Reaching the Urban Poor

Project Implementation in Developing Countries

Edited by G. Shabbir Cheema



Reaching the Urban Poor



About the Book and Editor

As urban populations in developing countries continue to grow rapidly, one of the most critical issues in the Third World has become providing shelter and other basic services such as clean water, health clinics, and sewage disposal to the urban poor. This book of nine case studies of urban programs and projects in Indonesia, Kenya, Malaysia, Nigeria, Pakistan, South Korea, India, and Sri Lanka focuses on impediments to slum upgrading. The authors discuss each project's evolution, the capabilities and resources of implementing agencies, the problems of interagency relationships and coordination, costs and funding, the difficulties of developing effective linkages with poor communities, and the accessibility of the new services to the urban poor.

G. Shabbir Cheema is development administration planner and project coordinator at the United Nations Centre for Regional Development in Nagoya, Japan, and is coeditor of <u>Decentralization and Development: Policy Implementation in Developing Countries</u> (1983).



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Foreword

The rapid pace of urbanization in developing countries has increased the demands for urban services. In particular, the urban poor lack adequate access to services such as water supply, sewage systems, low-cost housing, education, and public health. Effective management of urban services for the poor is being increasingly emphasized by planners and practitioners in developing countries, international organizations, and donor countries.

In June 1983, the United Nations Centre for Regional Development (UNCRD) initiated a cross-national research project on managing urban development, which focused on services for the poor. In January 1984, UNCRD organized an expert group meeting, which was held in Nagoya, Japan, to (1) review country experiences in managing urban services, and (2) prepare a research format for undertaking comparable case studies of projects designed to upgrade slums and squatter settlements. First drafts of some of the case studies were discussed in the workshop on urban services for the poor held in Cambridge, Massachusetts, from 27-29 June 1984 under the sponsorship of the Lincoln Institute of Land Policy and the Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University.

In this book, the authors describe the evolution and rationale of selected urban projects, the capabilities and resources of implementing agencies, the extent and modes of community participation, and the performance of the projects in achieving stated objectives. They also discuss the policy implications of providing basic urban services to the poor in developing countries.

Many experts from developing countries, international organizations, and developed countries collaborated with

UNCRD on this project. Case studies were prepared in cooperation with the Pakistan Administrative Staff College, the University of Sri Jayawardenepura in Sri Lanka, the Kenya Institute of Administration, the University of Science in Malaysia, the University of Benin in Nigeria, the Directorate of Urban Development in Indonesia, and the Korea Development Institute. The UNICEF East Asia and Pakistan Regional Office facilitated the collection of data for the case studies and provided part of the financial support for the project. We are grateful to the case study writers and UNICEF for their cooperation.

The Lincoln Institute of Land Policy provided financial support for reviewing the first draft of the case studies and for making this joint publication possible. I would like to record my deep appreciation to Sein Lin, director of the Institute of Land Policy, and Professor John D. Montgomery, Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University, for their valuable contributions to the UNCRD research project on managing urban development, which led to this book.

I am confident that the book will be of great interest to planners, scholars, and development practitioners concerned with providing basic urban services in low-income settlements and that it will lead to a better understanding of the process of managing poverty-oriented urban projects in developing countries.

Hidehiko Sazanami Director, UNCRD

Reaching the Urban Poor: An Introduction

G. Shabbir Cheema

URBAN GROWTH AND POVERTY

Urban population is increasing rapidly in most developing countries. Between 1950 and 1975, the urban population of all developing countries grew at an average annual rate of 4.2 percent, and projections in UN studies show that it will continue to grow at more than 4 percent a year until the 1990s.<1> From 1950 to 1975, the urban population in Africa increased by more than 4.7 percent a year, and it is likely to grow at more than 4.5 percent annually until the year 2000.

From 1950 to 1980, the percentage of urban inhabitants increased from 16.2 to 30.5 percent of the total population. It is estimated that by the year 2000, 2.1 billion people in less developed countries (LCDs) will be living in urban areas.<2> A study of 109 LCDs based on 1980 population estimates predicted that by the end of this century 58 countries will have more than 50 percent of their people living in urban areas. This demographic shift implies that many developing countries will be transformed from primarily rural to largely urban societies in less than a quarter of a century.<3>

The projections also show that the larger cities in developing countries will continue to rapidly expand. The number of people living in Third World cities of 1 million or more will nearly triple from about 339 million in 1980 to 931 million by the year 2000. The number of cities with more than 1 million residents is likely to double from the 118 in 1980 to about 284.<4> In many LCDs, capital cities already contain a significant proportion of the country's people. For example, the population of Bangkok

and Colombo is 60 percent of the total urban population in Thailand and Sri Lanka, respectively. Similarly, 35 percent of the urban inhabitants in the Philippines live in Manila.

This rapid population increase and its concentration in Third World cities will inevitably bring about a significant shift in the incidence of urban poverty. World Bank studies indicate that by the 1990s, more than half of the absolute poor will be concentrated in urban areas.<5> Urban dwellers will make up 90 percent of the absolute poor in Latin American and Caribbean countries, 40 percent in Africa, and 45 percent in Asia.

The incidence of urban poverty in developing countries resulting from rapid urban growth is indicated by the proportion of squatters and slum dwellers in selected cities. (6) For example, in Addis Ababa and Casablanca in Africa, people in slums and squatter settlements make up 79 and 70 percent of the city population, respectively. In Bogota and Buenos Aires, the percentages are 60 and 40 percent, respectively. In Calcutta, Bombay, Delhi, Dhaka, and Karachi in South Asia, a large percentage of the urban inhabitants live in slums and squatter areas.

Urban population below the poverty line is 60 percent in Calcutta, 50 percent in Madras, 45 percent in Bombay, 45 percent in Karachi, and 35 percent in Manila. World Bank studies indicate that even if the rural and agricultural development programs currently being implemented are successful, they will have little immediate impact on changing the pace and direction of urbanization in the Third World cities: Mechanization and increased agricultural productivity have so far led to surplus labor from farms and promoted migration from rural to urban areas.

THE DEMAND FOR URBAN SERVICES

In addition to concentrating the poor in cities, rapid growth of urban population in developing countries has led to a corresponding increase in the demand for basic urban services. To varying degrees, the supply of urban services has not kept pace with increasing need. Services that are inadequate include transportation, low-income housing, water supply, public education, and public health care.<7>

The quality of urban transport services is poor: Seating capacity is limited, not enough roads are available, and outlying areas have not been adequately linked with the city center. There is a shortage of low-cost housing for the poor, and many urban dwellings lack running water, a sewage system, or toilet facilities. In most cities, a significant percentage of people do not have access to piped water. Public education institutions must struggle with shortages of qualified teachers, inadequate classroom space, and the high cost of transport and school supplies. In low-income urban settlements, inadequate facilities for sewage, garbage disposal, and flood control pose major hazards to public health.

The magnitude of urban service deficiencies in Pakistan, for example, is described by Vigar Ahmad. He noted that about 25 percent of Pakistan's population lives in slums; clean water is available to only 77 percent of the urban population; only 38 percent of the people in the largest city, Karachi, have house-to-house water connections; 48 percent of the total urban population has access to sewage systems; and enrollment in educational institutions in urban areas is available to only 77 percent of children aged 5 to 9, 52 percent aged 10 to 12, and 39 percent in the 13 to 14 age group. <8>

The situation in Indonesia is equally serious. <9> By 1980, only 26.4 percent of urban households had access to piped water. In Indonesia, an estimated 300,000 new housing units need to be constructed annually in urban areas to meet the demand. This figure does not include backlog and housing redevelopment demands. According to the 1980 census, only about 45 percent of urban households had private toilets. Drainage systems are inadequate. Flooding in some of the large cities is a problem. Garbage collection and disposal are inadequate. For example, according to a 1971 census, garbage from 24 percent of the urban households was not collected and properly disposed of.

Urban services are also acutely deficient in Nigeria. P. K. Makinwa-Adebusoye reported that in Benin City, Nigeria, about 63 percent of poor households have no independent means of transport. Only 7.8 percent of the poor in neighborhoods surveyed were owner-occupiers. Poor households lacked adequate facilities such as piped water and kitchens. Garbage was disposed by burning (37.9 percent), burying (13.9 percent), moat filling (18.3 percent), roadside dumping (27.6 percent), and collection by refuse workers (2.3 percent).<10>

In Kenya the rapid pace of urbanization has led to tremendous pressure on existing urban services.<11> Despite government policies and programs, concerned goverrment agencies have not been able to cope with the demand for public health services, primary education, urban road networks, water supplies, housing, and other economic and social services.

Many reasons account for the strain on basic urban services in developing countries. The financial resources and administrative capacity of central and municipal governments to provide greater coverage are extremely limited whereas the cost of providing basic services is rising. In several cities, central and municipal governments are unable to recover costs through user charges, constraining greater coverage. Increasing numbers of slum dwellers and other disadvantaged groups do not have the capacity to pay for services, and, because of maintenance problems, even some existing facilities are not fully utilized. Furthermore, the poor continue to concentrate in the largest urban centers, causing more and more pressure on urban services in these centers compared with others in the same country. Finally, because employment opportunities in urban areas are inadequate, a large segment of the population cannot afford some of the basic services.

GOVERNMENT POLICY RESPONSES

To reduce urban service deficiencies several combinations of policy alternatives and organizational arrangements have been identified in developing countries. Dennis A. Rondinelli identified the following alternatives:

- Expanding the provision of services directly by the government by building up municipal government capacity.
- 2. Using market surrogates to improve efficiency and responsiveness of the concerned public agencies.
- 3. Lowering the costs of providing services through changes in regulations and methods of delivery.
- 4. Supporting self-help and service upgrading by the poor.
- 5. Promoting public-private sector cooperation.
- Increasing service demand among the poor by providing more employment opportunities and higher incomes.
- Encouraging the migration of urban population to small- and intermediate-sized cities.<12>

The governments in developing countries have implemented three types of policies for providing basic services in slums and squatter settlements. (13> By laissez-faire policies they officially ignored the existence of such settlements. Their restrictive policies were aimed at reducing the size of low-income areas by excluding them from urban services, removing and relocating residents, and evicting residents from their homes to redevelop the area. Their supportive policies sought to legalize such settlements, renovate existing structures, and provide assistance for self-help housing.

A review of policies and programs in developing countries affecting the growth of slums and squatter settlements shows that demolition and clearance of such settlements by the legal owners have been common practices.<14> Only after the rapid growth of such settlements have planners and policymakers begun to think seriously about policy alternatives. The first response of most governments was to demolish such settlements and to resettle occupants.

Planners and policymakers in developing countries are increasingly recognizing the need to improve the social and economic conditions in existing slum and squatter settlements. In Korea, for example, three main programs have been developed for the urban poor. <15> First, a public works program has been established to increase the income of the urban poor and to provide them with more employment opportunities and vocational training. Second, the public assistance program is aimed at providing services to the aged, disabled, and sick, including subsistence maintenance, medicaid, maternity care, and funeral services. Third, a squatter housing improvement program focuses on resettlement and upgrading existing squatter housing. In Kenya, policies and programs aimed at assisting low-income urban residents have included slum and squatter improvement programs, sites and services projects, and low-cost housing schemes. <16> The government has attempted to increase the access of the urban poor to mass-produced houses and to provide them with employment opportunities. The Sixth Five-Year Plan (1983-1988) of Pakistan includes a number of programs to meet increasing demand for urban services and to provide "a safety net to the poor."<17> Public transport facilities are to be doubled. The number of low-income housing units to be constructed by the government is to be substantially increased. Slum improvement schemes are to be implemented during the plan period; these would benefit about 2 million people and reduce the number of slum dwellers by about one-third. The plan also seeks to improve water supply and sewage systems. The government has already initiated a number of projects to create new jobs for the poor: Those include the Federal Programme for Skill Development, a Training Programme for Skilled and Unskilled Workers, and the National Vocational Training Project.

In Malaysia, the government is using several strategies to improve services to the urban poor. These include implementing resettlement schemes, upgrading squatter settlements, and providing facilities such as drainage, lighting, water supply, and access roads.<18> In Kuala Lumpur, the Sang Kancil project and the Nadi program have been initiated with the assistance of the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund. (UNICEF). The project aims at setting up development centers in squatter settlements that will provide preschool education, health facilities, and income-generating activities for women.

A number of other strategies are being used by govemments in developing countries to extend services to the urban poor on a large scale. <19> For example, the Zonal Improvement Programme (ZIP) in the Philippines aims at upgrading squatter settlements in Manila. The program follows a comprehensive approach in improving the living conditions of squatters: It attempts to improve environmental conditions and provide social and economic facilities. The program emphasizes site retention, local employment opportunities, and community participation in decisionmaking. The Kampung Improvement Programme (KIP) in Indonesia is designed to provide services such as access roads, footpaths, piped water, drainage ditches, communal latrines, laundry facilities, and garbage bins. The community is not expected to pay for services except for the use of water. However, residents are asked to contribute land, if needed for the project, without compensation. KIP is primarily an environmental improvement program and does not attempt directly to alleviate urban povertv.

The Slum Improvement Programme of the National Housing Authority in Thailand divides Bangkok's slums into three categories: those to be improved for permanent low-income settlements, those to be improved temporarily, and those not to be improved because they are likely to be needed by landowners for redevelopment. The slums selected for permanent improvement are those in which government agencies own about 60 percent of the land. The slums

selected for temporary improvement are provided with minimal public utilities and social services. In Colombo, the upgrading program excludes those slums located on land worth more than a specified amount. Other criteria used for selecting slums and shanties for potential benefits are the cost of improvements, the degree of flooding, and alternative uses of the land.

The Bagong Lipunan Sites and Services (BLISS) Programme in the Philippines is aimed at putting "model communities of 50 families in every municipality."<20> Each BLISS site is to be provided with the minimum requirements for a healthy community life. Supporting agencies of the government are expected to provide basic social services such as water, power, shelter, health care, sports, and recreation. The Bagong Lipunan Community Association serves as a channel through which government services and facilities are delivered.

The Environmental Health and Community Development Project in Sri Lanka was launched in 1979 with the assistance of UNICEF. The project facilitated the process of participatory urban planning. Health wardens were trained to perform tasks such as community development, primary health care, nutrition education, and environmental sanitation. The communities were encouraged to form local development councils to provide a channel of communication between the urban poor and municipal agencies providing urban services.

The Dandora Community Development Project in Nairobi and the Chaani Upgrading and Site and Services Project in Mombasa were intitiated in 1975 and 1978, respectively, by the government of Kenya with the assistance of the World Bank. The projects were aimed at providing shelter and community facilities to low-income dwellers in the two areas.

Based on experiences in Asia and Africa, five stages in the evaluation of explicit and implicit public policies for providing basic urban services to residents of slums and squatter settlements can be identified: (1) clearance and forced migration of the poor to other areas or their eviction without providing them with alternative facilities; (2) the initiation of housing and other schemes followed by clearance of slums and squatter settlements; (3) the provision of minimal services for some of the existing slums and squatter settlements; (4) the extension of tenure security and physical upgrading; and (5) the recognition of the legitimate role of slums and squatter

settlements in urban development and the extension of social services with appropriate standards.

ACCESS OF THE URBAN POOR

The urban poor in general and residents of slums and squatter settlements in particular have been affected most negatively by urban service deficiencies. Experiences in Asia, Africa, and Latin America show that the quality and coverage of urban services tend to be worst in the poorest neighborhoods. Most slums and squatter settlements in developing countries lack basic urban services such as water supply, sewage systems, transport, roads, garbage disposal, and health facilities. Even where adequate services and facilities are available, the urban poor may not have access to them.

The access of the urban poor to basic urban services has been constrained by many economic, social, administrative, and political factors. First, in areas like low-cost housing, the poor cannot afford to pay for urban services because of their low incomes. Even when some services are directly provided by government or semiauto-nomous agencies, the actual beneficiaries may be middle-income groups. Second, residents of squatter settlements do not usually have legal ownership of the land they occupy; thus they cannot be forced to pay user charges for services. Therefore, the concerned government agencies are reluctant to provide services such as water supply, electricity, and sewage systems to them.

Third, the administrative systems of municipal governments and semiautonomous development authorities are characterized by inadequate community participation in identifying priorities and needs, formulating projects, and implementing development activities. Without adequate community participation, the urban poor are unable to safeguard their legitimate interests. Their access to key decisionmakers within government agencies is usually limited. Furthermore, in most developing countries municipal councils are not directly elected, thereby denying the urban poor another channel through which some of their grievances could be communicated to policymakers.

Fourth, government standards for urban services are usually too high, resulting in high costs for these services. Therefore, predominantly middle-income families often utilize some services meant for the urban poor. Fifth, the urban poor are usually not effectively organized. The heterogeneity of their social backgrounds and their poverty hinder the emergence of viable community-level organizations. Although they may have links with political parties, they are unable to assert collective pressure from below to ensure adequate access to urban basic services.

Finally, in some cases no explicitly stated public policies are aimed at providing basic urban services to the poor in an integrated manner. This lack of policy reflects the inadequate political and administrative will of policymakers and planners to allocate adequate resources for providing basic services to the poor.

IMPLEMENTATION OF URBAN PROJECTS FOR THE POOR

A project is a collection of related activities designed to harmonize and integrate actions by government agencies and other organizations to achieve policy objectives. Implementation has been defined as a "process of interaction between the setting of goals and actions geared to achieving them."<21> The literature on implementation identifies two competing views of the process: the compliance approach and political approach.<22> The first assumes that implementation is a technical and routine process of carrying out predetermined plans and projects. The second approach views administration as an integral part of the policy-and project-planning process in which projects are refined, reformulated, or even abandoned in the process of implementing them.

The factors that influence project implementation have not been given adequate attention in developing countries. It is often assumed that once projects are planned they will be implemented by subordinate administrators and that intended results will be achieved in a nonpolitical and technically competent way. However, the experiences with urban projects discussed in this book indicate that implementation is a dynamic and sometimes unpredictable process of political interaction. Several factors determine the extent to which projects are implemented as they were intended and the degree to which they achieve their formally stated goals.

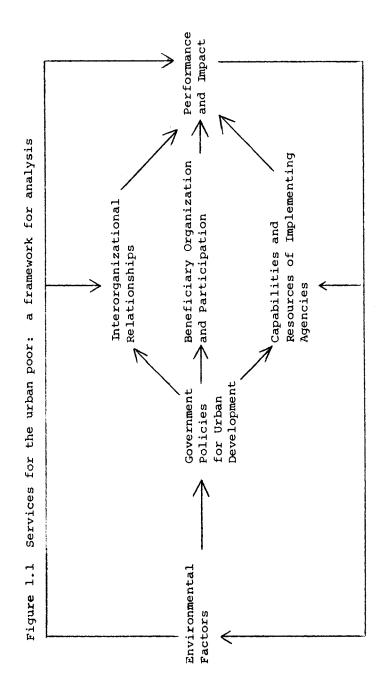
In Figure 1.1, five sets of factors are shown that influence the implementation of urban development projects designed to provide services to the poor: environmental aspects, government policies for urban development, interorganizational relationships, beneficiary organization and participation, and capabilities and resources of implementing agencies.

Interorganizational Relationships

Successful implementation of programs and projects for the urban poor depends upon the complementary interaction among actions taken by local, regional, and national agencies. A program may be formulated, supervised, and evaluated by a central agency; it may be funded and monitored by a subnational/state government agency; and it may actually be implemented by an agency at the municipal or metropolitan level. Therefore, successfully linking the implementing agencies with others into supportive structures is a prerequisite to achieving common objectives.

The effectiveness of interorganizational relationships in implementing urban projects seems to depend on (1) the clarity and consistency of project objectives; (2) the appropriate allocation of functions among agencies; (3) the standardization of procedures for planning, budgeting, and implementation; (4) the accuracy, quality, and consistency of interorganizational communication; and (5) the delineation of procedures for monitoring and evaluation.

As shown in the case studies of urban projects in this book, local governments, semiautonomous public enterprises, departments of central and subregional governments, and development authorities often have worked in isolation from each other. The role of urban local governments has gradually declined to the extent that these are not in a position to harmonize and integrate development activities in cities. In several instances, functions, responsibilities, and resources have not been allocated to metropolitan entities and urban local governments on the basis of rational criteria. These units are empowered to perform many development functions; yet their power to levy taxes is limited. Many controls are imposed by national and/or provincial governments in the planning and management of activities by municipal governments. Municipalities, metropolitan governments, semiautonomous bodies, and government departments in cities lack the



capacity to monitor and evaluate development programs and projects. Although several development projects designed for the urban poor have built-in mechanisms for monitoring project activities, organizational structures for monitoring and evaluation on a metropolitan-wide basis are weak.

Capabilities and Resources of Implementing Agencies

The technical and managerial capabilities of implementing agencies are significant factors in determining program performance. Rapid urbanization has been accompanied by the need for more technical expertise and skilled human resources. Public-sector involvement in activities such as transportation and housing has increased the demand for professional workers such as engineers and planners. In several cities, the availability of professionals has not kept pace with the expansion in the activities of government agencies. Furthermore, the governments' personnel policies and practices may be such that relatively more qualified persons join national and provincial governments, and municipalities are not able to attract the required professionals.

The successful implementation of policies and programs of urban development also depends upon the internal communication flows of implementing agencies, the acceptance and commitment of the staff to program objectives, and innovative leadership. The extent to which the implementing agencies receive sufficient financial, administrative, and technical support also determines the outcome of the project. The control of agencies over funds, the adequacy of budgetary allocations, and the timely availability of funds are crucial for achieving project objectives.

Beneficiary Organization and Participation

The proliferation of development authorities and government agencies in cities and the superimposition of centrally controlled metropolitan entities have weakened the role of urban local governments in providing services. With their declining development role, several municipal governments are no longer meaningful mechanisms for participation by the people in local decisionmaking. Nongovernmental, voluntary organizations have also remained weak. Therefore, citizen participation in large cities is

negatively affected, and the trend is toward a greater degree of control by professional administrators in the process of managing urban projects.

The need for beneficiary organization and participation is particularly significant in poverty-oriented urban development programs and facilities. <23> The organization of beneficiaries will enable them to apply pressure from below to get their demands accepted. Projects and facilities, which are recommended by community-based organizations of the urban poor, are more likely to succeed in eliciting popular response. Local resources can be more easily mobilized for such projects. Furthermore, the organization and active involvement of the urban poor would facilitate program implementation and evaluation and increase their awareness of their own environment. Indeed, management requirements for programs for the urban poor are not necessarily the same as those for conventional urban development projects. Squatter upgrading programs, for example, require active community participation, selfhelp, and partnership between beneficiaries and program implementors. <24>

Environmental Factors

Projects are planned and carried out within complex socioeconomic and political environments. These circumstances shape not only the substance of projects but also the patterns of interorganizational relationships and the characteristics of implementing agencies, and they determine the amounts and types of resources available for carrying them out. Therefore, an understanding of the social, economic, and political setting is vital for comprehending the constraints on and opportunities for implementing organizations to translate policies and projects into actions. A nation's political structure, the characteristics of the local power structure in urban areas, the social and economic characteristics of groups within urban communities, and the procedures for project planning influence the process of implementation of projects designed to provide services to the urban poor.

Performance and Impact

The performance and impact of urban development projects for the poor can be measured on the basis of the achievement of the project's stated goals; the impact of the project on specific groups within the society; the effects on the capacity of local units of government; and the effects on productivity, income, popular participation, and access to government facilities.

FOCUS OF THE CASE STUDIES

This book presents the findings of a comparative research project entitled "Managing Urban Development: Services for the Poor" sponsored by the United Nations Centre for Regional Development (UNCRD), Nagoya, Japan. It includes case studies of the following selected urban development programs and projects: the Nadi Integrated Social Services Project in Malaysia, the Lahore Walled City Upgrading Project in Pakistan, the Integrated Social Project in Korea, the Katchi Abadis Project in Pakistan, the Environmental Health and Community Development Project in Sri Lanka, the Block Grants Project in Indonesia, the Dandora Community Development Project in Kenya, the Chaani Upgrading and Social Services Project in Kenya, and the Olaleye-Iponri Slum Upgrading Project in Nigeria. Table 1.1, a profile of the projects is presented that shows the services provided and their time frame, location, sources of funding, and implementing agencies.

The book examines the process of implementation of programs and projects designed to provide basic urban services to the poor in slums and squatter settlements. More specifically, it focuses on

- 1. The analysis of support available for providing urban basic services to the poor.
- 2. The discussion of interorganizational relationships in project implementation.
- The review of the characteristics and capabilities of implementing agencies and their environmental context.
- 4. The discussion of the extent and modes of beneficiary participation in the process of providing urban services to the poor.

Table 1.1 Selected case studies of services for the poor

Country	Project Type	Services Offered	Time Frame	Location	Sources of Funding	Implementing Agencies
Malaysia	Nadi Integrated Social Services Project	Comprehensive health services such as family planning & mother & child health Basic amenities such as water supply, refuse collection, & electricity Community development activities & services	1979 to present	Kuala Lumpur	Government UNICEF	Ministry of Federal Territory Other related agencies
Pakistan	Lahore Walled City Project	Water supply Sewage system Electricity Street lighting Community centers	1982 to present	Lahore	Government World Bank	Lahore Development Authority Lahore Municipal Corporation Water and Sanitation Agency House Building Finance Corporation
Korea	Ingrated Social Services Project	Health care Housing improvement Public utilities Income generation activities	1975 to present	Seoul	Government UNICEF NGOS	Municipal government NGOs
Pakistan	Katchi Abadis Project	Community centers Sanitation Income generation activities	1981 to present	Lahore	Government UNICEF Community	Lahore Development Authority Provincial government Lahore Municipal Corporation Social Welfare Directorate