yen of taxpayers' money on repaying creditors of troubled housing loan companies. The corrections and adjustments required to redress such problems signal the need for governments to scrutinise carefully any guarantees to privately build and/or operate infrastructure projects.

In December 1995, nine of the world's top ten banks were Japanese, and one was German. Each had assets varying in a scale between US$371 billion to US$819 billion. Asset prices in Japan, Britain, the United States and France rose from 1974 to peak in 1990, dropping significantly between 1990 and 1993. Questions were raised as to over-exposure of major US banks to derivatives and loans in 1994, when compared as a percentage of their equity. Furthermore, over the period 1985–94, inter-bank fund transfers as a percentage of GDP either increased or remained stable in each of the developed countries. The spectre of banks as big lenders with outstanding non-bank interests and property in countries such as Japan, raised questions about the checks, controls and risks within the banking sector.

Questions were also raised in The Economist as early as May 1996 regarding the under-capitalisation of banks and the need for prompt corrective action under regulatory requirements. Various cross guarantee indications and other mechanisms to spread risk are under scrutiny. Hence, as major public infrastructure is proposed to be privatised, questions are being raised as to the level and transparency of guarantees being offered to lenders in such arrangements. The transaction costs in these privatisation and public private sector arrangements are substantial, the risks and rewards complex and, at times, not fully understood by governments acting as guarantor to parts of the structures. In view of the dire consequences associated with private sector dealings in Japan in major property loans, a similar question arises in relation to infrastructure. This reinforces a need for transparency and scrutiny by governments of the terms, conditions and standards of any such arrangement.

**Integrated regional programme and project management**

In the past, planners and various aid agencies have promoted solutions to national and city growth by promoting development of major road based transport systems with linear commercial development along these arteries. Today, private groups are promoting private sector built operated and (in some instances) owned service distribution infrastructure. An integrated regional approach is necessary to the assessment of natural environmental factors, infrastructure constraints and opportunities, alternative urban settlement forms and the staging and tendering of projects in the interests of efficiency, environmental quality and social equity.

In most developed and developing countries and cities, governments are relatively short of resources, not only to build and operate these facilities, but also to plan them. As a consequence, there are a number of instances in Australia, as well as in nations such as Indonesia, Malaysia, Vietnam and China, where the private sector has initiated, planned and designed schemes which they have then put to government for its endorsement. There is a significant need for governments to strengthen their capability to identify the major infrastructure which is required to serve rapidly growing urban populations, and the standard to which infrastructure such as transport, water and sanitation should be provided. In many instances, government institutions are unable to initiate and control such developments, due to lack of finance, commercial skills and an appropriate legal framework.

Planning authorities, however, proceed to plan the density and distribution of development through various metropolitan structure plans and strategies and land use zoning instruments. Private sector groups, often working separately, initiate infrastructure projects for public transport in cities (such as light rail Mass Rapid Transit) and major water and sewerage schemes. Transport (road, rail, airport and port projects) shapes the pattern of urban settlement. Yet many of these infrastructure projects cannot be financed by the private sector without some level of government guarantee or debt sharing. The increase in land value and opportunity for
property development can often provide a financial sweetener in funding such projects. As such, infrastructure planning, staging and financing should go hand in hand with urban settlement and property development.

**Institutional strengthening**

Major infrastructure and development initiatives require institutional support in the development, implementation, management and monitoring of projects. Public and private sector participation and partnership are now required in most major infrastructure projects. Partners on both the government and private sector sides require management and technical skills as well as financial resources. Projects may be delayed or jeopardised unless there is an effective institutional structure that represents the city, country or countries involved.

Creating a risk/reward sharing structure such as a development corporation, with the full powers of a legal company to hold assets, borrow funds and conduct transactions, could be one such option. This has been the approach taken on a number of major development and infrastructure projects internationally, as well as within Australia. In Australia, it includes the Darling Harbour Authority and the Rouse Hill Corporation. Indonesia has established special zones and corporations for Batam Island, the Jakarta Waterfront Development Implementation Body. Various international corporations have been formed to develop cities and regions in China. These corporations, to be effective, require:

- commitment, goals and vision;
- the sharing of risk and reward;
- full powers of a legal corporation;
- planning and implementation powers;
- delegated powers from respective governments; and
- skilled full-time chief executive and personnel.

Now is the time to emphasise these initiatives. Institutional strengthening is not as capital intensive as infrastructure development. It requires a long lead time and will assist in economic and social recovery.

**The hidden scarcity and the challenge for future planning and management skills**

The deterioration of the physical environment and the continued growth of megacities, with demand outstripping the supply of transport, water and sanitation infrastructure, demonstrate the level of competition amongst sectors for both government and private sector capital. However, determining policies and priorities that will both yield the greatest efficiency and meet the social objectives of both government and the private sector, relies on planning and management skills.

The most populous nations typically have the lowest level of per capita GDP and a comparatively high proportion of population under 25 years of age. These nations are rapidly increasing their share of both exports and imports as a result of significant growth in GDP. Infrastructure, as has already been demonstrated, is inadequate, and labour generally unskilled.

The future of these nations will depend significantly on developing the education and school based skills of the wider population. However, funds spent on research and development, as a percentage of GDP, when compared with developed nations such as the United States and Japan, are relatively low in the case of Singapore, India, China, Malaysia, Indonesia, Thailand, China and most of Africa.

The development of a sophisticated and skilled intellectual group is vital to resolving the planning and management issues facing the megacities of tomorrow. In March 1996, *Scientific American* reported an interesting project in Curitiba (Rabinovitch and Leitman 1996). The population of Curitiba grew from 300,000 in 1950 to 2.5 million in 1990. It changed over this period from a centre which processed agricultural products to an industrial and commercial hub. This rapid rate of change, as is evident in other cities such as Jakarta, Taipei and Bangkok, brought problems of unemployment, the growth of shantytowns and squatter areas, traffic congestion and environmental degradation. As a result of leadership provided by an architect and planner, who was appointed as mayor to implement his vision, Jane Lerner instituted a policy of promoting public transport over private car usage, working with the environment rather than being oblivious to it. This, coupled with appropriate high technology solutions and innovative public participation, resulted in the development of an open space, drainage and flood management plan, with an integrated public transport system to serve the rapidly growing population. Curitiba's transport system consisted of radial, express and direct routes, coupled with circumferential inter-district and worker routes, which connected a hierarchy of centres as well as serving the city centre.

The particular technology utilised an express bus system rather than higher cost sub-grade transport or other such options, which meant that, on average, low income residents spent only about ten per cent of their income on transportation. While the city had in excess of 500,000 private vehicles, three-quarters of all commuters, namely 1.3 million passengers, utilised a bus system with per capita fuel consumption 25 per cent less than that of comparable cities, and with a concomitant lower rate of air pollution. This system of an integrated express bus network operating as a single entity adopted many of the aspects of a subway system at a significantly lower cost. The plan and its management philosophy were driven not by the demand for a large construction contract, but rather by the participatory process to provide more transport for a lower cost, accessible to many. Similarly, in the case of the Jakarta Waterfront Project, the Vice Governor of the city is an engineer planner. His vision, perseverance and negotiations with other government agencies have been significant in the implementation of new transport systems. There is still a long way to go.
In these and other international projects, leadership and skilled professional teams are fundamental to successful implementation. It is vital that the planning and management of the megacities of the future and their attendant infrastructure are not the exclusive domain of the private sector, but instead are the pre-eminent domain of a strong government and institutional sector which seek least cost solutions. While relying in part on private sector participation, it is government which should take the lead in determining policies and priorities, standards and the terms and conditions upon which the private sector competes and offers solutions. This requires the development of education resources and planning management skills to resolve these difficult and, in some instances, almost intractable problems. Integrated cross-sector mechanisms must be developed and implemented within a structure of strengthened provincial/regional governance.

The building of new capital and satellite cities has failed to contain the increased growth of urban population within the megacity. The city will subsume national structures in the new millennium. The distribution of wealth and the gap between rich and poor in these burgeoning megacities will have a significant affect on the social, political and strategic stability of nations throughout the world.

Since writing this paper in February 1997, the Asian crisis has occurred. This, in my view, is partly a consequence of the failure to sufficiently strengthen reform institutions and practices towards greater openness and transparency. The effects of the crisis will be felt globally, exacerbating the existing problems of the urban poor and widening the divide between rich and poor. Nowhere will it be more visible and politically destabilising than in the megacities of Asia.

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References

Globalisation and the governance of the Pacific Asian metropolis

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Globalisation and urban restructuring

The metropolises and megacities of the Pacific Asian region are evolving rapidly, taking on new functions which are changing their structures and characteristics. This results from their key location at the interface with the global economy, as well as the complex role which large cities have traditionally played in relation to their domestic hinterlands.

First, most Pacific Asian metropolises are maintaining high rates of population growth, some reaching megacity status, while simultaneously spreading into their surrounding hinterlands, urbanising the countryside and enmeshing rural dwellers more closely with the urban economy. The idea of the desakota region or the extended metropolitan region (EMR) is an attempt to theorise this expansion process (McGee and Robinson 1995, Forbes 1996).

Second, the metropolises are also spreading across national boundaries into surrounding countries, creating new city-centred, transborder economic territories. The most prominent examples include the Singapore growth triangle (SIJORI) which links the city-state with parts of Malaysia and Sumatra (Yuan 1995), and the Hong Kong–Pearl River delta region.

Third, the idea of a mega-urban corridor builds upon the argument that the global economy is held together by a network of ‘world cities’ (Yeung 1995, Lo and Yeung 1996). While there are relatively few Pacific Asian world cities (Tokyo, perhaps Singapore, Seoul and Bangkok), nevertheless it is argued that an economic growth corridor is emerging which links the major coastal urban regions of Pacific Asia. An example is the Bohai Rim region, which draws together major cities such as Tokyo, Seoul, Beijing, Tianjin and Shanghai (Rimmer 1993, Douglass 1995, Forbes 1997).

Overall, then, the economic imperatives of globalisation have set in motion a process of restructuring within Pacific Asia that has resulted in continued growth and expansion of the metropolises, and the forging of increased links along massive urban corridors. How do the stresses and strains created by these evolving metropolises affect the way in which they are managed and services are provided?

Managing the megacities

It is often argued that Western cities have experienced a shift from managerialism, in which the emphasis was on service provision, to entrepreneurialism, in which the prime aim of city governments, or of separate local development organisations, is to promote economic development and job creation (Harvey 1989). At the same time, regulationist theories point out that central governments have found it increasingly difficult to manage the uneven regional impacts of post-Fordist production, and have thereby fostered the creation of new local quasi-independent authorities in order to facilitate local economic development.

A different situation exists within Pacific Asia. The metropolises are already the main centres of economic activity, and the key task of urban government has therefore not been to stimulate economic growth, but instead to keep up with the demands it creates. Thus the emphasis is on the challenges to managerialism evident in very large, fast growing cities, often characterised by extremes of income distribution. The volumes edited by Sivaramakrishnan and Green (1986) and Ruland (1988, 1996) illustrate the kinds of issues on the urban governance agenda in Pacific Asia.

Drawing on Asian experience, Laquian (1995:222-5) categorises the governance of mega-urban regions into four types:

i Autonomous local governments. Authority is vested in a series of local governments, each with considerable autonomy, resulting in fragmented and uncoordinated government of the metropolis. Manila prior to 1965 is cited as an example of this form of governance.

ii Confederated regional governments. Local governments retain most power over urban issues, but they have voluntarily created a confederation which has some responsibility for metropolis-wide initiatives. An example is Manila after 1991.

iii Mixed systems of regional governance. Power is shared between the agencies at higher levels of government, such as national ministries and provincial departments, and extant local municipal governments. Examples include Bangkok and Jakarta.

iv Unified regional governance. The extended mega-urban region, which consists of both urban and rural areas, is under a single regional government answerable to the central government. Examples include Beijing, Shanghai, Tianjin, Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City.

Despite the obvious importance of a coherent and comprehensive system of governance of the metropolis, the most common pattern is the fragmented form of government represented in Laquian’s second and third categories. Few concessions have been made by Pacific Asian governments to the needs of large, complex metropolises for an integrated, or at least well coordinated, form of metropolitan governance.
The exceptions are China and Vietnam, where the main metropolises and parts of their hinterlands have provincial status, and therefore report directly to central government (on Hanoi, see Forbes and Ke 1996).

The role of the urban political economy

Although there are clearly many planning benefits which could be derived from unified metropolis-wide governments, we need to explore the underlying political economy of the city to understand why unified metropolitan governments are the exception rather than the rule. One important reason for the persistence of fragmented urban administrations is that the creation of a powerful metropolitan government is often perceived to represent a potential challenge to the central government. As Ruland (1996:12) points out, metropolises are generally known to be the strongholds of opposition forces, as has been evident in Jakarta in the first few months of 1998.

Most Pacific Asian metropolises combine the functions of the political, administrative and economic centres of the country, which means they are regarded as virtually synonymous with the nation state. Not only do they represent a disproportionate concentration of the symbols of nation, but the close connections between the entrepreneurial middle classes, bureaucrats and politicians (such as in Indonesia) reinforce this concentration. As a result, the metropolises are under the close indirect, and often direct, control of the central government. In China and Vietnam, a period as Party head of a major city is often a stepping stone to a senior role in central government. Choosing up-and-coming national leaders to manage the cities ensures that the cities remain subservient to the central government.

The urban periphery and infrastructure requirements

The rapid spatial spread of the metropolis creates another set of challenges for city administrations. Much of the new industry attracted to the large metropolises has located on the outer edges of the city, often on land previously under wet-rice cultivation or other forms of intensive agriculture. Land is less expensive in these locations, the supply of relatively cheap labour abundant, and basic infrastructure, such as roads, not too difficult to access. The question these locations create for metropolises, though, is how to keep up with the provision of services and infrastructure?

As service centres for the agents of the global economy – employees of corporations and governments, entrepreneurs and consultants – the main demands made of the metropolises is efficient infrastructure and political stability. This is a central tenet of regulation theory. Douglass (1995:53) points out that enterprises require high levels of capital mobility in order to maximise returns on investments. With this purpose in mind, global corporations have developed instruments such as transfer pricing and the development of tax havens, which have undermined the integrity and regulatory capacity of states. Paradoxically, though, these same states are expected to stabilise and reproduce the international division of labour, which is central to corporations' ability to exploit labour in some regions, and to develop consumer markets in others.

Urban-centred transborder regions effectively manage these contradictions, according to Douglass, by:

... creating ambiguous territorial entities that are neither clearly under the control of their respective nation-states nor completely without legal and institutional frameworks to carry out the normal functions of providing public goods, regulating labour, and dealing with struggles over collective consumption and the built environment (Douglass 1995:53).

A similar argument has been applied to extended metropolitan regions. That is, in addition to the usual advantages of locations on the urban periphery such as cheap and abundant land and labour, and barely adequate infrastructure, the peripheries of the large metropolises (or EMRs) are attractive to investors because of the lower levels of government surveillance than in smaller, better managed urban areas. As a result, it is an advantage to corporations that the peripheries of the metropolises remain on the edge of the day-to-day government administration.

However, this does not absolve the metropolis entirely of the obligation to continue to provide infrastructure and services. To the contrary: the existence of metropolises and particularly megacities pressures central governments to rethink processes of urban governance in order to try to keep up with needs.

Urban growth, infrastructure costs and sustainability

The size and rate of growth of the metropolises means that infrastructure needs are urgent, and failure to deal with them leads to increased risks (e.g. health problems due to poor water supplies) and escalating costs (e.g. infrastructure costs are reduced if provided before areas are inhabited). In the longer term, the economic, social and environmental sustainability of the metropolis is placed in jeopardy. The Asian Development Bank (1997) estimates that the costs of needed infrastructure in the Asian megacities is currently about $20 billion per year, and this will increase to $40 billion per year in the next decade.

In general, the growth of the metropolis, and the enormous demand it creates for investment in infrastructure, has been a key factor in the emerging importance of new mechanisms for urban finance. These include public–private sector investment partnerships in urban infrastructure, as well as increased user charges, property taxes and local government access to financial markets.

Private sector involvement in infrastructure has tended to focus on transport and communications – roads and/or tollways – and is sometimes being extended into electricity and water supply. Various kinds of arrangements facilitate
the private sector. These include the sale of public services (privatisation), the granting of monopoly rights to private companies, and Build-Operate-Transfer (BOT) arrangements. Multilateral and bilateral aid agencies are increasingly searching out mechanisms for supporting private sector activities without providing direct subsidies.

The metropolis has been the focus of these new arrangements for two compelling reasons. First, the cost of infrastructure in large cities is very high and therefore beyond the capacity of the government, given its need also to fund services and infrastructure in other less affluent regions. Second, economic growth has resulted in an urban middle class, and has raised the incomes of the remaining urban population sufficiently high to allow many, but not all consumers to be able and willing, even if reluctantly, to pay for services, and hence make private investment in infrastructure profitable.

These strategies have their critics, who point out that basic needs such as clean water and other services are inaccessible to the metropolitan poor under such a regime. However, scarce government financial resources are also needed for infrastructure in the poorer regions, meaning that equity issues affecting the urban poor need to be handled through an internal distribution of the resources generated within the metropolis.

Conclusion

Pacific Asia's metropolises have an increasingly dominant role in the economy which will continue to exert pressure on central governments to reform urban governance strategy. The size of metropolises and the intensity of economic activity means they demand, and generally receive, a disproportionate share of resources. This has increasingly forced governments to find new means of financing infrastructure through user charges and the private sector. The current emphasis on improved management of services has not yet been replaced, as it has in the West, by greater emphasis on entrepreneurialism and fostering economic development. One outcome of the present economic crisis, however, may be to push the metropolitan governments away from their managerialist concerns into becoming more competitive and entrepreneurial.

References

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The reform of the water supply sector in the Philippines: A case study

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Adverse natural phenomena, like the present El Niño weather disturbance, or manmade disasters, such as the current financial crisis buffeting Southeast Asia, can have unexpected beneficial effects. That is, such crises can prod reluctant politicians into taking long overdue corrective measures. The foresight of the Philippines Government in taking certain corrective measures early has placed the country in a relatively stronger economic position than its near neighbours during the present financial crisis.

The Philippines has had more than its fair share of crises over the last three decades. From being the most advanced nation in Southeast Asia after gaining independence in 1946, it acquired the stigma of the 'sick man' of the region. Other war devastated countries, including Japan, Korea, Malaysia and Singapore outperformed the Philippines in social and economic development in the decades following the end of World War II. The deteriorating situation in the Philippines eventually led to the spontaneous and relatively peaceful People's Power Revolution of 1986. The country's post revolutionary governments have taken many tough political decisions to open up the economy, for example through trade liberalisation. Equally important among the corrective measures taken was the devolution of many centrally held powers to the local government units under the Local Government Code of 1991.

The crisis in the deficiency of infrastructure was addressed through the Build-Operate-Transfer (BOT) Law, Republic Act (RA) No.6957 (amended by RA 7718 of 1994). This law laid the foundations for facilitating private sector participation in the provision of infrastructure and services such as toll roads, light rail transit systems, electric power generation and improvements in water supply. The first notable success of the BOT Law was the construction and operation by the private sector of numerous electric power generation plants to solve the crippling power shortages hitting the country in the early 90s.

Addressing water supply and demand

This paper discusses the government's role in addressing the crisis in the Philippine water supply sector. The build up to the water crisis had been developing over a long time. Substantial investments had been made in the sector over the last few decades with the assistance of the multilateral development banks. However, in the late 1980s it became clear that it was impossible to bridge the continuing gap between demand and supply. Among the multilaterals, the World Bank slowed down its lending and instead commenced a dialogue with the government on ways to improve sector policies and strategies. The World Bank's initial focus was on the Local Water Utilities Administration (LWUA), a central government agency responsible for providing technical assistance and finance to water districts. Like other government-owned and controlled corporations, the LWUA was found, following the revolution, to be in financial distress. While other government corporations had taken the opportunity to restructure their balance sheets, the LWUA had not done so.

The World Bank managed and Danish grant financed LWUA financial restructuring study of 1991 pointed to the need for drastic sectoral reform. Initially, the study's recommendations were not well received.

To build a bridge and formulate reforms that would be acceptable to the major stakeholders, the World Bank then initiated the Japanese grant financed Philippines water supply sector reform study of 1993. This study laid the foundations for the acceptance of the needed reforms. The recommendations were placed before the National Economic and Development Authority (NEDA) Board, chaired by the President of the Philippines. The Board passed Resolution No.4 of 1994, which made the following policy recommendations:

1 The LWUA to be reoriented to its original corporate mission as a specialised (water supply sector) lending institution;
2 Water districts to be given greater independence from the LWUA, especially with regard to the procurement of goods and services;
3 Local government units to play a larger role in the decentralised development of water supply; and
4 Privatisation of all existing water districts to be vigorously pursued.

Collectively, these policy directives were to have far reaching consequences.

The process of privatisation

The government went beyond these policy directives and played an active role in consulting the stakeholders through a series of regional and national workshops that culminated in the Philippines Water Summit held in December 1994. The Summit was chaired by the President of the Philippines and attended by relevant Cabinet Secretaries (Ministers), the heads of the sector agencies and representatives from multilateral and bilateral aid agencies. The Summit reaffirmed NEDA Board Resolution No.4 and significantly broadened the inquiry into addressing all aspects of water resources management, including the principle that water should be managed and priced as an economic good.
The World Bank, for its part, continued its assistance to the Philippine Government through several initiatives. Its Economic Development Institute, in association with the Development Academy of the Philippines, staged two workshops. The first, 'Private sector participation in the water supply sector in the Philippines', was held in June 1994. The target audience consisted of senior policy makers in the water supply sector. The presentations covered international experience, and options and opportunities for private sector participation. The second workshop, held in July 1995, was titled 'Water supply sector privatisation: Risks and opportunities'. It was developed in response to a request by organised labour in the water supply sector. The Economic Development Institute's final contribution was in organising a visit for congressional leaders, heads of sector agencies and labour union representatives to Argentina to inspect the privatised water supply operations in Buenos Aires.

In the meantime, the Philippine Congress passed the Water Crisis Act (Republic Act 8041 of 1993). The purposes of the Act were defined as:

1. To undertake nationwide consultations on the water crisis and review the entire water supply and distribution structure;
2. To facilitate cooperation and coordination between Congress and the executive departments in formulating and implementing the government's water crisis management policy and strategy;
3. To recommend measures that will ensure effective monitoring of the entire water supply and distribution system of the country;
4. To conduct continuing study and research on policy options, strategies and approaches to the water crisis, including experiences of other countries in similar situations; and
5. To recommend such remedial and legislative measures as may be required to address the (water supply) problem.

The Act lapsed in 1996.

The role of the banks

The government decided to concentrate first on the privatisation of the metropolitan waterworks and sewerage system (MWSS). The Achilles' heel of the MWSS' operations was the extremely high level of water produced for which no revenue is collected. The reduction of non-revenue water had been supported by two successive loans, totalling US$66 million, by the Asian Development Bank. Contrary to the World Bank approach, the Asian Development Bank had continued its lending programme, seeking to reform the sector gradually through the imposition of certain conditions on its loans. However, the ADB review (September - October 1997) reported that 'In terms of achieving the long-term objective of reducing non-revenue water, both projects have failed'. This adverse result, when coupled with poor service delivery and relatively high water tariffs, left very little public sympathy for the MWSS. External donors offered considerable support for privatisation. The French government provided a grant of $1 million to the MWSS, and the Japanese government provided several grants totalling $1.7 million. The World Bank prepared terms of reference, a timetable and cost estimates for the privatisation process.

It is generally assumed that the views expressed by governments and other bureaucracies, including international agencies such as the World Bank, represent the views of all those working within the organisation. This hides the fact that widely differing views might be held within such institutions. At the World Bank, for example, there were those who strongly supported privatisation, but others who opposed it equally strongly for ideological reasons. However, what ultimately counted was whether an established bureaucracy like the World Bank would have the flexibility to respond rapidly to the demanding pace needed to support the proposed MWSS privatisation. Eventually, the World Bank's International Finance Corporation took over the consulting services to prepare the MWSS for private sector participation. Its reward was to be a 'success fee' to be paid by the winning concessionaires on the satisfactory conclusion of the assignment.

The bidding process

The International Finance Corporation, assisted by internationally experienced consultants, supervised the preparation process, and bidding was completed in a record time of 18 months. The bidding was for 25 year concessions for each of the two zones, West and East, into which metropolitan Manila had been divided. Concessionaires would assume control but not the ownership of existing assets, take over the MWSS' loan liabilities, expand the finance system and operate and maintain the systems for the concession period. The bids were to include prices expressed in terms of the average price the concessionaires would charge customers for the water to be supplied. Because of provisions under the Philippine Constitution, bidders were to have at least a 60 per cent local ownership. Four different consortia, representing local interests, teamed up with British, French and US firms, and took part in the bidding. As in the Buenos Aires privatisation, where bids came in 27 per cent under the prevailing public water tariff, the bids for Manila also came in significantly lower. The lowest bid in Manila was 74 per cent below the prevailing price charged by the MWSS. However, as the lowest bidder could not be awarded both concessions, one concession was granted to the next higher bidder, at a price of 43 per cent below the prevailing public sector price. The concession contracts were signed in August 1997.

The impact of privatisation

At this stage it is too early to pass a judgment on this privatisation. Factors which need to be considered in evaluating outcomes include, first, the effects of El Niño, which is severely reducing the availability of adequate supplies of untreated water, and hence is restricting the sale of treated
The World Bank's efforts in assisting the government with a pilot privatisation of a smaller provincial water supply utility failed. In this context, it should be noted that the government relied heavily on grants from bilateral donors to finance the required technical assistance. Such grants cannot always be obtained at exactly the right time and in the right amount. In most cases therefore, it's a matter of making do with the available resources. The proposed privatisation of the Zamboanga City Water District, started in 1995, was funded from a Japanese Yen denominated grant of about $650,000. This grant was divided into three components: $500,000 for the privatisation consultants, $100,000 for a study of the regulatory issues, and the balance for contingencies. The government was keen to have a successful pilot privatisation, as success would probably motivate other water districts to follow suit. Unfortunately, the study of the regulatory issues, without which the privatisation could not proceed, was delayed. No other attempts to privatise a provincial water district have been made since.

In an effort to remedy the situation, the government turned to the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), and in response USAID promptly provided a grant of $100,000 for a study of regulatory issues for water supply and sewerage sector privatisation. This study was completed in January 1996. This was too late, however, to salvage the Zamboanga City Water District privatisation, but was fortunately in time to assist the privatisation of the MWSS. This study also assisted in further developing the framework for the establishment of the proposed Water Resources Authority of the Philippines (WRAP). The Asian Development Bank recently approved a grant of $400,000 for a follow-up study on the Philippines' water supply and sanitation sector plan. The objective of this study is 'to assist the Government prepare a water supply and sanitation sector investment plan, including a programme for institutional capacity building and a programme for possible external assistance'. Specific objectives are:

- to recommend strategy and policy options;
- to prepare a programme of strategic investment for the medium term (1999–2004);
- to identify projects for implementation by the private sector; and
- to review the institutional restructuring arrangements.

This is an appropriate contribution, as the 1987 Water Supply, Sewerage and Sanitation Master Plan is now out of date.

Conclusion

This case study is an example of best practices to be followed to make reform possible. The most important lessons to be learned are that local champions are the essential agents of reform, and that reforms must have the imprimatur of the Head of State, as was the case here. Political support is essential, and in this case came from the national Congress and, in many instances, from local elected officials. Labour unions were consulted. The media also assisted by informing the public of the privatisation alternatives that were available. Bilateral and multilateral agencies provided financial and other support; and a dialogue was maintained with both local and foreign private sector proponents. These joint efforts led to the creation of an environment conducive to reform and to the further development of the water supply sector in the Philippines.

* Since 1995 the author has headed the USA based consultancy, International Development Associates. The Philippines Government commended his 'accomplishments and invaluable initiatives' that led to the reforms in the water sector.

Endnotes

1 Bidders for the MWSS privatisation were Aboitiz Equity Ventures with Companie Generale des Eaux of France (losing its bid by two centavos); Ayala Corporation with International Water, a joint venture between Bechtel, USA and United Utilities, UK (winning the East sector); Benpress Holdings with Lyonnaise des Eaux/Dumez, France (winning the West sector); and Metro Pacific and Anglia Water, UK.

2 Director Ms Mai Flor of the Presidential Task Force on Water Resources Development and Management performs the coordinating role within government, and with multi- and bilateral donors and the private sector. She is the local champion processing the legislation for the proposed Water Resources Authority.

3 At the central government level, the local champions were Department of Finance Undersecretary Mrs Juanita Amatong, who championed the Water Supply Sector Reform Study; NEDA Assistant Director General Mr Augusto Santos, who shepherded the recommendations through the NEDA Board; Department of Public Works and Housing Chief of Staff Mr Mark Dumol, who championed the Water Crisis Act of 1995; and Mr Angel Lazaro, MWSS Administrator, who was in charge of the MWSS privatisation.
Development, postmodernism and the postcolonial city in Southeast Asia

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When development was defined in terms of modernisation theory, and the way forward lay in mimicking or even surpassing Western models of performance, aspiring cities within the developing world sought to redefine themselves in terms of blank canyons of tall buildings dedicated to the pursuit of economic growth. Today, just as we are discarding the metatheories that have failed to deliver economic development to poorer nations and which have led us into an increasingly polarised world, so too is the city being revalued and redefined within a more critical postcolonial discourse. In the words of Toulmin, quoted by Dear (1995), 'we have moved from a mindset which emphasises the written, the general, the universal and the timeless to one which privileges the oral, local, particular and timely'.

While some cities in the region entered a postmodern, postcolonial world before the transformation sought by the modernisers could be fully realised, others have experienced considerable turbulence in their recent histories (Aske and Logan 1994). The complex and changing cultural dynamics of such cities date back to, and even predate, the colonial era, when the development of regional and global trading links took place in conjunction with the movement of individuals and groups, frequently over long distances, to take advantage of employment or commercial opportunities in the growing port cities of Southeast Asia. Such movements facilitated the establishment of significant Chinese and South Asian communities in these port cities.

In more recent times, comparable inter- and intra-regional migration flows have continued throughout the economic boom period experienced by actual and aspiring newly industrialising countries, as employment opportunities in fields as diverse as information technology, construction and domestic service, have provided the motivation for labour to move across international boundaries. These movements have provided not only an ongoing supply of labour for the growing urban employment markets, but have also contributed to the increasing levels of demand within these cities, thus fuelling further economic growth. However, more recently, specifically cultural links have developed between these immigrants and the local economy with the rapid growth of cultural tourism, a phenomenon which has added to the significance of the many distinctive ethnic communities and townscapes which are present in Southeast Asian cities.

Cultural tourism and urban particularity

Cultural and heritage tourism, whereby visitors move beyond the essentially hedonistic recreational space of the bar, beach and bistro, to include elements of local culture within their 'tourist gaze' (Urry 1990), has proved to be a distinct economic asset for the ethnically diverse tourism centres of Southeast Asia. In places such as Penang Island in Malaysia, and most obviously in Singapore, where the development ethos has all but obliterated the pristine tropical island paradise demanded by seashiners, tourism marketing now extols the virtues of cultural richness and diversity. Visitors searching for 'authenticity' might undertake trips to historical sites and museums, buy local crafts and participate in cultural activities and religious festivals.

This trend has the potential to precipitate a concatenation of conflicting urban development pressures. Proposals for the expansion of commercial activities into ethnic and/or historic enclaves of cities can both disrupt communities and obliterate townscape features which in themselves can be of potential value for tourism. These conflicts are particularly likely to occur in waterfront and inner city areas, where both historical significance and commercial development pressures are most intense. The resilience of local communities in such circumstances is determined by the strength of their political standing and influence, a tenuous situation in many societies in which national identity and heritage are too often bound up in development rhetoric.

Recent examples of such stresses have occurred in Malaysia, where urban renewal plans and development pressures have threatened the region's best preserved Chinatown in George Town, Penang. This is also the case in the historic port of Melaka, where proposals for commercial redevelopment, including coastal reclamation, threaten to obliterate the small but historically significant Portuguese settlement, a community whose identity is strongly bound up with its attachment and proximity to the sea.

A similar situation can be seen in Brunei, where the traditional water village kampung ayer still resists the forces of state led development in the oil rich sultanate. A contrasting situation presents itself in post-apartheid South Africa, where heritage in Cape Town is now being redefined to include its indigenous population (Shaw and Jones 1997).

Postmodern pastiche

Alternatively, the physical entities can remain, but are so changed in function and/or appearance that any cultural links with their former existence become extremely tenuous. Such a scenario has been characteristic of Singapore's development ethos, where a draconian policy of demolishing the nation's
colonial heritage of traditional Chinese shophouses was rescinded, due to a growing sense of loss of place coupled with a decline in tourism arrivals. Instead, buildings were recycled and refurbished, not necessarily in accordance with tradition, a practice which has produced much ‘facadism’. While this practice has been commercially successful, in that these preserved precincts have attracted both tourist trade and more general business investment, a degree of sociocultural dissonance exists, whereby a homogeneous market is satisfied, while excluded social, ethnic and regional groups are disinherited (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996).

A variant of this practice, but one which produces similar effects, can involve the reconstruction of ‘traditional’ buildings and townscape, in situ or elsewhere. In Singapore, the somewhat notorious commercial/entertainment area of Bugis Street, traditionally frequented by local transvestites, was demolished to make way for the construction of the city’s Mass Rapid Transit scheme. It was later reconstructed some little distance away, but this time in a more wholesome, sanitised space, aimed at the local middle class and tourist market, to the exclusion of its erstwhile occupants.

Consensus or contestation?

While the examples cited above have focused on local contestations between commercial developments and traditional communities within urban space, behind such dramas has generally been a backdrop of economic consensus where all actors were stakeholders. Since the late 1960s, the port cities of Southeast Asia have largely been spared the ethnic/cultural violence and destruction which has characterised, for example, Indian cities following the attack on and demolition of a mosque in Ayodyha in 1992. They have profited commercially through the apparently successful coexistence of a variety of peoples and cultural groups. The recent economic crisis in Southeast Asia, however, has revealed the underlying stresses placed upon this coexistence, suggesting that economic growth and a development ethos have merely masked deep-seated shibboleths of the kind that have tortured other regions once the fragile consensus has been breached.

In many Indonesian cities, anger has been directed at the ethnic Chinese population which has been scapegoated in popular retaliation against increased food prices. Such demonstrations have not been helped by the apparent complicity of local authorities and high level warnings of hidden dangers and perceived threats to overthrow the Suharto Government. Unlike other Southeast Asian countries, Indonesia has been reluctant to allow the development of commercial ‘honeypots’ based upon ethnic communities. In Glodok, Jakarta’s Chinese quarter, there is a prohibition on the use of signage in Chinese characters, and the evidence of Chinese architectural features is likewise muted. Despite the fact that this situation has remained throughout the city’s recent decades of prosperity, however, popular perceptions of Chinese wealth and influence have not changed.

While the Indonesian situation is likely to be viewed with concern by authorities in neighbouring multiethnic societies, one can only hope that the existence of more robust political and economic structures will act as a protection against such a downward spiral of confrontation and conformity. The future battlegrounds for the survival of urban cultural heritage are more likely to be found in the emerging market economies of the region. Such pressures have already threatened Hanoi’s built heritage (Logan 1996) and are continuing most particularly in China, where cities such as Shanghai are now moving through the ‘tallest building’ and ‘largest department store’ phase, to the detriment of local neighbourhoods. In the postcolonial cities of Southeast and East Asia, the question of ‘whose heritage to conserve?’ (Tunbridge 1984) will continue to be an increasingly vexed one.

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In the tropical Pacific Islands, excluding Hawaii, 43.7 per cent of those living in Polynesian countries are urban dwellers, as are 44.3 per cent of those in Micronesia. In Melanesia the figure is 22 per cent, although urban populations are growing much faster than rural, approaching double the national rates of increase in Papua New Guinea and Solomon Islands. Yet the development plans or development statements of Pacific Island countries, and the speeches of politicians, place greater emphasis on rural development and rural areas than on urban development and urban areas. Similarly, most work by anthropologists, economists, geographers and other researchers deals with rural areas and communities. Yet most of the driving forces now reshaping Pacific Island economies, societies, polities and geographies have their sources in the urban areas.

Urban research: Some early phases

Since 1960, urban research has gone through several phases, covering some issues in considerable detail but leaving other important themes as research lacunae. Urban areas began to attract attention in the 1960s, and Whitelaw (1966), McTaggart (1963), Bennett (1957) and Bellam (1963) provided accounts of Suva, Noumea, Vila and Honiara respectively. Food markets and informal marketing attracted the attention of geographers (e.g. Brookfield 1969) and economic anthropologists (Epstein 1968, Salisbury 1970, Finney 1973). As indigenous people entered the informal sector in significant numbers, they evolved their own ways of market organisation which were not simply replicas of the formal sector but small, but merged concepts of traditional and commercial exchange, and social and monetary values in unique ways (Bathgate 1993). The changing ethnic mix, socio-economy and social organisation of villages embedded in towns were attracting attention (e.g. Hirsch 1958, Jullien 1963, Kay 1963, Nayacakalou 1963). The South Pacific Commission set up an Urbanisation Research Information Centre in 1962 and published articles on individual towns in their South Pacific Bulletin (SPC 1966). Administrators and government began to see urbanisation as a problem, and for the next three decades the 'problems' of urban areas dominated research and planning. The 'problem areas' most commonly identified include rural-urban migration, squatter and informal settlements, food supplies, health, crime and land tenure.

An interesting body of research coalesced around each of these themes, with the dominant theme at any time often closely related to leading issues in the international development debate. Thus when 'habitat' was fashionable around the time of the United Nations Habitat conference in Vancouver, housing was a prominent research and planning interest. When dependency theory held sway, food dependency was a component of the debate, and studies of local markets sought, inter alia, to find ways of encouraging local food production for the urban centres and thus help reduce food imports. More recently, with 'sustainable development' in fashion, environmental degradation in, or stemming from, urban areas is prominent on the urban research agenda.

Continuing research themes

Some themes persisted, including rural-urban migration itself. Questions of who moves to town; whence and why do they come; to which centres do they go; and how long will they stay were addressed with growing sophistication. After the first modern censuses in the 1950s were matched by later censuses, intercensal comparisons were the basis of a number of studies (Walsh 1983c, Chandra 1996b), and provided the broad outlines of the flows. Large scale household questionnaire surveys of both urban and rural areas in Papua New Guinea (Garnaut et al. 1977) in the early 1970s made a new type of data available. Other studies combined the use of statistical/census data with fieldwork amongst particular communities (Bedford 1973, Heberkorn 1989, Young 1977). In Solomon Islands, Chapman's (1970, 1974) work took a rural community as its core and examined all types of mobility, of whatever duration, and was important in demonstrating the artificial borders which concepts such as temporary or permanent, circular or one-way, rural to urban, or rural to rural placed on types of mobility. The reality is not a set of clear categories but gradations in both time and distance. Chapman (1991) has recently reassessed the field in a valuable review.

A common conclusion of early migration research was that much of the movement to towns represented the first stage of what would be a circular movement, carrying the people back to the rural villages. Asking people their intentions about future movement frequently elicited responses indicating a wish to return to their home village. Subsequently some did return, but many did not. The circular model had certainly fitted the earlier phase of contract labour in countries such as Papua New Guinea, or group movement for seasonal work in Fiji. For colonial administrators in the late 1960s and early 1970s, it was comforting to think that urban in-migrants in the towns, seen as potential problems, were just there temporarily. Research results were feeding wishful thinking, and allowing administrators to delay developing realistic urban policies.

As informal settlements grew in number and size, administrations began to recognise the need for new housing solutions. Policy discussion was certainly generated and
advanced by the research of Oram and others (Hitchcock and Oram 1967, Langmore and Oram 1970, Jackson and Forbes 1974). Ideas for low-covenant or low cost housing, and for site and serviced lots, were introduced. Squatter or informal settlements and their social make-up were studied (Norwood 1984, Itaia 1987, Lagere 1987, Nagi 1987, Rutz 1987). While administrations tended to see squatter and informal settlements as undesirable but temporary, research showed the varied, long-term, and often intricate connections some had with the local indigenous communities and land owners. Settlements were not necessarily the resorts of unemployed and temporary in-migrants and squatters (King 1992, Monsell-Davis 1993, Thomas, 1987), but permanent features of towns, reflecting the realities of the urban socio-economies. Policy makers were often slow to acknowledge these research results.

Other urban research was also far ahead of policy making. The evidence of urban poverty (Cameron 1983, Bryant 1993) is very clear. Studies of crime, gangs and so-called deviant behaviour (Monsell-Davis 1986, Goddard 1992) show that simplistic law and order solutions are unlikely to work — such behaviour is too rational and too embedded in the modern society.

Neglected research themes

Other urban themes have been relatively neglected. There are few studies of the land tenure situation in Pacific towns. Those few that have been done tend to focus on cases of specific informal settlements or communities (e.g. Rutz 1987). Nevertheless, issues of land tenure underlie many of the practical problems of urban areas, but this topic may be too sensitive for politicians and their administrators. In many Pacific Island countries, customary tenure is almost sacrosanct. It is seen as a basis for some constitutions; as a key to being Samoan, Fijian or ni-Vanuatu; as a target of the World Bank which supposedly threatens Papua New Guinean rights; and, less publicly, but perhaps crucially in political terms, as the basis for traditional elite authority. Many reports stress the need to ‘deal with’ (code words for ‘change’) customary tenure in towns if planning and better urban development are to occur. But few towns in the region have effective town plans with enforceable zoning authority. To overrule customary tenure, to enforce powers of compulsory purchase, or to restrict land use on customary land is simply too difficult politically, and sometimes too threatening to those in power.

A similar reticence by governments seems to explain the remarkable absence of urban local governments in the region, and the whole issue of urban government and planning, or the lack of it, is ripe for study (Connell and Lea 1993, 1995). With some notable exceptions, such as Suva, most Pacific Island towns are governed through central government systems, without specialist authorities to coordinate planning, maintenance and development activities. In such a context, effective management of the towns is almost impossible, leading to deleterious effects in waste disposal, pollution, mixing of incompatible functions, inadequate road maintenance and design, and generally uncontrolled building.

Connell and Lea (1993, 1995) have provided overviews of this situation and point the way to more research. They show a way forward, but book length studies of the complexity of individual towns or groups of towns are still absent. Urban histories for this region might intersect with studies of the administration of towns, but only the work of Stuart (1970) on Port Moresby, Willis (1974) on Lae, and Levine and Levine (1979) on the social aspects of urbanisation in Papua New Guinea spring to mind. All deal with the same country.

Perhaps the most serious gap is the absence of studies of the raison d’être and the functions of the towns themselves, and of the urban systems in which they are embedded. We have tended to study the arms, or legs, or sometimes the heads, but not the urban body as a whole — how and why it functions, and how it relates to its wider social, economic and geographic environments. Researchers measure and describe rural—urban migration, and politicians and the media complain about the evils of towns, while limited attention has been paid to the causes of the migration. As Jackson points out (1980:111), people continue to be attracted to towns from rural areas, and therefore if ‘we are to ask what is wrong with towns, we must also ask what is even more wrong with the villages?’.

Jackson and his colleagues have addressed functions in their studies of Papua New Guinean towns (Jackson 1976a), and Walsh (1983a) and King (1983) also considered this issue in Papua New Guinea. Other individual papers (e.g. Buchholz 1983) provide broader data, and there are studies of business and industrialisation (Chandra 1993, 1996a, Taylor 1987) and activities such as tourism (Britton 1983). Few consider a series of towns as a whole, or look systematically and comparatively at the full range of, and variation in, functions. Yet these functions and their changes are the basic driving forces of urbanisation.

Rural and urban articulation

Few studies in the region have explicitly studied the articulation between urban and rural areas in terms other than the numerical aspects of rural—urban migration and the question of whether urban residents are likely to return to rural areas (e.g. Morauta 1980). There has been little work in the general field of central place studies. Except for market studies, there has been little empirical examination of the range (in terms of variety, quantity and distance) of the flows of goods from and to urban areas, and thus of the extent and intensities of urban hinterlands. This is central to an understanding of the roles of the towns, and the extent to which they are able to provide urban services to the countryside.

Rural areas in the region are often very poorly served by towns, as noted by Jackson (1976b), Walsh (1983b), Ward and Ward (1980) and King (1983). All show how the urban hierarchy of Papua New Guinea is distorted — lacking small urban centres so that many rural areas are too far from an urban centre to have economic access to the services which are essential for rural development in a commercial economy.
Several consultancy studies in Papua New Guinea addressed this issue in the mid 1970s, and one suggested aggregating the market and meeting rural needs by periodic markets (Ward et al. 1974, 1975). Beyond this, little has been done outside Papua New Guinea to examine one of the basic deficiencies of the urban systems in the region, and one of the major constraints on rural development.

Pacific Island urban systems are no longer isolated from the urban systems of the Pacific rim countries. They are tied across great distances not only by the normal and formal links of globalisation, but by the distinctive networks of Polynesian and Micronesian kinsfolk with transnational household economies, large two-way flows of remittances, gifts, and informal exchanges of goods and services. Knowledge networks are often skewed towards the far and foreign cities. Many Polynesians and Micronesians living in their home islands probably know more about Auckland, Sydney, Vancouver or Los Angeles than they do about the towns of their immediate Pacific Island neighbours. The work of James (1991), Brown and Connell (1993) and others (e.g. Buchholz 1988) give important leads into some of these connections, but as yet the functional interdependence of the overseas extensions of the island urban systems is only sketchily revealed.

Social research

When we turn to the social aspects of the towns, we find the topical studies referred to above – on crime, housing, permanent or temporary residents, or poverty. But the big story is the evolution of new forms of social organisation amongst the urbanites. Scholars such as Morauta and Hasu (1979), Ryan (1989) and Monsell-Davis (1993) have examined changes in kinship and reciprocity obligations as people remained longer in towns. Goddard (1992) provides a good example in his study of the social organisation of Port Moresby gangs, but the theme should be pursued beyond these arenas. Many people in Pacific towns have very few functional rural links. Many are second or even third generation urbanites. Many have no effective land rights of the traditional form, and no traditional social security net. In Melanesian towns, people whose parents came from different regions may not speak either of the parents' natal languages. A relatively well-paid middle class and an urban elite of public servants, politicians and entrepreneurs have emerged with their own conventions and lifestyles. These are self-perpetuating groups - new 'tribes' are forming. Researchers might turn from the informal settlements and unemployed, and consider the formal suburbs and the areas of former government housing, now sometimes privatised. These suburbs are not replicas of Australian or New Zealand suburbs, even if their plans are replicas of such places.

These vitally important groups have tended to be neglected by researchers. Perhaps it is because the researchers are from the same group! Or is it because most anthropologists continue to be a little obsessed by 'a kind of "cult of virginity" ... which not only impels researchers ... to seek out "untouched cultures" to study. It also leads them to mute the impact, indeed even the presence, of any outsiders in their descriptions of those cultures' (Ogan 1996:96). Urban studies are not for those who are so minded. The work of Jourdan (1995a, 1995b, 1996) and Jourdan and Philibert (1994) suggests the way, and a major study related to entrepreneurs and the middle class now being conducted by Hooper and James may help fill this void.

Conclusion

Urbanisation studies in this region need to be realigned. They need to look at towns more holistically. They need to consider the spread of urbanism far beyond town boundaries, not just physical movement into towns. And they need to recognise that Polynesians and Micronesians, and many Melanesians as well, are urban people oriented to town life, not the rural villagers of 30 years ago.

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Urban management in Micronesia: Learning from Kiribati?

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Despite the small size of most Pacific Island states, and the fact that substantial proportions of their populations remain rural, it is evident that urbanisation in the region has posed severe problems. Sir Michael Somare, the first Prime Minister of Papua New Guinea, was once able to ask, 'In all the 700 languages of our country we have never needed words for air pollution, for slum or for unemployment. Do we wish to build the kind of country that needs those words?' (1973:2). These words are now necessary – and poverty can be added to the list.

Problems of urbanisation are evident in many ways. In an economic sense, urban unemployment has grown; so too has the informal sector, though it has proved incapable of absorbing all those without formal jobs (Levantis 1997). There are social consequences, demonstrated by the breakdown of family structures and growing incidences of crime and domestic violence. Formal housing is inadequate, hence squatter settlements once 'out of sight, out of mind' on marginal lands are increasingly evident, even in relatively affluent Pacific cities like Noumea. In the capitals of Suva and Port Moresby there are more than 30 squatter areas, suggesting wider problems of service provision in water supply, sewerage treatment and their attendant health risks.

Micronesia

The four independent states in Micronesia – Palau, the Federated States of Micronesia (FSM), the Marshall Islands and Kiribati – have all experienced the pressures of rapid urbanisation, particularly the entirely atoll countries of the Marshall Islands and Kiribati. More than half the populations of Palau and the Marshall Islands live in towns, and in FSM and Kiribati about one-third are urbanised (Table 1). Such high concentrations in small dependent economies have challenged the capabilities of conventional social and economic development planning.

Urbanisation occurred rapidly in the 1960s and 1970s, as what passed for development in the region took on an unusually bureaucratic focus. Centralisation of most formal employment and other new services stimulated rural–urban migration, which was accentuated in the Marshall Islands by the construction of the American missile range on Kwajalein atoll and the rapid establishment of the town of Ebeye nearby. In Kiribati, a similar centralisation occurred despite limited economic development, and was partly stimulated by high population densities on some outer islands. In each of these states, outer island development opportunities were scarce and limited. They comprise tiny and fragmented land areas, with great distances within and between countries. Economies of scale are absent, trade imbalances common, natural resources few, other than fish, natural hazards frequent, and there is a shortage of trained and skilled personnel. All face a future of declining external aid, particularly in the light of increasing 'aid fatigue' among donors, and in raising sufficient capital to provide basic urban infrastructure and thus a sustainable urban future.

A range of problems are also apparent in the towns, most obviously in the atoll states, where difficulties posed by rapid urbanisation are compounded by limited land areas. Environmental concerns include land and lagoon pollution by solid and liquid wastes and serious coastal erosion in atoll environments following removal of construction material. Land shortages and tenure problems have had many ramifications, including illegal occupation; settlements encroaching on water reserves, particularly in Kiribati; and the growth of unregulated shantytowns. Much of the built environment is obsolete and without adequate utility services. Many urban residents suffer from poor health related to overcrowding, the high cost of fresh foods, and low incomes. Numerous social issues require attention, such as unemployment, delinquency, crime and violence, suicide and substance abuse (Keene 1992).

Table 1 Urban populations in Micronesia

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>FSM</th>
<th>Kiribati</th>
<th>Marshall Islands</th>
<th>Palau</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total population</td>
<td>111,800</td>
<td>83,400</td>
<td>60,000</td>
<td>18,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Main urban centres</td>
<td>Kolonia (Pohnpei); Colonia (Yap)</td>
<td>S. Tarawa</td>
<td>Majuro; Ebeye</td>
<td>Koror</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban pop. %</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>71</td>
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</table>

Source: South Pacific Commission 1997
Urban planning has been limited, despite the urban focus of development and visible problems found in the towns. This was the outcome of a colonial legacy which emphasised a philosophy of *laissez faire* alongside the dominance of traditional land tenure systems where authority was vested in leaders rather than in politicians and bureaucrats. Transformation of land ownership and use was difficult if not impossible and this combination, together with limited human resources and capital, severely restricted attempts to do something about urban planning and management. Consequently there are great pressures on the very weak institutional arrangements, and crisis management has become the essence of planning.

**A Kiribati solution?**

Urbanisation in Kiribati has matched the experience of the rest of the region in terms of economic, social and environmental issues. At the start of the 1960s there were more than 5,000 people in South Tarawa, and considerable pressure was placed on foster-relatives living there to house and board both job hunting immigrants and children sent to take advantage of superior educational facilities. A comprehensive study of urban Tarawa in 1968 recorded an increase in crime rates, problems of water supply, and the erosion of the ‘green belt’ in Betio, leading to negative outcomes for local food production and water pollution (Bedford 1968:9–10). The urban population continued to increase, and some officials saw rural development as the only solution to urban problems. As early as 1969, Tony Hughes, the Chief Planner of the Gilbert and Ellice Islands colony, argued that steps should be taken to minimise improvements in town to reduce its attractiveness to rural migrants (cited in Bailey 1984). It was not sufficiently appreciated at the time, however, that success in rural development, such as improving education on the outer islands and raising incomes, would also fuel migration to town. The revolution of rising expectations was unstoppable. But the administration continued to centralise programmes and institutions in South Tarawa, and even subsidised urban amenities through much higher per capita expenditure in the town than elsewhere.

**Urban–rural contrasts**

By the start of the 1970s, South Tarawa contrasted dramatically with other parts of the country: most people there depended on cash incomes, although subsistence activities were maintained. It was estimated that three-quarters of all cash incomes were earned there, and 93 per cent of senior staff were located in South Tarawa (Hughes 1973). However, not only was the town visibly and socioeconomically different from elsewhere in the colony, its rapid growth and population concentration were creating problems. Besides general health and nutritional problems, infant mortality was high and drunkenness and crime were on the increase. Problems in sanitation, pollution and water supply were demanding urgent attention (Connell 1973:403).

Even the 1973 census expressed concern at nutritional trends. Overt unemployment was not particularly evident due to continued subsistence production in the urban area, but by the mid 1970s some of those in cash employment were working irregular hours with incomes that were probably inadequate for urban living, and the numbers of unemployed were beginning to grow (Fox 1976:55). Although the rate of urban growth subsequently slowed over the decade, the population had almost doubled in 12 years from around 11,000 in 1968 to 18,000. Though it was still a small town, this increase put enormous pressure on limited land and inadequate services.

**Increasing urban problems**

As Kiribati approached independence, the social and economic problems identified in the early 1970s had all worsened. By the start of the 1980s, illegal settlement on water reserve areas in Betio was presenting problems for the Public Utilities Board, and ‘shantytown development was becoming a problem of increasing urgency in all three areas’ of Betio, Bairiki and Bikenibeu, primarily demonstrated by poor housing, little sanitation and the absence of amenities (Love 1982:71), creating further difficulties for public health and nutrition. The L-Kiribati custom of *hukuri*, whereby it is almost impossible for an individual to refuse a request, enabled reasonable access to land virtually throughout the urban area. Although only 22 per cent of households had no facilities, compared with 67 per cent outside the urban area, sanitation had become a severe problem because sewage was traditionally disposed of by tidal action on the beaches. An outbreak of cholera in 1977 emphatically demonstrated the link between inadequate sanitation and health. A mains electricity cable stretched the whole length of South Tarawa, but ironically this form of power was too expensive for most households 20 years ago. This form of investment in urban resources was seen as contributing to other difficulties associated with urbanisation. Love (1982) observed that there was an obvious circularity in the establishment of urban based projects to solve the problems of urban unemployment unless migration from rural areas could be controlled. As these problems became more apparent, the dilemma of how to discourage urban growth, and at the same time improve it, was increasingly recognised.

**Attempts to resolve urban problems**

Although the urban problems experienced in Kiribati were little different from those elsewhere in Micronesia, particularly in the Marshall Islands atolls of Kwajalein and Majuro (UNCHS and UNDP 1994, Connell and Lea 1998), there was particular determination in Kiribati to resolve them. The result was seen in concerted attempts to decentralise the urban population, discourage rural–urban migration, and in efforts to improve urban management. By the early 1980s, when one-third of the national population were resident in South Tarawa, the United Nations was commissioned to produce a report on urban management which examined several critical issues, including urban governance, the need for greater cost recovery from urban residents, land tenure, and physical...
planning. Although similar challenges existed elsewhere in the region, they had received little attention. Governance in Kiribati was fragmented, with two urban councils (Betio and Teinainano) covering the urban area, and national government discharging many of the functions related to urban management, and coordination between them was poor.

This was further complicated by, first, the existence of a loss-making Public Utilities Board providing water and electricity to South Tarawa under the handicap of using obsolete equipment and, second, by a Housing Corporation and Central Planning Board, which had overlapping functions. Moreover, there was little public understanding of, or support for, the roles and activities of the various organisations. Rates cost more to collect than they yielded (since salaries were 40 per cent above revenue), and services such as garbage collection ran at a considerable loss. Much urban land was privately owned, with neither local nor national government able to properly control its use. Not surprisingly, the United Nations recommended greater consolidation of urban government to ensure a greater degree of integration, and emphasised the need for a determined shift to user-pays principles for supplying urban services. It also recommended that all urban land should be surveyed and registered as the basis for developing a structure plan for the whole atoll, and the means for generating proposals for service provision, population distribution and tackling the environmental implications of urban growth (Larmour 1982). The proposals were logical and substantially in advance of policy and practice elsewhere in the region.

Little came of these radical proposals, however, although funds were spent on better water supplies and sewerage treatment. As the urban population grew—reaching 25,380 in 1990, at a density of 1,610 people per square kilometre—old problems remained and intensified. Land was increasingly scarce, housing inadequate and overcrowded. A distinct group of urban poor now existed, water lenses were polluted, the lagoon continued to be used as a toilet by 40 per cent of all urban households, contaminating shellfish and posing environmental health problems, solid waste disposal sites were hard to find, and services generally inadequate (Jones 1993:40–1). Government and private households had put in place schemes for land reclamation at some cost to coastal erosion.

In 1993 national government increased the allocation of resources to land and environmental planning, especially towards the urban management of South Tarawa. This was intended to complement other policy measures—outer island development, resettlement, employment decentralisation and family programmes—that had achieved some degree of success. It was also a belated recognition that the previous lack of investment in South Tarawa had not discouraged migration but merely caused the proliferation of substandard and overcrowded housing with inadequate services, at some cost to public health. A task force, the South Tarawa Urban Management Committee, was established in 1993 to promote coordination between government agencies in planning infrastructure provision and to improve the cost-effectiveness of urban services delivery. Significantly, it was suggested that there should be ‘in depth investigation as to why earlier plans for South Tarawa have not been implemented, why existing land-use legislation has not been fully enforced and, thereby, elaborate on the complexity of development problems on South Tarawa’ (Chung 1994:19).

Management planning

Following a series of planning workshops between 1993 and 1995, the national Ministry of Home Affairs and Rural Development produced an Urban management plan for South Tarawa. Significantly, after some two decades of concerned debate over the future of the urban area, the first objective of the plan was ‘to heighten the awareness of urbanisation and urban development problems generally’ (Kiribati Ministry of Home Affairs and Rural Development 1995:5), whilst other planning objectives involved the establishment of an urban planning framework and improved coordination between departments and sectors. The plan consequently proposed a long-term urban development programme linking population issues to economic growth and environmental change, and emphasising the need for the national government to release unused land and designate most of South Tarawa as subject to ‘planning/urban management purposes’. A national housing strategy would be developed (Kiribati Housing Corporation 1996) alongside urban service master plans for water supply, sewerage, waste disposal, transport and electricity, and both urban councils were to be given greater institutional support and more functions, together with improvements to their resource base. In short, the plan sought to integrate all aspects of urban development and strengthen the authority of those institutions in a position to contribute to this goal.

In situations where a very small urban planning section (staffed by two technical personnel) was located within the Lands and Survey Division of the Ministry of Home Affairs and Rural Development, and was responsible for the whole of urban planning and management, such proposals might have been seen as overly optimistic. Nonetheless with government support, and some AusAID and Asian Development Bank assistance, there was some movement towards institutional strengthening and a greater degree of coordination between various departments and agencies, and more concerted attempts to determine land ownership, control land use and provide access to unused land. After some decades of deliberation, Kiribati appeared to be moving steadily towards a management structure that held some hope of achieving a measure of sustainable urban development.

A Kiribati model?

Kiribati appears to be far ahead of most countries in the Pacific region in conceptualising urban development issues, and particularly so in terms of other Micronesian countries where urban planning is largely absent. However, Kiribati is far from solving its urban problems. Houses remain overcrowded,
urban poverty has not declined, new employment opportunities are few, the population growth rate is no longer falling, expectations are rising, and return migration from the shrinking economy of Nauru is putting further stress on the atoll environment. Despite improved urban utility services in South Tarawa, a large number of households have inadequate access to them and the lagoon remains severely polluted. As recently as 1996, only 18 per cent of households had toilets inside the dwelling, and 47 per cent had no access to toilets of any kind (Atoll Research Programme 1996). None of this suggests that Kiribati provides a model of successful urban management.

Kiribati has faced its considerable development problems as one of the poorer nations in the Pacific. Beyond the very basic financial constraints, there are specific problems that have affected urban management: conflicts between urban and national authorities; very scarce skilled human resources and managerial expertise; inadequate cost recovery; no growth in the aid receipts that have underwritten so much of infrastructure investment; problems surrounding the involvement of the private sector; and difficulty in finding the political will to translate alien planning notions into local instruments prepared with the active participation of local people. Indeed, throughout the Pacific and not least in Kiribati, as the Ministry of Home Affairs and Rural Development has recognised, 'planning generally and urban and environmental planning in particular are non-traditional activities which, in the main, remain alien to the !-Kiribati way of life' (Kiribati Ministry of Home Affairs and Rural Development 1995:5, Ballendorf 1991). In Kiribati, and throughout the Pacific, land tenure has been a major barrier to improvements in development control, and until land use planning legislation is no longer seen primarily as a means of transferring control of land from traditional authority to the bureaucracy and government, this will not change.

At the same time, the Kiribati model deserves wider discussion in Micronesia and beyond, for several reasons. First, Kiribati has addressed a series of issues of wide relevance and sought to put in place more appropriate planning mechanisms. Among the more important achievements are:

- the development of an urban data base extending far beyond conventional census information to include data on housing, household expenditure, household coping mechanisms and many aspects of the urban condition and individual behaviour;
- the integration of the work of local authorities in South Tarawa;
- the establishment of a national Urban Management Committee;
- the integration of urban planning for all the local governments affected by development of the capital city; and
- the development of a housing policy.

Above all, the Kiribati experience has demonstrated both the need for integrated urban development and the enormous difficulty in putting this in place. Its distinctiveness and uniqueness in Micronesia also indicates the manner in which most governments of relatively small island states are likely to focus on crucial economic development issues, rather than on long-term problems and urban management.

Second, in spite of considerable support for superior urban management, it has proved extremely difficult to translate policies and plans into practice. Indeed, the concerted attempt to produce the 1995 Urban management plan largely stemmed from the frustrations of seeing little happen over two decades. This long time span has emphasised the difficulty in securing planning goals, even where the costs of not doing so are readily apparent. Much of this flows from the manner in which urban management and planning are oriented to achieving public interest issues, rather than accommodating the traditional dominant rights of landowners (Jones 1996:163), and the way they operate at a quite different scale from traditional forms of social organisation.

Third, there is no question that the Pacific has an increasingly urban future. For both positive and negative reasons, the experience of South Tarawa is crucial to a better understanding of the problems and potential of that future. That experience demonstrates the need for political will and incorporation of the local population, in concert with the private sector and NGOs, in addressing more complex problems such as land tenure. Above all, it shows that planning is difficult, often demanding and usually slow. One of the poorest countries in the Pacific has slowly put some systems for urban reform in place: that is an important model.

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Managing urban decline?
Urban governance in the context of Port Vila, Vanuatu

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Urbanisation is likely to become one of the most significant demographic and development issues for Pacific Island countries (PICs) in the 21st century. Many PICs are undergoing quite rapid and permanent rural–urban transformations which are taxing the capacity of governments and incipient private sectors to cope in terms of the provision of services, shelter, employment and the management of environmental impacts. Future growth projections indicate a greater test of these faculties. While the current urban population of the Pacific Islands stands at about 1.97 million, the United Nations estimate that this will double to over four million by 2020 (United Nations 1995:92–3). In Melanesia, urban growth, although belated, has been especially dramatic. Indeed, Papua New Guinea (4.1 per cent), Vanuatu (7.3 per cent) and the Solomon Islands (6.2 per cent) represent some of the highest urban growth rates in the world (SPC 1996).

Urban growth throughout the Pacific has been paralleled by a lack of coordinated and effective management. In the face of continued demographic, environmental and social pressure, this has resulted in falling standards of living evident in many Pacific towns. As a consequence, urban research is now paying greater attention to issues such as poverty, the environment, housing, land tenure and the changing nature of migration. However, there has only been limited critical attention paid to the political contexts and implications of urban growth and management in the PICs, including issues of urban governance (see Ward 1997). Moreover, while the Australian National University has focused on governance throughout the region, there has been no focus as yet on governance as it applies to the region’s burgeoning urban centres. The response, particularly from donor-sponsored reports, has been for ‘better’ planning and greater coordination or, in the case of PIC governments, recourse to rural romanticism and/or urban neglect. However, as Connell and Lea (1994:287) have noted, effective urban management and governance depend very much on the popular acceptance of government intervention in daily life – a situation that is far from the norm in many PICs. Consequently, it is important to focus research on such questions as the relationship between national and urban governance and urban management and politics, in order, as Larmour has noted, ‘to know what facilitates and what inhibits governance in particular contexts’ (Larmour 1996:1).

In this article I examine the relationship between the state, city–municipality authorities and urban citizens within a governance framework. My argument is that urban governance plays a crucial but often under-analysed part of urban analysis, planning and management in PICs. Furthermore, urban government and governance cannot be studied in isolation, but are bound into national debates over the allocation of resources, accountability, state–society relationships and rights. Hence, urban development cannot be adequately or effectively examined without recourse to national governance. By ‘governance’ I refer to the UNDP’s definition:

... as the exercise of political, economic and administrative authority to manage a nation’s affairs. It is the complex mechanisms, processes, relationships and institutions through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, exercise their rights and obligations and mediate their differences (UNDP 1997:9).

Of particular importance is the state–society relationship to which this discussion is limited in the context of urban governance. In particular, I attempt to highlight the "anatomy of political power" (Macdonald 1995:27) with regard to effective urban governance in the context of Port Vila, Vanuatu.

The politics of urban governance: A neglected domain

Urban management encompasses decisions about the allocation of scarce resources in the provision of services, housing and infrastructure. It also involves making choices about planning objectives, land use and the targeting of socioeconomic groups. While not denying that the capacity of local and national authorities to provide for urban growth depends upon a country’s financial and human resources, underpinning these choices are political decisions made between the state, local authorities, and society, the three constituents which lie at the centre of urban governance.

The current focus on urban governance is relatively new. As an emerging area of analysis, it lacks clearly defined parameters and boundaries (Harpham and Boateng 1997:68–71). Nevertheless, in the urban context it is assumed that good governance should attempt to provide a setting in which state–municipality and civil society can freely exchange ideas and information without fear of persecution or discrimination. This involves a willingness on the part of the state to devolve powers and resources to local authorities and communities. In short, good urban governance implies decentralisation, both in responsibility/accountability and in decision making power, so that urban services are made more relevant to local needs, and local commitment to and involvement in the provision of these services is increased (Harpham and Boateng 1997:68–71). Poor governance in the urban context may result in
environmental degradation, inadequate service provision, and
deficient or inappropriate infrastructure. It may also produce
increased social conflict and competition for scarce
resources (including land), anomie and social withdrawal,
decreased capacity to apply legal norms and codes, and
deterioration in the quality of urban life.

**Port Vila: Development and decay**

Port Vila is one of the fastest growing urban concentrations
in the region. The ni-Vanuatu population of Port Vila has
grown from 7,141 at the time of independence (1980) to over
38,000 today, and it is estimated that population doubling
time is only eight years (Republic of Vanuatu 1992). Consequently, government has referred to urban growth as
'the most important demographic development of recent

Although Port Vila is still small by international standards,
the town's housing problems have been described as 'severe'
(Connell and Lea 1993:128). Port Vila's expansion has also
resulted in growing unemployment, particularly youth
unemployment, a worsening environmental situation and a
crisis over affordable leasehold land, especially in the
booming peri-urban areas such as Blacksands, Maples and
Erakor which lie outside the Municipal Authority's jurisdiction
and are subsequently managed as 'rural settlements'.

Any initiative to alleviate conditions in peri-urban areas are
constrained by this non-urban status, custom relations,
informal leasing arrangements, multiple claimants on
undeveloped land, and the lack of any comprehensive and
applicable physical planning jurisdiction. It is estimated that
30–40 per cent of the greater population live in informal
settlements, many of which lack rudimentary sanitation and
sewage disposal sites. Population densities in some informal
areas average over 200/ha. Port Vila is thus becoming the site
of increasing stress on social, economic and ecological
sustainability.

**The politics of urban (mis)management**

Vanuatu is often characterised as a weak state and this has
important implications for facilitating good governance.
Positive state-society relations and meaningful
decentralisation, which are the foundations of effective urban
governance (Harpham and Boateng 1997:68), are made more
difficult in contexts of weak states maintaining hegemony
through patronage and political interference in their functions. In its incapacity, moreover, the
weakness of the Vanuatu state makes the 'politics of change'
subservient to the management of political survival. In the
context of governance, bureaucracies are woefully
underfunded, suffer from a lack of coordination, and suffer
from political interference in their functions. Party politics
and domination over separate departments divides their
activities toward party patronage rather than performance.
It is evident that there is little 'community of interest' apparent
Community frustration and widespread 'disenchantment with
continuing economic stagnation, poor social services,
increasingly unstable government, inefficient public
administration and the abuse in power' (Republic of Vanuatu
1997:8) has led to a loss of confidence in government as
evidenced by increasing criticism of government, rioting
in Port Vila in January 1998, and calls for widespread reform (through the Comprehensive Reform Programme).

One example of the consequences of poor urban governance
is in the deteriorating standard of sanitation and sewage
disposal services for the majority of Port Vila's population.
Currently, there is no solid waste or hazardous waste
management plan, and no legislation to control waste
management. In addition there is no effective legal framework
for private and public sector organisations to fulfil their
functions in these areas. Departments typically have
fragmented responsibilities, are poorly resourced (both in
human and financial resources), and are very weak with regard
to institutional capacity (Royds Consulting Ltd 1997:xix–xx).

Decision makers are hampered by uncertainty regarding their
responsibilities (which are often contradictory and
fragmented) and the lack of an effective institutional and legal
framework. This is in spite (or perhaps is a result) of a plethora
of environmental legislation at various levels of jurisdiction
which is often either ignored or circumvented due to a lack of
legal enforcement, resulting in a waste management situation
which is 'severely deficient' (Townland Consultants Ltd
1997a:17–20). Furthermore, there is also no legal provision to
protect the town's fresh water supply from the encroachment
of informal settlements, and politicians are unwilling to clear
illegal settlements and/or confront kastom landowners from
the bore sites.

Serious and sustained efforts on the part of government to
address these urban problems have been few. Urban
development issues have been almost completely overlooked
in past development plans and in the present draft plan (DP4).
As a consequence, the town lacks a comprehensive strategy
and management plan, and currently relies on a Physical
Planning Act (PPA) for much of the direction for urban growth.
However, decisions made under these procedures are
regularly sidestepped or evaded outside of the municipal
boundaries. Land leases, often in violation of the PPA, are
often negotiated directly with ministers. These same ministers
often overturn planning decisions made by the bureaucracy.
This politicisation of the administration makes any attempt at
implementation, particularly in relation to land, nearly
impossible. Moreover, it appears that despite the desperate
need for coordination and consultation over responses to
urban decline, it is unrealistic to expect the situation to improve
given the incapacity of government and the vested personal
interests of politicians in infrastructural development and land.

**A better plan?**

This is not to suggest that efforts are not being made to more
effectively govern Port Vila's rapid growth. A recent initiative
in urban management and planning is the Urban Growth
Management Strategy (UGMS). Since 1996 the UGMS has
brought together concerned individuals, departments, NGOs
and donors wanting to develop a coordinated strategic
document for presentation to the government. It has recently been backed by overseas donors, particularly the Asian Development Bank (ADB). Its terms of reference are twofold. First, it will prepare a policy framework for the future economic and social development of Port Vila, covering urban area needs, a strategy to address those needs and a means to manage the urban growth process. Second, it will prepare a legal framework to review, draft, adopt and enforce environment, water resources and planning legislation (Townland Consultants Ltd 1997b: Appendix 3). In so doing the UGMS seeks to outline a plan for Port Vila with a 15-20 year horizon. It is not being established as a blueprint, but rather as a starting point for the management of urban growth in Port Vila which will then rely on implementation through consensus between the different stakeholders involved (Townland Consultants Ltd 1997a:43).

However, given past experience of poor governance, deteriorating state–society relations and the incapacity of the authorities to manage urban growth, what are the prospects for the UGMS in particular, and for the management of Port Vila in general? Reports produced by the UGMS to date have discussed the political aspects of urban governance only as part of 'local realities' (Townland Consultants Ltd 1997b:9). More emphasis is placed on the perfection of plans and their connection to national planning, and on institutional strengthening. Although the UGMS seeks to forge a private–public–community partnership (PPCP) based on consensus, it seeks to do so in a national environment of consensual fragmentation. It has been developed against a background of a draft physical plan (published in 1992 but not yet approved), a draft National Building Code (1990), which has no legislative status, and the failure to formulate and implement a development strategy for Port Vila (Townland Consultants Ltd 1997a:4).

Conclusion

While painting a bleak picture, I would not want to suggest that urban planning for Port Vila is pointless or that the UGMS is necessarily a futile exercise. Rather, in the context in which they appear, urban plans are unlikely to be implemented in any comprehensive and serious manner. As Oh (1995:9) has stated: ‘Concerns about governance have arisen partly from a recognition that technical inputs ... are not sufficient to solve problems stemming from underlying political or policy processes', meaning that certain (particularly reform) policies will only be adopted and effective 'if introduced at a socially and politically appropriate time'. Connell and Lea have concurred that in the Melanesian context problems of urban development 'may be more fundamental and point to the need for changes in the structure of the government itself' (Connell and Lea 1994:290). The recent March 6 electoral results, in which politicians were re-elected despite having been heavily admonished in several ombudswomen reports, does not augur well for improvements in urban governance. In the current political context, it is hard to envisage the emergence of more effective urban planning and development.

An urban governance approach in the context of state–society relations raises important areas for investigation in the context of Port Vila and beyond. First, what future does the UGMS have given the history of poor and deteriorating urban (and national) governance? Second, what does this imply for the future of those involved with such planning initiatives, and for the planning and management process itself vis-à-vis local organisations and customs? Third, given that these issues are not necessarily unique to Vanuatu (for example, Jones 1995; Storey forthcoming), what do these issues mean for the future of urban planning, management and governance of Pacific towns, and what links should be made to deteriorating infrastructural, health and environmental conditions in Pacific Island urban areas? In order to address some of these questions, assuming that there is some agreement on their importance, urban governance will need to be considered within a more rigorously defined context of national state–society relations if urban studies is to maintain its relevance in the context of the PICs. In short, urban governance issues need to be placed firmly within the emerging literature on Pacific Islands urbanisation if analysis is to be more realistically and effectively grounded in specific state–society contexts.

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Privatised places and services: Housing and health care provision in metropolitan New Zealand

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Introduction

Since 1984, New Zealand governments have pursued a set of institutional and economic reforms designed to promote market provision, efficiency and reduced state intervention in the economy. As part of these reforms, a significant privatisation programme has been implemented involving the sale of key assets, including New Zealand Steel, Air New Zealand, Post Office Bank, Telecom Corporation and Forestry Corporation. As of March 1996, almost NZ$16 billion had been raised by this privatisation programme. The aggressive disengagement of the state from productive enterprises has been mirrored by significant reforms in the welfare sector, with the imposition of market principles in the health care and social housing sectors. Moreover, central government's retreat from the provision of services such as telecommunications has had a profound demonstrative effect upon local authorities. Metropolitan local authorities have formed Local Authority Trading Enterprises (LATEs) as a means of developing competitive market oriented ways of managing basic services such as water supplies (e.g. Auckland's Metrowater). Amid this reforming zeal, little attention has been directed towards issues such as market failure or alternative means of provision. In this paper we examine these issues with respect to two key infrastructural services: housing and health care.

Housing

Auckland’s residential character has been reshaped by the intersection of national and local policy initiatives. At the national level, since 1991, the state has set about the restructuring of the low income rental sector. In particular it has created a business oriented, profit generating corporation, Housing New Zealand, to run state rentals, whilst collapsing housing subsidies for low income households into a single accommodation supplement available to all low income households, irrespective of tenure. Current housing policy is designed to rely on market rents, competitive public and private landlords, and income supplementation (Murphy and Kearns 1994). Suffusing this policy agenda is a belief that ‘the market’ constitutes the most efficient and fair means of allocating scarce housing resources, and that income supplementation empowers consumers to make optimal housing choices. The state’s withdrawal from its role as a social housing landlord has had immediate effects on existing state tenants in terms of higher housing costs (Murphy 1997) but has also had significant demonstrative effects at the local level, with Auckland City Council divesting itself of housing responsibilities in 1996.

The commercial mandate of Housing New Zealand, in conjunction with the actions of the City Council, have helped to reshape the geography of low income housing in the city. Housing New Zealand sold 677 properties in the Auckland region between 1994–97, whilst continuing to maintain housing waiting lists. Consequently, the legacy of an earlier policy of geographically dispersed housing provision has given way to a policy of concentration on the urban periphery, as Housing New Zealand is selling central city properties that have reached market rents well in excess of the ability of existing tenants to service, and is building new housing in areas where it already has a considerable presence. Housing policy has helped to promote social polarisation in the city, with the urban poor increasingly consigned to the urban periphery. It is worth noting that South Auckland, an area with considerable state housing and low income private rental, accounts for almost 14 per cent of total accommodation supplement payments (Friendship House 1997).

In addition to policy induced housing issues, Auckland has experienced a significant boom in private housing, with house prices rising at a much faster rate than anywhere else in the country (Dupuis and Thorns 1997). Reflective of the speculative and investor activity in the market has been the rapid emergence of apartment development in the Central Business District (CBD). Between 1991 and 1996, over 2,000 apartments were constructed in the inner city, with a further 4,000 planned for completion by the year 2000 (Connor 1996). Early schemes were dominated by office and warehouse conversions, but the market has increasingly become dominated by purpose built developments such as the Quay West (164 units). The apartment boom, whilst reflecting strong speculative pressure, was actively encouraged by the Auckland City Council, which provided rate rebates on initial developments and has sought to populate the CBD as a means of revitalising the inner city, as well as enhancing its own rating base. Moreover, the apartment boom conforms to a grander vision of the central urban area which involves the redevelopment of the waterfront area as part of the forthcoming America’s Cup defence. The Council has adopted a facilitative role in assisting private interests to develop the inner city, and has shown itself prepared to shoulder some of the speculative risks involved in development projects as a means of attracting property investors.

The reliance on the private housing market has resulted in an increasingly polarised residential landscape reflective of internationally observed trends (Badcock 1997). The emerging social geography of the city extracts a price from individuals (higher commuting costs, urban sprawl) and communities...
(concentrations of deprivation, problems of accessibility to services). Yet little attention has been directed toward the long-term consequences of current housing processes. Indeed, alternatives are eschewed. Within a country that has prided itself on the egalitarian structure of civil society, it is now the case that some individuals are renting garages in order to meet their need for shelter, and housing costs are directly contributing to the incidence of poverty. Moreover, these disparate social communities are exposed to a radically altered set of social and infrastructural institutions, as water supply, waste water and electricity industries develop competitive strategies and 'user pays' structures. The recent, and prolonged, electricity blackout in Auckland's CBD illustrates the extent to which even so-called privileged residential environments are susceptible to social disruption in the face of service provision failure. The blackout posed health and security scares for residents of inner city apartments, and resulted in many households having to abandon their properties for the duration of the crisis.

Health care

Internationally, it is well documented that social class differences in mortality fluctuate in response to changes in the economy, and in particular to patterns of relative poverty (Wilkinson 1996). During the 1980s, New Zealand recorded the fastest widening of income differences in the OECD (Hills 1994), and British studies of similar trends show an associated slowing of the rate of improvement in national mortality rates (Wilkinson 1996). Although no such comprehensive analyses have been undertaken in New Zealand, indicative studies support broad analogies being made. A recent report to the newly formed Health Funding Agency, for instance, identified 'appalling rates of disease because of their economic state' in pockets of Auckland and Northland. Its epidemiologist author was quoted as interpreting such localityings (being) too busy making ends meet to take adequate care of themselves ... and dying because of it' (New Zealand Herald 1998). The geography of such experience is a highly racialised one, with Maori households being disproportionately among those most afflicted by illness and premature mortality (Durie 1994).

Such widening differentials have emerged contemporaneously with a more market-oriented approach to health care. The health reforms enacted since 1991 have seen a separation of funder and provider, and a reliance on commercially oriented contracts as the 'glue' through which the health system coheres (Barnett et al. 1998). A key rationale for such changes was the idea of creating health care markets, and introducing competition through contracting, thus creating a so-called 'level playing field' of equal opportunity to provide and to access health care. This metaphor is deployed to imply that competition ought to be a key ingredient in the reformed landscape of health and social care. Indeed, over recent years, voluntary sector providers of services have found themselves level-pegged entrants to the competitive field, and seeking contracts along with private and public sector health care providers. One result is that organisations whose strengths have traditionally been hands-on care and the rallying of collective effort have had to retrain themselves in the bureaucratic procedures of grant application, management and accountancy (Clark 1997).

Within the primary health care sector, the 1990s have seen a mimicking of trends evident within retailing. There has been the emergence, especially in Auckland, of new elements of health care infrastructure that epitomise 'market medicine'. Bold, purpose-built Accident and Medical Clinics (AMCs) offer 'one-stop shopping', serving a range of patient needs at competitive prices. Research among a sample of patients at two Auckland AMCs has shown, however, that among the poor the attraction of such places is less the quality of care or the opportunity to 'shop around', but rather the ambience created by these mini malls of medicine. When asked what they liked most about these clinics, two-thirds of patients from low income (<$20,000 pa) households identified aspects of the 'feeling' of the clinic and waiting room (Barnett and Kearns 1996). We can thus speculate that these clinics, like the shopping malls they are implicitly modelled on, are providing places of refuge for the very groups 'too busy to make ends meet' identified earlier as most at risk of the 'disease trap'.

The connotation of 'consumer-as-purchaser' that has underlain the reforms is problematic as a justification for competition in health services. For in parts of both rural and urban New Zealand, there are areas in which local purchasing power is negligible, and there is little 'market' in any sense of the word. In response, trade union representatives, for instance, were instrumental in establishing health centres to address the cost barriers to urban workers. With the introduction of the market as the dominant metaphor defining the character of New Zealand's health system, the distinguishing characteristics of the 'private' and 'public' health care are increasingly being blurred. In an attempt to restore community ownership and orientation to health care (and social development), a number of both rural and urban organisations, with a commitment to bi-culturalism in common, have joined, reflecting a politics of resistance and philosophy of community development under the banner of 'third sector' health care. As an umbrella organisation, Health Care Aotearoa (HCA) is neither public or private, nor is it burdened by the commercial imperative that has increasingly characterised both. Rather, this national network of primary health providers is community controlled and focuses on those who traditionally miss out on quality health care. Many of its constituent organisations are simply too small, or too staunchly resistant, to buy into the culture of competitive funding rounds. Networks such as HCA are resisting the political and professional discourses associated with the health reforms in New Zealand which have been characterised by key phrases such as 'out in the community'. Third sector health care is neither 'out there' nor 'in the community'; rather it is community, simultaneously serving and building community (Kearns 1998), and, albeit modestly, contributing to the redevelopment of the welfare infrastructure of New Zealand society.
Conclusion

New Zealand's economic experiment is influencing the nature of urbanisation. New landscapes of social exclusion and privilege are altering the traditional New Zealand urban experience for poor and rich alike. Auckland is proving to be an increasingly private and costly place to live. Wider economic reforms have helped to reconfigure the institutional context in which key infrastructural components are provided in New Zealand's urban areas, and the reforms have contributed to an emerging landscape of social polarisation and privatised services. We believe that these trends are profoundly illustrative of McLoughlin's (1992) notion of the 'undeveloping nation'. These trends are exposing political tensions and the fragile nature of the taken-for-granted understandings of urban life in New Zealand.

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Too big, too fast?
Immigration, polarisation and service provision in Auckland

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Introduction

In the early 1990s, New Zealand had the highest rate of population growth of OECD member countries. Much of that growth was focused in Auckland, a city whose increasing primacy has become a contentious issue in recent years. There has been the perception in other parts of New Zealand that Auckland is developing at the expense of the rest of the country, while within the city, pressure on infrastructural services has become a critical political issue. As well as the ‘water crisis’ of 1994 and the ‘power crisis’ of 1998, there are perceived crises in the provision of schooling and transport. Exacerbating the impact of these real or perceived crises have been processes of restructuring, but in the public mind high levels of immigration, especially from Asia, serve as a primary explanation for unacceptably rapid population growth, and by implication have contributed to these crises.

Between 1991 and 1996, Auckland’s population grew at a rate of over two per cent a year, nearly twice that of the national growth rate. This is twice as fast as Christchurch, the next largest New Zealand city, and higher than any comparable Australasian city. Reasons for this rapid growth can be identified at various levels. While some have cautioned against overstating the role of globalisation, there is no doubt that the pace of incorporation of national and regional economies into global production and financial systems is greater than in earlier periods (Badcock 1997:252). Whether Auckland can be considered as a global city is debatable, but there is no doubt that its role in the internationalisation of the New Zealand economy is disproportionate to its population size. For example, while Auckland comprises 28 per cent of the country’s population, 36 per cent of communications, finance and insurance service jobs are located there, and 38 per cent of employment in property and business services.

The role of government in unbalanced regional development in New Zealand has been both direct and indirect. Since social and economic restructuring accelerated with a change of government in 1984, there is no longer any pretence that the government has a regional development policy, so that any non market intervention in regional development depends on the entrepreneurial initiatives of local or regional bodies in promoting their own particular places (McDermott 1996:283). Further, the restructuring of government ministries and corporations has resulted in substantial job losses, and generally these have had the most profound effects in peripheral regions, resulting in actual population declines in some of the small to medium sized provincial towns.

In 1987 and 1991 major changes were enacted to New Zealand’s immigration policy, to emphasise age, educational level, and employment experience as criteria for skills-based immigration, and ability to bring capital into the country for business immigration. Coinciding with political circumstances in particular Asian countries (e.g. Hong Kong’s return to China, liberalisations in Korea and Taiwan), these reforms resulted in substantial increases in Asian immigration to New Zealand in the early 1990s. For example, the net gain of long-term migrants from Asia rose from under 5,000 per year in the 1980s to over 25,000 in 1996. Nearly two-thirds of Asian migrants settled in Auckland, and most of the rest were in the other large cities in 1996. Since the skills and investment emphasis of the new immigration policy was strongly supported by the business sector, it is seen by many as part of the neoliberal agenda, although it can also be seen as the culmination of a progressive move away from ‘preferred country of origin’ migration with its racist overtones. In either case, the changes in the level and composition of the new migration were more rapid than many, even the Minister of Immigration, expected.

Immigration, urbanisation and services

To many, if the media is any indicator of the public mind, primary responsibility for rapid growth and infrastructural stress in Auckland lies with high levels of immigration. It cannot be disputed that New Zealand’s immigration levels in the early to mid 1990s were high relative to the preceding decade, and that a high proportion of all migrants settled in Auckland. What caused much of the unease, however, was the fact that about one-half of all new migrants were Asian. Thus, many of the publicly perceived impacts of immigration revolved around the costs and benefits of migration from Asia.

Populist politicians and elements of the media have tended to focus on the perceived negative impacts of immigration, namely:

- relatively little lasting economic benefit from business/investment migrants;
- escalating property prices;
- the tendency of migrants to remain separate from the host society;
- pressure on service provision, particularly schools; and
- the abandonment of children and spouses while the primary migrant returns to their country of origin to work.

Less often publicly stated is the unease about cultural and racial differences, but there is little question that racism is an
element in the public reaction which focuses on Asian migrants, while European migrants are almost invisible in the debate (Palat 1995). Pacific Island migrants, who were the focus of attention in the 1970s, have also almost disappeared from sight in the media.

An ongoing study of new Chinese New Zealanders in Auckland (Friesen and Ip 1997) shows that there are elements of truth in some of the publicly held negative stereotypes of immigration, but migrants themselves may suffer more as a consequence of these views than anybody else. For example, many migrants were led to believe by New Zealand immigration officers and migration consultants that investment prospects were much better than was actually the case. One response has been that many have maintained transnational options by working and investing elsewhere as well as in New Zealand. Some of the other stereotypical negative responses to migration relate more to fundamental processes taking place within New Zealand society. Two examples of this are outlined briefly in this paper: the acceleration of spatial polarisation, and the provision of schooling.

Spatial polarisation

Badcock identifies the United Kingdom, United States and New Zealand as countries that have manifested the greatest increases in income inequality over the last two decades as a result of governments that 'have been the most ruthless in removing the institutions that protect workers and in cutting back income support, while also failing to develop labour market programmes' (1997:253). The polarisation of incomes in New Zealand under conditions of restructuring is well documented, and this has a distinctive ethnic dimension (Spoonerly 1996). Specific mechanisms that have contributed to income polarisation include 'labour market liberalisation', particularly as embodied in the Employment Contracts Act, flattening of the tax structure, reductions in welfare benefits, and the imposition of 'user pays' in many areas of government service provision.

Spatial polarisation is also apparent in Auckland, although new migrant settlement is only one element of this phenomenon. There is no doubt that new migrant communities have tended to concentrate in particular areas of Auckland (Friesen 1996), as they have in nearly all world cities with substantial migrant populations. The wealthier Asian migrants have not concentrated in the centre of the city, as Sassen (1994:103) posits is the case for many migrant populations in large cities, but have tended to settle in suburbs with reputations for good environments and schools (Friesen and Ip 1997). Nevertheless, the new stereotypes of all Asian migrants as wealthy are inaccurate as well, and there is a need to deconstruct the term 'Asian' (Tran 1998). The 1996 Census shows that it is not just earlier Asian migrants (or refugees) such as the Vietnamese who are concentrated in less affluent parts of Auckland, but that many others are as well. For example, many migrants from the People's Republic of China have relatively high qualifications, but few assets, and in many cases no available jobs to match their skills. As a consequence they do not show the same degree of spatial concentration as wealthier migrants, but tend to locate where rents are relatively low, but where access to the central city is reasonable (Friesen and Ip 1997).

Spatial polarisation is also accelerating in relation to the location of the Pacific Islands population in Auckland, most of whom are immigrants from earlier decades or the descendants of those immigrants. During the 1960s and early 1970s, when levels of migration from the Pacific Islands were high, the Pacific population of inner city suburbs rose steadily as cheap rental housing was available, and various services oriented to this group developed in areas such as Ponsonby and Grey Lynn. In the late 1970s, however, this trend was reversed as these areas began to gentrify, and much rental housing was purchased by young professionals and business people for renovation. Some of the Pacific population has been pushed west, but particularly south to Manukau City, where a strong Polynesian presence has developed. The income polarisation resulting from restructuring has resulted in larger average household sizes in this area, as further pressure is put on extended families to support those who are unemployed or on minimal incomes. This process continues to be significant in the 1990s, although at an increasing distance from the city centre. At the same time, a 'counter offensive' appears to be taking place, for example in Grey Lynn, where many Pacific Islanders have bought houses.

Immigration, ethnicity and education

One of the high profile reactions to immigration relates to the perceived pressure that it has brought onto schools. This has particularly been the case in the eastern suburbs of Auckland City, where school reputation is highly correlated with the socioeconomic status of the school's neighbourhood. Areas such as Remuera, Epsom and Howick have had high levels of Asian migrant settlement at the same time as schools in these areas have grown substantially, in some cases beyond their apparent capacity. Proposals to limit migrant access have included minimum residence requirements or language tests, although these have generally been ruled to be in breach of human rights legislation. Once again, immigration has been singled out, although the actual processes involved are much more complex.

A range of interrelated processes has contributed to the problems of acceptable provision of schooling in Auckland in recent years. Demographic cycles alternately increase and reduce pressures on the education system, and the late 1980s experienced a reversal of the trend of the previous decade, reducing demographic pressure on schools. At the same time, changes in government policy also put pressure on some schools. The implementation of the Tomorrow's Schools programme in 1990 resulted in a shift towards market led solutions to educational provision, through the abolition of geographic school zones and the primacy of parental choice. One response has been 'flight' to schools in areas of high socioeconomic status. Anecdotally this has been 'white flight' from schools with large Polynesian rolls (e.g. Metro magazine
July 1994), but it might more accurately be called 'class flight', since students of Polynesian and other non European ethnic origins also participate in flight to more distant schools, usually in the direction of higher income suburbs.

Conclusion

Future scenarios of development in New Zealand, whether with high or low assumptions about international migration, forecast the ongoing growth and primacy of Auckland. Although the central government has apparently withdrawn from regional development, its policies have a profound impact on developments in primary and peripheral areas and regions in between. Without any intermediate level of government in New Zealand, the development crises seen recently in Auckland inevitably involve the central government administratively, economically and politically, despite the rhetoric. Lip service was paid to these linkages at a government-funded Population Conference in Wellington in November 1997, organised as part of a coalition government agreement to assuage public concerns about immigration (New Zealand Government 1997). Speaker after speaker emphasised the fact that immigration policy and variable regional outcomes could not be seen in isolation from issues of demographic structure, government welfare policies, issues of service provision, and regional aspirations. So far, the government's response has been to make minor modifications to the immigration regulations.

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Urbanisation patterns in South Africa: Past, present and future

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One of the strongest processes of world society over the past 200 years has been the spatial rearrangement of where people live. The 20th century in particular has witnessed an urban revolution that has radically altered the pattern of settlement in every region of the world. Although in some parts of the developing world more people still live in the countryside than in the towns, everywhere the drift of rural populations to the towns, the rise of cities and the growth of huge urban areas is the overwhelming general trend (Short 1992:7).

The world is in the midst of a massive urban transition unlike that of any other time in history. Although Africa has the lowest level of urbanisation in the world, populations in African cities are exploding faster than on any other continent. In another 20 years, Lagos, for example, is expected to be the third most populous city in the world, with over 24 million inhabitants. And while urban populations are increasing, the ability of cities to cope with these increases is diminishing, with the result that a catastrophic social crisis is looming in many African cities (African Business 1997:14).

The purpose of this paper is to discuss urbanisation in South Africa against the background of certain important global urbanisation patterns, trends and problems. I will start with a short historical overview of urbanisation in South Africa, followed by current and future trends of urbanisation in the country. In closing, some of the challenges to the effective and efficient management of South Africa’s growing cities will be highlighted.

Historical overview of urbanisation in South Africa

As South Africa lacks any indigenous urban tradition (Christopher and Tarver 1994:33), urbanisation in this country can be seen as a relatively recent development – a product of European colonisation (Short 1992:194). Whereas urban centres in the Middle East date back as far as 6,000 years when the world’s first urban centres were established in Mesopotamia, the first urban centre in South Africa (i.e. Cape Town) only came into existence after 1652, on the arrival of European colonists. Before this, the indigenous people in the region led an exclusively rural and largely nomadic existence. Historically, urbanisation in South Africa has been closely intertwined with economic, technological and political factors. Twentieth century urbanisation in South Africa reflects patterns of capitalist economic development and state policies (Lemon and Cook 1994:315). According to Van der Merwe (1995:3), a well known South African urban geographer, South African urbanisation has gone through four development phases, namely:

1. A pre-industrial phase, 1652 to the 1860s, during which urbanisation was primarily concentrated along coastal areas in the southern and eastern parts of South Africa. The two most important urban centres established during this phase were the coastal settlements of Cape Town and Port Elizabeth.

2. An industrial phase, the 1870s to 1910, during which urbanisation accelerated and spread rapidly throughout the country as a direct result of the discovery of diamonds in the 1870s and gold in the 1880s. The respective mining cores were located in Kimberley and Johannesburg and were linked to the coastal harbours by means of road and railway networks. During this phase industrialisation and commercial activities in the urban centres exerted an irreversible force of attraction on the South African rural population.

3. An apartheid phase, 1910 to 1990, during which different urbanisation patterns evolved for different population or ethnic groups as a result of discriminatory apartheid laws such as influx control regulations, group area regulations and the black homeland policy. Although South Africa was universally condemned for its policy of apartheid adopted by the National Party after 1948, the origins of the policy date back deep into the colonial period, and indeed into the early English colonial experience. At that time, differing policies toward the management of multi-ethnic urban populations were adopted by the four colonies (Christopher and Tarver 1994:40). However, the most fundamental measure affecting black urbanisation was the 1952 Native Laws Amendment Act, which laid the basis for all state intervention to control the distribution of black labour between towns and rural areas, and between towns (Lemon and Cook 1994:321).

4. A post-apartheid phase, since 1990, characterised by unrestricted movement to and within cities, resulting in a marked population increase in South African urban areas. Although the South African city is now accessible to all South Africans as a result of the repeal of all the racially based land laws in mid 1991, the undoing of the so called apartheid city is likely to be an extremely difficult and complex task, as its physical and psychological legacies will remain for the foreseeable future (Christopher 1995:87). It could take several decades to completely eradicate the imprint of apartheid planning from South Africa’s cities. Only a minority of black Africans have sufficient resources to acquire homes in the former white residential areas, although they are sufficiently numerous to transform the composition of many lower income white suburbs. The vast majority of South Africa’s black population will therefore continue to live either in the townships, probably upgraded, and benefiting from a fairer distribution of local government revenues or, increasingly, in squatter settlements (Short 1992:199).
Patterns and trends of urbanisation in South Africa

Estimates of the level of urbanisation in South Africa often differ. This is due mainly to the different definitions used for 'urban areas' (i.e. functional urbanisation, which includes informal settlements clustered around towns and cities, versus official urbanisation), as well as acknowledged flaws in census enumeration. At the beginning of the 20th century, approximately 23 per cent of the South African population was urbanised. This percentage increased to 43 per cent by the middle of the century.

According to the latest estimates of the Centre for Development and Enterprise Research (CDER), 57 per cent (or 23.4 million) of the total South African population of 41.2 million lived in urban areas in 1995. This urbanisation level is considerably higher than the estimated world urbanisation level of 45 per cent, as well as the estimated urbanisation level for developing countries of 38 per cent.

Although urbanisation in South Africa commenced at a much later stage than in the rest of the world, it has developed considerably faster than in most countries. In fact, South Africa passed the current world urbanisation level of 45 per cent as far back as 1955. It is estimated that by the year 2011 an additional 10 million people will be urbanised in South Africa, resulting in a 62 per cent urbanisation level. This is once again considerably higher than the estimated world average of 53 per cent for the year 2010, as well as the average of 47 per cent for developing countries. South Africa's future is therefore an increasingly urban one.

Ethnically uneven urbanisation levels

An important characteristic of urbanisation in South Africa is that it is ethnically uneven, with black Africans displaying the largest increase in urban population since 1960 (Figure 1).

On an annual basis, the South African urban population is currently increasing by 2.5 per cent, which is faster than the estimated overall annual population growth rate of 2.02 per cent for the period 1991–96. This is, however, not unique to South Africa, but typical of the worldwide urbanisation process, and mainly due to declining resource availability per capita, shrinking economic opportunities in rural areas, and opportunities and services available in urban areas. According to estimates provided by the CDER, the urban growth rate in South Africa, as in most other developing countries, is declining. However, although the urban growth rate is estimated to decrease to 2.13 per cent by the year 2010, annual increments will continue to be fairly large well into the next century.

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cent per annum for the period 1991–96), depicts a situation typical of developed countries.

The Asian and coloured population groups also have high levels of urbanisation and are estimated to be 96 and 85 per cent urbanised, which is also comparable to developed countries (Figure 2). In contrast, however, only 52 per cent of black South Africans are urbanised - an urbanisation level which was surpassed by whites as far back as 1904. This relatively low urbanisation level, together with a high population growth rate (i.e. 2.35 per cent per annum for the period 1991–96) among black South Africans, indicates a pending phase of acceleration and rapid urbanisation which is characteristic of developing countries. The large rural black population in South Africa has enormous potential to urbanise (Van der Merwe 1995:6).

According to the former Urban Foundation (1990), 56 per cent of the black population could be living in urban areas by the turn of the century. This percentage could even be slightly higher. This means that the urban population of black South Africans is estimated to grow by 680,000 a year until the year 2000 - a growth accounted for by natural increase rather than migration. South Africa is thus in a period of fundamental transition towards large metropolitan areas predominantly inhabited by black South Africans.

**Spatially unbalanced urbanisation**

Urbanisation in South Africa is not only ethnically uneven, but also spatially unbalanced in its distribution and magnitude. This tendency towards unequal distribution of the urban population is typical of many African countries (Tarver 1994:xvi). The urban areas in South Africa are mainly concentrated along coastal areas and in the northern and eastern parts of the country (Figure 3). According to estimates, the concentration of cities in the northern and eastern regions of South Africa will increase in intensity, because of the large rural population with the future potential to urbanise currently residing in these regions (Van der Merwe 1995:6).

On a provincial basis, the highest level of urbanisation in South Africa occurs in Gauteng, where 97 per cent of the population is officially urbanised (and 99.6 per cent is functionally urbanised). This is followed by the Western Cape with 89 per cent and the Northern Cape with 77 per cent. It is important to note that Gauteng and the Western Cape, the two provinces with the highest urbanisation levels, are also the economic ‘giants’ of South Africa, and will therefore continue attracting people from the surrounding provinces with large rural populations, as well as from neighbouring countries. The lowest level of urbanisation occurs in the Northern Province, where 84 per cent of the population still lives in rural areas (Figure 4).

**Increasing proportion of population living in metropolitan areas and large cities**

As in many countries where urbanisation continues, urban growth in South Africa is not evenly spread across the urban system. Metropolitan areas (i.e. urban areas with more than 500,000 people) and cities/large towns (i.e. urban areas with 50,000 to 500,000 people) in South Africa are experiencing the highest rates of urban growth, resulting in numerous urban problems. An increasing proportion of the South African population lives in metropolitan areas. According to estimates provided by the CDER, 40 per cent of the South African population, or 16.5 million people, resided in metropolitan areas in 1995. It is expected that approximately 44 per cent of the total population, or 23.7 million people, could be living in metropolitan areas by the year 2011 (Figure 5). It is important to note that this is 8.5 million less than previously estimated by the former Urban Foundation. South African metropolitan areas are thus currently growing significantly slower than was commonly expected a few years ago (CDER 1995:8). Part of the reason for this apparent slowdown in metropolitan growth late, as provided by the CDER, has its origins in the errors in census data and associated adjustments, with the result that the previously calculated rate of urbanisation was in itself an overestimation. What does seem to be new about the situation is that, with the metropoles not generating economic opportunities of scale and the violence commonly associated with the large metropolitan centres in South Africa, migration to these areas could have slowed as a result (CDER 1995:23). This is, however, only speculation. Notwithstanding the fact that South African cities are growing at a slower rate than previously anticipated, they are certainly growing more rapidly than the overall population. It is argued that the main source of urban population growth in South Africa is the natural growth or increase of the existing urban population, as is typical of countries with fairly high levels of urbanisation (UNPF 1996:27).
Figure 3: Distribution of urban population in South Africa, 1991


Figure 4: Urban/rural distribution by province, 1995

Source: South African Institute of Race Relations 1996.

South Africa’s growing metropolitan areas

If 500,000 inhabitants is taken to define a metropolitan area, South Africa has eight metropoles which vary in size from 5.5 million people in the case of the Witwatersrand, to 0.5 million in the case of Pietermaritzburg. The growth of these metropolitan areas has in general overshadowed other towns and limited their growth. By comparing the estimated population figures of South Africa’s eight metropolitan areas, it is clear that the metropolitan centres of Gauteng (i.e. Pretoria/Winterveld, Witwatersrand and the Vaal triangle, together known as the PWV area) are not challenged in their dominance of the metropolitan landscape. Although the Witwatersrand and Pretoria have the greatest ‘pulling power’ for migrant workers, each metropolitan area acts as a magnet within its own region (Short 1992:196).

The combined Pretoria–Witwatersrand–Vaal (PWV) metropolitan agglomeration has an estimated population of 8.8 million. This could increase to 12.6 million people by the year 2011 (Table 1). Metropolitan centres in KwaZulu–Natal are also growing fairly rapidly, with the Durban Functional Region estimated to be two-thirds the current size of the Witwatersrand population by the year 2011, and the Pietermaritzburg–Vulindela metropole estimated to experience a 35 per cent increase between 1995 and 2011 (CDER 1995:11).
Relatively strong metropolitan growth is also expected in the Eastern Cape, where the East London-Mdantsane area is estimated to experience a 55 per cent increase in population, and the Port Elizabeth-Uitenhage metropole 44 per cent over the next fourteen years. Cape Town’s population is expected to increase by 36 per cent.

It is important to note that South Africa’s metropolitan areas are not, nor are they ever likely to be, very large in world terms. South Africa’s largest metropole, the Witwatersrand, with its 5.5 million inhabitants, ranks only 33rd on the list of the world’s largest metropolitan areas. Even if one takes the combined PWV metropolitan area, one is still only dealing with a metropole in the league of London or Los Angeles, and half the size of New York or Sao Paulo. Nonetheless, it should be clear that South Africa is still facing a metropolitan future which will be qualitatively different from that of past decades.

In addition to being larger, the South African metropolitan areas will increasingly be dominated by the challenges of large numbers of young people, under- and unemployed people, informal sector operatives, illegal immigrants, and unregulated or semi-regulated development (CDER 1995:12).

Table 1: Estimated population size of the South African metropolitan areas, 1995–2011

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Metropolitan area</th>
<th>1995</th>
<th>2000</th>
<th>2011</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Witwatersrand</td>
<td>5,484,000</td>
<td>6,142,000</td>
<td>7,682,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pretoria</td>
<td>2,341,000</td>
<td>2,644,000</td>
<td>3,340,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaal Triangle</td>
<td>1,001,000</td>
<td>1,172,000</td>
<td>1,563,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durban</td>
<td>3,215,000</td>
<td>3,695,000</td>
<td>4,815,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pietermaritzburg</td>
<td>519,000</td>
<td>572,000</td>
<td>701,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cape Town</td>
<td>2,279,000</td>
<td>2,545,000</td>
<td>3,111,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Port Elizabeth</td>
<td>1,015,000</td>
<td>1,148,000</td>
<td>1,457,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East London</td>
<td>611,000</td>
<td>712,000</td>
<td>946,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>16,465,000</td>
<td>18,630,000</td>
<td>23,615,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Urban management and planning of South Africa’s cities

In spite of recent indications that South Africa’s metropolitan areas and cities are growing more slowly than previously anticipated, the fact remains that South Africa is an urbanising, middle-income developing country with fairly high urbanisation levels and urban growth rates. The consequence is numerous urban problems such as poverty, insufficient housing, squatting, unemployment, poor sanitation, pollution, ill-health, malnutrition, inadequate health services, crime, violence and transport congestion.

Although these urban problems are not unique to South Africa, but are typical of most large cities in developing countries, they impact on the effective functioning of our cities as optimal living environments and lead to the destruction of various aspects of the city system (Van der Merwe 1995:13–14).

South Africa faces a huge and daunting challenge to manage its growing cities and metropolitan centres effectively and efficiently. The issue is no longer how to control the growth of our cities, and migration to the cities, but how to make these same cities economically efficient and attractive to current and new investors, because South Africa’s cities are the engine rooms of the national economy and the future of our country depends upon them becoming globally competitive (CDER 1996:27–8).

According to Van der Merwe (1995:13), the post-apartheid city requires a drastic re-adjustment in attitudes, aspirations, policy and management by the authorities, the private sector and the general public in order to fulfil its function as a pleasant place to live and work in. Urban planning and the effective management of urban problems require a delicate balance between central planning by the government and the devolution of power at local level. The role of local authorities in urban management is therefore crucial and must include community participation and active community involvement (Walmsley and Botten 1994:18–19). Furthermore, urban management must be centred on the needs of all the people who live, and want to live, in the cities. In the foreseeable
future, this means that the goal should be the optimal functioning of the urban system to support accelerated economic development and employment creation (Lemon and Cook 1994:338), as well as larger and more effective social investments in health and education. Enhanced investments in social development will be the key to the success of the urban future of the world (and of South Africa), and thus the future of development itself in the 21st century (UNPF 1996:1).

The South African government is currently in the process of formulating a new urban strategy, which will ensure that the future of South African cities is sustainable. A draft report on the urban strategy, 'Remaking South Africa's cities and towns', was recently published. The vision of the new urban strategy is that by 2010, the cities and towns of South Africa will be based on integrated urban and rural development strategies and will be leaders of a globally competitive national economy. They will be centres of social and economic opportunity for all; free of racial segregation and gender discrimination, and managed by accountable and democratic local governments. They will be planned in a highly participatory fashion and will be marked by good infrastructure and services for all. They will be integrated centres which will provide access to many physical and social resources, and, most importantly, they will be environmentally sustainable (Thomas 1996:22).

Endnote

1 Worldwide there are large differences in criteria used by governments to define their urban population and boundaries for cities. Defining 'urban' versus 'rural' always involves a level of judgement with regard to trade-offs on population densities, levels of urban versus rural incomes, and so on. South Africa has no legal definition of urban versus rural (or non-urban) areas. In apartheid South Africa, many areas were defined as rural that were essentially urban without services, as they had high concentrations of people living in an area whose economic base was some distant city where many people worked. Such places may be described as 'displaced urban'. There are also areas of relatively high concentration to which large populations were moved in the apartheid era, with no economic base except in transfers from pensions and/or remittances. These areas are sometimes called rural clusters, the 'rural' indicating mainly the lack of economy and services. This is problematic, because in other countries, 'rural' is often used either to indicate low density of population or dependence for incomes on the utilisation of natural resources, neither of which are relevant here (South Africa 1997a). However, for the purpose of censuses, an urban area in South Africa is one which is run by a municipality or an established local authority, while a non-urban area is one which is run by a regional body or other type of authority such as a tribal authority (South Africa 1997b). In the 1980s the official definition of urban included only those people who lived in formally proclaimed cities and towns. This meant that informal settlement areas outside cities were defined in the census as rural areas. By 1991 the census had become more realistic in its definitions and many informal settlements near to cities were included as urban. However, some were left out when it was felt that the geographic separation was large. The Centre for Development Enterprise Research, whose figures are used in this paper, has, as a rule of thumb, included settlements within 40km of metropolitan and urban areas (CDER 1995:25).

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New urban spaces:
Domestic work and activism in Hong Kong

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The migration of Filipino women to work as domestic workers around the world is an important but contested strategy of economic development. Whether the issue is framed in terms of global economic restructuring, the ethnic segmentation of labour markets or transforming gender relations which necessitate employing ‘outsiders’ within the home, domestic work is firmly on the development agenda. Since the 1996 execution of Flor Contemplacion, a Filipino domestic worker in Singapore who may have been wrongly accused of murder, Filipino domestic workers in particular have received much attention in the international media.

There are approximately 120,000 Filipino women who engage in domestic work in Hong Kong, a city where the very identity ‘Filipino’ is often equated with ‘maid’. In response to sheer numbers and a high profile of Filipino women working in Hong Kong, there is a considerable network of Filipino NGOs which conduct research and advocacy programmes on the issue of domestic work. The objectives of these organisations are twofold: to improve working conditions for domestic workers in Hong Kong, and to encourage the Government of the Philippines to rely less on labour migration to raise foreign exchange. These objectives are producing new spaces of political action which go beyond analyses of multinational capital which use North/South binaries to account for the numbers of Filipinos who migrate overseas to seek employment.

This paper discusses how Filipino NGOs engage in transnational activism, reconfiguring the relationship between the Philippines and Hong Kong in a complicated global sphere. These organisations are not merely representatives of the Filipino nation state, nor are they solely responding to working conditions in Hong Kong. Their analyses of domestic work draw on a variety of perspectives ranging from Philippine economic policy and regional integration (i.e. APEC), to Hong Kong’s labour migration policies which adversely affect Filipinos. This paper suggests that in politicising the issue of domestic work, particularly in the rallies staged in the central district of Hong Kong, NGOs are creating new kinds of public space in Asia’s metropolitan centres.

Labour migration from the Philippines

The deployment of overseas contract workers has been a regular feature of economic development policies in the Philippines since the 1970s. In 1995 there were approximately 3.5 million Filipinos working overseas, and estimates of annual remittances from overseas workers vary from US$800 million to $2.5 billion. This is a major source of foreign currency for the national economy and helps to raise the standard of living for thousands of Filipino families. While the financial gains of a labour exporting economy are clear, the negative consequences of labour migration are palpable. Many female migrant workers suffer ethnic and gender discrimination in the countries where they work, and in the Philippines there is evidence of domestic stress.

There is a burgeoning literature which documents the phenomenon of overseas Filipino women, particularly in the Asia-Pacific region. This research usually focuses on the lived experiences of, and stereotypes associated with, domestic workers in Hong Kong and Singapore (Constable 1997, Huang and Yeoh 1996), entertainers in Japan (Mackie 1994, Tyner 1996), and mail order brides in Australia (Robinson 1996, Holt 1996). There is also evidence, however, that these women are frequently stereotyped as prostitutes, indicating the highly sexualised perception of Filipino migrant workers (Lowe 1997). These perspectives highlight the importance of the receiving country’s attitudes toward gender, ethnicity and culture, as well as the national policies towards foreign domestic workers, in both the economic and social lives of Filipino women.
Thus far, however, this literature ignores the peculiarly salient influence of the role of Filipino activists. Women working as domestic workers in Hong Kong, for example, have been the subject of much debate for the past decade. While the importance of overseas contract work to the Philippine economy, and the adverse conditions these women face in terms of working conditions, living quarters, abusive employers and so on have been well documented (David 1991, Lane 1992), there has been less attention to how Filipino activists mediate the images of Filipino women.

Although research has been published on the NGO community, it deals primarily with illegal recruitment and maltreatment abroad, advocating policy changes on the part of governments and practical issues such as how to disseminate this information to current and prospective migrants (Santos Maranan 1989, Battistella 1993, Diaz 1993). In this paper, however, I examine political mobilisation on the issue of domestic work in an era of globalisation where women from poorer countries in Asia are migrating to the Asian ‘tigers’ or ‘dragons’. I suggest that migration and activism are important factors in constituting new kinds of public space in the Asia-Pacific.

**Domestic workers in Hong Kong**

Prior to the turn of the century, Hong Kong was dominated by an overwhelmingly male population, and the so-called servants of this time were men. In the early 1900s, however, and with the increasing numbers of Chinese and British women and children migrating to the colony, the demand for female household workers increased. Men moved into coolie labour and women took their place as domestic workers. The women employed as servants were initially the muijai, young girls of around ten years old, but this practice ended in the 1920s. In the 1940s there was an influx of women migrating from mainland China, and post World War II an influx of refugees. Until the 1970s, these latter two groups supplied the labour market for domestic help and were referred to as Chinese amahs (Constable 1997). Since the 1970s Filipinos have dominated the foreign domestic labour market, but there are also an increasing number of Indonesian, Thai and Sri Lankan women.

Partly due to its geographic proximity, but also due to relatively high wages, Hong Kong is a favoured destination for Filipinos seeking overseas employment. Women began migrating to Hong Kong in the 1970s due to a labour shortage as Chinese women began taking up jobs in factories and the service sector. Between 1975 and 1991, the number of Filipino domestic workers rose from 1,000 to 66,000. They currently number over 120,000 and are the largest non-Chinese community in Hong Kong.

One reason Filipino women migrate to Hong Kong is because of the instituted minimum wage. Typically, domestic workers earn HK$3860 (or A$690) per month. While these wages are desirable, under the New Conditions of Stay, an immigration policy instituted in 1987 and commonly known as the Two Week Rule, foreign domestic workers who break their contracts before the end of a two year period must return to their country of origin within two weeks. This policy was instituted to prevent foreign workers from job-hopping, or from remaining in Hong Kong to work illegally. Given the expenses incurred to travel abroad, including passport, visa, travel and agency fees, many workers find these conditions stressful, particularly if their contract has been broken due to abusive employers, or employers who simply thought the domestic helper did not suit their family’s needs. As a result, many Filipinos stay with their employers despite poor conditions until their contracts are complete.

**NGOs and the issue of domestic work**

In Hong Kong there has been a related and somewhat consequent increase in the number of Filipino NGOs assisting these women. These NGOs offer a variety of services including counselling for those in distress; legal advice on working conditions, immigration requirements and the termination of contracts; and temporary shelter for women who are between jobs and therefore without accommodation. They are also involved in data collection and research, which is directed in the form of advocacy at the Governments of the Philippines or Hong Kong.

Advocacy directed at the Philippine Government usually encompasses demonstrations and rallies directed at Philippine diplomats or visiting government officials. These events politicise the cycles of indebtedness to the International Monetary Fund and World Bank which encourage the Philippine Government to export labour to pay foreign debts, and the importance of remittances to the Philippine economy. NGOs encourage domestic workers to participate en masse in these events, since they personify policies of labour migration and put a ‘human face’ to the abuses overseas workers suffer. Advocacy in this case is aimed at persuading the Philippine government to change its labour export policies. Rallies have also been directed at the Hong Kong Government, such as the popular 1993 rally to increase the minimum wage and abolish the Two Week Rule. While the Two Week Rule remains in place, the minimum wage has increased.

Typically NGOs have framed the issue of labour migration within the political economy of neocolonialism and imperialism, and for Filipino NGOs in the Asia-Pacific, APEC has raised questions about what is commonly being termed ‘imperialist globalisation’. As a result, their advocacy work focuses on publishing newsletters and disseminating information packages which highlight racist labour policies, the continuing dominance of Western agendas in global restructuring, and how these perpetuate cycles of poverty in the Philippines. On the other hand, there are also NGOs which feel the radical sentiments of such organisations are ineffective in advocating changes on the part of regional governments. While these organisations are concerned with globalisation and the unequal positions from which countries negotiate the global economy, they are perhaps more concerned with the legal status and working conditions of migrants in host countries. These NGOs in Hong Kong are more concerned with minimum
wages or issues to do with the rights of Filipinos as temporary residents, than with the neocolonial policies of the Philippine government.

**Activism and public space in the central district**

In 1993 there was an NGO rally in central Hong Kong to protest two issues: the minimum wage and the New Conditions of Stay or Two Week Rule. One group of organisations wanted to highlight the issue of the minimum wage, which had not been increased in two years. Another group wanted to raise the issue of the Two Week Rule, arguing that Filipinos should have the right to change employers during their stay in Hong Kong. The first group worked in cooperation with local trade unions and framed the issue of domestic work within the context of Hong Kong society, arguing that domestic workers have the right to increased wages due to inflation. The second group wanted the Two Week Rule to be the major aim of the rally, and to frame domestic work within the context of the Philippine Government’s inability to provide jobs at home. While it is possible for these issues to be complementary, the tensions evident in this debate exemplify the difficulties in conceptualising the best way to politicise the push-pull factors of labour migration in the 1990s.

Political rallies such as these usually occur in and around Statue Square in central Hong Kong. This area is best known as a gathering place for domestic workers on Sundays, where they enjoy their weekly day off. It is here that tens of thousands of domestic workers enjoy a reprieve from their six day working week, and where they exchange news, food, letters and gossip. Statue Square is very well known for its festive atmosphere on Sundays, and attempts to encourage Filipinos to congregate elsewhere in the city have been unsuccessful. The visibility of domestic workers in the area has enabled NGOs to locate and engage with these women, and in turn, this has enabled political rallies to gain a high political profile within both Hong Kong and the Philippines. Indeed, the rallies in the central district are a good example of how the changes to Hong Kong family life become enmeshed with the issue of Filipino labour migration.

For one day a week, central Hong Kong’s status as the heart of business and commerce, as a place of five star hotels and expensive boutiques, is transformed into a space of labour politics. Whether this be in terms of domestic workers feeling a shared sense of community and culture in their Sunday gatherings, or rallies which politicise domestic work, the issue is in public view for one day a week. While political rallies have not been particularly successful in terms of changing the policies which encourage the export or import of labour, they are successful in terms of generating ongoing discussions about the inequalities of Asian economic development.

**Conclusion**

Filipino NGOs are increasingly operating as transnational institutions which engage in a globalised world of information on, and strategies to address, issues of transnational migration. While this is apparent in rallies in Hong Kong, it is also evident in NGO participation in APEC meetings or other international exchanges. In the Statement of the NGO Migrant Caucus at the Beijing conference, for example, NGOs urged all countries to commit to United Nations conventions on the protection of migrant worker’s rights and, in a rather specific credo for a general document, to grant domestic workers a legal status independent of their employers. Indeed, NGOs have developed unique bodies of knowledge about Filipinos in transnational migration which synthesise experiences across several cultures.

As transnational migrants create or produce spaces such as Statue Square in Hong Kong, they are creating new kinds of public space which are indicative of the transnationalisation of people, capital and political mobilisation. NGOs and domestic workers are therefore creating new places within Hong Kong’s urban fabric which are far from being ‘local’. There is a need to theorise new forms of public space which are being created in the Asia-Pacific, particularly so that the efforts of people to make sense of or change their own lives are not subsumed by an understanding of globalisation which neglects this transformative potential.

**Acknowledgments**

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Could industrialisation and economic growth lead to sustainable environments? Land tenure, population and migration issues in the Philippines

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Introduction

In the Philippines throughout the 1970s and 1980s, problems of political instability, rapid deforestation, environmental degradation and continued rapid population growth were linked to the failures of urban and industrial policies of the late Marcos and early Aquino years. Implicit in these policies is the theory that opening up the economy and privatisation of public enterprises would usher in a period of rapid economic growth and heightened prosperity for the population in general. A lack of industrialisation and economic development during the Marcos and Aquino years, however, led to an increase in rural poverty and environmental degradation. Should we assume therefore that a ‘successful’ urban industrial policy and high GDP growth rates will positively affect the Philippines’ population, environment and sustainability? In this paper I test this assumption by examining the population, migration and environmental history of two villages in the central Philippines. These villages were chosen because they represent a population with a long history of migration based on perceived economic opportunities, and should therefore reflect the outcomes of recent improvements in Philippine economic policy.

Environment, population and migration in the 1970s and 1980s

Both Kummer (1992) and Meyer (1993) have noted that poor economic performance in the urban/industrial sector has led to increased migration to the country’s fragile upland environments, thus leading to further environmental degradation. The first 75 years of this century were dominated by large-scale rural to rural migration, mainly from the central Philippines to Mindanao and later Palawan. This phase ended in the early 1970s when two events occurred simultaneously: the closing of the Mindanao frontier by occupation of most of the cultivable land and the outbreak of war between Muslims, Christians, Communist rebels and the Philippine military. After a short hiatus in migration following the declaration of Martial Law in 1973, which included the imposition of travel restrictions, migration resumed but was directed largely toward Manila rather than Mindanao. Migration to Manila was dominant until the onset of economic collapse following the murder of former Senator Ninoy Aquino in 1983. Economic growth plummeted to 1.7 per cent in 1983, -7.1 per cent in 1984, -4.1 per cent in 1985 and two per cent in 1986 at the end of the Marcos dictatorship. During these years unemployment rose sharply while real wages fell. Urban migration dropped off drastically, while rural migration to the country’s environmentally fragile uplands grew rapidly, with an estimated 2.6 million uplandward migrants between 1980 and 1985 (Meyer 1993).

Economic growth and industrial output into the 1990s

After an initial rise to over six per cent GDP in 1989 under Aquino’s tutelage, the country’s GDP plummeted to -0.6 in 1991 as a consequence of political instability associated with the military’s movement against leftist insurgents. Recovery took place after the insurgency was effectively crushed and Ramos was elected President. Political stability, wise macroeconomic management and a liberal privatisation policy are seen as being responsible for the recent turnaround in economic growth. By 1993 GNP had recovered to over three per cent growth per annum and estimates of economic growth for 1997 ranged from six to eight per cent (Asian Development Bank 1995, Venzon 1997). A difficult fourth quarter of 1997 meant that the final GDP figure for 1997 was only 5.1 per cent (NEDA 1998a,b). Despite the steep decline in the rate of growth in the first quarter of 1998 (1.5 per cent GDP compared to 5.5 per cent in the first quarter of 1997), NEDA is still projecting a growth rate of between six and seven per cent for 1998. Liberalisation and deregulation policies are attracting more capital investment, which is increasingly important as government capital investment, and credits from bilateral and multilateral aid slacken. Growth in the agricultural sector is occurring at about three per cent per year and industrial and service sector growth is nearly double that of agriculture (ADB 1995).

Given the recent upturn in the Philippines economy, and the past relationship between migration and economic performance, the question is whether improved economic performance, particularly in the urban/industrial sector, either has or will influence migration streams and lessen pressure on the fragile upland? Will industrial growth contribute to a decrease in the incidence of upland environmental degradation and foster economic recovery and the emergence of ‘sustainability’ within the rural agricultural economy?

Land tenure in the sustainability debate

The idea that environmental sustainability is inexorably linked with the history and current policy on land tenure is gaining prominence (Thiesenhusen 1991). At least three land tenure scenarios can influence environmental sustainability. The first involves the cyclically fashionable idea that environmental degradation (the antithesis of sustainability) is influenced solely by the engine of over-population. Population growth
Autumn 1998

The two villages' populations are very different. The lowland village has 36 per cent fewer people than the upland village.

A second scenario ascribes to the theory of Clifford Geertz whereby agricultural holdings are deemed to be too small to be adequately productive. As they act to absorb labour, providing an informal social safety net, they retain population in the rural areas. This can delay the migration of large numbers of people to urban areas and forestall the expansion of cultivation into marginal frontier areas. Adoption of new technologies can release this surplus population and overwhelm both urban and frontier environments.

The third perspective holds that it is not government policy which is responsible for the creation of latifundios (large inefficient landholdings held by a minority) and minifundios (poor quality land owned by many people but constituting a small cumulative area), but rather that the distribution of resources does not ‘fit’ the carrying capacity of the environment. Government policy is seen as secondary but is gaining a higher profile, as it is now generally recognised that insecurity of land tenure leads to low usage of environmental conservation measures.

One scenario cannot adequately explain the problems associated with a lack of conservation and its relationship with urban/industrial policy and growth. The relationship is tenuous at best. The underlying causes of continued upland degradation do include some facets of Thiesenhusen’s argument, but the situation is much more complex and recognition needs to be given to both local population factors and economic histories.

Several important themes are emerging in the research on the population, migration and sustainability debate. Access to productive resources and security of tenure, while important, are superseded by problems of family migration history, education and recent government policy.

**A case study: The uplands of Bohol, the central Philippines**

For the last ten years I have studied two villages in the interior uplands of the central Philippine island of Bohol. The lowland village's economy is dominated by wet rice production, while the adjacent upland village consists primarily of upland dry cropped land which borders on a large area of public land, classified in 1992 as a national park. The lowland village has a long history of sustained wet rice production going back at least 400 years. In contrast, the adjoining upland area has only been cultivated since the turn of the century.

**Population and migration**

The two villages' populations are very different. The lowland village has 36 per cent fewer people than the upland village.

Moreover, the presence of 33 per cent more fecund females in the upland village, who had on average 20 per cent more children than the lowland women, suggests that a further widening in the population growth rates between the two villages is likely. Population pressure on resources is far higher in the more environmentally fragile upland village, and this looks likely to continue due to a higher rate of natural increase and a much lower rate of out-migration.

In the two villages, 119 of the 125 migrants are young adults whose parents reside locally and continue to farm. The other six are married and represent either a husband or wife who has left the family unit in the village and migrated for work. In all cases cash remittances from migrants are important for the parents or spouse remaining in the rural village, especially for investment in education of remaining family members. Most migrants were in Manila (99 of 125). Nearly half of these migrants were from the lowland village, while only ten per cent were from the upland village. The young adults of the upland village, in the same cohorts as the highly mobile lowlanders, were much more likely to 'migrate' locally and establish new households within the upland village or on adjacent public lands. This migratory difference within the same cohort and between two contiguous villages requires an explanation.

**Land tenure, education and urban networks**

The two villages have different land tenure systems. The lowlands have a long settlement history; householders have security of tenure and this has influenced household incomes and expenditures. For example, education was more widely purchased by lowlanders who could better afford the private fee paying high school, which was the only form of high school available until the opening of the local state-sponsored high school in 1994. Wealth was therefore an important determining factor in providing the youth of the lowland village with preferential access to high school education over the population in the poorer upland village.

Of equal importance to a high school degree are family and community connections in urban areas. With a longer history of migration, the youth of the lowland village can take advantage of family and community networks to acquire work in Manila. In contrast, the primarily rural to rural history of migration of upland families who have returned to the uplands of Bohol after attempting to live in Mindanao for a period, has militated against the development of important rural to urban links.

**Government policy**

Government programmes may be misplaced if they continue to perpetuate rural poverty through the granting of environmentally fragile lands to the land poor peasantry instead of underutilised lowland areas. This policy was implemented under the 1988 Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Programme (CARP). By 1995, over 50 per cent of the land allocated under CARP was public land, and therefore under the control of the Department of Environment and Natural
Resources. Only 20 per cent of the private lands targeted for reform have been allocated (Lim 1995). In areas of extreme pressure on resources and civil disturbance, the government has been quick to release public land for legal occupation. This policy has had negative impacts on sustainability both for the in situ environment and notably for 'downstream' environments dependent on stable water supplies from the uplands (Urich 1996).

Land cleared and settled in the last decade is marginal or fragile land. Soils are impoverished and irrigation and drinking water supplies are either of poor quality and quantity or nonexistent. With land clearance and sedentary agricultural development of this type, the consequences for society at large can be considerable. Loss of biodiversity and disruption of regional groundwater tables are just two environmental consequences. The social ramifications include a clear lack of government attention to the provision of basic services and continued clearing and degradation of frontier resources as recently cleared areas degrade. Given the island population's history of civil unrest, the longer term 'sustainability' of these policies/activities seems unlikely.

Conclusion

Until the economic conditions of the upland population improve, urban/industrial development and overall growth in the Philippine economy will have little or no impact on the country's environmentally fragile rural uplands. The case study shows that urban industrial growth may not lead logically to less pressure on upland resources and increased sustainability of agroenvironmental systems. Several other factors are at play, such as historical inequality in access to land, education and urban opportunities. Furthermore, government's public land policy may thwart the potential for increased 'sustainability'. Increased educational opportunities and assistance with finding work for youth is needed. The importance of genuine agrarian reform in the lowlands must be given urgent attention in order to release pressure on upland environments. As the youth of more affluent lowland groups migrate and take up urban opportunities, the upland population falls even further behind. Until this inequity is addressed, sustainability cannot be achieved. One possible consequence is the return of political instability that has been so destructive to the Philippine economy in the recent past.

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Women's education: a vital key to development

It is widely recognised that education plays a crucial role in individuals' well-being and societies' economic and social progress (United Nations 1995). Women's education is now recognised as one of the most important investments in development, potentially giving the highest social as well as economic returns. Its capacity to enhance women's status derives from its ability to increase women's confidence and self-esteem and give them greater power over their circumstances (Caldwell 1981). Research indicates that education empowers women, providing them with increased autonomy in every sphere of their lives (Jejeebhoy 1995).

The relationship between education and women's development has been a constant theme in the demographic literature and developmental research (Caldwell and Caldwell 1988, United Nations 1995). One study argues that education is the key to transforming women's attitudes and values from traditional to more modern, and their behaviour from constrained to emancipated (Kasarda et al. 1986). Specifically, this study found that schooling increases a woman's knowledge and competence in all sectors of contemporary life. Better educated women are expected to have more self-confidence in dealing with the outside world and to utilise available services more than less educated women (Jejeebhoy 1995). In studies conducted in Sierra Leone and Zimbabwe, for example, educated women were shown to have a greater say in family matters, such as how household income should be spent, than do uneducated women (Bledsoe 1990, Mhloyi 1991). A study in rural Bangladesh found that education is strongly linked to women's control over both their own earnings and those of their husbands (Balk 1994).

This study argues that it takes considerably more education before women are able to participate in household economic decisions and other major family decisions. In most patriarchal societies, such as Bangladesh, women's involvement in major household decisions and their freedom of movement appears to increase significantly only after they have attained relatively high levels of education, whereas in more egalitarian settings the thresholds are lower (Jejeebhoy 1995).

An attempt has been made in this paper to measure the effects of formal schooling on levels of women's autonomy in the context of rural Bangladesh. The study focuses on both physical and decision making autonomy.

Case study: Rural women in Bangladesh

The study is based on data from the Bangladesh Demographic Health Survey (BDHS), conducted in 1993–94, which is part of the worldwide Demographic and Health Survey (DHS) programme. The BDHS employed a nationally representative, two-stage sample. A total of 9,640 women and 3,284 husbands were interviewed from 9,174 households. The quality of the data is considered to be good and reliable, and further details of the survey methodology can be found in Mitra et al. (1994).

This analysis includes only rural women and the sample size of 7,564. Multivariate logistic regression was used to measure the net effect of schooling. A total of four dichotomous dependent variables were selected: physical autonomy (allowed to go out alone or not), attitude towards family planning methods (approve of couples using family planning methods), inter-spousal discussion about desired family size, and decision making autonomy (autonomy to spend money).

Sample profile

In this sample, more than half of the women (58 percent) had never been to school, and only 13 per cent had secondary or higher level education. Similarly, almost half of the husbands (47 per cent) had no education, and 28 per cent had any secondary education. Of the total sample, Muslims constituted 88 per cent and non-Muslims constituted only 12 per cent. About ten per cent of women were members of the Grameen Bank, the largest community based microcredit institution in Bangladesh.

Results

Two-thirds of women enjoyed a relatively high level of autonomy, i.e. they were allowed to go outside the household alone or with children. A quarter of the women in the sample were not allowed to go out at all, or only allowed to go out with others (low autonomy). The vast majority of women (95 per cent) approved of the use of family planning methods. Similarly, a large proportion of women (76 per cent) had discussed with their husbands the number of children they would like to have. However, only 32 per cent of women had the power to make decisions over how the money they earned should be spent. The majority of women (68 per cent) did not have this power, and these decisions were made by someone else.
Analysis

The net effect of women's education was examined by employing multivariate logistic regression techniques. Logistic regression analysis showed that, compared with women with no schooling, higher educated women had a 19 per cent higher probability of being physically autonomous, 18 per cent higher probability of approving of family planning methods, 69 per cent higher probability of discussing desired family size with their husbands, and 45 per cent higher probability of being able to make decisions about how to spend family income. These results are consistent with earlier studies in Bangladesh and other countries (Srinivas 1966, Balk 1994, Sathar and Mason 1993). These findings reinforce the view that education enhances women's decision making power, increases their physical autonomy, and improves their economic and social self-reliance (Caldwell 1981, Jejeebhoy 1995). Primary education on its own, however, appeared to have no effect on improving women's status.

Analysis further showed that the husband's educational attainment was also positively and significantly correlated with a woman's physical autonomy, her attitude towards family planning and the likelihood of inter-spousal discussion about desired family size.

Among the other factors, religion, membership of NGOs and regional differences also appeared to be significant factors in relation to women's status and autonomy in rural Bangladesh. For example, Muslim women had significantly less physical autonomy, were less likely to approve of family planning methods and had lower probability of discussing desired family size with their husbands than non-Muslim women.

Conclusion

This study showed that schooling, especially higher education, was significantly and positively related to the development of women's lives in rural Bangladesh. These results are consistent with Lindenbaum et al. (1985), who observed that in Bangladesh education tends to change women's ideas about their status and consequently their ideas about what behaviour is appropriate.

It is important to emphasise, however, that these results indicate the impact of women's education was positive and significant among women with five years or above level of schooling. This reinforces the view that women need considerably more education, especially in highly gender-stratified societies such as Bangladesh, to be able to overcome cultural constraints and take part in major household decisions (Basu 1992, Visaria 1993, Jejeebhoy 1995).

The present study strongly argues for sustained investment in women's education and for a minimum of five or six years of schooling. Bold initiatives are needed at state level to respond to contemporary development challenges. Education continues to inspire hope as a vital strategy for enhancing women's status and improving their living conditions, thereby enhancing society's development as a whole.

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Aid budget 1998–1999: Highlights

1998–99 aid budget of $1,480 million

The 1998–99 official aid budget totals $1,480 million. This represents a $50 million increase over last year’s aid budget of $1,430 million—an increase of 0.5 per cent in real terms. Australia’s estimated ODA/GNP ratio will be maintained at 0.27 per cent, slightly above the latest average of donor countries of 0.25 per cent. The aid budget is expected to represent one per cent of total Federal Government expenditure in 1998–99.

The 1998–99 aid budget will give effect to the new objectives and direction set for the aid programme in Better aid for a better future, the Government’s response to the Simons Aid Review. The aid programme will focus on five priority sectors of governance, health, education, agriculture and rural development, and infrastructure, and will continue to focus on the Asia-Pacific region. The 1998–99 aid budget will increase support for economic governance, financial sector reform and employment generation, priorities identified by Better aid for a better future.

Youth Ambassadors for Development programme

This new $10 million youth volunteer programme will enable around 500 young Australians to live and work in the Asia-Pacific, transferring valuable skills to host communities and organisations.

East Asian financial crisis and El Niño

A new $6 million Asia Crisis Fund is being established to provide technical assistance to affected countries. Particular emphasis will be given to assisting with economic governance and financial sector reform as well as employment generation.

Funding for emergencies has tripled to $34 million to enable Australia to help the victims of disasters such as droughts, cyclones and floods resulting from the El Niño effect.

$20 million of the $30 million humanitarian assistance package for Indonesia announced in May will be provided in 1998–99. This package will include food aid, medical assistance, drought relief and support for employment generation activities.

An additional $10.2 million will be provided to Thailand over the next two years, continuing past 2000–01 when Australia’s aid was due to cease.

Vietnam and Laos will receive new four year pledges of $236 million and $56 million respectively. All other East Asian countries’ programmes have been maintained at current levels.

Governance and human rights

Funding for governance and human rights activities will increase by $14 million or 18 per cent to $82 million in 1998–99. This includes a five-fold increase in the Human Rights Fund. The Fund provides practical support for small, community based projects in developing countries that promote and protect human rights.

Assistance to NGOs

Assistance to NGOs through the AusAID–NGO cooperation programme (ANCP) will increase by $2 million, or 13 per cent.

PNG and the South Pacific

In 1998–99, $298.5 million will be provided to Papua New Guinea in line with the Treaty on Development Cooperation. Programmed aid will total $227.5 million, with a particular focus on education, health, law and order, infrastructure, rural development and reconstruction in Bougainville. $71 million will be provided as budget support.

An additional $1.75 million will be provided to the South Pacific on top of continuing bilateral and regional programmes. Key features include:

• $0.75 million for the new South Pacific Regional Environment Programme (SPREP) headquarters;

• Building back of the Solomon Islands programme to support the current government’s reform efforts; and

• Increased funding for policy and management reform across the Pacific.

Africa and South Asia

Funding for Africa and South Asia will be maintained in real terms in 1998–99. To maximise its impact, Australia’s assistance to Africa will be concentrated on the Southern African Development countries (SADC) of South Africa, Mozambique, and Zimbabwe.

For further information contact AusAID Public Affairs, (02) 6206 4968.
NGOs in development: The need for critical self-evaluation

Danielle Smith, Department of Politics, Monash University

The NGO myth

Until recently, NGOs have been seen as the 'magic bullet' that can be fired off in any direction and will still find its target (Vivian 1994). In recent years, however, various critics have come to see the idea that NGOs are a panacea for development as the 'NGO myth'. They claim that NGOs have been romanticised to the point whereby very little evaluation of their ability to turn their rhetoric into reality has taken place. This idealisation has been fuelled by the literature produced by NGOs themselves in their bid to live up to the high expectations the public has set for them and the need to secure ongoing funding from donors.

Of the strengths commonly accorded to NGOs, Thomas asserts that 'one could be forgiven for regarding all this as a little too good to be true, or at least, too good to always be true' (1992:134). To the contrary, some critics argue that NGOs are so frequently caught up in self-admiration that they fail to see that the strengths for which they are acclaimed can also be serious weaknesses (Annis 1987). That is, when NGO practice fails to live up to rhetoric, their stated strengths often start to resemble weaknesses. An analysis of the following criticisms often made of NGOs, combined with the recognition of NGO successes such as the Grameen Bank, suggests that while NGOs have the potential to realise special aptitudes in the realm of bottom-up grassroots development, in many cases this realisation is not taking place.

Weaknesses of NGOs

The first major criticism made of NGOs is that contrary to claims of non-hierarchical bottom-up processes, a lot of grassroots development work done by NGOs involves 'enlightened' top-down control (Cernea 1988). Various critics contend that while claiming that beneficiaries participate in all stages of the planning, implementing and evaluating of projects, in reality many NGOs adopt a paternalistic and top-down approach which promotes dependency, not empowerment. This criticism can be made on a number of levels.

First, even in the case of NGOs based in developing countries, their management is usually made up of professional middle or upper-class individuals or generally individuals whose social status is not the same as that of the beneficiaries with whom they work (Carroll 1992). In these cases there is a danger that NGOs, with their access to knowledge of the 'real needs and aspirations' of the people, will start believing 'that they know better than the people', and decision making will start emanating from the top down (Porter, Allen and Thompson 1991:158).

The fact that NGOs have to design and implement projects under pressure from donor agencies again reinforces a top-down process that belies the NGO claim that they function from the bottom-up. Donors tend to make funds available for new programmes that may reflect the latest development fad but are not necessarily of a high priority in the communities in which the NGOs are operating. Yudelman (1987), writing on women's NGOs in the Caribbean and Latin America, documents the detrimental effect this can have on NGOs:

Changing development fashions play havoc on women's organisations struggling to institutionalise themselves, develop coherent programs and gain access to local resources ... Women's organisations may be tempted to undertake projects simply because monies are available, even if they do not have the necessary skills (Yudelman 1987: 118).
Contrary to NGOs' claims that they reach and benefit the poorest of the poor, evidence suggests that often in reality this is not the case. Judith Tendler contends that many NGO interventions do not reach the poorest 40 per cent of the poor, but rather that beneficiaries are often in the middle and upper ranges of the income distribution (1982). Further, Tendler suggests that NGOs have in fact moved away from a poverty focus over the years in their gradual transition from relief and welfare schemes to development projects which focus on those who have some assets or marketable skills.

One reason cited by Craig and Mayo as to why NGOs often fail to reach the poor is that they often implicitly assume that 'relatively traditional, relatively poor communities are homogenous' (1995: 19). By treating communities as homogenous entities, NGOs ignore the fact that the self-selection process of beneficiary involvement in NGO projects is directly influenced by their life chances. The result is that... different people participate in their organisations with different levels of intensity. These life chances mean that the poor tend also to be physically weak, the uneducated, those without experience in meetings, and those so taken up with survival that little time is available for other pursuits (Porter, Allen and Thompson 1991:148).

Another criticism levelled at NGOs is that in many cases their projects are not innovative and experimental, but are extensions and applications of well known approaches that involve merely 'reinventing the wheel'. Research into women's NGOs in Latin America has revealed that many NGOs are involved in development activities such as training in sewing and handicrafts. According to Yudelman (1987), their outcomes are exactly the same as those that have resulted in the past when implemented by other agents of development. That is, they serve to perpetuate sex-stereotyped roles and often mean that women end up working more and earning less. These types of interventions do not result in the enhancement of the capacity of the community to be agents for their own development; rather, they often create a long-term dependence on the NGO and the services it provides. In the light of innovative projects implemented by NGOs such as the Grameen Bank, this evidence further supports the contention that while NGOs have a potential in the area of bottom-up grassroots development, this potential is not currently being fully realised by the NGO community.

The assertion that NGOs are naturally more flexible than governments, bilateral donors and private development agencies is also highly debatable. The following characteristics have been attributed to NGOs: weak in the area of management and planning; prone to slow response resulting from cumbersome decision making processes; susceptible to paralysis arising from power struggles between competing factions; and evolution of conflicting aims as different departments perceive a freedom to interpret their own role without reference to a strongly defined overall mission (Clark 1991). Thus it can be asserted that in many cases NGOs operate in a manner not dissimilar from the state. On the issue of whether NGOs are cost-effective, various critics have argued that NGO interventions are not low-cost, that low-cost is no guarantee of cost-effectiveness and that the projects are not as cost-effective as NGOs themselves think (Riddell and Robinson 1995). It can also be contended that whilst projects implemented by NGOs may operate on low costs this can mean that they are simply underfinanced or poor quality (Annis 1987). In this light, voluntarism can be seen as a drawback if it dictates that those implementing development projects do not have the skills required to do so.

Limited replicability of projects is another perceived weakness that is often attributed to NGOs. That the Grameen Bank is currently being used as a model for credit programmes in the United States of America is a testament to the fact that NGO projects have the potential to be replicated. At the same time, however, Brodhead et al. (1988) have argued that NGOs have only limited success in ensuring the replication of their work. The reason for this is that the activities they engage in are too small and localised to replicate on a larger scale for a more widespread impact.

NGOs claim that being apolitical and independent enables them to implement bottom-up grassroots development more effectively than other agents. Critics have argued, on the other hand, that this notion often prevents NGOs from challenging the structures that limit the capacity of their beneficiaries to bring about change. As such, NGOs need to understand fully the environment in which their projects are located and work alongside other actors, in order to maximise outcomes and to ensure that they do not become powerless and disconnected. Many NGOs have been reluctant to do this in the past as they claim that the need for organisational identity necessitates that they operate separately. However, when NGOs insist on doing projects individually and unconnected with other NGO and government projects, they often hinder the establishment of countrywide programmes which have a potentially greater impact (Edwards and Hulme 1994).

The final major criticism often levelled at NGOs is that they do not undertake meaningful self-evaluation. If NGOs were able to remedy this weakness, they would in the process correct many of their other aforementioned failings and consequently be in a position to realise their potential special aptitudes in the realm of bottom-up grassroots development.

There are a number of documented reasons why NGOs have not tended to evaluate their projects. These include:

- the difficulty of measuring intangibles like empowerment and capacity building;
- the time taken to do evaluations when NGO staff are already too busy;
- the cost of evaluations when overheads are already stretched;
• the fact that NGO overheads are often a lot higher than funders are aware;
• to get funding NGOs promise more than they can deliver, and do not want to reveal this; and
• the hint of failure or underachievement could lead to cuts in future funding (Smillie 1997).

Similarly, donors have also been reluctant to critically assess NGOs due to their mutually dependent relationship. According to Carroll, 'the NGOs need the donor’s money, and the donors need the NGOs so that money can be disbursed and visible progress can be reported' (Carroll 1992:153).

The necessity of self-evaluation

For NGOs to become more effective, critical self-evaluation is necessary. According to critics, 'when evaluations are rare and secretive, when lessons are not shared, not learned and not remembered, repetitive mistakes are almost guaranteed' (Smillie and Helmich 1993:20; emphasis given). It is of paramount importance that NGOs formulate and implement evaluation criteria. If they do not they will be open to the subjectivity of external evaluators who will determine the criteria for evaluating the success of a project (Edwards and Hulme 1994).

Change must also occur on the part of donors and the general public. The NGO myth has been perpetrated to a point whereby NGOs have promised too much. In contrast with the expectation of NGOs that they will be fast, effective and efficient, the reality continues to be that development is a very slow and long-term process.

In order for learning to take place, donors and the general public who contribute to NGOs must remove the implied financial threat that presently accompanies failure. NGO introspection must be seen as critical and healthy. Some recent NGO evaluations suggest that they would improve their capacity by putting more of their scarce resources into training their own membership and leaders, and into strengthening their management patterns and internal authority and accountability systems (Cernea 1988). Consequently, donors must also be willing to provide funding for institutional strengthening that is not limited to three year project cycles, but that is ongoing, and which does not have any clearly discernible outcomes. Donors must also allow this process to occur so that NGOs are able to 'refine and develop that form of professionalism which gives the highest priority to a shared commitment to the poorest' (Remenyi 1997:4).

Apart from these specific changes, a much more fundamental shift in thinking is required. It is imperative that the idea that there is a solution to development should be done away with. The challenge is not to see NGOs as a new hegemon by recognising that development is a process that does not require new and better prescriptions to replace the faulty state-led development models. NGOs can conduct successful grassroots development projects, but they cannot be multiplied to give a simple alternative ' NGO approach' to development. Hyden makes this same point very clearly: NGOs are not going to solve the problems of underdevelopment ... development is likely to come about only in a piecemeal fashion. In view of the popularity of the blueprint approach, this will be difficult for many to accept, yet a mental reorientation on this point is likely to be a prerequisite to progress. What is needed is a longer time perspective on development, more patience with the inadequacies inherent in the contemporary situation, and greater tolerance with new institutions, formal as well as informal (Hyden 1983:111).

Conclusion

Of the many NGOs working at the grassroots to promote people's self-reliance, however, there are some impressive records of success which demonstrate the special aptitudes NGOs potentially have in this realm. Arguably, the realisation of this potential by the great bulk of NGOs has been hindered by the perpetration of the NGO myth. This myth idealises NGOs as the ultimate panacea to the contradictions and difficulties of induced development, and in so doing denies them the space to learn through critical self-evaluation. It is time to reconceptualise the notion of development so that the search for a solution can be brought to an end. By re-defining development as a long-term process, allowance is made for participation in this process by a number of actors. Governments, bilateral donors, the World Bank, private development agencies and NGOs all have different potential aptitudes in the area of development. By opening up this process, a space is created in which these various actors can learn from each other and work together in the long-term development process.

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In January 1982 I was appointed Medical Superintendent of Port Moresby General Hospital (PMGH), Papua New Guinea, to 'clean up the administration'. Little did I realise the nature of the cleaning I would have to do.

I first learnt of the morgue's problems on a Tuesday morning, after a hot long weekend. On the Friday evening, Port Moresby had one of its regular power blackouts. The elderly morgue attendant (who was illegally living in the pathology department with his two young sons), did not notice that the refrigerators had turned off, and stayed off, for the next 72 hours.

To make matters worse, a prominent citizen had died suddenly on the Sunday, and his body had been brought to the hospital. The Governor General's private secretary visited the morgue to organise the State funeral. Overcome by the smell and the army of excited blowflies, he phoned an indignant complaint to the Health Minister, who in turn abused me.

A major administrative oversight was exposed. At the time of Independence in 1975, no one had clarified who was responsible for the disposal of unclaimed bodies - the City Council, the Health Department or the hospital administration. While the bureaucrats argued back and forth about who was supposed to pay for 'destitutes' funerals', over 150 cadavers had accumulated. Unbeknown to me, the corpses had been packed ten deep on the mortuary shelves. Quite literally, the refrigerator was bursting at the seams. One poor soul had lain there for ten years. He must have frozen and defrosted many times.

The Minister, a man of action, immediately issued a decree ordering the hospital to bury all bodies not removed by the deceased's next of kin within 30 days of death. Full of flowery legalistic phrases, only a constitutional lawyer would have guessed that the document had no legal status whatsoever. It was certainly good enough to bluff the Finance Department's accountants.

When I tried to obey the Minister's command, however, another obstacle was revealed. There was only one registered undertaker in the whole country. Mrs R ran a thriving business on the outskirts of Port Moresby, near the international airport. Unfortunately, only a week before the power failure, the Health Department had condemned her backyard crematorium for failing to meet environmental health standards. Mrs R was upset. She refused to assist the hospital until her own dispute with the Health Ministry was resolved.

A quick political deal was struck. With the pathologist, Dr Mishak, I would review and approve Mrs R's establishment. In return, Mrs R would conduct 150 emergency funerals for a healthy discount.

Dr Mishak and I drove to the funeral parlour through the dry and dusty suburbs. Passing through the ornamental gates...
and high cyclone and barbed wire fence, we skirted the luxurious tropical garden to the ornate front door. Next to the bell a prominent sign read, 'Payments in Advance - Cash Only'.

We rang the doorbell. Almost immediately the door opened to reveal Mrs R, a striking, tall thin woman in a loose black dress which flowed to her ankles. The sleeves gripped her wrists. Her frizzy red hair cascaded down her back to her waist. Her eyes were outlined in black mascara, her cheeks were daubed with white powder, but no lipstick adorned her pale lips. A large black cat, blind in one eye, rubbed against her leg. A three-legged spotted dog hopped around in the background.

'Oh do come inside', she said, ushering us into the large entrance hall, bare apart from the fawn carpet and floor length dark drapes. 'I used to conduct funerals in this room, but I had to stop because the Natives kept blowing their noses on the curtains. Come into the next room and look at my lovely caskets.'

Moving through french doors into a living room, we peered at six open coffins. Purring softly, the cat jumped up onto the nearest one and walked carefully along the edge, its tail held high. 'Aren't they lovely?' cooed Mrs R. 'Feel the inside — go on. And the pillows. So-o-o soft. They're silk, dear.'

She led us into the next room, the body preparation room. Along one wall stood an industrial cold store. A long stainless steel table and sink stood in the middle of the room. 'It's a concrete floor. It was nothing more nor less than a king size cask-ets.'

I hasten to add, by the one who is nicknamed 'Dr Death'.

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There it is,' she beamed proudly. 'You know, those silly health inspectors insisted that it have a roof. Well, when we built it, it did have a roof. But the first time we used it — well, it cooked the gentleman alright, but the whole bloody roof fell in on top of him!'

She led us back through the rainforest garden to the house. 'You know, most Australians don't want to go to the trouble of sending the ashes back home for disposal. It's usually a waste of time anyway, because they generally don't enjoy the journey much at that stage. The relatives usually ask me to dispose of their loved ones' remains tastefully, so I just sprinkle them on my garden. It's so peaceful, don't you think?

By this stage we were back in the preparation room. She turned to the pathologist.

'Dr Mishak, you said last week that you had never seen cremains, and wondered what they looked like. Here are some from my little job last week. Do you want to take a sample home with you?'

Opening the lid of a white plastic ice cream container, she showed us the granular, ochre contents. Dr Mishak decided that one look was quite sufficient; he'd be able to recognise them again in the future.

A carefully worded report was sent to the Minister; the crematorium was re-registered, and the morgue fridge was emptied.

I returned to Papua New Guinea in 1993 to work on AusAID's Reproductive Health Project. Mrs R had long gone. She had had great trouble selling the business because no one could afford the goodwill. It was eventually bought by a GP — not, I hasten to add, by the one who is nicknamed 'Dr Death' around town. The garden was even greener than before.

In 1996 an exclusive front page article in the daily paper complained that the PMGH morgue was overflowing with unclaimed bodies and no one knew what to do with them. And Port Moresby's power failures were more frequent than ever.

Damien Wohlfahrt, Ulaanbaatar

An African experience in community development

In June and July this year, I had the privilege of attending the Salvation Army Regional Consultation on HIV/AIDS in Mbale, Uganda and was part of a study tour of HIV/AIDS projects in regions of Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania and Zambia. As a result, I was able to take part in several community counselling sessions, both in rural and urban areas.

This was my first visit to Africa and from reading the literature, I was expecting to see poverty, sadness, pain and the decimation of communities attributed to the spread of HIV/AIDS. I did see all of these, but the thing that impressed me most was the underlying spirit of hope that was evident both within the affected communities and among the people working in the field.
Economic poverty is a reality in most of the communities that I visited. It is difficult for people from Western developed countries to relate to the subsistence level at which these communities function. A visit to a slum area outside the provincial town of Mbale in Uganda illustrated the continuing need for alleviation of poverty. A couple of members of the community had raised a sum of about A$16 to purchase charcoal used for cooking purposes. They were then selling this to neighbours at a cheaper rate than they would have had to pay in town. With the meagre profits, they were supporting five local orphans and contemplating expansion into other areas. The project could be measured in economic terms, but the underlying concept of community based participation was the aspect that generated the motivation to continue. They were doing something for themselves and helping their own families and neighbours. They had a vision for the future, and although they were aware that the orphan situation would get worse as more and more people were dying of AIDS-related illnesses, they had started to address the problem and taken ownership themselves. I have no doubt that the influence of the Salvation Army officers was instrumental in getting this idea operational, but it was now sustainable from within the community. This is an example of a participatory approach to community development as opposed to an interventionary approach.

Another example of this participatory approach was witnessed at Chikankata Hospital in Zambia. As way of background, it is interesting to note the history of the programme and how it has evolved from a role of provider to that of facilitator. Chikankata is a provincial hospital established in 1946 about 170 kilometres from Lusaka, consisting of 240 beds and 50 cots. In 1985 a community based programme was introduced to provide primary health care at a community level. The following year the AIDS programme started as a consequence of the rising number of deaths in the surrounding villages, and 37 hospital patients had been found to be HIV positive. Awareness was aroused in Zambia as the then president’s son died of an AIDS-related disease. In-hospital counselling was introduced, and later on, outreach counselling. The latter presented problems as the team used a yellow van for the visits and it became associated with HIV clients. Villagers did not want to be identified with the disease. A community counselling programme was instigated in 1989 and became the hallmark for the region, attracting many overseas visitors. In 1990 AIDS management training seminars were started at Chikankata with AusAID funding, and 1,800 people have been trained so far. The hospital is also involved in the evaluation of projects, giving technical assistance and running an attachment programme for personnel from a variety of countries. In September 1995 the first Care and Prevention Teams (CPTs) were formed. These teams consisted of local community members, each responsible for an aspect of village health care such as nutrition and treatment of minor cases, community counselling for HIV/AIDS, and home birth deliveries, rehabilitation demonstrators to deal with people with disabilities, and teachers for children in need. The hospital has outreach programmes to 32 villages within a 50 mile radius, and is establishing these CPTs in most communities. This is a means of devolving responsibility from the hospital to the community and is proving to be successful. The communities I visited took a real pride in the establishment of their CPTs and were keen to explain how they had been initiated, what had been their successes and failures, and what were their hopes for the future.

No matter how much economic aid is directed to projects dealing with sensitive issues like HIV/AIDS, without the accompanying commitment to care and the generation of hope from within the community, the programmes will not be sustainable. Hope and vision for the future are the driving force, and if communities are encouraged to take responsibility for their own care and prevention programmes then there is a light, albeit still dim, at the end of the tunnel.

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Healthier in Hyderabad: Smart health care for women, families

The Indian Government and the World Bank are using reproductive and child health projects to raise the quality of health services throughout India. India’s Prime Minister recently launched a nationwide reproductive and child health programme. A US$79 million International Development Association loan from the World Bank is financing family welfare services in the slum areas of Bangalore, Calcutta, Delhi and Hyderabad.

The project focuses on reducing fertility rates and maternal and infant mortality rates in urban slums by improving the scope and quality of family welfare services. The project aims to make people more aware of these services through information, education and communications programmes. It also aims to improve the administration and management of the municipal health departments involved.

In Hyderabad, a maternal and child health project financed under the population project is having a very real impact. A survey of Hyderabad’s slum areas completed in 1987 showed that 87 per cent of their population did not have medical facilities and that the female literacy rate was 37 per cent. The seven year project, launched in May 1994, aims to lower fertility and infant mortality rates by taking a broader approach to poverty, illiteracy and health care. In addition to building new health and maternity centres that will nearly double existing capacity in Hyderabad’s slum areas, the project also brings basic health and literacy education to teenage girls and women, most of whom never finish more than a few years of school. By educating and empowering girls, the programme hopes to postpone the age at which they marry.
'Our approach goes beyond focusing solely on the mother's womb', Programme Officer Kulsum Ali Abbas told the press recently. Instead, 'we bring together mother and child health and family welfare services ... and we reach out to young women to teach them about their general health in addition to their reproductive systems.'

The programme is also strengthening the management of slum area medical services with training for medical staff, and it is increasing the number of female medical officers working in urban health posts and maternity centres. A revolving fund is available under the programme to improve basic services in the slums. There are schools for girls three years old and up, and child health training for mothers.

The maternity centre at Sunder Nagar, a slum area in the middle of Hyderabad, shows that services are in high demand. A nearly all-female medical staff not only delivers babies but, along with volunteers, works with the women's families to create a better environment for mothers and to reduce pregnancies. In a building adjacent to the centre, trained volunteers teach teenage girls basic human biology. Importantly, in this city where Hindu-Moslem tensions have at times broken out in open conflict, the girls participating in the lessons are from both religious groups. 'Here, we learn and talk about things we never discuss in my family, and I can see that other girls have exactly the same problems I have,' said one girl.

Community involvement is the key to this programme's success. It reaches out to local girls and women via grassroots NGOs. The NGOs train women to provide outreach support to 20 households in their neighbourhoods. Typically, these are older, respected women who have influence in the community and encourage girls' parents to let them participate in the programme.

The results speak for themselves. Immunisation coverage for most prevalent diseases within the Hyderabad project area has risen to nearly 100 per cent. Teenage pregnancy is declining. Reflecting the impact of this and other programmes, infant mortality in the state of Andra Pradesh has declined from the more than 100 per 1,000 live births in the early 1980s to about 65 today.

*This is an edited version of the original article that appeared in World Bank News, 23 October 1997, 6*
World Population Projections to 2150

Announced in February this year, the World Population Projections to 2150 prepared by the United Nations Population Division presents a total of seven long range population projections for each of the eight major areas of the world.

The seven main conclusions from these long range population projects are:

• According to the medium fertility scenario, which assumes fertility will stabilise at replacement levels of slightly above two children per woman, the world population will grow from 5.7 billion persons in 1995 to 9.4 billion in 2050, 10.4 billion in 2100, 10.8 billion by 2150, and will stabilise under 11 billion persons around 2200.

• Although the high and low fertility scenarios differ by just one child per couple, half a child above and half a child below replacement fertility levels, this makes a very significant difference to the projected size of the world population in 2150. According to the low fertility scenario, world population would be 3.6 billion – just one third of the size of the medium fertility scenario. In contrast, the high fertility scenario puts the population by 2150 at 27 billion persons, considerably more than double the medium scenario figure.

• If fertility rates were to stay constant at 1990-95 levels for the next 155 years, the world in 2150 would need to support 296 billion persons.

• If all couples in the world had begun to bear children at the replacement fertility level in 1995 (about two children per couple), the growth momentum of the current age structure would still result in a 67 per cent increase in the world population, to 9.5 billion by 2150.

• The figure will see a continued geographical shift in the distribution of the world population as the percentage living in the currently more developed regions will decrease from 19 to 10 per cent between 1995 and 2150.

• Declining fertility and mortality rates will lead to dramatic population ageing. In the medium fertility scenario, the percentage aged 60 years or more will increase from 10 to 31 per cent of the world population between 1995 and 2150.

• The ultimate world population size of nearly 11 billion persons, according to the medium fertility scenario of these projections, is 0.7 billion less than previously published by the United Nations in 1992, mainly due to larger than expected declines in fertility in many countries.

While it is certain that the world population will continue to grow significantly in the medium term, there is far less certainty in the longer term. The enormous range in projected outcomes, from 3.6 billion to 27 billion in 2150, underscores the difficulty in focusing on any particular scenario and highlights the critical importance of current policies and actions to address long-term world population issues.

Enquiries concerning this study should be addressed to:
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International coalition launches campaign against the MAI

More than 600 organisations from 67 countries released a joint statement today calling for the suspension of negotiations on the Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI) until substantive and procedural concerns are met. The draft MAI 'elevates the rights of investors far above those of governments, local communities, citizens, workers and the environment', the statement declares.

The MAI is being negotiated at the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). The investment treaty would establish new limits on how governments can regulate portfolio and direct foreign investment and currency speculation.

The joint statement calls on the OECD and the national governments to eliminate provisions allowing foreign investors and corporations to sue governments directly for any action they claim undermines their planned profits. As well, the groups oppose provisions that remove government authority to stabilise currency speculation and portfolio investment flows.

Contact: Chris McGinn, +1 (202) 546 4996 ext.305, Mark Vallianatos (Friends of the Earth), +1 (202)783 7400 ext.231, or Dan Seligman (Sierra Club), +1 (202) 675 2387.

Media release posted on Australian Development Studies Network electronic forum, 14 February 1998

Knowledge, information and development – focus of this year's World Development Report

Pathbreaking knowledge and new technologies offer the chance for developing countries to accelerate the development process at a dramatic rate and join the global economy. But knowledge can be a double-edged sword: if not widely shared, these same advances threaten to widen the gap between the world's rich and poor. The challenge is to put knowledge at the heart of development thinking.

The World Bank is responding to this challenge at both the practical and policy levels. Practically, it is changing the way it does business so that it can tap into the unparalleled reservoir of knowledge it has accumulated over the past 50 years in more than 100 countries. On the policy level, the Bank is devoting this year's World Development Report, Knowledge, information and development, to an examination of the role of the public sector in the management of knowledge. The World Bank's comparative advantage lies in its ability to draw lessons across countries and regions, and to bring global best practices to bear in meeting country-specific needs.
The forthcoming 1998 *World Development Report*, planned for publication in October, will look at the trade-offs in strategies and policies faced by governments in knowledge management. It will tackle specific questions like:

- Why have some developing countries been more able to take advantage of the rapidly increasing stock of global knowledge than others?
- Should there be more effort for global orchestration of R&D or should it be left to normal functioning of the market?
- How much should different types of developing countries invest in developing knowledge as opposed to making more effective use of the rapidly increasing stock of global knowledge?

More generally, the report will discuss policy exceptions and general rules of good policy in the attempt to find the balance between private initiative and public intervention in knowledge management.

Andrew Rogerson and Keiko Itoh, reprinted with kind permission from *Development Research Insights*, 25, March 1998, p.5

**A painful death that lurks at the bottom of the well**

For the past two decades, water from a million or more wells sunk into the alluvium of the Ganges delta by agencies such as UNICEF and the World Bank has been slowly poisoning Bangladeshi villagers with naturally occurring arsenic. Now thousands of villagers are being diagnosed with the debilitating marks of arsenic poisoning on their skin. Doctors believe that hundreds of thousands more victims remain undetected.

Until the early '70s, the 100 million-plus inhabitants of Bangladesh and neighbouring West Bengal drank from shallow hand-dug wells, rivers and ponds. But pollution was causing epidemics of cholera, and this persuaded aid agencies to spend tens of millions of dollars sinking tubewells to tap the plentiful, and apparently clean, water in the sands and silt of the Ganges floodplain.

National surveys unveiled at an international conference on the crisis, held in Dhaka last month, suggest 30 million people are drinking water containing more than 50 parts per billion of arsenic, five times the WHO's recommended limit. And more than a million may be drinking water with a hundred times the limit.

There is no effective treatment for arsenic poisoning, though doses of vitamins can relieve symptoms a little. For most Bangladeshis, the only chance of remission lies in finding alternative sources of clean drinking water. In the 1960s, when foreign engineers came here to sink the first tubewells, villagers warned that this was 'the devil's water'. They did not know how right they were.


**Ending of overseas broadcasts slammed**

The Howard Government's decision to slash Radio Australia's broadcasts to the Asia-Pacific region was 'farcical' and 'incomprehensible', according to a report by a Government-dominated parliamentary committee. The report on Australia's relations with Southeast Asian nations said 'the most counterproductive and incomprehensible action in Australia's regional public relations was the effective closure of Radio Australia to much of the region'.

Radio Australia's broadcasts to much of the Asia-Pacific were effectively closed last year when the Government decided to mothball the powerful shortwave transmission station at Cox Peninsula, near Darwin, to cut costs.

The report, by the Joint Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade, said the Cox Peninsula transmitters should be restored to full transmission for Radio Australia's use, especially given the recent unrest in Indonesia and Cambodia. It said the closure of the station ended up saving only $1.6 million and came after more than $23 million had been invested in the facility in just six years.

Radio Australia's general manager, Mr Jean-Gabriel Manguy, welcomed the parliamentary committee's report but said he could not see how the broadcaster was going to find the extra money needed to resume full services to Asia. Mr Manguy said Radio Australia continued to receive dozens of letters from former listeners complaining about the loss of broadcasts, which had been sorely felt after the recent unrest in Indonesia. 'It's costing $700,000 a year to mothball the [Cox Peninsula] transmitters,' he said, adding that Radio Australia had sent a submission to the Government arguing it could resume broadcasts for $600,000 a year by using a lower-powered transmitter there.

*Sydney Morning Herald*, 11 April 1998

**New report shows uneven progress of development**

People in developing countries are healthier and more educated than ever before, but this progress is uneven, World Bank Chief Economist Joseph Stiglitz told reporters at a press briefing last week to launch *World Development Indicators 1998*. 

*Development Bulletin* 45
Aid budget: Small steps in right direction, but a long way to go

The Government has taken some small steps in a positive direction by increasing the overseas aid budget by $50 million to $1.48 billion, stated Ms Janet Hunt, executive director of the Australian Council for Overseas Aid.

The government's swift and appropriate response to the Asian currency crisis and its aftermath indicates the Government's appreciation of the importance to Australia of a stable and prosperous region. The increases announced in the aid budget to assist Indonesia and Thailand will provide much needed help to those most affected by the economic woes of those countries.

The fact that this has been achieved without cuts to the Middle East, South Asia and Africa is particularly welcome.

The new initiatives in governance, including human rights, the tripling of funding for emergencies and the increase for non government organisations are welcome. These show the Government is committed to implementing its policy of increasing spending on programmes to benefit the poorest people.

However, with a $2.7 billion surplus, Australia could afford to be more generous and far-sighted. Despite the increase in dollar terms, the aid budget still constitutes a mere 0.27 per cent of GNP.

What does it say about us and our values to have a $2.7 billion surplus and give so little to the poorest people? A country's budget exposes its values and priorities. We have missed an opportunity to show a greater generosity of spirit. More aid could make a practical difference to people for whom clean water, enough food and some basic education are still just beyond their reach.

Aid media release, 12 May 1998

Youth envoys dominate aid

A $10 million youth ambassadors programme is the highlight of the aid budget, which lifts total overseas aid by $50 million or 0.5 per cent to $1.48 billion. The aid budget has several measures to help countries hit by the East Asian financial crisis, including a $6 million Asian crisis fund, $20 million in aid for Indonesia and $34 million in emergency funds for disasters such as El Niño-related droughts and floods.

The youth ambassadors programme will run for two years, and will enable 500 young people to live and work in the Asia-Pacific region. The Government says it will offer training and technical assistance to developing countries, give
participants experience working overseas, and encourage closer links between Australia and countries in the region.

The new Asian crisis fund aims to help countries worst affected by the region's financial turmoil, particularly Thailand and Indonesia. Its activities will focus on policies to foster development through training and technical assistance to strengthen public institutions.

Papua New Guinea remains the largest recipient of aid, at $298.5 million for the coming year. Pacific nations will receive $131.2 million, East Asia $401.1 million, South Asia $89.4 million and Africa $91.4 million.

Overall, the aid budget accounts for 0.27 per cent of Australia's national output, slightly above the 0.25 per cent average for all donor countries.

Typhoid biggest killer in PNG, say experts

Typhoid is the biggest killer in Papua New Guinea, killing at least 10 out of every 1,000 people each year, say medical experts. The experts said the incidence of typhoid in PNG was one of the highest in the world.

Hospitals in the Highlands also reported that most of the admissions for medical conditions were related to typhoid, and the lack of drugs, coupled with the confusion about the symptoms of the disease with malaria, resulted in deaths.

Typhoid is a relatively new problem in Papua New Guinea. From very few cases in the 1960s, the incidence has gradually increased to a situation where it was now endemic in the Highlands and some larger coastal towns. The results from [a] study ... indicated that prevention would be difficult and it would require a long-term integrated approach, involving improvements in hygiene and sanitation.

Typhoid is caused by the salmonella typhi bacteria and the disease is spread through contact with infected persons or food and water.

Eviction agents show tenants no mercy

Holed up in a 20 metre reinforced steel tower on a construction site were a handful of defenders hurling firebombs and rocks at attackers below. A huge water cannon bombarded the fortress day and night as the assailants laid seige with a giant motorised shovel. One of the attackers gave neighbours a running commentary on the battle through a megaphone. Sadly, this was no futuristic nightmare. It occurred in the quiet Seoul suburb of Towondong in late March and was the latest battle in the conflict between the city's renters and the landlords' eviction agencies. The war has raged for 20 years, ever since big development companies started clearing out low income residential areas to build lucrative high rise housing for the burgeoning middle class.

While home owners get compensation, tenants get little and many have nowhere else to live. Renters have few rights in South Korea, where public housing is scarce. Private rental is out of the question for the urban poor, as Seoul is one of the world's most high rent cities. Tenants say moving out means leaving Seoul for an outlying province with next to no chance of finding employment, especially at present.

The situation for Seoul's urban poor is becoming more desperate now as the worsening recession, following a record bail out from the International Monetary Fund last year, has taken what little income many tenants earned.
Anybody who has done research in a developing area has been faced with an almost overwhelming sense of difference and questioned the purpose and meaning of their actions. This session’s 15 papers focused on this process of interpretation. Thus, the opening paper by Pam Shurmer-Smith drew attention to the inescapable role of the researcher as an outsider, imposing outsider concepts for consumption by other outsiders. Being raised in the South only served to make one doubly dislocated, as one was more aware of the complexities and pitfalls of (re)conceptualisation. One way of dampening down the intrusive conceptions of the West was to submerge oneself in the writings from the South. These tensions surfaced in various forms throughout the papers, which coalesced around three themes: indigenous voices, the implantation and acceptance of Western development models, and changing state–citizen relationships. We finished with analyses of the visual representation of these through the medium of film.

The first indigenous voice was very faint indeed. Arthur Morris described an experiment to solve the riddle of how the inhospitable windswept Altiplano around Lake Titicaca on the Peruvian/Bolivian border managed to support the substantial populations of the pre-colonial age. The results showed that the water filled ditches surrounding raised fields were a frost control measure which enabled substantial crops to be raised where none are today. Sadly, it is unlikely that contemporary populations subjected to TV and urban values will harken to this ancient voice. In contrast, Andrew Leake showed that indigenous peoples were quick to grasp new technology cartography so as to acquire a voice through which to express their rights to land and hunting grounds in Honduras and Paraguay. Despite being illiterate, they displayed an amazing ability to transfer their spatial knowledge onto paper in a manner not far removed from the exactitudes produced by a GPS system. The final paper of the session explored how the medium of theatre could be used to retrieve and discover a voice for disenfranchised youth in the traumatic shifting power relationships of contemporary Zambia.

Indigenous voices have learnt the tune of export led, privately owned, bootstrap entrepreneurial effort in South Africa and Swaziland. Tony Binns and Etienne Nel’s example of revaluation of economic potential from within, showed how inhabitants could redevelop agricultural skills successfully, albeit in a well endowed physical environment. Here interference by the state, beyond confirming security of tenure, was neither needed nor wanted, but the unique
certain circumstances raised questions about replicability elsewhere. Meanwhile the state in Swaziland seemed to have sold a highly dependent and unsustainable form of agriculture to smallholders, according to Alan Terry. High profits for cotton are dependent on an EU premium shortly to be discontinued; meanwhile ground water levels are dropping and the infrastructure is totally inadequate to support the number encouraged to adopt this recipe for 'development'. A very different form of incorporation concerned the employees of the booming IT industry of Bangalore outlined by Elaine Asser. Globalisation's new service sector drew upon highly able youngsters from a wider range of society than most elites, whose comparatively good salaries bestowed new freedoms in their behaviour and consumption, which reflect Western practices. However, at heart convention reigns, as families still retain an important influence over marriage and dowries. State and citizen relationships are being redefined all the time, either instigated by the state via decentralisation (India), or because of the fuzziness between the state and civil society (Ecuador, Mexico), or because they overlap through the actions of intermediaries (Tanzania). In the first place, Glyn Williams explored the aftermath of the creation of lower tiers of government in India, how opportunities were seized by vested interests to instate mechanisms verging on the corrupt and so resulting in a set of 'formal rules and practices obeyed by a few, informal ones followed by most, both of which lacked legitimacy'. Meanwhile Stella Lowder queried what 'participation' and 'empowerment' in a corporatist state meant where patron clientelism was endemic and advantageous to all concerned. Cuenca, an Andean city, symbolised the local interpretation of a 'modern' urban landscape, the creation of which involved both formal and informal mechanisms by state and society. This fuzziness was also found in Tanzania by Claire Mercer, where the state maintained the rhetoric of empowerment while retaining control. The 'softening' of the state was also displayed in Mexico City by Margarei Harrison, where the state responded to public pressure to bargain with informal -- and thereby illegal -- street traders' leaders over the occupation of public space. However such fuzziness may mean loss of restraint over elites' capture of power; this can give rise to mechanisms which are not just informal but profoundly corrupt, as illustrated by Craig Jeffrey of the systematic abuses perpetrated by the Jat against impoverished marginalised groups.

Finally we were treated to an in depth analysis of space, place and society in film. Michael Chanan, from the London School of Printing, explained how Latin American film-makers turned the disadvantage of lack of funds and support into a distinctive genre, as the use of natural light, hand-held cameras at eye level, direct sound and real social places enables the viewer to 'participate', as acoustics create a sense of place, rather than convert the viewer into 'a passive receiver of images'. The session was wide-ranging and stimulating but sadly lacked time for discussion.

Stella Lowder, University of Glasgow. This is an edited version of the original conference report that appeared in the DARG Newsletter, No. 29, Spring 1998.

Indigenous rights – global and local perspectives

Adelaide, 21 March 1998

This conference was organised by the Centre for Development Studies at Flinders University, in association with Flinders University’s Yunggorendi First Nations Centre and the South Australian branch of Community Aid Abroad. Connections were made between Australian indigenous peoples' rights issues and the indigenous rights movements in other parts of the globe.

The morning session of keynote speeches opened with a haunting account by Georgina Williams, a Kaurna elder, of the traumatic losses suffered by her own family to this day as a result of dispossession of land and culture. She asked if all Australians are equal, why is it that mainly Aboriginal people suffer so many tragic deaths in families such as her own?

Rick Sarre, of the University of South Australia’s Law School, presented an analysis of why the human rights of indigenous peoples, despite being recognised in international conventions and declarations, were rarely implemented through national legislations. ‘National interest’ was identified as an important factor preventing the extension of human rights to indigenous communities.

The indigenous rights issues in Australia were examined by Aboriginal lawyer Fred Tanner, of the National Title Unit. Tanner identified native title to land and waters, self-determination, sharing of natural resources, health, and education as key issues for Australia’s indigenous peoples. He stressed the need to deal with the consequences of past and present injustices such as the Stolen Generations, and the disproportionate number of Aboriginal deaths in custody. He said that by and large, Aboriginal people were excluded from the processes of decision making with respect to these key issues.

The presentations by Jim Redden, Acting Director of Advocacy, Community Aid Abroad, and Bill Armstrong, Chief Executive Officer of the Overseas Service Bureau, dealt with the broad picture of indigenous rights at the global level. Armstrong pointed out that the dominance of economic values had overtaken human values, and demanded that this imbalance be redressed. Redden explained why Community Aid Abroad has come to act as an advocate for indigenous people in Australia and overseas in their struggles with multinational companies and governments.

In the afternoon, conference participants took part in seven workshops to explore various issues relating to indigenous peoples' human rights, and conflicts arising from claiming these rights. One of the workshops examined indigenous peoples' rights over knowledge. The participants discussed the terms 'property', 'knowledge' and 'indigeneity', and
pointed out that the notion of intellectual property, as framed by a culturally specific Western capitalist system of knowledge, has by and large excluded indigenous knowledge, which has been assigned a subordinate position in the hierarchy of knowledge systems. This has led to indigenous knowledge being expropriated by non-indigenous people.

A workshop on Aboriginal legal rights emphasised the gap between legal rights and the everyday experience of Aboriginal people in the community. One reason for this gap is a lack of credibility in the government’s commitment to protecting the rights of indigenous people. Funds allocated to legal aid programmes were inadequate. Aboriginal initiatives have produced some positive changes, such as programmes on anger and conflict management, and changes to existing legislation to give effect to priorities identified by Aboriginal people (for example, the recognition of kinship systems, and the role of elders). Further progress in incorporating indigenous rights issues into legislation relies on engaging directly and equitably with indigenous groups.

A workshop on mining and indigenous issues noted that mining companies often rely on their own monitoring of cultural, social and environmental impacts of their mining operations on indigenous communities. It recommended that an independently funded monitoring organisation be established in order to give communities access to unbiased impact assessments.

In a workshop on indigenous culture and education, it was pointed out that self-determination should involve the control and ownership of indigenous education systems, and the right to establish schools which recognise, respect and acknowledge indigenous values, philosophies and spirituality. The workshop noted that the integration of indigenous people in mainstream education institutions should be accompanied by a recognition of the wisdom of indigenous elders, a rethinking of criteria for educational evaluation and assessment, and the promotion of the use of indigenous languages. It stressed the importance of designing and delivering culturally sensitive teacher training programmes, such as Yunggorendi’s programme ‘Teaching indigenous students’.

The proceedings of this conference have been published as ‘Indigenous rights – global and local perspectives’, Centre for Development Studies Conference Paper 10, 1998. Those interested in purchasing a copy may send an order to Dr Susanne Schech, Centre for Development Studies, Flinders University, GPO Box 2100, Adelaide, SA 5001, Australia.

Susanne Schech, Centre for Development Studies, Flinders University

Asia Pacific solidarity conference

Sydney, 10–13 April 1998

More than 750 people participated in the conference, which was organised under the auspices of the Asia Pacific Institute for Democratisation and Development (API-DD) and hosted by the Democratic Socialist Party of Australia. The conference was characterised by an electric atmosphere of solidarity and struggle, with both in-depth discussions in workshops and plenary sessions and also packed-out evening cultural and solidarity events. On the last day, more than half the conference also mobilised for a 7am solidarity rally with the waterside workers picketing outside the Darling Harbour docks.

In addition to Australian activists, there were 67 representatives from Asian, Pacific, European and United States organisations. A delegation of Aboriginal speakers came from the Capricornia Lands Council, the Sydney Metropolitan Lands Council, the Kumarangk coalition of South Australia and the Canberra Tent Embassy. A representative of the Torres Strait Islanders also read protest poems to the conference.

There were intense discussions among the international and local participants on a wide range of issues, including the nature of the economic crisis in Asia, the appropriate responses from popular movements, the developing negative role of many NGOs, struggles against the military dictatorships of Indonesia and Burma, self-determination struggles in East Timor, Tahiti, Kanaky, Burma, Aceh, West Papua and Bougainville and the role of the women’s movement in the struggles of the region.

The conference received a special video message of solidarity from Jose Ramos Horta, Nobel Peace Prize laureate, and a conference highlight was the speech by Dorotea Wilson, a member of the National Directorate of the Sandinista National Liberation Front of Nicaragua.

The conference represented the first step in building a network of progressive organisations throughout the region. There was an unprecedented exchange of information between organisations and individuals. Many major political organisations met for the first time or engaged in their first in-depth exchanges. Many new relationships were established.

At the end of the conference the Pakistani Labour Party, the CPI-ML and the New Socialist Party of Sri Lanka announced that a conference of all left parties in South Asia would be held at the end of 1998. No such gathering has ever taken place before, and the idea was directly facilitated by the Asia Pacific solidarity conference.

Important practical steps were taken in carrying out international solidarity with the Australian waterside workers under attack from the Howard government, the National Farmers Federation and Patrick Stevedores. A representative
of the People’s Democratic Party of Indonesia (PRD) read a statement of support for the Maritime Union of Australia (MUA), and the conference passed a strong motion condemning the Howard government for its anti-worker attacks. More than $1,000 was collected and presented to the MUA picketers at Darling Harbour when conference participants rallied at the site.

Solidarity with the PRD in Indonesia and the East Timorese resistance was a special feature of the conference. Several workshops and panels discussed the situation in both countries and worked out plans for campaigns in Australia and internationally. The socialist youth organisation Resistance announced a national mobilisation of students outside the Indonesian embassy in Canberra on 24 April. The protest has already been supported by numerous student representative councils around Australia and the National Union of Students.

The conference was the venue for launching the Indonesian People’s Power fund. The fund, organised by Action in Solidarity with Indonesia and East Timor, will provide financial assistance to the Indonesian democratic underground, mainly the PRD. Within the first 24 hours, $1,500 was raised from conference participants. Educational material has been produced, including leaflets and new protest postcards, to spread information about the situation in Indonesia, including the new phenomenon of disappearances of political activists.

Max Lane, Action in Solidarity with Indonesia and East Timor (ASIET). This is an edited version of an article that appeared in Green Left Weekly, 22 April 1998.

Health in developing Asia: Seizing the opportunities

Geneva, 29 April–1 May 1998

The purpose of this seminar, which was organised by the Asian Development Bank (ADB) and the World Health Organisation (WHO), was to explore the experience of developing Asia, to examine the major challenges facing governments, public institutions and the private sector, to identify opportunities that will allow further improvements in health, and to describe the efforts of the ADB and WHO to promote better health in the region. At the end of the seminar, the two organisations pledged to reinforce their collaboration in Asia and the Pacific.

Keynote addresses were delivered by President Chandrika Kumaratunga of Sri Lanka (‘Improving health at low cost: Lessons and challenges from Sri Lanka’), as well as by Dr Gro Harlem Brundtland, former Prime Minister of Norway and nominee of the WHO executive board to be the next Director General of WHO (‘The way ahead: Critical health goals for developing countries in Asia and how they can be achieved’).

A presentation was made by Dean Jamison of the University of California (‘Models for health care financing for developing countries’). In his presentation, Utton Muchtar Rafei, Regional Director of WHO for Southeast Asia, stressed the importance of reaching vulnerable groups and of improving the health of the poor, women and indigenous people. He emphasised the fact that ‘Southeast Asia alone is home to 35 per cent of the developing world’s poor’, and that ‘the experiences of many Asian countries have shown that improved health has contributed to economic growth in several ways’. Rafei stressed that although WHO has consistently advocated that health is central to development, ‘the health sector is still not accorded due priority in the overall development agenda’, because ‘it is viewed as a sectoral programme that only “consumes” resources’.

Speaking for the ADB, Benjamin Loevinsohn, Senior Health Specialist, made an in-depth presentation of the Bank’s approach and policy objectives in the health sector. He described the health situation in the various parts of Asia, emphasising some of the achievements and challenges in the region. However, he argued that there remain serious challenges to confront, and that the ADB would like to be an active partner in meeting the challenges and seizing the opportunities.

The discussion that followed the presentations emphasised a number of important issues, including the wide possibilities offered by new developments in technology and by leadership and partnership initiatives. ‘This joint WHO/ADB seminar is in line with the resolution on WHO policy on collaboration with partners for health development adopted in 1996 by the World Health Assembly’, commented Yuji Kawaguchi, director of the WHO Division of Interagency Affairs. The resolution requested the Director General to keep the Health Assembly informed, among other things, about developments in strategic alliances with intergovernmental organisations, including the five regional development banks. ‘The determination to reinforce the collaboration between WHO and ADB is particularly timely, less than two weeks before the opening of the 51st World Health Assembly, here in Geneva’, Dr Kawaguchi concluded.

Pacific Public Health Surveillance Network

Education for sustainable development: Getting it right

Canberra, 23–25 April 1998

The Australian Development Studies Network conference brought together academics, consultants, educators, planners, government and non government personnel to discuss how education might best achieve sustainable development. The major focus of the conference was on the ways in which the Australian aid budget for education might
be most effective in meeting development objectives. Conference participants considered the relative merits of the education sector recommendations of the Simons Review of the Australian aid programme, and the government’s response to those recommendations. The recommendation that a higher proportion of the aid budget be spent on basic education was hotly debated.

The conference also provided the opportunity to actively participate in innovative, participatory and community-based methods of non formal education. A variety of workshops provided examples of new approaches to encouraging sustainable development. One highlight of the conference was a public performance and workshop on using participatory theatre as an effective means of non formal education. Six members of the Wan Smolbag Theatre group from Vanuatu ran this workshop and discussed the educational merit of involving people in creating theatre.

Some of the issues debated at the conference were how to achieve the most cost effective balance between basic and tertiary education; the long-term effectiveness of privatisation and contracting out of Australian-funded training and education; the role of intensive short courses in providing sustainable improvements in developing countries; the most effective balance between vocational and academic training; and the need for improving the management skills of those responsible for planning and managing education programmes. The issue of quality versus quantity underlay discussion of both basic and tertiary training.

The conference was opened by the Honourable Mrs Kathy Sullivan who pointed out that Australian support for education and training now accounts for 17 per cent of the overseas aid budget — the largest sectoral allocation. Mrs Sullivan made the point that if Australia is to help countries improve their human resources, more attention has to be paid to the great diversity of needs. She established an important benchmark for the three day conference by highlighting the importance of equity in education and of providing education for those in remote areas and urban slums, and for girls as well as boys. She pointed to the value of strong partnerships between governments, academic communities, industry and the people, if the complex challenges facing education in the region were to be met. Those forming these partnerships need to be aware of the realities of the situation and be able to listen to the real needs of the countries Australia is supporting. ‘As the country develops its own policy frameworks to respond to its circumstances, we maintain a close dialogue in order to ensure that our assistance is targeting the right people,’ Mrs Sullivan said.

‘Basic education must be our first priority’, she continued, but quality must not be overlooked. Worldwide trends show that school enrolments are doubling, even trebling, but in some countries quality is being sacrificed for quantity.

Professor Cliff Walsh, one of the members of the Simons Review committee, reinforced the opinion that a higher proportion of the Australian aid budget needs to be spent on education and in providing the training necessary for countries in the region to operate successfully in a highly technical economic environment, as well as being able to reach optimum potential in rural communities. However, he reinforced the Simons Review committee’s opinion that much of the education aid budget had catered to the commercial interests of Australian universities and consulting companies, and that much more cognisance had to be taken of the individual needs of different countries.

This point was taken up by Professor Cherry Gertzel, who stressed the need for education which took into consideration the specific needs of different countries, rather than the current approach to providing internationalised tertiary courses in industrial countries. She pointed out that the hidden long-term costs of tertiary education to spending countries was so high, it had implications for sustainability.

As part of the conference, a one day symposium looked at the impacts of educational reform in Papua New Guinea. Professor Rodney Hills, Vice Chancellor of the University of Papua New Guinea (UPNG), strongly criticised the reform as under-planned and under-resourced, with inadequate attention to educational quality. Professor Hills was critical of the withdrawal of funds from tertiary education and highlighted the deterioration of buildings, libraries, and teaching materials at UPNG. He pointed to a situation of declining educational standards, demoralised teachers, poor management and supervision and the negative impact of sending PNG’s top students overseas for tertiary education. This continually lowers the standard in UPNG, he said, and this is exacerbated when students never return to PNG.

David Mowbray of UPNG said that educational reform had paid far too little attention to sustainable development and the crucial role of environmental education. Recent education policies had undermined the capacity of tertiary institutions to train teachers and practitioners — not only in ecologically sustainable development, but in any subject. Without well trained, dedicated teachers the entire educational system would continue to collapse, he said.

Ivan Ngahan and Martin Kase of the National Apprenticeship and Trade Testing Board in PNG outlined the potential for hands-on, competency based vocational training as a means to contribute to a competent workforce in PNG. They called for further funding for this type of practical, skills based training.

The conference included a wide ranging discussion on the development of curricula that might go some way towards supporting sustainable development. It was clearly illustrated in several papers that curricula in many Pacific Island education systems are not appropriate to the reality of people’s lives, and do nothing to prepare them as successful farmers, entrepreneurs or business people. In discussion on appropriate curricula for sustainable development, a paper by John Fien of Griffith University illustrated how the
competitive academic curriculum undermines principles of sustainable development. He highlighted the need for school curricula that are appropriate to people's lifestyle, culture and local ecosystems.

In the concluding discussion it was pointed out that a greater focus needs to be placed on vocational skills that are appropriate to the country; that planning and management of education services need considerable upgrading, and more honest appraisal of educational needs, opportunities and constraints needs to be undertaken before educational plans are embarked on; that Australian aid should be focused on improving human capital rather than infrastructure; that there needs to be very much greater focus on non formal education at community level, and that a much more rigorous selection process is required to appoint consultants to implement Australian funded educational programmes.

Participants at the conference agreed that while basic education was an important focus for Australian education funding, there was, and always would be, a need for support for quality tertiary education. It was agreed that Australia could offer the type of high quality tertiary education that would ensure that administrators, planners, advisers, managers and teachers were of high calibre. Without this training, basic education could not be implemented successfully and sustainable development would remain unattainable.

Pamela Thomas, Director, Australian Development Studies Network. The publication, Education for development: Getting it right, including the full proceedings and main points from discussion will be available soon. It will be priced at $25, plus $5 postage. To order a copy, phone, fax or email the Australian Development Studies Network.
Conference calendar

Twelfth world AIDS conference


The International AIDS Society is organising this conference. The conference aims to provide news of the latest scientific advances, issues of access to treatment, equity, and the distribution of resources between North and South. Presentations and discussions are arranged according to four 'tracks'—basic science; clinical science and care; epidemiology, prevention and public health; and social sciences.

For more information contact:
Conference Secretariat
Congrex (Sweden) AB
PO Box 5619
Linnégatan 89A
SE-114 86 Stockholm
Sweden
Tel +46 8 459 6600
Fax +46 8 661 8155
E-mail aids98@congrex.se
Web http://www.ias.se

Tenth world congress of comparative education societies (WCCES)

Cape Town, 12–17 July 1998

This conference takes place at a time when education is under intense scrutiny in many countries of the world. The issues which are being raised are disparate, ranging from concerns for educational attainment to concerns about the ability of the educational system to provide access to people of different backgrounds and persuasions. In the economically developed world, it is anxiety about the quality of public education which is foremost in the public domain. In developing countries, issues of educational provision, such as the distribution of resources, are much more prominent.

This conference is an opportunity to bring together educationists from across the globe working in areas such as gender, race, class, religion, development, curriculum, policy and a number of cognate areas. The conference also has an interest in interrogating both the theory and practice of education.

For more information contact:
Vandra Masemann
Secretary General of WCCES
College of Education
Florida State University
306 Stone Building
Tallahassee, Florida 32306 4070
USA
E-mail MASEMANN@mail.coe.fsu.edu
Web http://www.uct.ac.za/education/WCCES/index.htm

Papua New Guinea (PNG) national convention on child sexual abuse, paedophilia and child sex tourism

Port Moresby, 7–9 July 1998

Sponsored by the Port Moresby City Mission in conjunction with the PNG National Child Protection Service and numerous government and non-government agencies, the convention is aimed at those people working with children or interested in the welfare and protection of children in PNG and the South Pacific region. The theme is Protecting PNG's children from sexual exploitation now and into the future. Experts from the USA, Australia and PNG will outline the many problems associated with child sexual exploitation, and suggest possible solutions and strategies to prevent such abuse.

For more information contact:
Port Moresby City Mission Convention
PO Box 5872, Boroko
Papua New Guinea
Tel +675 320 0606
Fax +675 320 1363

Winds of change: Women and the culture of universities

Sydney, 13–17 July 1998

This conference will provide a forum to consider and compare the issues confronting women in higher education internationally; to explore the ways women are participating in higher education; the diversity of conceptual models used to analyse their participation; and the strategies from around the world that have produced real outcomes for women.

For more information contact:
Conference Office
Equity and Diversity Unit
University of Technology, Sydney
PO Box 123
Broadway, NSW 2007
Australia
Tel +61 (0) 9514 1084
Fax +61 (0) 9514 1883
E-mail winds.of.change@uts.edu.au

Vietnamese studies and the enhancement of international cooperation

Hanoi, 15–17 July 1998

Jointly organised by the Vietnam National University, Hanoi and the National Centre for Social and Human Sciences in Vietnam, this conference aims to present research work on Vietnamese studies carried out locally, as well as overseas, in order to better understand Vietnam and enhance international cooperation. It also aims to create an international mechanism to coordinate and assist the study of Vietnamese language and Vietnamese studies.

For more information contact:
Conference Organising Committee
52B Nguyen Khuyen Street
Hanoi
Vietnam
Tel +84 4 824 8371
Fax +84 4 843 3224
E-mail rmivtn@netnam.org.vn
Globalisation and its discontents


This international conference includes presentation and comparison of Australian and Canadian perspectives on globalisation. Major themes of the conference include: clarification and reconceptualisation of the concept of globalisation; the consequences of globalisation for the society and the state; and the challenges posed to institutions and social groups as they respond to globalisation.

For more information contact:
Stephen McBride
Department of Political Science
Simon Fraser University
Burnaby, British Columbia
Canada V5A 1S6
Tel +1 604 291 3729
Fax +1 604 291 4786
E-mail stephen_mcbride@sfu.ca
Web http://www.sfu.ca/politics/globe98.html

From miracle to meltdown: The end of Asian capitalism?

Fremantle, 20-22 August 1998

Organised by Murdoch University's Asia Research Centre and the Centre for International Studies at Yonsei University, the conference will consider the impact of East Asia's economic crisis on the region. The conference will ask whether Asian forms of capitalism, which until recently were considered to be fundamentally superior to their Western counterparts, are still viable. Do the forces of globalisation mean that domestic and international alternatives to an economic order defined mainly in Anglo-American, neo-liberal terms are no longer possible?

For more information contact:
Ms Del Blakeway, Executive Officer
Asia Research Centre
Murdoch University
Murdoch, WA 6150
Australia

Towards global poverty reduction

Bradford, UK, 9-11 September 1998

The Development Studies Association (DSA) Annual Conference has chosen a theme that was the focus of the World Bank's 1990 World Development Report. Other themes include globalisation or marginalisation; regional cooperation between developing countries; and microenterprise development - experience and analysis. Papers are invited.

For more information contact:
Lesley Knight
DSA Annual Conference Development and Project Planning Centre
University of Bradford
Bradford BD7 1DP
UK

Gender and international studies: Looking forward

London, 13-14 September 1998

Organised by Millennium: Journal of International Studies, the conference will focus on ecology and technology; peace and conflict; and refugees and migration. The conference is intended to be interdisciplinary, and will feature paper presenters theorising on the feminine, masculine, homosexual, and transgendered in relation to the above issues.

For more information contact:
Millennium: Journal of International Studies
London School of Economics
Houghton Street
London WC2A 2AE
UK
Tel +44 171 955 7438
Fax +44 171 955 7438
E-mail millennium@lse.ac.uk

Tropical health for the twenty-first century - clone, cure and control

Liverpool, UK, 14-18 September 1998

The second European Congress on Tropical Medicine will be jointly organised by the Royal Society of Tropical Medicine and the Federation of European Societies for Tropical Medicine and International Health. Topics include guidelines for the analysis of gender and health; education; malaria in pregnancy; multidrug resistant tuberculosis; disease surveillance; advances in tropical child health; pregnancy and childhood anaemia; vaccines against parasites; and coping with HIV in the tropics.

For more information contact:
European Congress Office
Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine
Pembroke Place
Liverpool L3 5QA, UK
Tel +44 151 708 9393
Fax +44 151 708 8733
E-mail eurocong@liv.ac.uk
Web http://www.liv.ac.uk/istm/eurocong.html

Turning down the heat

Yamba, NSW, 17-18 September

The 1998 Australian Global Warming Conference will provide a forum for debate on climate change issues for local government and communities. It will focus on climate change amelioration strategies relevant at a community level, including energy efficiency; waste management; transport; carbon sinks; vegetation conservation; coastal and estuarine management; Local Agenda 21; and Cities for Climate Protection. Papers are invited.

For more information contact:
Universal Conferencing
48 River Street
Maclean, NSW 2463
Australia
Tel +61 (0)2 6645 4014
Fax +61 (0)2 6645 3057
E-mail lbsca@nor.com.au

Development Bulletin 45
Pacific representations: Culture, identity, media

Canberra, 22 September 1998

This interdisciplinary conference will analyse changing representations of culture and identity in the Pacific in the face of new global pressures and emerging local tensions. It will bring together people from a variety of disciplinary and institutional backgrounds to discuss cultural and political responses to globalisation, lingering colonialism and the emergence of new economic and political relationships. The conference will provide an opportunity to identify key conceptual and theoretical issues relating to identity and the politics of representation. There will be a special focus on the media's role in perpetuating or contesting existing representations.

For more information contact:
Dr Alaine Chanter
Conference Director
Faculty of Communication
University of Canberra
Canberra, ACT 2602
Australia
Tel +61 (0)2 6201 2648
fax +61 (0)2 6247 3406
E-mail arc@comserver.canberra.edu.au

New perspectives on island telecoms: Global networks, local requirements

Suva, Fiji, 21–23 October 1998

Telecommunications requirements and service provision pose challenging problems for many of the Pacific Island communities. Remote locations, small populations, scarce resources, diverse cultures, varying economic bases, and frequent natural disasters, all contribute to the difficulty of providing adequate telecommunications and information services in the Islands.

Sponsored by the Pacific Telecommunications Council and the Pacific Islands Telecommunications Association, this conference and exhibition will explore telecom requirements as well as many successful applications and some of those which have failed. It is hoped that fresh perspectives regarding regional and global trends, as well as new systems and facilities which could benefit the Island states, will be gained.

For more information contact:
Pacific Telecommunications Council
2454 South Beretania Street, Suite 302
Honolulu, Hawaii 96826-1596
USA
Tel +1 808 941 3789
Fax +1 808 944 4874
E-mail snakama@ptc.org

Impact assessment in the development process: Advances in integrating environmental assessment with economic and social appraisal

Manchester, UK, 23–24 October 1998

Sustainable development can only be achieved on the basis of a balanced appraisal of the environmental, economic and social impacts of a country's major development projects as well as its development policies, plans and programmes.

The objective of the conference is to review recent advances in the theory and practice of integrating environmental assessment techniques with methods of economic appraisal and social impact assessment, in different types of economic systems. Papers are invited.

For more information contact:
Debra Whitehead
Impact Assessment Conference Secretary
Institute for Development Policy and Management
University of Manchester
Crawford House, Precinct Centre
Oxford Road
Manchester M13 9GH
UK
Tel +44 161 275 2800
Fax +44 161 273 8829
E-mail debra-whitehead@man.ac.uk

New partnerships – better care: Information technology and community health

Victoria, Canada, 1–4 November 1998

This conference addresses issues in information technology and community health. It will focus on how information management and information systems are changing to improve community health. Topics include community health information systems; medical practices and community medicine; and health policy.

For more information contact:
Leslie Wood, Secretary
ITCH 98 Steering Committee
School of Health Information Science
University of Victoria
Victoria, BC
Canada V8W 3P5
Tel +250 721 8576
Fax +250 721 1457
E-mail LWood@hsd.uvic.ca
Web http://www.hsd.uvic.ca/HIS/ his.htm

Developing health

Canberra, 11–12 November 1998

Changing political and economic environments during the 1990s are challenges for people involved in public health, wherever they are located. On the occasion of its tenth anniversary, the National Centre for Epidemiology and Population Health is holding a national conference on the theme Developing health. The conference is for anyone working in the public health field – students are particularly welcome. Papers are invited.

For more information contact:
Ms Valda Gallagher
National Centre for Epidemiology and Population Health
Australian National University
Canberra, ACT 0200
Australia
Tel +61 (0)2 6249 5627
Fax +61 (0)2 6249 0740
E-mail dev.health@nceph.anu.edu.au
Interdependence in Asia
Pacific: A multidisciplinary perspective

Stockholm, 30 November–1 December 1998

Organised by the Swedish Institute of International Affairs and the Center for Pacific Asia Studies at Stockholm University, this conference will address the challenges raised by today’s integrative and disintegrative trends and developments in the Asia-Pacific region. It aims to contribute to the Asian-European dialogue by focusing on trends and tendencies towards regionalism in the Asia-Pacific. The conference will also highlight the effects of the current economic and financial crises on these processes. Papers are invited.

For more information contact:
Center for Pacific Asia Studies
Stockholm University
S-106 91 Stockholm
Sweden
Tel +46 8 162 897
Fax +46 8 168 810
E-mail cpas@orient.su.se
Web http://www.cpas.su.se

There are no boundaries

Washington, DC, 30 November–2 December 1998

Sponsored by the National Telephone Cooperative Association in partnership with the World Bank, this conference is devoted to the issue of rural telecommunications development. Finding ways to serve rural residents is one of the most critical concerns in international communications technology development, and this will be the first worldwide attempt to address this specific issue. The three focus areas will be: policy conducive to rural telecommunications development; technology choices appropriate for rural areas of developing countries; and appropriate or suitable organisational structure of entities delivering telecommunications services to rural areas or isolated communities. Papers are invited.

For more information contact:
National Telephone Cooperative Association
2626 Pennsylvania Ave, NW
Washington, DC 20037-1695
USA
Tel +1 202 298 2300
Fax +1 202 298 2317
E-mail International@ntca.org

Dominated postcolonial Pacific politics for the past three decades, and their relevance for the next century. Topics to be covered include change and continuity in Pacific politics; governance, globalisation and Pacific politics; indigenous minorities – rights and issues; diasporas in the Pacific; the politics of natural resources; Pacific security; environmental issues; and gender and politics.

For more information contact:
PIPS 98 Conference Organiser
Centre for Continuing Education
University of Canterbury
Private Bag 4800
Christchurch
New Zealand
Tel +64 3 364 2534
Fax +64 3 364 2057
E-mail pipsa@cont.canterbury.ac.nz
Web http://www.conferece.canterbury.ac.nz/ cipsa/hmpage.html

Geography and geographic education in twenty-first century Asia: Directions and challenges

Singapore, 30 November–4 December 1998

This is the fifth International Conference of the Southeast Asia Geography Association. The conference seeks to bring together academics and researchers in geography, and planners and specialists in related fields from within and outside the region, to share their research findings on different aspects of the Southeast Asian situation. Topics to be covered include environment and environmental education; developmental issues; regionalisation and globalisation; IT in geography/GIS; population issues; gender issues; tourism and leisure; urban and regional planning; and geography school curriculum.

For more information contact:
Dr Henry Wai-Chung Yeung
Secretary, Organising Committee
Department of Geography
National University of Singapore
10 Kent Ridge Crescent
Singapore 119260
Tel +65 772 6810
Fax +65 777 3091
E-mail geoywc@nus.sg

Preparing for the twenty-first century

Christchurch, 7–10 December 1998

The sixth Pacific Islands Political Studies Association Conference will reflect on the political events that have dominated postcolonial Pacific politics for the past three decades, and their relevance for the next century.

For more information contact:
Pacific Telecommunications Council
2454 South Beretania Street,
Suite 302
Honolulu, Hawaii 96826-1596
USA
Tel +1 808 941 3789
Fax +1 808 944 4874
E-mail ptc99@ptc.org

Twenty-first annual Pacific telecommunications conference

Honolulu, 17–20 January 1999

Key issues within the following major areas will be discussed: broadcasting (terrestrial, satellite and cable); business and finance telecommunication issues; country studies; environment enhancement; history of significant telecom and information technology developments; improving service in less developed areas; internet issues; regulatory, legal and political subjects; and social and cultural issues (privacy, security, cultural erosion). Papers are invited.
Gendered sites, human rights: Gendered sights, human rites

Dunedin, New Zealand, 8–11 February 1999

This conference will address the current agenda of the International Geographical Union Commission on Gender. It aims to explore the nature of human rights and rites, and will investigate the gendered spaces and perspectives, which enable a critical reading of these rights, responsibilities and practices. Expressions of interest in attending and participating should be sent to:

Ruth Liepins
Conference Convenor
Department of Geography
University of Otago
PO Box 56
Dunedin
New Zealand
E-mail igu.gender@hyperperth.otago.ac.nz

Globalisation and the Asian economic crisis

Honolulu, 23–27 March 1999

The 95th Annual Meeting of the Association of American Geographers will examine the Asian economic crisis. Questions to be asked include are these events the inevitable outcome of economic globalisation and financial integration? Are they exacerbated by externally imposed disciplinary action? Are they attributable to 'corrupt' regimes and domestic financial mismanagement? How has the Asian ‘crisis’ been represented? Papers are invited.

For more information contact:
Philip F. Kelly
Southeast Asian Studies Programme
Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences
National University of Singapore
10 Kent Ridge Crescent
Singapore 119260
Tel +65 874 6896
Fax +65 777 6608
E-mail seapfk@nus.edu.sg

Women’s worlds 99

Tromsø, Norway, 20–26 June 1999

Feminist research and interdisciplinary scholarship is the basis of the seventh International Interdisciplinary Congress on Women. Session themes will include genderations; new constructions of gender; women, power and politics; gendering work and the economy; gendering health; sexualised violence; gendering the future; peace, indigenous and human rights; culture, creativity and spirituality; gender, science and technology; the women’s movement/feminist activism worldwide; and gendering men. Papers are invited.

For more information contact:
Women’s Worlds 99
Kvinnforsk, University of Tromsø
N-9037 Tromsø
Norway
Tel +47 7764 5899
Fax +47 7764 6420
E-mail womens.worlds.99@skk.uit.no

Autumn 1998
Book reviews

Microfinance and poverty reduction

*Susan Johnson and Ben Rogaly 1997, Oxfam, Oxford, ISBN 0 855 98369 8, vii +134pp., £8.95*

The old development assistance adage 'give a fish and you feed for the day, give a fishing rod and you feed for life' highlighted the shift from famine relief to development assistance. However in practice things were not so simple. Economies of size meant that very few fishing rods were provided relative to motor boats and cold stores. It proved very difficult to get the aid through to the poorest of the poor at the grassroots level.

Private sector non-profit organisations are increasingly using microfinance to reduce poverty. Microfinance is an attempt to redesign development assistance to be more self-reliant and on a smaller scale. It involves the provision of financial services, particularly very small deposits and loans, for poor people. The benefits are that scarce development funds go further, poor people are more likely to participate, environmental damage is less likely and the projects funded are more likely to be needed and successful. However, microfinance is not a development panacea. Like all previous development approaches, the early enthusiasm and claims of microfinance success need to be tempered with the lessons and failures of experience. *Microfinance and poverty reduction* argues that adaptation through learning from experience is essential for successful development. The authors provide practical suggestions grounded in the experience of a broad range of functioning microfinance institutions.

Susan Johnson and Ben Rogaly provide a balanced view of the benefits and problems of microfinance. For example, the Grameen Bank’s use of group lending and saving is often viewed as central to microfinance. However, while it may be good in ensuring transparency (less corruption) and more likelihood of repayment, the use of groups has negative aspects – social humiliation if unable to make repayments, and exclusion of the financially weakest (the poorest).

It is very important to recognise that typically, people have their own microfinance institutions. Johnson and Rogaly identify the importance of carrying out research about the existing local financial institutions in order to establish the needs and capabilities of local people. For example, a financial priority of the poorest may not be loans for productive investments, but emergency loans for family disasters. These provide valued security and improved survival. Research to understand the local context can enhance the design of the NGO intervention. It is often the case that, rather than rushing in with externally imposed solutions, existing institutions can be assisted to provide improved financial services to the poor.
Johnson and Rogaly suggest there is no one design for microfinance. They do, however, provide some general suggestions for improved design. For example, they suggest that savings can be more important than credit, particularly for the poorest who only have their labour to sell and are therefore often more involved in the cash economy than their landed neighbours. They also suggest that impact assessment must involve more than statistics on numbers of users, cash lent and repayment ratios. Users must be involved in an assessment dialogue which allows them to express their needs, and the microcredit institution to adapt its processes to meet those needs. Meaningful interaction between users and the institution will greatly assist in providing services which are useful and relevant to a wide range of users, and so have a more significant impact on supporting their livelihoods.

Five case studies are outlined in the book—the Union Regional de Apoyo Campesino in Mexico, SUNGI Development Foundation in Pakistan, Lakewood Credit Union in the UK, ACTIONAID in the Gambia and Casa Cayambe in Ecuador. Each case examines background, design, finance and impacts. These and other examples, particularly from several institutions in Bangladesh, are used throughout the book. I would have liked more on Bank Rakyat Indonesia, which is a fascinating example of a failing government institution successfully implementing learning from experience and adaptive administration to remake itself into a flourishing microfinance institution.

The book is well written and referenced, with attractive layout and presentation. Its use as a reference could have been improved with the inclusion of an index and a list of acronyms. I strongly recommend the book to all who are interested in microfinance.

Greg Barrett, Faculty of Management, University of Canberra

Men and masculinity


This short collection of eight articles, originally published in Gender and Development, aims to focus attention on the lack of research on men and who presumably have an adequate understanding focus on men as masculine subjects has negative consequences both for the theory and practice of development. It is argued that this inattention to men as masculine subjects has negative consequences both for the theory and practice of development. The book aims to catalogue the problems associated with this, and point to areas of urgently needed research, rather than deal with the topic of masculinity and development per se. It succeeds admirably in fulfilling these limited aims. It is indeed a timely reminder of what needs to be done, and why focusing only on women in gender and development can paradoxically have an adverse effect on women and children. However, it was disappointing to find that, in the resources section at the end of the book, almost all of the books, articles, magazines, newsletters, organisations and Internet resources listed deal with Western, Anglo men and masculinity issues. Whilst this reflects the bias of the literature on men and masculinity, I know, as researcher, that informative and critical literature on non-Western masculinities is available. Although this literature does not specifically address the problem of men and development, it does seem as equally relevant as the literature on Anglo men.

This does not, however, detract from the intrinsic worth of the book. Although the articles are of uneven quality, some general arguments run through most of the chapters. First is the idea that 'gender needs to be everybody's issue' if changes are to happen. The past focus on women has in effect made women alone responsible for changes, an unrealistic expectation at best, especially in a field of unequal gender/power relations. It has, in fact, exacerbated women's burden as the failure of some development initiatives show. It was interesting to read of a widespread increase in male violence against women (in Africa and South Asia) that correlated with women's new access to jobs and/or financial help. However, it is still true, as many articles point out, that it is women's access to resources, rather than men's, which is instrumental in bettering health, education and other social prospects for children. The necessity to involve men as men, and to increase their awareness and acceptance, of gender equity issues, poses serious problems as to how this can be done.

Although most articles do not offer solutions for such problems, many make the valid point that an understanding of the complexity of masculinity issues is a first step in that direction. This constitutes the second general theme of the book. It stresses the socially constructed aspect of masculinities, and especially how dominant ideologies of 'what being a man means' push many disempowered men into a re-win situation. Many, of course, react to what they perceive as their loss of power through modernisation with violence (male youth violence is on the increase worldwide) and with attempts to reassert traditional gender power (domestic violence). Most articles, however, are more concerned with the possibility of using discrepancies in status, and men's real concerns for others in their various roles as fathers, brothers, partners and so on, as a basis for changes in practice. Some papers show, or implicitly suggest, that changing male practices could be easier than changing men's perceptions of themselves and cherished values about masculinity. The importance of associating a more understanding focus on men as men, with an equal insistence on gender equity, is often stressed in the book.

It is therefore unfortunate, although perhaps not surprising, that the second last paper, which recounts the experience of conducting gender workshops with men working in various capacities in the field of development, shows that while they are perfectly aware of the various problems that women suffer, they are totally reluctant to question the role of men in such problems. These men, who mostly occupy decision making positions in NGOs, and who presumably have an adequate understanding of the systemic nature of development issues...
Forest resources and wood-based biomass energy as rural development assets


This is the seventh volume in the 'agroforestry research and practice' series initiated by the Oxford and IBH Publishing Company in 1990. This particular volume emerged from a workshop held in the United States in 1992, and reflects the state of thinking of the time.

The book is divided in five parts:

• Issues and linkages – introductory papers on issues relating to the energy crisis, and the potential offered by the management of tropical forests in terms of renewable energies

• Alternative experiences with wood-based biomass energy – seven papers presenting case studies from Honduras, Indonesia and the United States on how the use of wood-based biomass could (some cases explore a potential rather than analyse a field-based reality) or does produce energy in a sustainable and economic manner

• Forest ecosystems and sustainability – four papers investigating forest ecosystems in relation to nutrient recycling and ecological sustainability

• Global and tropical forest economies – seven papers presenting case studies from the Philippines, Kalimantan, and the Brazilian Amazon, and a more general overview of commercial forestry and rural development

• Overview and summary – a concluding chapter outlining recommendations for research and action.

The papers are well researched and will be interesting sources of information, although economic calculations vary between scientists and become quickly outdated. The book presents a considerable amount of data on the technical and economic feasibility of using wood-waste as an alternative source of energy for locally based industries. The idea is that with the development of appropriate technology, logging operation residue could provide energy for rural based industries, such as saw mills in remote areas, whilst also benefiting surrounding villages, as some of the energy could be used for domestic purposes.

The focus of the book is technical and economic. Although one may well be convinced by the economic and technical feasibility of this enterprise, little consideration is given to social and political constraints or blockages. Access and control over other sources of energy are crucial in the wider scene of power relationships between people in general and various stakeholders (government, industry, and communities). In many ways they are at the centre of different models of development. To promote the use of alternative sources of energy, one cannot avoid the debate about radical change in the model of development that a society chooses. A chapter on these issues would have increased interest in the rest of the material presented in the book. Some papers do highlight the existence of indigenous knowledge or touched upon the potential offered by social forestry programmes, but because they are mostly descriptive, or do not form a coherent link with the debate, one gets the impression that they are merely a mention in passing rather than a reflection on processes of implementation.

The concluding chapter attempts to identify research priorities that address rural development issues. The questions raised by the workshop address many issues including policy and institutional relationships, tenure, inventories, management systems, gender, markets and conflict. In many ways, those issues are the problems to solve in order to ensure the feasibility of technological intervention. Societies are always expected to accommodate new technologies – the option of developing technologies to fit into a specific social and political context is rarely considered. In this way, the book is a disappointment.

Marlene Buchy, School of Resource and Environmental Management, Australian National University

Reworking success: New communities at the millennium


For over 30 years, Robert Theobald has been passionate about fundamental social change, not only in rich countries but also in developing countries. In 1964, in the Triple Revolution, Theobald and his colleagues proposed the concept of a basic minimum income for all. A so-called ‘guaranteed income’ that received considerable support at the time but was seen by conservatives as an attack on the cherished belief that work (lots of it and the harder the better) is the only way people can get out of poverty.
In *Reworking Success*, Theobald has a much wider vision. The success criteria for the twenty-first century are 'ecological integrity, effective decision making and social cohesion'. The way to achieve these is through local community decision making and action. Decision making groups include not only the new types of 'family' that are emerging, but also new concepts of 'community' which include not only people living together in close proximity, but also virtual communities where people are linked together through the Internet – what he refers to in some of his other publications as 'learning communities'. Such communities feel their way into the future, rather than imposing some arbitrary and damaging view of reality onto the future.

Theobald gives an overview of the dominant ideas that have influenced Western thinking since World War II, and ends with an imaginary view back from the year 2011 to the mid 1990s, as a way of identifying decisions that need to be made now. Uppermost here is the decision by the rich countries to abandon maximum growth models, and the adoption by poor communities of models that develop high quality of life and social justice by using far fewer resources, thus avoiding the mistakes made by the rich countries.

As it was written for radio, the book tends to be more verbose in parts than one would expect from a tightly worded and argued case. Nonetheless, it is easy to read and full of interesting ideas. Throughout, Theobald comes up with novel terms: 'mindquakes' for fundamental shifts in thinking, 'right livelihood' to replace the master–servant notion inherent in current employment contracts, as well as 'learning communities', the 'healing century' and 'reworking success'.

Theobald, along with Charles Handy, Jeremy Rifken, and Matthew Fox, is one of a number of futurists wrestling with the gargantuan problems facing humanity. Gone are the days when we could use trial and error techniques to blunder through. *Reworking Success* is recommended for anyone interested in thinking about the future.

*John Schooneveldt, Nature and Society Forum*

**Reducing risk: Participatory learning activities for disaster mitigation in Southern Africa**

Astrid von Kotze and Ailsa Holloway 1996, *International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, distributed by Oxfam United Kingdom and Ireland, ISBN 0 855 98347 7, 325pp., £14.95*

*Reducing risk* was developed as a curriculum in disaster management, for use as six one week workshops. Alternatively, individual activities can be chosen to suit the training needs of communities or NGOs. Unfortunately, the authors do not give guidance on shorter combinations of activities – it is either the 55.5 hours of activities as a package, or individual components. The authors make the point that the activities would be further enhanced by linking them to other training in Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA), and planning and development of programme proposals training.

The book is divided into three sections: key concepts and risk factors; risk assessment: community based considerations; and risk reduction and emergency preparedness planning. There is an excellent layout of teaching plans, with a comprehensive range of clear materials and resources for copying. The teaching plans contain a highly accessible set of visual reminders, including notes on what the learning is about; hints and warnings; guides to flip chart presentations; and examples of flip chart answers. The large A4 format and clear diagrams make for ease of photocopying training handouts.

Some minor points, which detract from the excellent presentation, include the dark photos, which are lost on the environmentally friendly paper and lost even further if photocopied. The early section which outlines notes for facilitators, in particular the section 'Setting up a cooperative learning environment and process', could have been more detailed and in the same useful format as later sections (with times, plans and resources). This is a critical area that has been well thought out, but not as comprehensively presented. The end of the book equally falls down with the exclusion of considerable Internet material, which could have enhanced the comprehensive literature, listed as useful references.

The strength of the overall presentation of the book provides a good setting for the substance of the lessons. Important issues are covered, moving beyond the traditional disaster preparedness literature, which has focused on disasters as discrete events, in exclusion of process or people. In particular, *Reducing risk* deals well with the real difficulties and barriers to integration of development, preparedness and response. This is often a perceptual difficulty for field workers, both in development and relief, creating a false divide. The issue of gender is well covered in all sections and receives a primacy that it deserves, not only in vulnerability analysis but also in key issues relating to participation and response. A nuanced explanation of risk is developed, weaving in major issues affecting Southern Africa, in particular structural adjustment. To that end, it begins to develop a broader understanding, for trainers and participants, of the concept of disasters as processes, inexorably linked to community development.

Training activities on household food security imply an inconsistent impact of food shortages/famines even within communities, but this is not clearly spelt out. The link between droughts/famines and conflict, political control, access or
entitlements, is not thoroughly explored. This detracts from the broader links it makes when discussing, for example, structural adjustment.

To some extent, Reducing risk overstates 'the continuum' integrating preparedness, response and development. The failure of civil society and governance is never really directly addressed. The breach of development in conflict, leading in exceptional circumstances to 'anti-development', is not covered, nor can it be in linear approaches to the relief-development continuum utilised by Reducing risk. Without such an alternative analysis brought to bear, issues such as the increased vulnerability of urban communities unaccustomed to traditional coping mechanisms, as for example the besieged cities of Angola during its civil conflict, remain hidden.

Reducing risk would have benefited from a more detailed examination of the interrelationship between conflict and natural disasters - 'complex emergencies'. A section would have been useful about the issue of environmental and human-made disasters feeding off one another. The presumption or inference appeared to be that disasters are somehow an external force, rather than a risk inherent in communities unprepared for disasters. Natural disasters may be in the current mind's eye of Southern Africa, however conflict and complex emergencies have not so long ago been in Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and other nations of Southern Africa. Their lessons will be ignored at the peril of disaster preparedness planners and trainers of the future.

This is an extremely valuable training resource for communities and field staff at a variety of levels. It has a broader application beyond Southern Africa, if only as a framework for training in other regions of Africa and the globe. Although some areas require further examination and development, they will no doubt be picked up in the process of participatory learning, during the exercises outlined. After all, the strength of Reducing risk is in guiding trainers to provide an environment for field workers and communities to share experiences and teach one another from their own realities.

Mark Prasopa-Plaizier, Emergencies Manager, Community Aid Abroad - Oxfam Australia

Bridging the gap: A guide to monitoring and evaluating development projects


The role of a project manager is to bridge a number of gaps - not only gaps that exist between information and knowledge, but also those that can exist between the various stakeholders. Different stakeholders have different, and sometimes conflicting, information needs. Management Information Systems (MIS) are often viewed as a reporting requirement to satisfy the funding agency. But Bridging the gap aims to broaden the concept and purpose of MIS so that they are also seen, just as importantly, as a management tool to improve project performance and outcomes.

Bridging the gap was prepared for the ACFOA Training and Development Unit with funding from AusAID. It is a timely publication in light of the Simons Review, which calls for improved monitoring and evaluation systems for AusAID assisted projects and programmes. It can also be seen as a sequel to ACFOA's 1990 publication Project identification, design and appraisal by Laurie Zivetz.

The current book has been prepared primarily as a guide for project managers within Australian NGOs (ANGOs) who are involved in the monitoring and evaluation of development projects. However one of its goals is also to promote the institutional strengthening of implementing partner agencies to enable them to establish their own monitoring and evaluation systems. However, Bridging the gap is also appropriate for a wider audience, including project managers within bilateral, multilateral and indigenous agencies. At ANUTECH we have found it a valuable text when training international course participants in monitoring and evaluation - be they from bilateral, NGO or government agencies.

The guide consists of six chapters. The first chapter provides an overview of the Australian context and the different management information needs of the various stakeholders in a project. Definitions of monitoring, review and evaluation are provided in the next chapter, which then takes a step backwards in the project cycle to look at project planning and design. This section is supported by Annex 1 which gives a detailed overview of the project framework or logical framework. The importance of collecting minimal and only necessary data is also emphasised.

Chapter three is concerned with the establishment of monitoring systems which are appropriate for the needs of the implementing agencies and beneficiaries. It outlines the type of information to be collected, the process for data collection, recording, analysis and presentation, and for ensuring the quality of information collected. Quantitative
and qualitative data collection techniques are touched upon. Chapter four briefly covers the review process.

The fifth chapter, 'Making the most of short visits', contains some of the most thought-provoking information in this guide. In some ways it is one of the most appropriate sections for project managers based in Australia or in capital cities of recipient countries, as it challenges the current effectiveness of many review visits and makes suggestions for their improvement. It is concerned with how to transform what can be seen as 'development tourism' into a meaningful and useful exercise. It touches on how to prepare and implement a visit, arrange your itinerary, transfer skills to partner agencies, and it suggests appropriate people with whom to speak. An innovative idea in this chapter is that of 'catch-up appraisal'.

In other words, how one can use monitoring trips to fix up any design problems in the project. Are the objectives and outputs still realistic or are there any assumptions and risks which were overlooked in the design phase? The last chapter focuses on the advantages and disadvantages of evaluation and how to involve stakeholders in the process.

The main strength of this book is that it focuses on people-centred approaches to data collection, analysis and reporting. It aims to assist ANGOS meet the monitoring and reporting needs of AusAID, while not sacrificing the more important information needs of the beneficiaries. The guide is quite detailed, but the layout is such that it is easy to skim to find information appropriate to specific needs, with frequent cross referencing to annexes, other sections of the book and other sources. Graphics and cartoons throughout are informative, appropriate and witty.

Jennifer Clement, Training Coordinator, ANUTECH Development International

No place for borders: The HIV/AIDS epidemic and development in Asia and the Pacific


This book represents an ambitious attempt to address the HIV epidemic in a region where information is scarce and speculation rapidly becomes outdated. Multidisciplinary views are offered by academics, development specialists and AIDS workers who originally gathered for a workshop at the Australian National University in March 1995.

The convenors and editors, Godfrey Linge and Doug Porter (both geographers), suggest that 'HIV/AIDS has the potential to alter the course of human development in the Asia-Pacific region'. Perhaps the real question is whether the disease's impact will be sufficient to persuade those in power to change the conditions of disadvantage which propagate both AIDS and other ills. Current economic meltdowns, and political upheaval in Indonesia, seem likely to put AIDS on the sidelines. As the authors conclude, even if a glass of clean water cured AIDS, many people would have no access to this cure.

One acute problem is the great variation between reported HIV and AIDS cases in the region, and estimates of 'actual' figures. A plethora of statistics and figures in this volume sometimes increases confusion rather than allaying it. For instance, Rob Moodie points to major epidemics emerging in Indonesia (although in 1996 only 406 cases of HIV had been reported in a population of over 200 million) and Malaysia (which David Lim, in another chapter, states to be a low prevalence country). Several authors touch on the pressures to bias HIV figures both up and down (‘my HIV figure is bigger than your HIV figure’). Unfortunately there is no discussion of the overall downward revision of early dramatic predictions, nor of the effectiveness of HIV prevention programmes, as for example seen by the plateauing of infections in Thailand.

Perhaps because of the book’s development focus, comparisons are drawn with sub-Saharan Africa (where the general population has been affected) rather than Western countries. Nevertheless sentinel surveillance and prevention programmes in the Asia-Pacific have adopted the West’s ‘risk group’ approach. It is questionable whether a labour shortage will in fact develop, as suggested by Elizabeth Reid and others. Individual chapters address Thailand, Malaysia and the Pacific Islands, but the unevenness of the epidemic(s) remains unaccounted for.

Linge and Porter suggest that AIDS has been poorly managed but they give few specific examples to support this. The Asia-Pacific region is very heterogeneous, thus preventing any pan regional quick fix. Programmes vary from laissez faire (in Papua New Guinea, although Bryant Allen makes the important point that people are well able to develop their own coping strategies) to incarceration (of drug users in Manipur via versions of Western ‘community based’ prevention focused on ‘risk groups’).

Phil Marshall and Janet Hunt’s discussion of NGO imperatives recommends the Australian community based model, despite the practical and ethical problems involved in parts of the region where the risk group mentality has been used to encourage blame and stigmatisation by a complacent ‘general population’. Community based models depend on empowerment and acknowledging people’s rights, while the scapegoating of people such as drug users and sex workers forfeits any claim they have to human rights (Murray and Robinson 1996).

While David Plummer and Doug Porter’s chapter on epidemiological categories also critiques this categorisation, most of the authors in this volume continue to employ ‘risk group’ rhetoric in their particular attention to migrant ‘border crossers’ and sex workers. For instance, Nedra Weerakoon
refers to female migrants as a ‘high risk group’. Obviously some gross assumptions about people’s motivations and behaviour are being made here, in the equation: poverty causes migration and sex work causes HIV, against which Sukhontha Kongsin points out that only 1.7 per cent of AIDS deaths in Thailand have been amongst sex workers.

References by the editors to these groups of people as victims, a ‘tide of humanity’, ‘swirling masses’ who ‘herd together’ and so on, set an elitist tone. Similarly in the chapter on national capacity building, ‘funders’ are said to be ‘creating norms, values and practices’ using a language of ‘process facilitation skills’ and ‘protocol development’, which is likely to alienate those not au fait with this jargon. Finally, the editors distance themselves from HIV positive people among the readership and in the region by suggesting that ‘we’ have phobias about the disease.

Overall, this book illustrates its own argument about the need for more action oriented and experience based research in the region to inform policy, and overcome blame and stigma. Hopefully it will encourage work on HIV projects adapted to the specific context. One of the most important issues raised is the importance of rapidly increasing numbers of migrant workers for both development and HIV prevention programmes. In particular those who are illegal are likely to hide from AIDS projects and be deported if discovered. There should be ‘no place for borders’, but how can responses to HIV also adapt to the realities of state boundaries and disparities between regions?

Reference


Alison Murray, Department of Human Geography, Australian National University
New books

The urban challenge in Africa: Growth and management of its large cities


This book examines the growth of the largest cities of Africa – their characteristics, their dynamism despite economic crisis and the outcomes of attempts to manage them. Despite data constraints, the book argues that Africa’s largest cities – even those in countries experiencing economic and state breakdown – will continue to grow and to have vital economic roles. Despite the failure of administrative systems to cope, and lack of institutional and financial capacity to deal with urban growth, more realistic and promising approaches to urban policy, planning and management have emerged in recent years. Thus despite Africa’s generally bleak future, the concluding chapters of the book are not entirely pessimistic about the continent’s ability to rise to the urban challenge.

Eco-restructuring: Implications for sustainable development


This study provides a significant contribution to the literature on sustainability by identifying, on a sectoral basis, the critical issues facing the world as a whole and the technical feasibility of addressing them. A new paradigm of eco-restructuring for sustainable development is introduced. Each technology chapter presents, in a self-contained and comprehensive way, the state of the sector, the primary issues that concern the sector’s sustainability, and the technical means for achieving sustainable outcomes. Comprehensive coverage is given on the fields of materials, various energy technologies and futures, tropical land use, transport and industrial space use, ecological process engineering, and agro-engineering. The volume also contains chapters on systems views of the broader eco-restructuring concept, including its biophysical basis, global eco-restructuring and technological change, and national and international policy instruments and institutions.

Disaster and development: The politics of humanitarian aid


As natural disasters increase in frequency and scale, the cost of humanitarian assistance elbows development budgets aside. In this book, the authors argue that, contrary to the official line, there is always a political agenda behind humanitarian aid. Highlighting the link between disaster, aid, development and relief, and focusing on several case studies, they expose profound political arguments which are part of a far wider global battle for resources and markets. The authors also look at the man-made decisions and actions that often result in ‘natural’ disasters. They analyse the common political agendas behind humanitarian intervention in Somalia, Kenya, Sudan, Mozambique, Rwanda, Afghanistan and Azerbaijan.

Hope at the margins: Beyond human rights and development


This book portrays the ways in which the world’s social majorities are now escaping from the monoculture of a single global civilisation and regenerating their own cultural and natural spaces. In doing so, they are challenging the three sacred cows of modernity – the idea entrenched in globalisation that there is only one, universally valid way of understanding social reality; the exclusive and general validity of Western-defined notions of human; and the notion of the self-sufficient individual, as opposed to people-in-community, which has grotesquely transformed how we see the human condition.

Greening the North: A post-industrial blueprint for ecology and equity


While sustainability is in danger of being reduced to a meaningless platitudinous, the fact remains that the industrial countries make a disproportionately large and negative impact on the environment. A serious transition to sustainability will require changing people’s mindsets and social institutions, in addition to public policies, technologies and business practices. This book presents a path-breaking analysis as well as innovative proposals for managing this transition. Emanating from Europe’s foremost policy think-tank, it has already stirred up a major debate in Germany on radical, but feasible, directions in which the governments of industrial societies ought to be moving.

The spirit of regeneration: Andean culture confronting Western notions of development


This book assembles for the first time in English a selection of the work which a group of Peruvian development...
Emerging economic systems in Asia


This collection of essays on the economies in Asia, placed in their economic, social and political power base. In a decade where the founders of these families are to relinquish the levers of state power and bureaucratic authority that have underpinned their power base up to now, a new political formula is not easy. What new regimes are being incubated: liberal democracies and market economies, developmental authoritarianism, or some form of oligarchic authoritarianism or corporatism?

Mandarins and oligarchs


This book examines the growing struggle by the new family oligarchies of Indonesia to consolidate their economic, social and political power base. In a decade where the founders of these families are to relinquish the levers of state power and bureaucratic authority that have underpinned their power base up to now, a new political formula is not easy. What new regimes are being incubated: liberal democracies and market economies, developmental authoritarianism, or some form of oligarchic authoritarianism or corporatism?

Political development in Pacific Asia

David Martin Jones 1997, Blackwell, ISBN 0 745 61504 X, 256pp., A$34.95

This book provides a lucid account of political and economic development in Pacific Asia. Adopting a comparative and historical approach, it examines the factors behind the 'East Asian Miracle' which transformed the economies and societies of Pacific Asia. The book addresses both the development of high-performing economies of East Asia, and social and political costs of rapid, state-managed growth.

HIV prevention and AIDS care in Africa: A district level approach


This book provides a practical approach to dealing with two major challenges for district health systems - reducing HIV transmission and coping with the consequences of AIDS. Part one of the book deals with development of a comprehensive HIV prevention and AIDS care programme. Part two focuses on defining and monitoring the epidemic. Parts three and four deal with behavioural and health interventions respectively. Part five deals with the consequences of the epidemic and the final section looks at issues of financing and sustainability.

The post-cold war trading system: Who's on first?


With the end of the cold war, the search for a new international and economic order has begun. The book provides a critical analysis of an international trade system in the throes of rapid and far-reaching change. The author examines the role of key economic power brokers, particularly the United States, in the reconstruction and reconfiguration of an international economy after World War II. She argues that US policy efforts were so successful that they led to an unprecedented renewal of economic growth, living standards, and education levels in postwar Europe and Japan. Ironically, those same policy successes unintentionally fostered the relative decline of US dominance on the world trade scene as the reduction of trade and investment barriers prompted friction and conflict between different kinds of capitalist systems.

Migration and development: A global perspective


This book specifically links both international and internal migration with development at a global level. Taking a rather innovative approach, the world is divided into a series of functionally integrated development zones which are identified, not simply on the basis of their development but also through their spatial patterns, and historical experience of migration.

The global trap: Globalization and the assault on prosperity and democracy


This book explores the spread of globalisation. The authors show how internationalism, once an invention of social-democratic labour leaders, has firmly changed sides. Now more than 40,000 transnational corporations play off their own workers, and different nation-states, against one another. The book opens with a fly on the wall account of a seminar attended by the leaders of major corporations. It...
revealed that the biggest manufacturers are not simply shifting production away from the industrial countries, but foresee a new century where their labour needs will plummet. Calling for the restoration of the primacy of politics over the economy and the repair of the state before it is too late, this book is a cry of alarm.

Argument in the greenhouse: The international economics of controlling global warming


How can greenhouse gases be controlled and reduced? Will it be in time? This book adds a significant new contribution to the crucial climate change/global warming debate. Incorporating the key political and legal considerations into 'real world' applied economic analysis, the authors provide a unique focus on the wider political economy of the problem. All the key issues of controlling climate change (costs, timing and degree of stabilisation, ecological tax reform, developing countries, and evolution of international agreements), are placed firmly within the current legal and political context, with state of the art economic techniques introduced to analyse different policy proposals. Covering both the developing and developed world, this book identifies important new policies to foster effective agreements on emissions and prevent global warming.

To labour with the state: The Fiji Public Service Association

Jacqueline Leckie 1997, University of Otago Press, ISBN 1 877 13332 9, 224pp., A$29.95

Very little has been published about labour history in the Pacific. This book offers an example of a very professional union operating for over 50 years which has not been afraid to challenge the political establishment. The Fiji Public Service Association has been at the forefront of the trade union campaign for a return to democratic government since the coups of 1987. The author explores the implications of the coups and the post-coup regime for the union.

A safer future: Reducing the human cost of war

Edmund Cairns 1997, Oxfam, ISBN 0 855 98386 8, 128pp., £6.95

In 1995, over 36 million people suffered in 30 or more major armed conflicts throughout the world. This book draws upon Oxfam's experience of working with communities caught up in armed conflict in many countries around the world and makes recommendations for urgent action by governments that would reduce the risk of war and protect civilian lives. It looks specifically at changes in international policies and pre-emptive action by the international community which could help prevent some wars occurring.

Health management information systems in lower income countries: An analysis of system design, implementation and utilization in Ghana and Nepal


Poor management decisions in health care development can result in considerable wastage of human, technical and financial resources. This book explores the assumption that improved health management information systems lead to improved decision making and thereby to more effective use of scarce health resources. It evaluates the use of routinely generated health statistics at various levels in policy, planning, resource allocation, monitoring of coverage and supervision of integrated health service delivery. Based on the findings from case studies from Ghana and Nepal, the strengths and limitations of health information systems are outlined.

Farmer-led extension: Concepts and practices


Conventional, government run agricultural extension services have widely failed to enhance agriculture based livelihoods in difficult upland areas. In high potential areas they have often promoted chemical intensive, and otherwise inappropriate packages. More locally controlled and managed approaches are needed, and over the past decade farmers, NGOs, governments and donors have been experimenting with such approaches as the ‘campesino-a-campesino movement, ‘farmer field schools’, and ‘problem census’ techniques. This book focuses on farmer led extension, drawing on the experiences of over 70 farmers, community workers, NGO staff, researchers and policy makers throughout the world.

Leadership in the Pacific Islands: Tradition and the future


The volume examines the nature of leadership in Pacific Island societies, focusing on the challenge Pacific Island leader's face in combining traditional modes of governance, like the chieftainship, with forms of governance introduced by the European, US and Japanese colonising regimes.
Newsletters and journals

Habitat International

This journal assesses the planning, design, production and management of human settlements. Whilst its main focus is on urbanisation in the developing world, the inter-relationships and linkages between cities in the developing and developed worlds are also included.

Habitat International provides insight into the major urbanisation issues in the developing world; case studies of housing, planning, construction, community organisations and land development; analysis of urban policy from around the world; a forum for exchange of ideas, opinions, policy developments and research results; and a review of recent books on the subject.

Cities

Cities is an international journal of urban policy and planning. It offers a comprehensive range of articles on all aspects of urban policy. It analyses and assesses past and present urban development and management as a reflection of effective, ineffective and non-existent planning policies; and it examines the promotion and implementation of appropriate urban policies in both the developed and the developing world.

Natural Resources Forum

Published on behalf of the United Nations, Natural Resources Forum is an international multidisciplinary journal with a focus on the development of energy, mineral and water resources of developing countries. The journal examines the economic, financial, legal and environmental aspects of natural resources development, with a view to identifying those factors which influence and further sustainable development.

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This journal seeks to provide a forum for critical discussion for regional development problems, policies and perspectives among academicians and practitioners. It is intended to be an interdisciplinary journal with a focus on current development issues. Its basic objective is to bridge the gap in regional development between concept and reality, and policy and practice. The journal is one of the media through which the United Nations Centre for Regional Development (UNCRD) shares its experiences and research findings and generates a dialogue with a wide-ranging audience on various theoretical and applied aspects of regional development. Each issue of the journal deals with a topical theme. The editors welcome suggestions for themes, papers for possible publication and comments on articles.

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This journal is supported by the United Nations University (UNU) and published by Lynne Rienner Publishers four times a year (January, April, July and October). It invites topical manuscripts on the contribution of international institutions and multilateral processes to economic development, the maintenance of peace and security, human rights, and the preservation of the environment. The journal's focus is global not only in substance, but also in the multidisciplinary and multicultural perspectives brought to it by its authors. Global Governance welcomes sound analytical submissions from scholars in all fields that relate to issues of international public policy, and from practitioners
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This quarterly newsletter is produced by the Sanhita Gender Resource Centre in India. The newsletter is the English version of Sanhita’s Bengali newsletter Sanbade Meyera, which highlights news items about women’s achievements, legal procedures, landmark judgements and new initiatives.

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Pacific Affairs

This quarterly journal explores the key issues of contemporary Asia and the Pacific, and their relationship to the Western world. It is a useful source of background information for both policy makers as well as scholars.

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AHADEG Newsletter

Published by the Australian Health and Development Group (NSW), this newsletter contains topical information on issues in maternal and child health, and also carries announcements for upcoming conferences.

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Reports and monographs

Decentralization of education: Teacher management

As part of education and public sector reforms, many countries are decentralising the financing and administration of education services to regional, local, or school levels. This report explores what can be learned in decentralising teacher management from international experience. In particular, it examines what has prompted governments to decentralise teacher management functions, how they have done so, and which decentralisation mechanisms have been most effective. The report aims to help guide policy makers in refining strategies that will improve teaching and learning in the classroom.

Population and strategies for national sustainable development: A guide to assist national policy makers in linking population and environment in strategies for sustainable development

This guide serves as a resource for policy makers and the staff of conservation and population organisations who wish to integrate population dynamics into environmental planning for sustainable development. It presents the basic rationale for linking population and environmental issues, including the demonstrable impact that population dynamics and rising consumption are having on the environment. At the same time, it acknowledges the difficulty of achieving integration due to long-entrenched disciplinary and institutional specialisation. The guide refrains from making blanket prescriptions but rather emphasises that policy and planning responses must be attuned to the location-specific nature of population–environment interactions. A number of mechanisms for achieving integration are presented, including placement of demographers within national planning organisations, or creation of country-based networks of population and conservation professionals who meet regularly to share knowledge and experience.

Strengthening national agricultural research systems: Policy issues and good practice
Derek Byerlee and Gary E. Alex 1998, World Bank, ISBN 0 821 34173 1, x + 87pp., US$20

This report provides a brief review of recent trends and key policies in strengthening national agricultural research systems. Chapters provide a brief overview of the recent evolution of national research systems and a synthesis of policy issues and good practices for developing these systems including the involvement of universities and the private sector. They also focus on key policy and institutional reforms for strengthening public research institutions including funding, research management, and client orientation. Finally they discuss implications for the World Bank in its ongoing efforts to strengthen national research systems.

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Women coping with HIV/AIDS: We take it as it is
J. van Woudenberg 1997, KIT Press, ISBN 9 068 32834 4, 80pp., Dfl. 15

HIV/AIDS is almost synonymous with stigma, which victims may perceive as even worse than the reality of having AIDS. Relationships often disintegrate and socioeconomic conditions worsen; uncertainty about the future grows. In such situations women are likely to suffer more than men. This medical anthropology study, which includes results of in-depth interviews with a group of women, explores the coping strategies they use when faced with such an adverse situation.

El Salvador: Peace on trial
Kevin Murray 1997, Oxfam Publications, ISBN 0 855 98361 2, 64pp., £5.95

When the civil war in El Salvador ended in 1992, there still remained many unresolved issues facing the country. This report provides an account of the historical background as well as the inequalities and political corruption in Salvadorean society which were contributory causes of the long-running civil war. The ecological crisis and the unresolved issues of land tenure are also explored.

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The reality of aid 1997–98


Written by NGOs, this report critiques the official aid programme of member countries of the Development Assistance Committee of the OECD. According to the report, US$80,000 million will eliminate absolute poverty. While this is less than the amount of money OECD governments promised to spend on aid, it is more than what they actually provided. In the preceding year many countries have cut back aid spending citing domestic economic issues, although many of the countries with the highest levels of domestic spending are among the highest donors of aid as a proportion of GNP.

The picture is, however, not entirely bleak. Citizens of most OECD countries support aid and continue to want it seen delivered to the people who need it most.

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A woman’s work is never done: A review of literature on women 1986–1996


This book aims to contribute to the state of knowledge and promote dialogue on relevant policy and action. The review covers existing literature on the following issues: labour migration, poverty, labour force and household dynamics, violence against women, legal and political rights, and health.

1997 Philippine human development report


The report is part of a continuing advocacy to ensure that sustainable development takes root at the lowest levels of society, where improvements in quality of life are tangible. This report updates the 1994 Philippine human development report and presents estimates for the Human Development Index (HDI) at the provincial level for the first time, using data from 1990 to 1994. The report also studies in-depth the Filipina, monitoring her progress over years and looks at issues of discrimination, domestic violence, the value of unpaid labour and her contribution to the economy and the polity.

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A blueprint for APEC customs modernisation: Working for business for a faster, cheaper and better border

Australian APEC Study Centre 1997, ISBN 0 662 26133 X, 26pp., can be downloaded at http://www.sccp.org

This report analyses current practices and procedures of customs simplification and harmonisation in the Asia-Pacific region. It aims to facilitate business planning by providing SCCP/APEC’s view on where customs modernisation is headed. Given the varying levels of development and the differing emphasis on aspects of customs’ mandates across the region, the

Blueprint allows APEC customs administrations to modernise at their own pace, while serving as a benchmark for overall progress. The results of SCCP preliminary discussions (including those with the private sector) have been incorporated in this Blueprint, which will be updated periodically to reflect the evolving trade environment.

1997 APEC Economic Outlook

Australian APEC Study Centre 1997, ISBN 9 810 09642 9, 122pp., $15

This report is APEC’s annual review of member economies recent economic performance and prospects. The 1997 edition includes analysis of the instability that affected Asian currency and equity markets as well as analysis of the impact of APEC’s tariff-cutting plans.

For more information contact: Australian APEC Study Centre Level 6, 30 Collins Street Melbourne, VIC 3000 Australia Tel +61 (0)3 9903 8757 Fax +61 (0)3 9903 8813 E-mail apec@arts.monash.edu.au

Fiji poverty report


This report analyses current information about the extent and nature of poverty in Fiji. Its purpose is to understand the causes and consequences of this poverty, in order to strengthen the basis for formulating and evaluating policies and programmes that aim to reduce it; to ensure that assistance meets the needs of the most disadvantaged; to stimulate discussion in Fiji about the types of action that are needed to reduce poverty and disadvantage; and
to contribute to policy dialogue and implementation across a broad spectrum of activities. The report describes the pattern of income distribution in Fiji; provides various estimates of the poverty line in Fiji; analyses the incidence of poverty; profiles the 20 per cent of households with the lowest gross incomes; analyses processes of impoverishment; and describes the policy environment in which this poverty situation has and is evolving.

The Situation Analysis approach to assessing family planning and reproductive health services: A handbook


This report, compiled by Council staff and based on eight years of operations do their own Situation Analysis studies.

The handbook contains all the information needed to conduct a Situation Analysis study, including an overview of the methodology and a description of its application; data collection instruments (interview schedules, observation guidelines, inventory checklist) and question-by-question guides to use them; instructions for data analysis and report preparation; and sample graphic representations of results. Programme managers can adapt the methodology to suit individual programme needs by selecting instruments or adding new modules that cover indicators of interest to them. Professionals and students in the reproductive health field can obtain a copy free of charge.

For more information contact:
Population Council
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One Dag Hammarskold Plaza
New York, NY 10017
USA
Tel +I 212 339 0514
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E-mail/pubinfo@popcouncil.org

Sustaining livelihoods: Promoting informal sector growth in Pacific island countries

Margaret Chung 1997, United Nations Development Programme, ISBN 9 823 04010 9, vi + 82pp., available on request

A secure livelihood for all people is essential for the sustainability of Pacific island communities. This report argues that conventional economic and labour statistics paint a misleading picture of productive work in the Pacific. While pointing to employment as being a critical issue for Pacific island societies, the conventional statistics incorrectly suggest that a large proportion of people in some countries are not economically active, and the productivity of the semi-subsistence sector is under-represented. National policies and programmes to generate livelihoods, it is argued, have always given most attention to formal employment.

This report suggests, instead, that while formal paid jobs only occupy between 17 and 22 per cent of the labour force in the Pacific island countries, opportunities for the informal sector and self-employment need to be stimulated. The report outlines ways in which this can be done.

Urban air quality management strategy in Asia: A guidebook


The Urban air quality management strategy (URBAIR) project was started by the World Bank to assist local institutions in developing action plans that would be an integral part of their air quality management system. Intended for use in conjunction with four city-specific reports – Mumbai (Bombay), Jakarta, Kathmandu and Metro Manila – this guidebook provides details on air quality modeling, choices of abatement measures, and how cost-benefit analysis is used to choose appropriate measures. It summarises the components of an action plan to manage and control air pollution. Planners and engineers will find it a valuable sourcebook for technical assistance.


Although tremendous progress has been made in reducing poverty in the developing world, much remains to be done. Over one billion people live on less than $US1 a day, and three billion live on less than $2 a day. As the number of poor people has risen in all regions (with the exception of East Asia), disparities in income and unequal access to education and health care prevent members of society from benefiting equally from the growth process.

This annual report reviews progress in the implementation of the Bank’s poverty reduction strategy, updating the retrospective 1996 report, Poverty reduction and the World Bank: Progress and challenges in the 1990s. The first chapter summarises the Bank’s poverty reduction strategy and highlights the basic elements of a future work programme on poverty. The second chapter describes the Bank’s progress in supporting poverty reduction during fiscal 1996 and 1997, with recommendations for further improvements in the Bank’s efforts. The third chapter presents the main conclusions of work undertaken during the past two fiscal years on recent experiences with one element of the Bank’s poverty reduction strategy – safety net programmes.
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The Australian Development Studies Network

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Graduate Diploma and Masters Degree in Urban Management

Managing urban development will be a major challenge for governments, communities and the private sector. Establishing the proper structures of governance to ensure that development is well managed and produces liveable and sustainable urban environments is a major task.

This 12 month urban management programme moves from introductory and contextual material through to the development of an understanding of the principles of strategic planning; macro and microeconomic principles and policy in an urban context; systems of governance and administration; public and private sector roles; development financing; environmental policy and sustainable development; management decision making; and project evaluation. It then focuses on the application of these principles to decision making in urban development, and provides in situ learning in a large, rapidly growing Asian city.

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E-mail lrm@design.canberra.edu.au
Web http://cities.canberra.edu.au

Tranby Aboriginal College

Diploma of Development Studies – Aboriginal communities

This two year course examines the qualities, attitudes, skills and tools needed to continue the development of Aboriginal communities and community organisations. Course participants are encouraged to look at concepts of development through Aboriginal eyes, to identify past and present leaders and their particular contributions to community development, to learn from indigenous experience elsewhere, and to identify culturally appropriate development projects in their area.

For more information contact:
Tranby Aboriginal College
13 Mansfield St
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National Centre for Development Studies

The National Centre for Development Studies offers a number of Professional Short Courses in the areas of economics, development administration, and environmental management and development.

Participation, decentralisation and local area development

Participation, decentralisation and local area development have become key words in the way rural development policy, relief and governmental practice is framed and implemented. This course aims to provide a critical appreciation of the historical backdrop to these concepts, and to create an awareness of the potential limitations and strengths of methods and techniques currently used in respect of them. All course content is based on current policy and programme case studies from Africa, Southeast Asia and the Pacific. Topics covered include developments in policy on devolution; issues in the design of allocation, planning and management of public resources; the participation and empowerment of marginal communities in development and relief practice; and policy and programme evaluation. The four week course runs from 31 August–25 September 1998.

Women, gender and development

This is an interdisciplinary Master level course that explores interrelationships between development theory, development practice and gender. Described as a subfield within development studies, it originated around questions about the priorities and policy practices of development agencies. Was development a gender-neutral concept? Should it be a given that different tasks tend to be performed by differently gendered humans in all societies? Did development bureaucracies reinforce potentially masculinist standpoints? Areas covered include (re)thinking development; feminist debates about women and development; women in rural and urban development; indigenous populations and development; and health, reproduction and the environment. This four week course runs from 1–28 October 1998.

Corruption and anti-corruption

There is a new international recognition of the impact of corruption on development, and a growing literature on measures to control it. Corruption is a complex, normative concept, and can be studied from several disciplinary perspectives, including law, economics, sociology and political science. This unit extends treatment of corruption and anti-corruption in public sector reform, and draws on research on good governance. It takes a comparative approach that recognises international differences, includes practical measures to prevent and detect corruption, and links the new concern with corruption to issues of economic liberalisation and 'governance'. It is concerned with corruption on the executive side of government, rather than electoral offences. The geographical focus is on developing countries in Asia, Africa and the South Pacific, and the course is designed for mid-career people working in the public or NGO sectors in those countries. This four week course runs from 26 October–20 November 1998.

For more information contact:
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National Centre for Health Promotion

Health promotion in developing countries

This two day course (16 and 19 October 1998) provides an overview of major health promotion issues and key methods applied in developing countries. Consideration is given to the special challenges associated with lower levels of literacy in many developing countries, together with the constraints of poor infrastructure and under-developed mass media. Special attention is given to health promotion methods based on community participation and development, and to the issues of tobacco control and HIV prevention. The cost is A$400.

Graduate Diploma in Indigenous Health Promotion

Developed by the Australian Indigenous Health Promotion Network, the Koori Centre at the University of Sydney, and the National Centre for Health Promotion, this course is intended to build on the knowledge and skills of Aboriginal health workers to enable them to extend their work in promoting the health of their communities. The course will include modules on assessing needs and setting priorities; programme planning and evaluation; working with communities; communication as a tool for promoting health; research and evaluation for health promotion; and management skills. The course will focus on assisting students to solve real problems that they face in working with their communities to promote health.

For more information on both courses contact:
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Women taking on issues in the public and NGO sector: Training opportunities

Documenting women's experiences of armed conflict as a tool for advocacy and redress, Kampala, Uganda, 20 July–21 September 1998

Organised by the Isis-Women's International Cross-Cultural Exchange (WICCE), the workshop will begin with a training period in documentation skills. Participants will return to their own countries to document women's experiences of armed conflict. Their work with video, film, slides, audio tapes, and articles will then be produced and disseminated. Participants should be from a national level NGO, be working in an area of women's human rights, have good communication skills, and be nominated by their NGO.

For more information contact:
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Gender, citizenship and good governance:
Training workshop, Amsterdam, 6–24 September 1998

Sponsored by the Royal Tropical Institute (KIT), this workshop is for activists, researchers and policy makers active in the field of gender and development. The aim is to enable the participants to better apply analytical tools and strategies to ensure that gender equity and equality is prioritised in the governance agenda.

For more information contact:
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E-mail ibd@support.nl


This seminar will be of interest to all those working within NGOs, political parties, trade unions and government departments, who have responsibility for, or an interest in, encouraging more women into decision making and public life.
Organisation profiles

International Women's Development Agency (IWDA)

The IWDA is an Australian-based non-government development organisation that undertakes projects in partnership with women from around the world, giving priority to working with women who suffer from poverty and oppression. IWDA promotes the equitable growth of people and communities, the just distribution of basic resources and respect for human rights. Projects supported by IWDA are devised and managed by women who live and work in the communities. The projects aim to bring tangible socioeconomic benefits to poor people; provide definable and needed skills to women; and oppose injustices or exploitation of women. IWDA's projects, some of which are funded by AusAID, include: Women's Credit and Services Programme (the Philippines); Backstrap Loom Weaving for Burmese Women Refugees (Thailand/Burma); A Gender Analysis of the Social Impacts of Economic Development in Western Province and Training of Traditional Birth Attendants in Remote Villages (Papua New Guinea); and Community Education Through Women's Theatre (Vanuatu).

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The Development Resource Centre (DRC)

The DRC is a specialist information and education centre in New Zealand, providing information, training and consultancy services on development issues and practice. It was formed in 1993 by a group of development NGOs in New Zealand. Their vision was to build an organisation which could provide information and education services on development issues, and reach a range of New Zealanders across a number of sectors – schools, universities, NGOs, development and technical consultants, business, national and local government bodies, the media, and the general public.
A three-year contract with the New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade in 1996 saw the DRC expand its activities and become a national development education agency. The centre now has extensive hard copy and electronic resources, and offers a range of flexible services to promote best practice in development. The DRC organises training courses and seminars on development practice, runs workshops for teacher training organisations about global education in the curriculum, and provides information services to a range of users. The DRC is currently compiling a Directory of Development Organisations in the South Pacific, which will be available on-line and as a hard copy.

For more information contact:
Development Resource Centre
6th Floor, Rossmore House
123 Molesworth St
Wellington
New Zealand
Tel +64 (0)4 472 9549
Fax +64 (0)4 472 3622
E-mail drc@apc.org.nz

United Nations Centre for Regional Development (UNCRD)

The UNCRD was founded in 1971 as part of the UN system of organisations. It was created by an agreement between the United Nations and the Japanese government. As part of its commitment to assist developing countries in building up and strengthening their capabilities in regional development and planning, UNCRD helps developing countries in three ways: by conducting research, training and other activities; by organising technical seminars and workshops in collaboration with international regional, national and sub-national organisations and institutions; and by providing technical assistance and information services.

The research programme areas in which UNCRD concentrates include regional economic development, infrastructure planning and management, environmental management, disaster management, development administration, and local social development. UNCRD conducts two international training courses annually: a two-month International Training Course in Regional Development Planning (Nagoya, Japan) and a one-month Africa Training Course on Local and Regional Development Planning (Nairobi, Kenya).

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Web http://www.uncrd.or.jp

Council for International Development (CID)

The CID is a New Zealand umbrella organisation for NGOs involved in international development. It aims to achieve effective high quality international development programmes that focus on the alleviation and eradication of poverty. It works, on behalf of its member agencies, to provide a forum for discussion of cooperative action on international development issues; to strengthen national and international links between organisations and individuals involved in international development; to liaise with the New Zealand government and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade; to raise international aid and development issues with political parties; and to increase public awareness of international aid and development needs and issues. One of its current projects is ‘Aid Works’. This campaign, which will run until the year 2000, is aimed at political decision makers, and its purpose is to improve the quality and quantity of New Zealand’s aid programme, and to raise public awareness about the need to support good quality development assistance.

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Rural Development & Youth Training Institute (RD&YTI)

The RD&YTI is a voluntary organisation which aims to instil confidence and build positive attitudes in poor, landless youths, tribal women and labourers. Some of its objectives include organising and conducting rural training camps; initiating need-based rural development programmes; enabling poor people to participate effectively in the development process; and involving women in organisational work. Some of its achievements over the past ten years have included organising 40 rural youth camps; establishing 30 youth organisations in 20 villages; setting up a common fund for constructive work and emergencies; enabling 500 widows, handicapped and aged people to receive a pension; distributing sewing machines; and enabling 2,400 landless families to receive land, housing, bank loans, free electricity connection, drinking water facilities, legal aid and health facilities.
European Community Humanitarian Office (ECHO)

Founded in 1992, ECHO is a service of the European Commission to oversee and coordinate the European Union's humanitarian operations in non-member countries. It distributes emergency and reconstruction aid to areas of crisis in over 60 countries. In 1996, it provided 650 million ECU of emergency aid, food aid and aid to refugees and displaced persons. It operates in partnership with NGOs, the specialised agencies of the United Nations and other international bodies such as the International Committee of the Red Cross. Its mandate is to save and preserve life during emergencies; to provide assistance and relief to people affected by long lasting crises such as civil wars; to finance the transport of aid; to assist refugees; to carry out short term rehabilitation and reconstruction work; and to ensure disaster preparedness. ECHO also undertakes feasibility studies for humanitarian operations; monitors humanitarian projects; provides training schemes and technical assistance to partners; and funds humanitarian mine-clearance operations.

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Fax +32 2 295 4572

Health Research Methods Advisory Service (HRMAS)

The HRMAS began operation in February 1997. Jointly funded by the Health Research Council and the University of Auckland, it is located in the Department of Community Health at the School of Medicine, University of Auckland. The primary focus of the HRMAS is to provide a service, throughout New Zealand, which offers advice, consultation and resources for people writing grant applications, and for existing projects, mainly in the following areas: qualitative research methods, evaluation research, community consultation and collaboration, and policy research. The Service is developing resources on a range of topics including economic evaluation in health, Maori culture and health, culturally appropriate health services, and ethnicity and research.

For more information contact:
David R. Thomas, Director
Health Research Methods Advisory Service
Department of Community Health
School of Medicine
University of Auckland
Private Bag 92019
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New Zealand
Tel +64 (0)9 373 7599 ext. 5657
E-mail dr.thomas@auckland.ac.nz

Federation of Independent Aboriginal Education Providers Ltd

The Federation was formally established in 1996 by the Aboriginal Dance Theatre, Redfern, the Institute for Aboriginal Development, the National Aboriginal & Islander Skills Development Association, Tauondi Inc., and the Tranby Aboriginal Cooperative College. It is interested in promoting the rights, interests and development of Aboriginal community-controlled adult education. As a national peak body, the Federation seeks to do this through its advocacy, research and policy development roles, and through networking at both the national and international level.

For more information contact:
Interim Secretariat
43 Giles St
Alice Springs, NT 0870
Australia
Tel +61 (0)8 8953 1668
Fax +61 (0)8 8952 9368
E-mail dum@ozemail.com.au

The Nature and Society Forum

The Nature and Society Forum is a community based organisation dedicated to the understanding of nature and the human place in nature and promotion of health in all sections of the human population and in the ecosystem of the biosphere. It is a new kind of institution that seeks to bridge the gap between the vast and growing body of knowledge emanating from universities, research institutes, professional experts and the general community on issues that are of immediate concern to individuals and decision makers. The focus is on information and ideas on environmental, health and quality of life issues in language that has meaning for non specialists in their roles as citizens.

For more information contact:
Dr Bryan Furnass or Mr John Schooneveldt
Coordinators
Nature and Society Forum Inc.
GPO Box 11
Canberra, ACT 2601
Australia
Tel +61 (0)2 6288 0760
Fax +61 (0)2 6287 4489
E-mail natsoc@natsoc.aust.com
Materials

Blue motion: The world directory of video and CD-ROM on fisheries and aquatic environment

This directory is a compilation of hundreds of technical and educational videos and CD-ROM dealing with every aspect of fisheries and aquatic environment. There is also a listing of feature films about fisheries and aquatic environment, and contact addresses of suggested videos and CD-ROM.

For more information contact:
Global Aquatic Corporation Pty Ltd
45 Birchgrove Road
Balmain, NSW 2041
Australia
Tel +61 (0)2 9555 7151
Fax +61 (0)2 9555 7151
Web http://www.aquavideo.net

Teaching the Pacific Forum

Teaching the Pacific Forum is a Pacific Islands teaching, professional development and curriculum project for secondary school history, social studies and social science teachers. It responds to the needs of these teachers for access to professional development services and activities, by establishing professional development programmes, and national and regional professional associations. Funded by the Sasakawa Pacific Island Nations fund through the Centre for Pacific Studies at the University of New South Wales, the project has organised regional, sub-regional and in-country workshops in Honiara, Hilo, Port Vila, Nadi/Suva, Port Moresby, Fiji, Tuvalu and Western Samoa. Its publications include Our history in our own words, A guide to 100 good books, A guide to student essays and projects, Teachers, teaching and history, The Honiara report, Best books for classroom use, Integrated approaches to studying cultural sites, and Pacific history themes and topics.

For more information contact:
Grant McCall
Centre for South Pacific Studies
University of New South Wales
Sydney, NSW 2052
Australia
Tel +61 (0)2 9385 2408
Fax +61 (0)2 9313 7859
E-mail g.mcall@unsw.edu.au

Participatory tools and techniques: A resource kit for participation and social assessment

The Environment Department's Social Policy Division of the World Bank, in collaboration with the Learning and Leadership Centre and regional participation coordinators, piloted a series of one day training sessions for World Bank staff on a range of participatory tools and techniques. This kit represents the lessons learned from two years of pilot experiences, and draws case materials from the experiences of other agencies. Organised into six modules, most contain sections entitled overview, techniques, case studies and suggestions for seminars. The modules focus on social assessment, stakeholder analysis, participatory rural appraisal, beneficiary assessment, and participatory monitoring and evaluation.

For more information contact:
Environment Department's Social Policy Division
The World Bank
1818 H Street, NW
Washington, DC 20433
USA
Tel +1 202 477 1234
Fax +1 202 477 6391

After Mabo: The long and difficult road to native title

This 40 minute video examines the challenges posed by the Mabo decision; the limitations of the decision; the important roles of the Tribunal and the government; the positions of the Aborigines and white landholders and leaseholders; and examples of successful outcomes of land rights legislation.

Saving our soils

Over the past 200 years, our soils have undergone profound change, much of it for the worst. This 20 minute video outlines the adverse changes that have taken place, and then examines parts of Australia where positive things are happening. There are now many examples of action being taken to arrest the slide in soil quality so that agriculture can start to be sustainable.
Gender training: A source book

Books in the Gender, society and development sub-series provide articles on specific themes. Each is based on relevant literature, made accessible by annotated bibliographies. An introduction is followed by four reviews from authors in the South, examining gender training in different regions: South Asia, Middle East, Eastern and Southern Africa. Each review covers current approaches and experiences with gender training, emphasising 'grey' literature along with published articles and books. Material from the developing world is included in the bibliography.

For more information contact:
KIT Press
Mauritskade 63
PO Box 95001
1090 HA Amsterdam
The Netherlands
Tel +31 (0)20 5688 711
Fax +31 (0)20 5688 286
E-mail kitpress@kit.nl

Film, video and multimedia guide: A guide to recently released titles in Australia and New Zealand, 1997-1998 edition

This publication lists 6,000 titles over a range of media, including feature films, documentaries, education titles, children's programmes, health and safety programmes, management training titles and special interest programmes.

Film and video finder: A guide to availability in Australia and New Zealand

This is a CD-ROM database that lists international and Australian feature films, short films and educational titles that are available in Australia and New Zealand. The database includes distribution information, and titles held by the National Library of Australia and the State Film Centre of Victoria. Other fields of information include subject headings (using APAIS subject terms), director, producer and crew credits, synopsis, country of origin, year of completion, and study guides and education kits. The CD-ROM is updated every six months.

The above materials are available from:
Australian Catalogue Company
PO Box 2211
St Kilda West Post Office
St Kilda, VIC 3182
Australia
Tel +61 (0)3 9525 5302
Fax +61 (0)3 9537 2325

United Nations Population Information Network (POPIN)

Founded in May 1979, the objectives of POPIN are to identify, establish, strengthen and coordinate population information activities; to facilitate and enhance the availability of population information in collaboration with regional commissions, specialised agencies and NGOs; and to provide a forum for the exchange of experiences among developed and developing countries on population information issues. Publications include:

Population Newsletter. Includes information about the activities of the global POPIN Coordinating Unit and the regional POPINS. Published biannually.

Asia–Pacific POPIN Bulletin. Includes information and articles about POPIN activities in the Asia–Pacific region, and news and discussions about new information technologies. Published quarterly.


For more information contact:
The Director, Population Division
Department of Economic and Social Affairs
United Nations Secretariat
2 United Nations Plaza (Rm. DC2-1950)
New York, NY 10017
USA
Tel +1 212 963 3179
Fax +1 212 963 2147
E-mail popin@undp.org

Wan Smolbag Theatre

The Wan Smolbag Theatre in Vanuatu has produced seven video programmes that deal with development issues. They are 'George and Sheila', 'Pacific star', 'On the reef', 'The first five years', 'Another week another workshop', 'Things we don't talk about' and 'Kasis road'.

For more information contact:
Pacifika Communications
GPO Box 15890
Suva
Fiji
Tel +679 307 000
Fax +679 307 222
E-mail pasifika@is.com.fj
The JSTOR database

The JSTOR database consists of complete backfiles of a number of scholarly journals. It is available to researchers through libraries. In addition to Studies in Family Planning, journals include: Demography, Family Planning Perspectives, International Family Planning Perspectives, Population and Development Review, Population: An English Selection and Population Studies.

For more information contact:
JSTOR User Services
301 East Liberty, Suite 310
Ann Arbor, MI 48104-2262
Tel +1 313 998 9101
Fax +1 313 998 9113
E-mail jstor-info@umich.edu
Web http://www.jstor.org

Briefing pack on population and development

This briefing pack was prepared for the Australian Reproductive Health Alliance and Family Planning New Zealand, and consists of 16 cards in an orange and purple folder. Both Australia and New Zealand have parliamentary groups on population and development, and parliamentarians form a major target group for the pack. Card one deals with 'What issues are important?'; there are Australian and New Zealand versions of card two, on 'How policy makers can help'; while card four – 'Financing population assistance' – shows the need, specified in Cairo in 1994, for global funding of US$17 billion by the year 2000. The remaining cards should also appeal to a more general audience, covering topics such as global trends in population, the human right to family planning, and the environment, making the pack a useful teaching resource.

Complimentary copies are available from the publishers:
Australian Reproductive Health Alliance
PO Box 3937
Weston Creek, ACT 2611
Australia
Tel +61 (0)2 6287 4422
Fax +61 (0)2 6287 3532
E-mail arha@netinfo.com.au

Family Planning International Development
PO Box 11-515
Wellington
New Zealand
Tel +64 (0)4 384 4349
Fax +64 (0)4 382 8356
E-mail fpaid@fpnz.org.nz

Electronic Fora

Pan Asia Networking (PAN)

The PAN programme of Canada's International Development Research Centre focuses on information networking in Asia, linking together people and computer-based information resources on sustainable development from Asian organisations. Pan Asia's aim is to promote electronic networking in Asia, the use of information communication technologies; the development and sharing of information resources; and the research and development of Internet systems, technologies and policies. The website is managed collectively by information-based organisations in Asia. The contents of the website include a newsletter entitled PANorama, a research and development grants programme, information on past and forthcoming conferences, and information about Internet service providers in Asia.

For more information contact:
E-mail PanAsia@idrc.org.sg

ContentsDirect

Elsevier Science Publishers have a free alerting service by e-mail for Elsevier Science journals. This gives access to tables of contents pages and notice of forthcoming papers in journals that cover some of the following areas: clinical medicine; computer science; earth sciences; economics, business and management science; environmental science and technology; and the social sciences. Registration is via the Elsevier Science home page, or via their e-mail.

E-mail cdsubs@elsevier.co.uk
Web http://www.elsevier.nl/locate/ContentsDirect

ID21

ID21 is a new online research reporting service backed by the UK Department for International Development. It aims to make policy makers and development managers aware of the latest in British development research findings. It contains policy-relevant findings on global development issues, drawn from over 40 UK-based economics and social studies departments and think tanks, along with NGO research departments and consultants. It enables free access to a web textbase of searchable digests of current social and economic research on development; and it provides e-mail addresses, other contact details, hotlinks and printed sources.

For more information contact:
Web http://www.id21.org/
Health Research Methods Advisory Service Electronic Newsletter

An occasional newsletter about health research methods. The purpose of the list is to generate discussion and debate about health research methods, and provide information about resources for health researchers.

To join send an e-mail to:
dr.thomas@auckland.ac.nz
In the body of the e-mail type:
JOIN HRMAS NEWSLETTER [your e-mail address]

Higher Education Review – Final Report

The final report of the Higher Education Review "Learning for life" (The West Report) is now available on the Australian Department of Employment, Education, Training and Youth Affairs' web page. Two versions are available. The HTML version contains the executive summary and recommendations. The PDF version is the full report and requires Acrobat Reader version 3 to read the files.

The report can be found at the following address:

AlertNet

In October 1997, the Reuters Foundation launched AlertNet to help NGOs coordinate their efforts mainly in emergency/relief programmes. The site not only provides NGOs with a centralised source of reliable news updates, but also boasts password-protected space for NGOs to orchestrate logistics in private.

For more information contact:
Web http://www.alertnet.org

Asian Studies WWW Monitor

The Asian Studies WWW Monitor was established in April 1994. It is published by the Internet Publications Bureau, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University. The journal regularly monitors new developments in the Asian Studies' cyberspace, and compiles summaries and evaluations of the latest web sites and other online information systems relevant to social sciences research of Asia and the Pacific region. All resources listed are inspected and rated in terms of their scholarly, factual quality and usefulness to Asian Studies research. Daily announcements and contents summaries published in the web edition of the journal are also disseminated on the network via a mailing list.

To subscribe send an e-mail to:
majordomo@coombs.anu.edu.au
In the body of the e-mail type:
suscribe asia-www-monitor [your e-mail address]


National Centre for Development Studies (NCDS) Asia Pacific Press

NCDS Asia Pacific Press, at the Australian National University, undertakes a comprehensive electronic publishing programme. It includes Working Papers, China Economy Papers, State, Society and Governance Papers, Briefing Papers and selected conference papers. A series on Humanitarian Aid in Complex Emergencies is in preparation. The papers can be downloaded from the internet in PDF (portable document format).

To visit the Asia Pacific Press homepage:

To access the Epublishing programme:
Web http://ncdsnet.anu.edu.au/ONLINE
The Development Resource Centre is preparing the "South Pacific Development Directory" of all development-related organisations in the South Pacific. The aim of the directory is to improve regional communications, assist development initiatives and help with the allocation of development resources.

The Directory will include:
Government departments, academic/research institutions, development banks, NGOs, development consultants, and international funding agencies.

In the following countries:

There will be both a hard copy and an Internet version published. On the Internet you will be able to search the database through a World Wide Web page (http://www.converge.org.nz/drc/) and by email. The Internet will be updated at regular intervals and the hard copy biennially. The Directory will be made widely available to groups throughout the South Pacific and the world, including international agencies and donors, libraries, universities, NGOs and others.

Don't miss out on an opportunity for FREE inclusion in this new Directory!
(The main requirements are that you have a postal address in the South Pacific and are operating in the field of "development" in any of the South Pacific countries listed below.)

Let the world know what your organisation does, and where!
Please request a questionnaire from the address below and return it before 31 March 1998 or visit our Internet page at http://www.converge.org.nz/drc/ and fill out the form there.

The Development Resource Centre is a Non-Government Organisation (NGO) providing information about global education, development issues and developing countries to schools, universities, consultants, government departments and other NGOs in New Zealand.

(* Organisations operating from these countries must be involved in at least one of the other South Pacific countries listed)

DRC is supported by

http://www.converge.org.nz
New Zealand’s Non-profit On-line Community Network

New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (MFAT)

United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Suva Office

Development Resource Centre
PO Box 12440
Wellington
New Zealand

Tel: +64 4 4729549
Fax: +64 4 4723622
Email: drc@apc.org.nz
Internet: http://www.converge.org.nz/drc/
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Style

Quotation marks should be single; double within single.
Spelling: English (OED with ‘-ise’ endings).

Notes

(a) Simple references without accompanying comments to be inserted in brackets at appropriate place in text, e.g. (Yung 1989).

(b) References with comments should be kept to a minimum and appear as endnotes, indicated consecutively through the article by numerals in superscript.

Reference list

If references are used, a reference list should appear at the end of the text. It should contain all the works referred to, listed alphabetically by author’s surname (or name of sponsoring body where there is no identifiable author). Authors should make sure that there is a strict correspondence between the names and years in the text and those on the reference list. Book titles and names of journals should be italicised or underlined; titles of articles should be in single inverted commas. Style should follow: author’s surname, forename and/or initials, date, title of publication, publisher and place of publication. Journal references should include volume, number (in brackets), date and page numbers. Examples:


Publication/resource listings

An important function of the Network is to keep members up-to-date with the latest literature and other resources dealing with development-related topics. To make it as easy as possible for readers to obtain the publications listed, please include price information (including postage) and the source from which materials can be obtained.