

THE CHALLENGES OF IMPLEMENTING MILLENNIUM DEVELOPMENT GOAL TARGET 7D IN PACIFIC ISLAND TOWNS AND CITIES

Paul Jones*

In the Pacific island region, the progress towards achieving the global Millennium Development Goal (MDG) target 7D, improving the lives of a hundred million slum dwellers, is fraught with many challenges. Out of all the MDG targets, minimal support has been provided to improving the quality of life of residents living in squatter and informal settlements in Pacific towns and cities. In this context, this paper seeks to understand and explain why MDG target 7D and the broader urban sector in the Pacific island region is marginalized. The paper examines the state of squatter and informal settlement growth in Pacific towns and cities, and explores the reasons as to why there is a lack of interest in addressing the plight of squatter and informal settlement dwellers at the Pacific country, regional and development partner levels. The paper calls for renewed action in elevating MDG 7D onto the Pacific island region and national development agendas.

JEL Classification: R58, H11, R31.

Key words: MDG 7D, Pacific Island Countries, slums, squatters, unplanned settlements, urban poor.

I. INTRODUCTION

The Pacific Island Countries (PICs) are experiencing rapid and unprecedented urban change, providing donors, governments and communities with a range of challenges and opportunities. This change is set against a backdrop of increasing urbanization, a recent phenomenon in the Pacific island region involving

* Associate Professor and Program Director, Urban and Regional Planning Program, Faculty of Architecture, Design and Planning, G04 Wilkinson Building, City Road, University of Sydney, NSW 2006, Australia. Tel. +61 2 9351 6069, Fax. +61 2 9351 3031, E-mail: paul.r.jones@sydney.edu.au.

the movement of people from rural areas to towns and cities, and accompanied by major economic, social and environmental transformation (Jones, 2011a). While Pacific towns and cities are small compared to the megacity developing regions of Asia and Africa, there is a growing consensus that the future of the Pacific island region is clearly focused on growing urban areas (Storey, 2006; 2010; ESCAP and UN-Habitat, 2010).

At present, approximately one billion people or 33 per cent of the world's urban residents live in slums (UN-Habitat, 2009). In 2010, the bulk of these people lived in developing countries that are the least able to manage the scale of such change, given that their capacity for urban planning and management is weak (UNFPA, 2007; UN-Habitat, 2009). While the share of the urban population living in slums has decreased from 39 per cent in 2000 to 33 per cent in 2010, the number of slum dwellers continues to rise (United Nations, 2011). Although the contextual setting is vastly different, and the terms squatter and informal settlements are used in preference to slums in PICs and the Pacific island region, the emerging socioeconomic trends in the Pacific island region are a microcosm of wider patterns experienced at the global level.

The achievement of international development goals, such as the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), will increasingly be concentrated in urban areas (UN-Habitat, 2009). Of particular importance to the topic of this paper is MDG 1, "Eradicate extreme hunger and poverty", and most importantly MDG 7, "Ensure environmental sustainability", specifically target 7D. MDG 7D seeks to achieve by 2020 a significant improvement in the lives of at least one hundred million slum dwellers, a target already achieved numerically, but detached from the monumental challenge of rising numbers of slums and the deteriorating living conditions of the poor (United Nations, 2011). The state of progress on MDG 7D has been documented globally, and at the Pacific island region level and PIC level in MDG and related progress reports. In the Pacific island region, it is argued that the progress on achieving MDG target 7D has been disappointing, as effectively little support has been given to dwellers residing in growing squatter and informal settlements. Unfortunately, MDG target 7D reflects the least attention and progress of all the MDG targets in the Pacific island region, having been put in the "too hard" basket. This has occurred against a backdrop of the MDGs being documented in the Pacific island region as being significantly off track to meet a 2015 time frame (PIFS, 2011; Smith and McMullan, 2010).

In the light of the above, this paper reviews the status of progress on achieving the MDG target 7D in the Pacific island region by: (i) assessing the state of squatter and informal settlement growth in Pacific towns and cities, and (ii) exploring the reasons for the ambivalence to addressing the plight of squatter and informal

settlement dwellers. The neglect of MDG target 7D can be viewed as one major symptom of the marginalization of the urban sector generally, including the growing assumption that rising levels of urban poverty are somehow a less serious issue than rural poverty (Lea, 2011). The challenges to implementing MDG 7D are examined at the PIC national level, and importantly at the Pacific island region level, where there is little development partner interest in the urban sector, primarily by the biggest donor in the region, the Australian Agency for International Development (AusAID) and lead regional organizations, such as the Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat (PIFS).

II. CONTEXTUAL CORRECTNESS: SLUMS, SQUATTERS, AND INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS

For the purpose of this paper, the words squatter and or informal settlements are used in preference to the term “slum”, except where used in reference to the MDG target 7D. Reference to global terms, such as slums, has not been commonplace in the Pacific islands region.¹ Unlike larger African and Asian cities, the comparatively smaller scale of land and unregulated housing development in Pacific towns and cities has led to the use of terms, rightly or wrongly, such as shanties, low income settlements, unplanned settlements, semi-permanent settlements, squatter settlements, informal settlements, as well as slums. As illegal housing areas took hold in the Pacific island region’s post independence era and slowly flourished in the 1980s and 1990s (see, for example, the evolution of settlements in Papua New Guinea by Koczberski, Curry and Connell, 2001), terms such as squatter settlements have been used to describe settlers (squatters) illegally occupying State and freehold lands. On the other hand, settlers who negotiated occupation agreements with traditional or customary land owners (and who may or may not have initially squatted), came under the broad term of informal settlements.

In comparison to the MDG term “slum”, the terms squatter and or informal settlements dominate in usage in the Pacific island region, and are differentiated in PIC meaning and use according to local circumstances. In Fiji and Kiribati, for example, the use of squatter settlements is commonplace (see, for example, Itaia, 1987, on the evolution of the term squatter in South Tarawa), while in Papua New Guinea and the Solomon Islands, the terms settlements and informal settlements dominate (see, for example, Chand and Yala, 2008; National Capital District Commission, 2006; Jones, 2010; 2011b). Some city policies state explicitly that the use of the global term slum is inappropriate for use in their urban settings, such as the

¹ A similar situation occurred with the term “poverty”, which was considered unwelcome and too extreme for application by PICs in the Pacific island region (see Bryant-Tokalau, 1995; ADB, 2004).

Port Moresby Urban Sector Profile coordinated by UN-Habitat (2008: 1). Use of the generic term slum in the Pacific island region is problematic, and therefore not widely used. Where it has been applied, it has been in the context of describing the state of the physical, social and environmental condition of a squatter or informal settlement area (see, for example, Tauafiafi, 2011, on Samoa's slum).

A review of case studies on Pacific urban squatter and informal settlements, including Port Vila (Mecartney, 2001), Suva (Kiddle, 2010; Lingham, 2005; Mohanty, 2006; New Zealand Agency for International Development, 2007), Honiara (Maebuta and Maebuta, 2009), Kiritimati Island (Jones, 2008) and Port Moresby (Chand and Yala, 2008; Jones, 2011a; Mawuli and Guy, 2007), reflects a number of unifying features characterizing squatter and informal settlements in the Pacific island region. Key common features of Pacific squatter and informal settlements are: (i) many are often illegal under the rules and regulations of the prevailing formal state system, (ii) the land tenure status is uncertain (which may or may not cause household insecurity), (iii) built housing standards and environmental conditions are inadequate, and (iv) the level of access to services and infrastructure is low. Formal state rules and regulations relating to land title (including customary law), planning and building are bypassed, and as a result, overcrowded housing, health concerns and illegal connections to water and power, are the norm.

III. UNDERSTANDING THE BACKGROUND TO THE MILLENIUM DEVELOPMENT GOAL TARGET 7D

Agreement on the MDGs was first reached at an international summit attended by world leaders at the United Nations in New York in 2000.² The agreement was spelled out in the United Nations Millennium Declaration, which was adopted by the General Assembly in 2000. The agreement was a milestone in international cooperation; it addressed basic human needs and rights that every individual should be able to attain (see table 1). Global, regional and national leaders agreed to work in partnership to achieve the eight universal goals, with progress to be measured via twenty one targets and sixty indicators (United Nations, 2011). In the Pacific island region, the MDGs have become a central focus of development work and have been incorporated into PIC and regional projects and programs. As embodied in MDG 8, aid and development cooperation involving development partners is a major mechanism by which to achieve the MDGs and their targets. In the Pacific island

² The agreement was spelled out in the United Nations Millennium Declaration adopted by the General Assembly in 2000. See General Assembly Resolution 55/2. Available from www.un.org/millennium/declaration/ares552e.htm.

Table 1. The Millennium Development Goals

| | |
|--------|--|
| Goal 1 | – Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger |
| Goal 2 | – Achieve universal primary education |
| Goal 3 | – Promote gender equality and empower women |
| Goal 4 | – Reduce child mortality |
| Goal 5 | – Improve maternal health |
| Goal 6 | – Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria, and other diseases |
| Goal 7 | – Ensure environmental sustainability |
| Goal 8 | – Develop a global partnership for development |

Source: United Nations Statistics Division (2012).

region this involves PIC collaboration with the key multilateral development agencies, such as the United Nations system, the Asian Development Bank (ADB) and World Bank, as well as national development agencies such as AusAID, and the New Zealand Aid Programme (Wood and Naidu, 2008).

The objective of MDG 7 is to “ensure environmental sustainability”. MDG 7 is comprised of four diverse targets (7A to 7D). These targets address the bio-physical environment, such as forest cover, protection of land areas to maintain biological diversity, energy efficiency, and greenhouse gas and ozone depleting gas emissions. They also address human needs, such as safe drinking water and sanitation, as well significant improvements in the lives of slum dwellers (PIFS, 2011).

Understanding how the target for improving the lives of slum dwellers became incorporated into the MDGs is critical in shedding light on the state of progress on MDG target 7D. Target 7D was originally adopted as a major goal of the “Cities without Slums” action plan, a World Bank coordinated Cities Alliance initiative launched in December, 1999. Championed by former South African President, Nelson Mandela, and UN-Habitat, the “Cities without Slums” target became incorporated into the Millennium Summit agenda and was supported along with the other goals and targets in the agreed Millennium Declaration. The slum target was initially included under MDG 1, “Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger”, and its inclusion was considered a momentous occasion as it was the first time that cities, in conjunction with slums and urban poverty, had been included as an international development goal (Hildebrand, 2010).

Following its adoption in the Millennium Declaration in 2000, the slum dweller target became the subject of debate and contention. The focus on urban development conflicted with the organizational priorities of many development

agencies who were responsible for translating the Millennium Declaration into the MDGs, and whose major thematic focus was on rural development and poverty alleviation. Opposition to the target, including calls for its abandonment, led to it being relocated from MDG 1 and subsumed as the last target of MDG 7 (Hildebrand, 2010). Divorced from its underpinnings with poverty in MDG 1, the target sits somewhat uncomfortably with the dominant concerns of MDG 7, namely, climate change, biological diversity, and greenhouse gases (targets 7A and 7B). It has been argued that much damage had been done to the integrity of the slum target by those “who continue to counter pose rural and urban development and encourage planning against urban growth” (Hildebrand, 2010: 8).

As the MDGs were operationalized, it was soon acknowledged that the slum dweller target was considerably underestimated. During its conception at the end of the 1990s, it was considered that improving the lives of a hundred million slum dwellers was a realistic target to be achieved by 2020. However, by 2003, it was agreed that global trends could not support such a low number as the target reflected only 10 per cent of the global situation. The target was unrealistic and did not show the full extent of the escalating slum phenomena. In contrast to other MDGs, the slum target was not set as relative to a specific baseline period, such as 1990, which was a common starting point for other MDGs. The target was an absolute number and set globally, making it problematic for regions and countries to set specific goals, as well as address different contextual interpretations of the term slum. While there is no excuse for not systematically addressing the MDG slum dweller target, there now exists growing pressure to recast the target, so as to focus on increased commitment, progress accountability and renewed support from both governments and development partners (United Nations, 2010).

The slum target was subject to further criticism given it had a 2020 time frame, as opposed to the 2015 MDG target date. It was also not aligned to the dominant proportional expression used by nearly all the other MDG targets, which begin with the words “to halve, by 2015, the proportion of the world’s people” (Hildebrand, 2010: 9). Further, the indicator by which to measure progress on the target was also changed. The original MDG indicator was the “proportion of households with access to secure tenure”, which is only one of many hardship features that may characterize squatters. In the latter half of the first millennium decade, this was amended to the current indicator, namely, “the proportion of urban population living in slums expressed as percentage”, with a slum defined as the proportion of the urban population living in households with at least one of four characteristics, namely: (a) lack of access to improved water supply, (b) lack of access to improved sanitation, (c) overcrowding (three or more persons per room), and (d) dwellings made of non-durable material (United Nations Statistics Division, 2010).

IV. AN URBANIZING PACIFIC

The growth of urban areas in the Pacific island region has been characterized by rural to urban migration, growing urban based economies and demographic change, all occurring in a setting of mediocre PIC economic performances over the last decade (AusAID and New Zealand Government, 2009). The cross sectoral dimensions of urban problems and challenges now facing PICs—for example, poverty, unemployment, squatter and informal settlements, land for development, provision of affordable services and infrastructure, crime and social breakdown—are essentially new to Pacific cultures and lifestyles (see, for example, Connell and Lea, 2002; Goddard, 2005; Jones, 2007; Storey, 2006). Planning and managing urban growth and the consequences of urbanization remain foreign challenges for most Pacific societies, given that they have governed themselves for thousands of years using local traditional systems and mechanisms based on their prevailing sociocultural orders (Jones, 1997).

The most recent PIC population censuses indicate the average percentage share of urban populations in PICs is approximately 50 per cent. In 2010, the number of persons actually living in Pacific towns and cities was just over two and a half million persons, equivalent to 26 per cent of the Pacific island region population (Secretariat of the Pacific Community, 2011). Given the persistence of under enumeration in urban areas (Storey, 2010), the population is more likely to be in the order of three million persons. If Papua New Guinea is excluded from the analysis, then approximately 50 per cent of the Pacific island region population live in urban centres. Papua New Guinea is by far the largest and most populated PIC in the Pacific island region, containing the region's biggest urban populations and largest city, Port Moresby. In 2010, the urban population of Papua New Guinea was approximately one million persons (Papua New Guinea, Office of Urbanisation, 2010), which is more than the 2010 populations of the Pacific subregions of Polynesia (663,795 persons) and Micronesia (547,345 persons).

Despite the rapidity of growth in Pacific towns and cities, urban issues have not been considered a priority by donors, researchers and governments, despite the important role Pacific towns and cities play in local, national and regional growth (Storey, 2006). Sentiments of anti-urbanism and a lack of interest in PIC urban reform, urban policy and the urban sector prevail, with the situation couched by some commentators as “flying blind” (Haberkorn, 2008: 113) and “everybody's but nobody's business” (Jones and Kohlhase, 2002: 27). As such, urban issues and concerns do not figure as mainstream issues in national and regional development agendas in the Pacific island region (Jones and Lea, 2007; ESCAP and UN-Habitat, 2010).

While issues and concerns associated with urbanization and urban management have been well documented in the Pacific island region during the last 25 years, there are two main issues which arguably are gaining major prominence over other urban management challenges. These are the explosive growth of squatter and informal settlements, and the manifestations of urban poverty. Both of these are inextricably linked, as it is widely acknowledged that the majority of the Pacific urban poor gravitate to and live in squatter and informal settlements (see, for example, Chand and Yala, 2008; Jones, 2011a; Mawuli and Guy, 2007; ESCAP and UN-Habitat, 2010).

V. GROWTH TRENDS IN PACIFIC URBAN SQUATTER AND INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS

In the Pacific island region, the growth of squatter and informal settlements is a major manifestation of continuing Pacific urbanization (Connell and Lea, 2002; Jones, 2011a). Squatter and informal settlements are now acknowledged as being a permanent feature of the fabric of Pacific towns and cities (AusAID, 2008; Storey, 2006; Tabureguci, 2010). Settlements cater for the majority of urban population growth occurring in the PICs, with the largest number of informal settlements and people living in settlements found in urban centres located in Melanesia, specifically Port Moresby, Suva, and to a lesser degree, Honiara. In 2008, it was estimated that 45 and 35 per cent of Port Moresby's and Honiara's population, respectively, were living in informal settlements (AusAID, 2008; UN-Habitat, 2008). Such trends are not new as it was estimated at the beginning of the 1990s that approximately 40 per cent of the then Port Moresby population were living in informal settlements (Monsell-Davis, 1993, cited in Koczberski, Curry and Connell, 2001). Squatter and informal settlements are common in all of Papua New Guinea's 17 towns and 3 cities. For example, Papua New Guinea's third largest city, Mount Hagen, with a population of approximately 150,000 persons, has some 20,000 to 25,000 squatters from the Highlands Region and coastal provinces living in 33 settlements in and around the city (Togarewa, 2011).

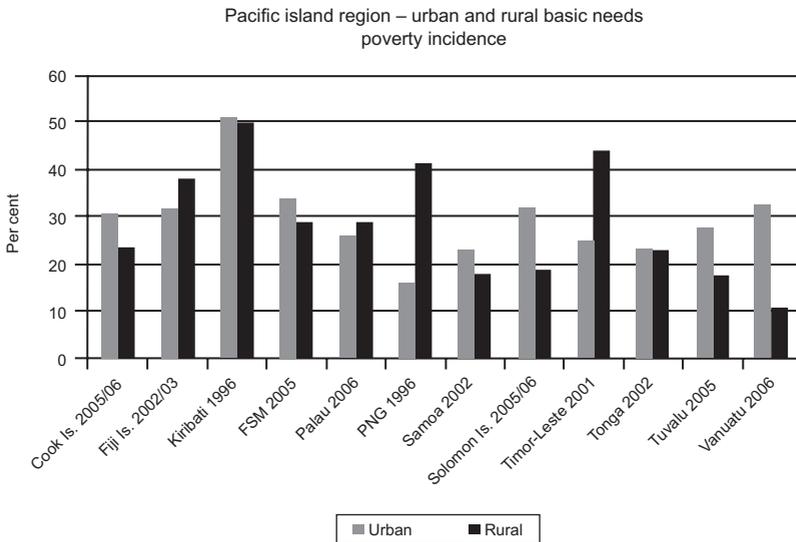
Estimates of informal settlements in Suva range from 16 to 45 per cent of the population (AusAID, 2008; Kiddle, 2010). In 2009 in Fiji, it was estimated that some 80 per cent of all new houses being built were located in informal settlements (Squatters, 2009). In the Vanuatu towns of Port Vila and Luganville, an estimated 30 per cent of the population were living in slums, as defined by the MDG framework (UNDP, 2010a).³ Storey (2006) found that for some of the smaller capital towns of

³ The rate was higher as the definition of urban excluded many informal settlements located outside the defined urban boundary.

Micronesia, such as South Tarawa in Kiribati, between 25 to 50 per cent of the urban population were squatters.

Against this Pacific urban setting, it is not surprising that squatter and informal settlements are increasingly home to the urban poor (Jones, 2011b). Urban poverty, especially in the Melanesian towns and cities, has been historically linked to households that comprise the city’s settlements (Anis, 2010; Mawuli and Guy, 2007; Papua New Guinea, National Capital District Commission, 1996; 2006; ESCAP and UN-Habitat, 2010). Poverty line estimates for PIC urban and rural areas show that 8 out of the 12 PICs have greater urban populations below the basic needs poverty line (BNPL) than rural populations (see figure 1 which includes year of source data). Four PICs—Timor-Leste, Palau, Fiji, and Papua New Guinea—have greater rural populations below the BNPL than urban areas. While the Papua New Guinea poverty incidence figures are dated and estimates in the new millennia have been questioned, the incidence in 1996 was 16.1 per cent BNPL in urban areas and 41.3 per cent BNPL in rural areas. The Melanesian countries—Papua New Guinea, the Solomon Islands, Vanuatu and Fiji—have the greatest numbers of people in urban poverty. They also have the largest towns and cities, and importantly, the largest proportions of squatter and informal settlements in the Pacific island region. These trends reinforce the

Figure 1. Pacific island region – urban and rural national basic needs poverty incidence



Source: Adapted from Parks, Abbot and Wilkinson (2009).

growing urbanization of poverty now being concentrated in Pacific towns and cities, a trend first documented in Fiji in 2004 (Fiji, 2004).

VI. PROGRESS ON MDG TARGET 7D

Aside from the on-the-ground evidence of small improvements made in a handful of PICs, such as site and service upgrading of squatter settlements in Fiji, progress on attainment of MDG target 7D in the Pacific island region can be derived from the assessments documented in global, regional and PIC MDG progress reports. The global reports, removed from the influence of politics and pressure from PICs and key regional development partners, present a stark position on MDG target 7D, a position often hidden away, glossed over, or omitted in Pacific island region and PIC assessments.

The 2011 United Nations MDG progress report provides the latest global position on MDG achievements (United Nations, 2011). In terms of target 7D, the key message is that slum improvements have failed to keep pace with the increase in urban poor. While gains have been made globally for millions of slum dwellers via improvements in water supply, sanitation and enhanced housing conditions, these have been grossly insufficient to keep pace with major increases in the number of urban poor. Slum dwellers in urban areas in developing countries continue to rise, and in 2010 was estimated at some 828 million, compared to 657 million in 1990 and 767 million in 2000 (United Nations, 2010). Importantly, the assessment indicates that just over 24 per cent of the urban population of the Pacific island region are residing in slum areas (United Nations, 2010). This estimate is comparable to the larger countries of East Asia, where some 30 per cent of urban populations are estimated as living in slums (World Bank, 2007).

At the Pacific island region level, there are two recent assessments that outline the state of progress, or more correctly, lack of progress in regard to MDG target 7D. These assessments are contained within the Pacific Regional MDGs Tracking Reports, as prepared in 2010 and 2011 by the Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat (PIFS, 2010b; 2011). Based in Fiji, the PIFS is the premier political regional organization, representing all heads of the 16 sovereign PICs, plus Australia and New Zealand (PIFS, 2009). Established in 1971 as the South Pacific Forum, PIFS is funded by its members, of whom Australia is one of the largest contributors. In 2010-2011, for example, Australia provided core funding of AUD\$10 million to strengthen work in regional cooperation, security, economic development, and progress towards the MDGs (AusAID, 2011c).

The 2010 assessment found that Pacific island region MDG progress was uneven, with nine PICs off track to varying degrees to achieve at least half of the eight MDGs. The overall trend was that some Melanesian countries, notably those characterized by conflict, civil and political tension, such as Papua New Guinea, were seeing a reversal of earlier MDG gains. This trend was also common in the Micronesian states, while the Polynesian countries have been achieving comparatively more.

The 2011 assessment reflects similar trends, with all countries off track on at least one goal, with the exception of the Cook Islands, Niue, Samoa and Palau. The Melanesian countries of Papua New Guinea and the Solomon Islands, plus the Micronesian countries of Kiribati and Nauru are not on track to achieve any of the MDGs. The majority of the PICs are off track in achieving reductions in poverty levels, such progress constrained by low to mediocre levels of economic growth, rising costs of living, and limited job opportunities. The overarching message on MDG progress is that “more concerted effort is needed in the region to accelerate and sustain progress towards achieving the MDGs by 2015” (PIFS, 2011: vii).

In terms of progress towards MDG target 7D, the 2010 assessment found that “the increasing urbanization of all PICs also means that the number of squatter settlement dwellers is increasing and thus the goal of reducing the number of slum dwellers will not be met in any of the PICs” (PIFS, 2010b: xii). While slum dwellers, squatters or informal settlements are not cited as Emerging Issues and Challenges (PIFS, 2010b: xiv-xv), they are identified as a concern in regard to Accelerating Progress. Importantly, the assessment suggests measures for improving the plight of squatters and those in informal settlements, namely, “sound urban planning, including infrastructure and utilities, which are essential for the sustainable growth of urban centres” (PIFS, 2010b: 69). As a pointer to addressing the underlying drivers of rural urban migration and the broader issue of spatial inequalities in PICs, the report highlights the need for more balanced growth (noting rural development as a key lever for change, but not urban development).

However, the 2011 PIFS assessment reflects less attention on progress towards MDG target 7D, further reinforcing its marginalization in the Pacific island region MDG debate. There is no reference to MDG 7D in the Executive Summary, with target 7A (reversing the loss of environmental resources) and target 7C (water and sanitation) being the focus of attention in terms of gains made under Goal 7. In the assessment section on Goal 7, “Ensure environmental sustainability”, the report indicates that an absence of data makes it difficult to accurately assess progress on MDG 7D, noting countries in Melanesia are off track to meet this target. Only 2 out of 15 PICs shown in the table summarizing the percentage of the urban population living

in slums contain data, namely, Tuvalu (7 per cent) and Vanuatu (30 per cent). There is no other discussion on MDG 7D in the 2011 MDG assessment report (PIFS, 2011).

At the PIC national level, some 13 PICs have completed at least one national MDG progress report since 2000 (PIFS, 2010b). These MDG reports have formed the basis of the datasets used in the regional assessments by PIFS. The lack of interest and ambivalence in addressing squatter and informal settlements is reflected in the range of assessments (or no assessments) contained in the PIC MDG reports. For example, for Vanuatu, comments on target 7D indicate that it is unlikely the target will be met (UNDP, 2010a). Where target 7D is reported on, this and similar comments pervade other PIC MDG progress reports, including targets for MDG 1, "Eradicating extreme hunger and poverty". Like the regional MDG reports, some PIC MDG assessments cite the goals and indicators for target 7D, but do not report on them, such as for Fiji and Kiribati (see, for example, the 2007 Kiribati MDG progress report (UNDP, 2007). These assessments are lost or omitted in the context of the wider MDG analysis.

Similarly, the Australian Government report "Achieving the millennium development goals: Australian support 2000-2010", which espouses Australia's international MDG achievements over the last decade, reflects the same trend. Target 7D is omitted from discussion on MDG 7 progress (AusAID, 2010a). While data are cited as a constraint in ascertaining the status of progress on MDG 7D, one conclusion that could be derived from the above is that target 7D is not part of the Australian Government agenda for achieving overall MDG progress.

In summary, there are four main messages that can be derived from the MDG progress reports relevant to the Pacific island region. First, globally and regionally, the number of slum dwellers continues to rise significantly. Second, the target of reducing the number of slum dwellers, both regionally and in PICs, will not be met. Third, there is no analysis documented between time periods in regional and PIC reports, with an absence of data commonly cited as the excuse for no assessment (see, for example, PIFS, 2010b). Availability of accurate data remains problematic not just for MDG 7D, but for the all national and regional MDG assessment in the Pacific island region (PIFS, 2011). Fourth, and importantly, there is little or no discussion on what practical steps need to be taken to make the MDG target 7D a reality in PICs and the Pacific island region. Discussion on directions for achievement of MDG 7D, where they are provided, pale into insignificance compared to other MDGs and targets. Some regional and, to a lesser degree, PIC reports provide generic statements for target 7D. However, these are short on coherent detail so as to provide an understanding of the existing situation, as well as what is required to address the drivers and symptoms of the living conditions in squatter and informal settlements. Given it is now over

a decade since the Millennium Declaration was agreed and a minimum of at least one in four urban inhabitants in the Pacific island region could be classed as “slum dwellers”, the above is not good news for improving the lives of the urban poor.

VII. DISCUSSION ON CONSTRAINTS TO ACHIEVING PROGRESS ON MDG TARGET 7D

While acknowledging that MDGs anchored in improvements that are directed towards poverty alleviation, health, education, water and sanitation are interrelated, and that progress in one goal and targets supports progress in others (UNDP, 2010b), the following major questions need to be asked. Why is there a lack of interest in dealing with a growing disadvantaged section of the Pacific urban population? Why is it that MDG target 7D is unable to make it onto the PIC and regional development agenda, while other MDGs and their targets are given significant attention via projects, programmes and analysis? Why is the issue of squatter and informal settlements being sidelined in the Pacific MDG debate and destined for no action? Urban issues have been incorporated into the Pacific Plan; the overarching regional plan was agreed by the leaders representing PIFS in October 2005. The Pacific Plan, amongst other matters, guides the regions’ efforts towards achieving the MDGs. However, such urban issues have received little attention since that time. A number of reasons for such trends are suggested at both the national PIC and regional levels.

National PIC level

Urban development activities need to be understood against a background of weakened PIC economic settings. These include the recent 2007-2009 global financial crisis, which continues to have a profound impact upon the precarious economic, social, and environmental well-being of Pacific towns and cities, including informal settlements (Duncan and Voigt-Graf, 2010). Against this setting, and including social and political instability for some Melanesian PICs, some countries have been both reluctant and unable to embrace effective planning and management of their squatters and informal settlements. Urban development and urban management, by their nature, are cross-sector and multidisciplinary, requiring stakeholders and agencies to work together and agree on strategic action that involves a number of cross cutting issues. This work involves addressing the policy, institutional and regulatory systems underlying urban development in a coordinated and orderly manner. Such an approach often conflicts with national-led PIC development plans that are sector orientated, such as those that address mainstream health, education, agriculture, tourism, construction and other key sectors (Jones, 2007).

National PIC plans have a limited emphasis on cross-cutting urbanization policies (Jones and Lea, 2007). The management of urbanization and larger urban development projects are often viewed as being primarily focused around land issues (one of many urban resource mobilization issues). Not surprisingly, there is little or no reference to MDG 7D in national plans. One reason for this anti-urban bias is that the benefits and gains of improved urban planning and management in growing Pacific towns and cities, including the contribution that urban gross domestic product (GDP) makes to national economic growth, have not been clearly articulated by policymakers. The exception is the recently endorsed National Urbanisation Policy for Papua New Guinea, 2010-2030, the first for Papua New Guinea, which clearly sets out the benefits and advantages of planned and managed urbanization (Papua New Guinea, Office of Urbanisation, 2010).

Where there are well intentioned PIC urban plans and policies, they “rarely move on from politically expedient rhetoric into tangible policy outcomes and implementation” (Haberkorn, 2006: 2). A 2006 survey of urbanization policies in PICs undertaken by the regional organization, the Secretariat of the Pacific Community for the PIFS, found that only the larger urbanized PICs of Papua New Guinea and Fiji had developed urban policies. The other Melanesian PICs of Vanuatu and the Solomon Islands were dealing with their urbanization concerns as part of national population policy statements. Of the other PICs, only Tonga and Tuvalu showed any interest to develop national approaches in urban planning and management.

Politicians in PICs are strongly aware that any attempt at improved urban development outcomes is likely to involve addressing sensitive land tenure issues, which underpin the stability and cohesion of many squatter and informal settlements in Pacific towns and cities. While planning involves achieving short- and long-term gains, the tenure of many politicians is often short-term, with major projects involving improved urban outcomes met with reluctance. With nearly all PIC urban populations politically underrepresented nationally, ensuring that urban issues, such as squatter and informal settlements, are systematically addressed at the national level is problematic.⁴

Ultimately, PIC politicians and governments must address urban, rural and outer island concerns (Jones, 2007). In all PICs, the priority for many poorer households in squatter and informal settlements is on meeting day-to-day family and household survival needs. Household and social enclave issues regarding land security, shelter, or requests for cash contributions for food and school bills, for example, take on greater immediacy for support with politicians who invariably have

⁴ For example, urban South Tarawa in Kiribati has nearly 50 per cent of the national population. However, it is only represented by 5 out of 43 members in the national Parliament.

ethnic and kinship ties to settlers. Such needs are of greater importance, including social relevance, than putting in place settlement wide medium- and long-term urban development and upgrading plans, often with unknown consequences.

Despite its adverse manifestations, urbanization in most PICs reflects a history of being both unwanted and misunderstood, with calls for the removal of illegal squatter and informal settlements commonplace. Occupants of squatter and informal settlements have been seen as undesirable, with informal settlements stereotyped as havens of law and order breakdown, crime and social unrest (ESCAP and UN-Habitat, 2010). Evictions, settlement neglect and calls for settlers to return to their village and rural lifestyles, are all short-term reactions that do not address or reflect an understanding of the root causes of settlement growth (Koczberski, Curry, and Connell, 2001). Squatter and informal settlements are also often seen as incompatible and a blight on political and bureaucratic visions and aspirations for a modern city (UN-Habitat, 2009). The denial of urbanization issues and concerns by policymakers in PICs is a major challenge to be confronted (Haberkorn, 2008).

In the above setting, it is not surprising that there is ongoing malaise shown by PICs in addressing squatter and informal settlements. This, in part, reflects caution by governments and politicians in evaluating the social, economic, environmental and political implications of urban change, rather than some conscious decision not to address foreign development objectives, such as MDG 7D. The weighing up of the implications of urban change, including evaluating financial costs, assessing the ramifications of urban improvements versus deferred expenditure in rural areas, the costs of the conditions and caveats attached to development loans and grants, and their impacts on local sociocultural settings and landowners groups, are paramount considerations. The latter inevitably surface when planning and mobilizing customary and traditional lands for urban development (Jones and Holzknicht, 2007; Jones and Lea, 2007).

All of the above provides a backdrop as to why PICs are reluctant to show leadership and a commitment to tamper with the fabric of squatter and informal settlements. Many squatter and informal settlements have been long established, have informal occupation agreements in place with land owners, and have developed their own governance structures (Jones, 2011c). This includes access to basic water supply and power (ESCAP and UN-Habitat, 2010). Collectively, these all provide impediments of varying significance to putting in place a consistent approach to addressing MDG 7D.

Regional and development partner level

At the regional level, a major constraint impacting progress on MDG 7D is the reluctance of key development partners to support the urban sector. Major urban reform in the Pacific island region, whether in Melanesia, Polynesia or Micronesia, has occurred where it has been supported and facilitated by development partners and financed by international development banks. Trends show that PICs cannot tackle the challenges of urban management and urban development alone because all urban projects involve partnerships, in one form or another, with international development banks, aid agencies, NGOs and other development partners (Jones and Lea, 2007). While agencies such as United Nations Human Settlements Programme (UN-Habitat), United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP), the Asian Development Bank (ADB) and the New Zealand Aid Programme have taken an active role in promoting and being involved in the urban sector, the amount of development assistance given to improving the planning, management and development of towns and cities in PICs by bilateral and multilateral agencies, including sites and service schemes and settlement upgrading, remains minimal and insignificant.

The major development banks involved in the urban sector in the Pacific island region are ADB, and to a lesser degree, the World Bank (WB). These organizations have designated urban development and Pacific divisions overseeing urban sector activities, and based on agreed country programmes and time frames, provide loans and grants supporting PIC development priorities. The lead Pacific island region organization, the PIFS, however, has been reluctant to seriously take on the urban sector (Haberhorn, 2008). The PIFS adopted a PIC regional urban initiative, known as the Pacific Urban Agenda (PUA), which was endorsed by ESCAP and integrated into the Pacific Plan in October 2005. The Pacific Plan was revised in October 2007, with the Forum Island Leaders re-endorsing the PUA and requesting its implementation be undertaken as part of a wider urban Regional Action Plan (RAP) by PIFS and the Secretariat of the Pacific Community (PIFS, 2007). Citing limited technical and human capacity, the PIFS and the Secretariat of the Pacific Community have not been able to initiate any action on the coordination and implementation of the PUA and RAP. The Pacific Plan 2010 Annual Progress Report makes no reference to the PUA, the RAP, and any action required to address Pacific regional and national programmes on urbanization, urban management and urban development, including MDG 7D (PIFS, 2010a).

AusAID, the largest development partner in the Pacific island region, provides more aid to PICs than any other donor. The total Australian Official Development Assistance to the Pacific island region in 2010-2011 was estimated as AUD\$1,085

million, which equates to approximately 25 per cent of the Australian aid budget (AusAID, 2011b). Most of this assistance is delivered via PIC bilateral country programmes, to regional organizations such as PIFS, non-government organizations, and to multilaterals, such as ADB, WB, and the Global Environment Facility. However, AusAID's interest in MDG 7D and the urban sector is marginalized, as reflected in its thematic priorities, budgets, programmes and activities. AusAID's position can be described as diffuse, with minimal interest and assistance spread thinly across a range of activities that are not anchored to any internal urban institutional and programmatic focus. A range of reasons are suggested as to why the above position continues to be perpetuated in the Pacific island region and in PICs:

- Institutionally, the urban sector is not an Australian Government priority for regional and PIC development assistance. AusAID has prioritized a range of thematic areas of support, including economic growth, education, health, human rights, rural development, mine action, disabilities, food security, MDGs, infrastructure and the like. The urban sector, urban development and urban management, do not rate as priority development areas. Gender equity is the main theme designated as an overarching or cross-sector theme (AusAID, 2011a). Organizationally, AusAID had an urban development section in place at the beginning of the 1990s, but that section was phased out as the importance of the urban sector was downgraded.
- Historically, there has been a strong focus in AusAID on supporting rural development. Such a view still pervades AusAID's programme focus, as reflected in its rural development aid theme and budget allocations. It is also mainstreamed in more recent themes, such as infrastructure, which has a strong rural development focus (AusAID, 2011a). One consequence of this approach is that rural areas have received the bulk of attention in poverty alleviation programmes and analysis in the Pacific island region, despite the fact that urban hardship is on the rise and the future population of PICs is an urban one (Storey, 2010). In this context, some researchers have questioned AusAID's assumption as to why urban poverty is considered somewhat less serious than rural poverty (Lea, 2011).
- Concurrent with a focus on rural development is the emphasis on service delivery and the social sectors, especially education and health. In the 2010-2011 AusAID budget, Australian Official Development Assistance increased in education, health, and infrastructure as well as in rural development (Smith and McMullan, 2010). Access to good quality basic services, such as education,

health care, clean water and sanitation, is essential for improving the living conditions of the poor, especially if they address regional inequities in a balanced manner. In the 2010-2011 AusAID budget listing of focus areas for 12 PICs and a Pacific Regional Programme, the word “urban” is not mentioned, further undermining the rhetoric on assisting PICs to achieve MDG target 7D.

- Noting the importance of water supply and sanitation (MDG 7C) to underpinning achievements in MDG 7D, the effectiveness of Australia’s relatively small support to this sector remains questionable. The Annual Review of Development Effectiveness 2009 states that evaluating such support remains problematic, “as water and sanitation activities are often embedded in broader humanitarian and community development efforts and are not reported on separately, either in terms of funding or performance” (AusAID, 2010b: 32). Water and sanitation activities that could be identified represented only 0.8 per cent of the 2008-2009 Australian aid programmes, with many of the activities contained within rural development programmes.
- By distancing itself from the urban sector, AusAID has no institutional capacity and experience in urban management in the Pacific island region and PIC context. For example, in 2009, the growing Office of Urbanisation in Papua New Guinea sought technical assistance from AusAID under the then Australian Support Facility for urban customary land development and settlement upgrading. AusAID supported a technical adviser, albeit reluctantly, and after a short period, the funding for the technical assistance was discontinued. The reasons provided by AusAID for not supporting this urban technical assistance included a lack of internal AusAID technical expertise to monitor the assistance being provided to the Office of Urbanisation, the priority of funding to other mainstream central government agencies, such as Treasury and Finance (and low priority of the Office of Urbanisation), and the non-identification of the urban sector in the overarching Government of Australia and PNG Development Cooperation Agreement (Director of Office of Urbanisation, Port Moresby, personal communication, July 2011).
- Within the context of the urban sector not being a priority area of assistance, the small support that is given is dispersed and fragmented, such as that allocated to global urban funds and non-government organizations. Globally, for example, this is reflected in AusAID’s decision in 2009 to join and be a financial member of the Cities Alliance, the coalition responsible for supporting the

achievement of the “Cities without Slums” target which underpins MDG 7D. However, to date, AusAID’s partnership in Cities Alliance has yet to translate into any on-the-ground upgrading projects linked to MDG 7D within the Pacific island region. At the regional non-government organization level, for example, the Pacific Island Planners Association, whom AusAID supported with financial assistance for its development and establishment since 2008, has now been withdrawn. The above approach reflects the position that donors want to put money into sectors in order to be seen as visible and doing something, rather than to be seen as doing nothing at all (Howes, 2011).

- At a wider level, the stance by AusAID aligns with Australian, Pacific and global trends for governments to disengage from involvement in land and housing markets in urban areas (Durand-Lasserve, 2006). This trend can be viewed as part of the wider privatization and liberalization of markets that fall within the ambit of neoliberal policies (see, for example, Asia Pacific Network for Housing Research, 2011). Such cyclical trends in the Pacific island region are reflected in the prominence of urban development and housing ministries, which existed in the 1980s and 1990s in PICs, such as in Fiji and Papua New Guinea, and which have now been phased out.

Collectively, the information presented above paints a clear picture as to why MDG target 7D and the broader urban sector do not sit comfortably with the development agenda for the Pacific island region.

VIII. CONCLUSION

This paper has sought to deepen an understanding of the challenges facing the implementation of MDG target 7D, improving the lives of hundred million slum dwellers, in PICs and the Pacific island region. The chequered history of MDG target 7D reflects a target that was reluctantly included in the MDGs, and has subsequently struggled to find a legitimate home and owner to oversee its mandate. The minimal Pacific island region progress achieved on MDG 7D mirrors these difficulties and lack of focus, reflecting little regional and PIC responsibility and accountability for developing action to seriously address both the conditions of squatter and informal settlements, and the lives of the dwellers themselves. Unfortunately, despite global calls for action, such as via MDG target 7D and the good efforts of agencies such as UN-Habitat and ESCAP based in Fiji, urbanization with its growing negative manifestations remains problematic and marginalized on the Pacific development agenda.

The escalating growth of squatters and informal settlements in Pacific towns and cities effectively reflects the hope and despair of hundreds of thousands of new urban dwellers seeking opportunities for an improved quality of life. “As the developing world becomes more urban and as the focus of poverty shifts to cities, the battle to achieve the MDGs will have to be waged in the worlds’ slums” (UNFPA, 2007: 15). Pacific towns and cities increasingly represent the urbanization of poverty, but at the same time, they are the main conduits for moving the poor out of poverty. This fundamental point has yet to register with PICs, key regional agencies and development partners, who by focusing on solutions anchored primarily in rural areas, contribute to the manifestations emanating in urban areas.

Noting the adverse social and economic impacts of successive politico-economic crises that continue to characterize PICs in Melanesia, compared to the more favourable conditions of the state as seen in Micronesia and Polynesia, the challenge now is to address the scale of growing squatter and informal settlements via generation of commitment, interest and leadership in PICs. The latter are the key lessons learned from successful urban institutional reform experience as documented for Samoa (Jones and Lea, 2007). Unless the issues surrounding MDG 7D are addressed in a comprehensive manner in the Pacific urban context—such as defining what is really meant by “improving the lives of slum dwellers”, developing a more inclusive target definition and time frames to address and measure the above, and debating why urban poverty should be considered less important than rural poverty—then the spectre of a continued demise in the social, economic and environmental fabric of Pacific towns and cities will continue.

REFERENCES

- Anis, A. (2010). Concerns over settlements. *The National* (Port Moresby), 18 August.
- Asia Pacific Network for Housing Research (2011). *Neoliberalism and Urbanisation in Asia Pacific: Challenges and Opportunities for Housing*. Available from <http://web.hku.hk/~apnhr/>. Accessed April 2011.
- Asian Development Bank (ADB) (2004). *Hardship and Poverty in the Pacific*. Pacific Studies Series. Manila.
- Australian Agency for International Development (AusAID) (2008). *Making Land Work*, vol. 2, *Case Studies on Customary Land and Development in the Pacific*. Canberra.
- _____ (2010a). *Achieving the Millennium Development Goals: Australia's Support 2000-2010*. Canberra.
- _____ (2010b). *Annual Review of Development Effectiveness 2009 – Improving Basic Services for the Poor*. Canberra.
- _____ (2011a). Aid themes overview. Available from www.ausaid.gov.au/keyaid/default.cfm. Accessed March 2011.
- _____ (2011b). AusAID in the Pacific. Available from www.ausaid.gov.au/country/southpacific.cfm. Accessed February 2011.
- _____ (2011c). Australia's commitment to the Pacific Islands Forum. Available from www.ausaid.gov.au/media/release/cfm?BC=Media&ID. Accessed February 2011.
- Australian Agency for International Development (AusAID), and New Zealand Government (2009). *Surviving the Global Recession: Strengthening Economic Growth and Resilience in the Pacific*. Canberra: Australian Government.
- Bryant-Tokalau, J. (1995). The myth exploded: urban poverty in the Pacific. *Environment and Urbanization*, vol. 7, No. 2, pp. 109-29.
- Chand, S., and C. Yala (2008). Informal land systems within urban settlements in Honiara and Port Moresby. *Making Land Work*, vol. 2, pp. 85-106.
- Connell, J., and J. Lea (2002). *Urbanisation in the Island Pacific. Towards Sustainable Development*. London: Routledge.
- Duncan, R., and C. Voigt-Graf (2010). *Pacific Labour Market Scenarios – Economic Crisis, Climate Change and Decent Work*. Suva: ILO Office for the Pacific Island Countries.
- Durand-Lasserre, A. (2006). Informal settlements and the Millennium Development Goals: global policy debates on property ownership and security of tenure. *Global Urban Development Magazine*, vol. 2 (March), p. 1.
- Fiji (2004). *Urban Policy Action Plan*. Suva.
- Goddard, M. (2005). *The Unseen City: Anthropological Perspectives on Port Moresby, Papua New Guinea*. Canberra: Pandanus.
- Haberkorn, G. (2006). *Preliminary Stocktake of Urbanization Policies in the Pacific Island Region*. Noumea: Secretariat of the Pacific Community.
- _____ (2008). Pacific Islands' population and development: facts, fictions and follies. *New Zealand Population Review*, vol. 33, No. 34, pp. 95-127.

- Hildebrand, M. (2010). Looking back and moving forward – the goal for improving the lives of slum dwellers. *Urban World*, vol. 2, No. 3, pp. 8-10.
- Howes, S. (2011). An overview of aid effectiveness determinants and strategies. Discussion Paper 1, January. Australian National University: Development Policy Centre, Crawford School of Economics and Government.
- Itaia, M. (1987). Squatters on South Tarawa, Kiribati. In *In Search of a Home*, Leonard Mason and Pat Hereniko, eds. University of the South Pacific, Institute of Pacific Studies.
- Jones, P. (1997). The impact of the socio-cultural order on urban management in the Pacific Islands. PhD dissertation. University of Queensland, Department of Geographical Sciences and Planning.
- _____. (2005). Managing urban development in the Pacific: key themes and issues. *Australian Planner*, vol. 39, No. 4, pp. 39-46.
- _____. (2007). Placing urban management and development on the development agenda in the Pacific Islands. *Australian Planner*, International Planning edition, vol. 44, No. 19 (March), pp. 15-21.
- _____. (2008). Squatters in Kiritimati Island – issues, options and directions. Draft discussion paper, Asian Development Bank Technical Assistance No. 4878 – KIR: Integrated Land and Population Program on Kiritimati Island (Kiribati). Manila.
- _____. (2010). Urban poverty and the global economic crisis in the Pacific region – how households cope and adapt in Port Moresby. Paper presented at the seminar on the National Urbanisation Policy for Papua New Guinea, 2010-2030. University of Papua New Guinea, 28 October.
- _____. (2011a). The meaning of urbanisation in the Pacific Islands context. *The Development Bulletin*, No. 74 (June). pp. 93-97.
- _____. (2011b). The rise of the ‘rural village in the city’ and ‘village cities’ in the Pacific region. Paper presented at the 2011 Asia-Pacific Network for Housing Research Conference on Neo-liberalism and Urbanisation in Asia-Pacific, University of Hong Kong, 9 December.
- _____. (2011c). Urban poverty in Pacific towns and cities and the impacts from the global financial crisis – insights from Port Moresby, Papua New Guinea. Paper prepared for Congress Proceedings of the Planning Institute of Australia 2011 National Congress. Hobart, Tasmania, 7-9 March, pp. 43-59.
- Jones, P., and H. Holzknicht (2007). Review of social changes that impact on land in the Pacific. *Land Management and Conflict Minimisation Project*. Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat, pp. 23-26.
- Jones, P., and J. Kohlhasse (2002). Planning for Apia – everybody’s but nobody’s business. *Samoa Environmental Forum*, vol. 3, pp. 27-31.
- Jones, P., and J. Lea (2007). What has happened to urban reform in the island Pacific? Some lessons from Kiribati and Samoa. *Pacific Affairs*, vol. 80, No. 3, pp. 473-491.
- Kiddle, G. (2010). Perceived security of tenure and housing consolation in informal settlements: case studies from urban Fiji. *Pacific Economic Bulletin*, vol. 25, No. 3, pp. 203-205.
- Koczberski, G., G. Curry, and J. Connell (2001). Full circle or spiralling out of control? State violence and the control of urbanisation in Papua New Guinea. *Urban Studies*, vol. 38, No. 11, pp. 2017-2035.

- Lea, J. (2011). Submission to the Australian Government's 2011 independent review of aid effectiveness. Available from www.aidreview.gov.au/publications/sub-philiplea.doc.
- Lingham, D. (2005). The squatter situation in Fiji. *National Consultation on Evictions, Squatter Settlements, and Housing Rights, Saturday 28th September 2005, Marine Studies Lecture Theatre, USP Lower Campus, Suva*. Fiji: Citizens' Constitutional Forum.
- Maebuta, H., and J. Maebuta (2009). Generating livelihoods: a study of urban squatter settlements in Solomon Islands. *Pacific Economic Bulletin*, vol. 24, No. 3, pp. 119-129.
- Mawuli, A., and R. Guy (2007). *Informal Social Safety Nets: Support Systems of Social and Economic Hardship in Papua New Guinea*. Special Publication 46. Port Moresby. National Research Institute of Papua New Guinea.
- Mecartney, S. (2001). Blacksands settlement: a case for urban permanence in Vanuatu, Master of Science thesis, University of Sydney.
- Mohanty, M. (2006). Urban squatters, the informal sector and livelihood strategies of the poor in the Fiji Islands. *Development Bulletin*, vol. 70, pp. 65-68.
- New Zealand Agency for International Development (2007). Informal settlement scoping mission. Draft report. Suva.
- Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat (PIFS) (2007). Revised Pacific Plan, October, Suva.
- _____ (2009). Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat Annual Report. Suva.
- _____ (2010a). Pacific Plan 2010 Annual Progress Report. November, Suva.
- _____ (2010b). 2010 Pacific Regional MDGs Tracking Report. July, Suva.
- _____ (2011). 2011 Pacific Regional MDGs Tracking Report. August, Suva.
- Papua New Guinea, National Capital District Commission (1996). *Planned and Unplanned Settlements of Port Moresby*. Port Moresby: Department of Community Services.
- _____ (2006). *National Capital District Settlements Strategic Plan, 2007-2011*. Port Moresby: Strategic Planning Section.
- Papua New Guinea, Office of Urbanisation (2010). *National Urbanisation Policy for Papua New Guinea, 2010-2030*. Port Moresby.
- Parks, W., D. Abbott, and A. Wilkinson (2009). *Protecting Pacific Island Children and During Economic and Food Crises*. Working Edition One for Advocacy, Debate and Guidance. Suva: UNICEF Pacific and UNDP Pacific Centre.
- Secretariat of the Pacific Community (2011). Pacific Island populations estimates and populations. Estimates and projections of demographic indicators for selected years. Noumea. Available from www.spc.int/sdp/. Accessed February 2011.
- Smith, S., and B. McMullan (2010). *Budget – Australia's International Development Assistance*. Canberra: Attorney Generals Department.
- Squatters build more (2009). *Fiji Times*, 26 November.
- Storey, D. (2006). Urbanisation in the Pacific: state, society and governance in Melanesia. AusAID Targeted Paper Series. Canberra: Australian National University.
- _____ (2010). Urban poverty in Papua New Guinea. Discussion Paper No. 109. Port Moresby: National Research Institute of Papua New Guinea.

- Tabureguci, D. (2010). Shanty towns can contribute economically. *Islands Business*, December.
- Tauafiafi, A. (2011). Samoa's slum. *Samoa Observer*, pp.1-2.
- Togarewa, N. (2011). Squatters welcome development. *PNG Post Courier*, 7 January, pp. 24.
- United Nations (2010). *The Millennium Development Goals Report, 2010*. New York.
- United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) (2004). *Pacific Islands Regional Millennium Development Goals Report*. Suva.
- _____ (2007). *Republic of Kiribati Millennium Development Goals 2007*. Suva.
- _____ (2010a). *Millennium Development Goals 2010 Report for Vanuatu*. September. Suva: Prime Minister's Office.
- _____ (2010b). *What Will It Take to Achieve the Millennium Development Goals? An International Assessment*. New York.
- United Nations, Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP), and United Nations Human Settlements Programme (UN-Habitat) (2010). *Urban Safety and Poverty in Asia and the Pacific*. Nairobi.
- United Nations Human Settlements Programme (UN-Habitat) (2008). *Port Moresby Urban Sector Profile*. Nairobi.
- _____ (2009). *Planning Sustainable Cities. The Global Report on Human Settlements*. Nairobi.
- _____ (2011). *The Millennium Development Goals Report, 2011*. New York.
- United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) (2007). *State of the World Population*. New York.
- United Nations Statistics Division (2010). Definition. Available from <http://mdgs.un.org/unsd/mdg/Host.aspx?Content=Indicators/OfficialList.htm>. Accessed 30 March 2011.
- _____ (2012). Official United Nations site for the MDG indicators. Available from <http://mdgs.un.org/unsd/mdg/Host.aspx?Content=Indicators/OfficialList.htm>. Accessed 16 June 2012.
- Wood, T., and V. Naidu (2008). A slice of paradise? The Millennium Development Goals in the Pacific: progress, pitfalls and potential solutions. Oceania Development Network Working Paper, July. Apia, Samoa: GDN. Available from www.gdn-oceania.org/.
- World Bank (2007). Sustainable development in East Asia's fringe. *East Asia and Pacific Update. Special Focus*. pp. 61-68.